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Biographia Britannica

J. I. V. E. S.

BIOGRAPHIA

BRITANNICA.

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1741

# Biographia Britannica :

OR, THE

# L I V E S

OF THE

Most eminent PERSONS

Who have flourished in

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

A N D

*I R E L A N D,*

From the earliest Ages, down to the present Times :

Collected from the best Authorities, both Printed and Manuscript,

And digested in the Manner of

Mr *BAYLE*'s HISTORICAL and CRITICAL

*D I C T I O N A R Y.*

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*V O L U M E T H E T H I R D.*

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*L O N D O N;*

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Biographia Britannica

OF THE

LIVES

OF THE

MOST EMINENT PERSONS

ADAMS 172.4

173

OF GREAT BRITAIN

BY

J. H. ...

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LONDON

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# T H E L I V E S

O F T H E

Most eminent PERSONS

Who have flourished in

**GREAT-BRITAIN and IRELAND,**

From the earliest Ages, down to the present Times.

## C



**CONANT (JOHN)** a very learned, pious, and eminent English Divine, in the seventeenth century. He was descended from a very good family, that had flourished for many years in the county of Devon, but was originally French (*a*). His father was Robert Conant, and his mother's name was Elizabeth, persons of great integrity, having a competent, though not a large fortune, so that he had no reason to be ashamed of his family; nor had a certain writer any need to have troubled himself with an apology about it (*b*); and one, who was much better informed, and more nearly concerned, hath, with great modesty, set this point in the true light in which it ought to be known to posterity (*c*) [*A*]. He was born October 18, 1608, at Yeatenton, a small Village in Bicton parish, in the south-east part of the county before-mentioned (*d*); and giving very early and lively tokens of his inclination to learning, his uncle, the Rev Mr John Conant, Rector of Lymington, near Ilchester, in Somersetshire, charged himself in a particular manner with the care of his education; and having kept him for some time at the free-school at Ilchester, put him afterwards under the tuition of Mr Thomas Branker, a very laborious and learned school-master in the neighbourhood; and, while he was at both places, gave him occasionally whatever helps he wanted in his studies with great readiness and pleasure (*e*). His youth promised all that his riper years produced; his disposition was always mild, moderate, and modest, so that he contented himself rather with the satisfaction arising from the possession of knowledge, than affected to display it. In Lent Term, 1626, his uncle carried him to Oxford, and entered him of Exeter-college, of which he had been himself nine years a Fellow, placing him under a very strict, pious, and learned tutor, Mr Lawrence Bodley, B. D. (*f*) He studied there with great vigour and application, and, in a short time, distinguished

(*a*) Life of John Conant, D. D. by his son John Conant, LL. D. MSS. p. 5.

(*b*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 223, 224.

(*c*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 5.

(*d*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 11. col. 912.

(*e*) Life of Dr Conant, p. 6.

(*f*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 11. col. 912. Life of Dr Conant, p. 7.

[*A*] In which it ought to be known to posterity.] We are told by the Reverend Mr Prince what follows, with respect to the descent of this worthy Person (1). 'He was not, says he, descended indeed from great, but from good parentage, more eminent for their piety than gentility, which in the estimation of God and good men, is the truest nobility. However, we are not to esteem him as sprung *ex facie virum*, from the dregs of the Plebeians: no; his name hath long flourished, and his relations lived in good estate and reputation in those parts.' Dr John Conant, the

son of our Divine, gives us the plain English of all this in the following words (2): 'He was the eldest son of Robert Conant, and Elizabeth his wife, who were persons of great integrity. Robert was one of the sons of Richard Conant, and Agnes his wife, who lived at Budley, near Yeatenton, and were much esteemed for their exemplary piety. Richard was the son of John Conant, descended from ingenious parents of Gittisham, near Honiton, in this county; whose ancestors, for many generations, had been fixed there, but were originally of French extraction.'

(2) Life of Dr Conant, p. 5.

(1) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 223, 224.

tinguished himself as one of the shrewdest disputants in this college, then one of the most flourishing in that university. He was also very remarkable for the purity and perspicuity of his Latin stile; and of the Greek, he was so perfect a master, as often to dispute publickly in that language in the schools; which extraordinary accomplishments recommended him highly to Dr John Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter-college, and the King's Professor of Divinity (g) [B]. It is very certain, that he took his degrees regularly, though the times, for what reason it is not easy to say, are omitted by the Oxford Historian (b); and so pious and prudent was the whole course of his life, that, without any other interest than his merit, he was chosen Probationer, June 30, 1632, and became actual Fellow of Exeter-college July 3, 1633 (i). He was also a very eminent tutor, and, in that capacity, had for his pupils several young gentlemen of the best families in his county, whom he educated with equal care, in sound learning, and true piety (k). Upon the breaking out of the civil war, most of the students under his care leaving the university, he judged it most convenient for him to retire also, which he accordingly did in 1642; but certainly without any design of forsaking his college, as appeared by his leaving in his chamber a large and well-chosen collection of books, of which, in his absence, he was plundered (l). Some short time before he quitted the university, he had taken Deacon's Orders, and had applied himself with very great diligence to the study of the oriental languages, and whatever else might properly qualify him for the discharge of the ministerial function, for which he had always a high reverence, and which he afterwards discharged, for many years, with great piety and zeal, and no less wisdom and learning (m) [C]. He retired first to Lymington, his uncle's living in Somersetshire, not in Hampshire, as Mr Prince would have it; but finding his worthy relation forced from thence, he officiated for him as long as he could continue there with safety; but, after being rifled of all he had, and kept for some time a prisoner, he found it high time for him also to repair to London, where, having found his uncle settled in the church of St Botolph, Alderfgate, he for some time, assisted him in his pastoral duties (n). While he was at Lymington he was constituted by the parliament one of the Assembly of Divines (o); but I believe he sat amongst them, if ever, very seldom, since it is certain, that he never took the Covenant. In order to avoid this, and other things not agreeable to his conscience, he willingly accepted the offer made to him, of being domestick chaplain to the Lord Chandos; in whose family he lived at Harefield, or, as it is commonly called, Harvill, near Uxbridge, in Middlesex, where his piety, learning, and exemplary life, gained him many friends, who would have procured him a much better settlement, his income there being but fourscore pounds a year, the best part of which he bestowed in charitable uses (p); but the privacy in which he passed his days, and his great apprehension of charging his conscience with the transactions of those times, induced him to refuse the favours offered him, and in particular a good living in his own country, from Mr Duke, of Otterton (q). He carried this just and religious principle still farther, for perceiving the effects of the parliament visitation of the University of Oxford, where the Solemn League and Covenant was pressed upon all the members of the University, rather than break in upon his own innocence, by submitting to a power, and taking an oath, both which wanted a legal authority, and rather than abjure the good order that was established in this Church since the perfecting of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, or combine to promote a civil war, all which were thought to be virtually contained in that oath, he determined to quit his relation to Exeter-college (r), which he did, by resigning his fellowship, Sept. 27, 1647 (s). This proceeding of his, as it was equally candid and conscientious, so the bare relation of it, must sufficiently refute a very groundless calumny, inserted in the work (t) of the Oxford Historian, concerning which the reader will be better informed in the notes [D]. While he lived as chaplain to Lord Chandos, he preached a volun-

[B] Recommended him highly to Dr John Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter-college, and the King's Professor of Divinity.] We have an account of this fact from both the writers before mentioned; but the latter gives it in the clearest and most intelligent manner (3). 'These his excellent endowments, says he, set off by a life every way regular and unblameable, could not escape so vigilant a governor, and so known an encourager of learning and virtue, as the reverend and learned Dr John Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter-college; who, by an allusion to his name *Conanti, nihil est difficile*; (this, according to the humour of those times, is a playing upon words; for, in one sense, it implies, to him who endeavours, every thing is easy; and in another, there is nothing difficult to Conant;) signified his opinion of him: and he once said of him, Jack Conant will have my place. Dr Prideaux was then Regius Professor of Divinity in the university, as well as Rector of the college; both which eminent places were, in process of time, conferred on Dr Conant.'

[C] And no less wisdom and learning.] We have mentioned in the text the excellence he acquired in Latin and Greek languages, to which he soon after added

as perfect an acquaintance with the Hebrew and Syriac tongues, and was also a good proficient in Chaldee and Arabic (4); all which he thought necessary to the thorough understanding of the holy scriptures; in reading which in their originals, and in comparing them with each other, and with the best commentators, he spent several years, by which he became so thoroughly master of that sort of learning, as to appear with equal lustre in the pulpit and in the chair (5); nor was there any man of his time more remarkable for being a solid and sound expositor, or for clearing the true sense of such texts as were misinterpreted by the Socinians and other hereticks (6).

[D] Will be better informed in the notes.] The famous Mr Anthony Wood informs us (7), that the reverend Mr Henry Tozer, Fellow and Sub-rector of Exeter college, was summoned before the parliament visitors on the 21st of March, 1647, and by them questioned on eleven heads of offences by him committed in the management of the college; for which he was by these visitors afterwards expelled, and flying into Holland, was there taken into the service of the English merchants as their chaplain, and in that post died

(g) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 912.

(i) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 8.

(k) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(l) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 9.

(m) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 912.

(n) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 10.

(o) Fuller's Ch. History, b. xi. p. 198.

(p) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(q) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 11.

(r) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 912.

(s) As appears from that date in the college register.

(t) Hist. & Antiquat. Oxon. lib. i. p. 397.

(3) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 7.

(4) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(5) Calamy's life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 76.

(6) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 27.

(7) Hist. & Antiquat. Oxon. lib. i. p. 397.

a voluntary lecture, upon a week-day, at Uxbridge, where he had always a very numerous audience; and though this was purely from a principle of doing good, and not with any view of being talked of and known in the world, which no man of his abilities ever sought less, yet it served to keep alive that great reputation which he had acquired at the university, and of which the members of Exeter-college were so mindful, that upon the death of the learned Dr George Hakewill, their Rector, in the month of April, 1649, there was a remarkable contest about chusing either his uncle or him for his successor (u): but Mr John Conant, senior, who was then settled in the parish of St Thomas, in Colchester, absolutely declining that preferment, the Fellows thereupon unanimously chose Mr John Conant on the 7th of June following, and on the 29th of the same month he was admitted to that honourable office (w), which he executed with great prudence and fidelity, and with equal reputation to himself, and advantage to that society which had given him so signal a proof of their affection and esteem (x) [E]. In a very short time, however, after his being thus settled, he was in great danger of being driven out of all publick employment again, and this by the Parliament's enjoining what was called the *Engagement*, which he did not take within the time prescribed, but had a fortnight given him to consider further of it, and that space being expired a month (y), at the end of which he submitted, but under a declaration, subscribed at the same time with the *Engagement*, which, as it in fact enervated that instrument entirely (z), is at once a demonstrative proof of his great integrity, and of the general reputation he must have had to procure his subscription to be received upon those terms [F]. This difficulty being got over, he continued to discharge his office

(u) Life of Dr Conant, p. 14.

(w) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912.

(x) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(y) Life of Dr Conant, p. 16, 17.

(z) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 225.

died at Rotterdam, Sept 11, 1650. He further adds, that these heads of accusation were transmitted to the visitors by Mr John Conant, Mr. Anthony Clifford, Mr John Martin, and Mr Robert Hancock. This is a very heavy and a very extraordinary charge, which, at first sight, seems to agree but very indifferently with Mr Conant's known character, who, of all things, hated to concern himself in quarrels or disputes. But the following refutation of this charge is so clear, so full, and so unanswerable, that it must certainly satisfy every man that reads it (8). 'His resignation in the college register bears date the 27th of Sept. 1647. That he had never seen Oxford from the end of the year 1642, till June, 1649, I find expressly under his own hand-writing, in a book of accounts relating to his pupils and to his Oxford affairs, which I here particularly mention, in order to rectify a mistake in a late author, who, in his book, entitled *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*, reckons Mr Conant among the Fellows of Exeter-college who accused Mr H. Tozer, their Sub-rector, to the parliamentary visitors; whereas Mr Tozer was not called before the visitors till the 21st of March, 1647, as may be seen in the register of the proceedings at that visitation, now in the publick library, at Oxford, which was near half a year after Mr Conant had sent his resignation to the college. Besides, the matters laid to Mr Tozer's charge, as this very author has represented them, were such as could not possibly fall under the notice of any one who had not lived in the college very lately, which Mr Conant had not done for more than five years past. But, had he been still Fellow there, and resident, yet it is very unlikely that he should join in an accusation against Mr Tozer, whose name he would never mention without respect; neither can it be thought, that he would accuse any one, tho' never so faulty and unstatutable to those visitors, whose power he would not acknowledge, and to whom he himself was obnoxious, for not having taken the Covenant.' It appears from hence with how great caution the facts advanced in that book of Mr Wood's particularly, ought to be received, and in how great need they stand of some other authority to support them before they meet with allowance and credit.

[E] So signal a proof of their affection and esteem.] At the time Mr Conant was admitted to the rectory of Exeter-college, the state of it's revenue was very indifferent. They had contracted considerable debts by assisting the King, while he remained at Oxford; and other misfortunes had contributed to heighten both the confusion and distress of their affairs (9). He set about the removing of these inconveniences with equal sagacity and diligence; he put the method of receiving the college revenues upon the best footing possible, and, having adjusted, in an equitable manner, the order in which their incumbrances were to be paid off; the very first notice of his scheme revived the credit of the college. In point of discipline during the admi-

nistration of Dr Holland, and Dr Prideaux, it fell short of none in the university; but that being afterwards broke in upon, the society gradually declined, and was in a very low state when he became Rector. He set about the correction of those disorders with the greatest vigour and vigilance, and he persisted in that course with the utmost steadiness and courage, did much by exhortation and encouragement, more by reproof and an unrelaxed strictness in punishments, most of all by the brightness of his own example. He was constant in his attendance at publick prayers; he expounded the holy scriptures learnedly, critically, and practically; he took care that the meanest servants in the college should be instructed, and, for that purpose, catechized them often in his own apartment. He had a watchful eye over the scholars, more especially such as were intended for the Ministry; he enquired carefully into the progress of their studies, and was still stricter with regard to their morals; his way of punishing was by exercises, and not pecuniary mulcts; for he understood not making parents pockets pay for their childrens offences (10). He took no less pains with the tutors, to whom he frequently remonstrated the great trust that was reposed in them, the obligations they were under to discharge it, and the folly of expecting any proficiency in their pupils, if they were at all wanting in their duty. But above all, he was remarkably just and candid in the affair of elections, where his interest, as Rector, could be procured no otherwise than by merit, and, where that appeared, his influence was sure to be exerted as far as legally it might. What the effects were of this so painful and diligent discharge of his duty, may be learned from the following paragraph in his son's memoirs, out of which the foregoing particulars were extracted (11).

'Exeter-college flourished so much under the government of Mr Conant, that the students were many more than could be lodged within the walls. They crowded in here from all parts of the nation, and some from beyond sea, where the same of it's discipline had reached. It would be tedious to enumerate those eminent persons, both in Church and State, those learned and good men who were bred up under his care. In his time it afforded a Vice-chancellor, a Proctor, a Doctor of the chair in Divinity, a Moral Philosophy and Rhetorick Reader to the university, a President to St John's, a Principal to Jesus, and a Divinity Professor to Magdalen-college; not to mention such as were transplanted thence to scholarships and fellowships in other colleges, many of whom were men of eminency afterwards.'

[F] To procure his subscription to be received upon those terms.] If, as the most judicious critics agree, the capital use of Biography, not composed by barely tacking together the circumstances of a life, so as to render it a mere skeleton of facts and dates, is to inform and instruct by example; then, without doubt, there is nothing so much worthy of observation, in what

(8) Life of Dr Conant, p. 12, 13.

(9) Life of Dr Conant, p. 15.

(10) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(11) Life of Dr Conant, p. 23.

office of Rector of Exeter-college with universal approbation; and though his labours therein were both constant and great, yet, being in virtue of that office Vicar of Kidlington; a large parish four miles from Oxford, he, for some time, officiated there in person, going thither on a saturday, and preaching twice on sunday, and catechizing the youth, leaving the care of the parish, during the week, to Mr Rumbald, a very worthy and learned man (a), who kept a school there. But finding his absence from College detrimental to it's discipline, he afterwards took care to have a sufficient Curate at his living, to whom he allowed three-fourths of it's revenue (b). After he was thus fixed at Oxford, he preached a voluntary lecture at Allhallow's church every friday morning at seven o'clock, almost every sunday he preached at St Michael's, and every other sunday during the summer half-year, in the afternoon, at St Mary Magdalen's, in the suburbs, and this not only without desiring; but even without accepting any recompence when offered (c). October 28, 1652, he received Priest's Orders, at Salisbury, and (d), May the 29th, 1654, he was admitted to the degree of Doctor in Divinity (e). In the month of December, the same year, upon the decease of Dr Joshua Hoyle, he became Divinity Professor in the University of Oxford, where his lectures were received with universal applause, by a very numerous and learned audience, by whom, though often and warmly importuned, his modesty was so great, that he could never be prevailed with to publish them (f). In 1657 he accepted the impropriate Rectory of Abergely, near St Asaph, in Denbighshire, as some satisfaction for the benefices formerly annexed to the Divinity-chair, which he never enjoyed. This acceptance of his was very beneficial to the Curate, whose salary he augmented twenty pounds a year, gave him other encouragements besides, and contributed largely to the relief of the poor, though the whole income of the living was but one hundred and twenty pounds a year (g). Upon the restoration of Episcopacy, knowing that this rectory had been anciently annexed to the Bishoprick of St Asaph, he not only immediately quitted it to Dr Griffith, upon his coming to that See, but allowed him also to receive the last year's profits (h). On the 9th of October, 1657, he was admitted Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to the great joy, and no less benefit, of that learned body (i). This high dignity he kept till the 1st of August, 1660, during which space he corrected many abuses, regulated the publick exercises in a manner highly serviceable to the promoting solid learning, was very instrumental in procuring Mr Selden's large and valuable collection of books for the publick library, and had a great hand in defeating a design, to which the Protector, Oliver, gave his consent, for erecting a kind of university at Durham (k). The most extraordinary thing of all that occurred during his administration, was preventing some eager persons in the university from sacrificing their own rights and privileges, by a petition to the Protector Richard's parliament, which was the more honourable to Dr Conant, as it was his own act entirely, and as his firmness in the opposition procured it's success, so far as to defeat this pernicious project, which would have been highly prejudicial to their academical immunities (l) [G].

(k) Life of Dr Conant, p. 32, 33.  
(l) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226.  
Life of Dr Conant, p. 33, 34, 35.

Upon

what is preserved to us, of the conduct of this worthy person, as the steadiness and integrity he shewed in those times of confusion, when, notwithstanding the hypocritical shew of religion, there was as great a defection from virtue as in any of which we have authentick records (12). His son gives us those particulars relative to this matter, which we have inserted in the text; but, as to the restrictions, with which, after delaying so long, he at last signed the Engagement, we owe it entirely to Mr Prince, that they have not been buried in oblivion. The terms of the Engagement were (13),

' You shall promise to be true and faithful to the Common-Wealth of England, as it is now established, without King or House or Lords.'

Dr Conant's declaration before the commissioners when he took the Engagement (14).

*Being required to subscribe, I humbly premise,*

I. ' That I be not hereby understood to approve of what hath been done in order unto, or under this present government, or the government itself; nor will I be thought to condemn it: they being things above my reach, and I not knowing the grounds of the proceedings.

II. ' That I do not bind myself to do any thing contrary to the word of God.

III. ' That I do not so hereby bind myself; but, that if God shall remarkably call me to submit to any other power, I may be at liberty to obey that call, notwithstanding the present engagement.

IV. ' In this sense, and in this sense only, I do promise to be true and faithful to the present government, as it is now established, without King or House of Lords (15).

JOHN CONANT.'

[G] *Which would have been highly prejudicial to their academical immunities.*] The point aimed at was to obtain from the parliament, local visitors of such colleges, as, by their statutes, were to be visited by Archbishops and Bishops. But Dr Conant had so true an idea of parliamentary visitations, that he had not the least desire of seeing any more of them in his time, and therefore would not, by any means, countenance a petition for that purpose. He was told, that a Convocation were the proper judges of the matter: but this he denied; he said that local visitors was not the affair of the university, but of particular colleges; many of which consisted mostly of scholars and undergraduates, and consequently had no votes in Convocations; and it would be very hard to represent any thing as their sense of the matter, who had no opportunity of expressing their sentiments upon it. It was then suggested to him, that it was a thing to which the university in general inclined, and that he might make himself extremely popular by promoting it. His answer was, that he had found, by long experience, it was impossible to please the generality, without prostituting a man's conscience; that if he could stretch his to the measures of other men's judgments, he knew he should not fail of the loud acclamations of the university; but hoped never to purchase their applause at so dear a rate. It was then insinuated, that by his stiffness he would raise himself many enemies, and that possibly he might bring the parliament upon his head, who would take it amiss that he checked any thing that tended to put greater power into their hands. This induced him to speak his mind more plainly. I am sensible, said he, how ill a negative vote may be resented at this juncture, and how much it concerns every man that loves his own quiet and security, to keep himself out of their hands, who can do what they please: but, since I have no honest way of preventing what is feared, I sub-

(a) Life of Dr Conant, p. 16,

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912.  
Life of Dr Conant, p. 24, 25.

(c) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912.  
Life of Dr Conant, p. 24, 25.

(d) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76.  
Life of Dr Conant, p. 25, 26.

(e) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226.  
Wood's Fasti Oxon, Vol. II. col. 106.

(f) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912.  
Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226.  
Life of Dr Conant, p. 27.  
Ayloffe's Ancient and Present State of Oxford, Vol. II. p. 308.

(g) Life of Dr Conant, p. 29.

(h) Ibid, p. 30.

(i) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 912.  
Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226.  
Ayloffe's Ancient and Present State of Oxford, Vol. II. p. 287.

(12) Life of Dr Conant, p. 17.

(13) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 225.

(14) Taken from an attested copy of the original, by Mr D. G.

(15) Life of Dr Conant, p. 35, 36, 37.]

Upon the restoration of King Charles II. Dr Conant, as Vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford, came up to London, attended by the Proctors, and a great number of the principal members of that illustrious and learned body, and, June 15, 1660 (m), had the honour to be introduced to his Majesty, to whom he would have made his speech kneeling; but the King rose himself from his seat and commanded him to rise, after which he made a succinct and elegant oration in Latin, which is unfortunately lost, and presented his Majesty with a book of verses, written by the members of the university, and amongst them some of his own, which have been deservedly commended, as having in them a true spirit of poetry, a just strain of panegyrick, and a noble concern for religion (n) [H]. On the 25th of March, 1661, the King issued a commission for the review of the Book of Common Prayer, in which Dr Conant was one of the commissioners, and assisted at the Savoy Conferences, which were the fruits of this commission, in which he behaved with his usual modesty and moderation, expressing a desire that some regard might be had to those who had been otherwise educated, and such condescension shewed, as might preserve the peace of the Church (o). After this, upon the passing of the Act of Uniformity, which gave but a short day for the consideration of matters of very great importance, in the sentiments of such as were of truly tender consciences, he did not see sufficient cause to conform, and, as he had already given up his living in Denbeighshire to the Bishop of St Asaph, lost his Professorship of Divinity by the return of Dr Robert Saunderson, to whom, of right, it belonged; so, rather than offer any violence to his principles, he suffered himself to be deprived of the Rectory of Exeter-college, which was pronounced vacant, September 1, 1662 (p), and in which he was succeeded by Mr Joseph Maynard. And thus, as a judicious prelate observes, Dr Conant was disabled from the publick exercise of his ministry, to the great loss of the Church of England in general, and more especially of the University of Oxford, and of Exeter-college in particular (q). In this situation, however, he shewed that he had as great tenderness for the publick peace, as for the quiet of his own conscience, and therefore he was so far from setting himself at the head, as he might easily have done of a separation, that, on the contrary, he refused to join with, or countenance it, but went publickly to church, and behaved there with exemplary piety and devotion (r). An ecclesiastical dignity was offered him about that time, which he refused (s), because he was resolved to consider coolly and carefully the terms prescribed by authority, that, after weighing every thing seriously, he might, if he saw evidence, conform, or, if not, remain firm in his present conduct [I].

(m) Kennet's Historical Register, p. 180.

(n) The Title of this book is thus, *Britannia Rediviva, seu Oxoniensium carmina in reditum Caroli II. in Angliam. Oxonii, 1660, 4to.*

(o) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76. Life of Dr Conant, p. 39.

(p) Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. II. col. 912. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76.

(q) Kennet's Historical Register, p. 244. Life of Dr Conant, p. 40.

(r) Kennet's Historical Register, p. 748.

(s) Life of Dr Conant, p. 42. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76.

(t) Life of Dr Conant, p. 41.

At

I submit to God's providence. As to my being worried in this business I value it not, for I aim not at victory, but to keep my conscience clear; and as to this, it is not in any man's power to deprive me of my end. At last, they proposed, as an accommodation, that he should go out of town, and substitute a Pro-Vice-chancellor, who might do what he could not prevail upon himself to do; but he would hear of no such expedient: he said, it would be a betraying of his trust, by a weak and mean compliance in a thing which, in his own judgment, he utterly disallowed. The issue of this was, that after all the stir made about them, these petitions were quashed, and came to nothing.

[H] *And a noble concern for religion.* The reader will best judge of the truth of the commendations by his perusing of the verses, which were these (16).

Ad serenissimum Regem.

Accipe pacato, princeps celsissime, vultu,  
 Quæ tibi dat trimulâ musa togata manu.  
 Prima offensantis capias tentamina linguæ,  
 Quæ non ausa diu, marti strepente, loqui.  
 Jam solitos reseisse modos patiæ camænas;  
 Agnoscunt artes, te redeunte, suas.  
 Quæ tua sunt cælum tibi reddidit; ipse vicissim  
 Jam cælo reddas, Carole magne, sua:  
 Sceptra Deo tradas; illum regnare jubeto,  
 Inlyte Rex, quo, tu sceptrâ jubente, tenes.  
 O ter sælices, te sic regnante Britannos!  
 Christus ut emineat, teque regente, regat,  
 Ipsa sibi tristes gratabitur Anglia clades,  
 Pensari tanto quæ potuere bono.

In English thus.

To his SACRED MAJESTY.

Kindly accept, that tribute, best of Kings,  
 The college muse, with trembling reverence brings,  
 The first essays of her unpraclis'd song,  
 Whom war's harsh clamour doom'd to silence long.

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But, now reviv'd, the lamps of learning burn,  
 And, arts returning, wait on thy return.  
 Heav'n has thy rights restor'd; do thou restore  
 The rights of heav'n! religion's sacred power!  
 Return the sceptre GOD bestows again,  
 And CHARLES reigning; let his Maker reign.  
 Thrice happy BRITONS, whom you thus shall sway,  
 And only rule that they may CHRIST obey.  
 Our slaughter's past, no longer we deplore,  
 Nor ill's regret that such a PRINCE restore.

[I] *Or, if not, remain firm in his present conduct.* We have a very curious, as well as circumstantial account of his behaviour upon this occasion, and of the methods he took to resolve his own case of conscience, whether he ought to conform or not, in his son's memoirs (17).

‘He applied himself very closely, for some time, to the study of the controversies relating to Conformity. He had deliberately weighed and considered the whole compass of these disputes, and made himself master of every turn in them. He had not only examined what had been objected to the several offices of the liturgy, it's doxologies and responsals, it's rubricks and kalendar, and thoroughly considered all the phrases and modes of expression in each service, but likewise compared it with ancient liturgies, as well as with the holy scriptures, doctrines of the apostles, and later rituals and offices. This appears from his papers in my hands, running over many of the passages in the book of Common Prayer that have been objected to, and giving such orthodox senses of them, as he concludes were agreeable to the judgment of the first Right Reverend and pious compilers of them. And, I persuade myself, were they perfect, they might reconcile the most scrupulous to join in those excellent forms of prayer.’ He adds afterwards, ‘Dr Conant's conformity could not be surprizing to any one who considers, that his prejudices were never many, and those not strong or violent, though his determinations were slow and advised. One would rather wonder, that he did not conform

(17) Life of Dr Conant, p. 44, 45.

(16) Britannia Rediviva, p. 5.

(t) Wood's A-then. Oxon, vol. II. col. 912.  
Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226.  
Life of Dr Conant, p. 45.

(u) Kennet's Hist. Register, p. 748.  
Life of Dr Conant, p. 44.

(w) Kennet's Hist. Register, p. 843.

(x) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226.  
Kennet's Historical Register, p. 843.

(y) Life of Dr Conant, p. 47.

(z) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226.

(a) Life of Dr Conant, p. 48, 49.

(b) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226.  
Life of Dr Conant, p. 48, 49.

(c) Wood's Fasti. Oxon, vol. II. col. 106.  
Life of Dr Conant, p. 53, 54.

(d) Appendix to Sir T. Brown's Posthumous Works, p. 59.

(e) Life of Dr Conant, p. 66.

At length, after eight years serious deliberation, his mind was satisfied, and he resolved to comply in all points, and in particular with that which had probably stuck most with him, which was the being re-ordained, and accordingly was so, September 28, 1670 (t), by the Right Rev. Dr Reynolds, Lord Bishop of Norwich, whose daughter he had married. This behaviour of his surprized those who best knew him least, and Dr Owen, his contemporary at Oxford, could not help saying, when he heard it, that he did not in the least wonder at it, since he knew Dr Conant's sentiments were for Episcopacy all along (u). He had no sooner qualified himself for the acceptance of ecclesiastical preferments than many were offered him, and, on the 18th of December, the same year, he was actually elected Minister of the Church of St Mary, Aldermanbury, in the City of London (w); but having spent some years in the town of Northampton, where he was much beloved, and highly esteemed, he chose rather to accept of the invitation of his neighbours to remain amongst them, and Dr Simon Ford, who was then Minister of All-Saints, being elected in the room of Dr Conant, by the Vestry of St Mary, Aldermanbury, Dec. 29, 1670 (x), he was nominated by the corporation to the Vicarage of All-Saints, and had institution given him Feb. 15, 1670, which, tho' of the value only of a single hundred pounds *per Annum*, he would never part with, though very considerable offers were made him, and in particular one by his gracious Master King Charles II. which was signified to him by a letter from the then Secretary of State (y). On the 20th of September, 1675, he had the mortification to see the greatest part of his parish, together with his church, burnt to the ground, though providentially his own house escaped (z). His presence was of great use to the town in that critical juncture, when he employed both his person and his purse for the service of the distressed, and would not, though new and great offers were made him, consent to leave them under this calamity (a). So true a sense had the inhabitants of Northampton of his wise conduct upon this occasion, that they gave him the use of St Peter's Church till his own could be repaired, and the gentlemen in the neighbourhood made up his year's salary, which, the next year, was paid him by his generous benefactor Mr Montague, of Horton, brother to his old patroness the Lady Chandos (b). He discharged his pastoral duty there with the same zeal and application which he had shewn in other places, and was particularly instrumental in bringing over Dissenters of all denominations to the Church [K]. In the beginning of the year 1676, the Archdeaconry of Norwich becoming vacant by the death of Mr John Reynolds, his brother-in-law, the Bishop offered him that preferment, with this singular compliment (c), *I do not expect thanks from you, but I will be very thankful to you if you will accept of it*; of which he desired time to consider, and reflecting on the misconstructions that might be made of his declining it, he embraced the proposal, was instituted on the 7th, and installed on the 8th of June following, in that Archdeaconry (d), and, so long as his health would permit, constantly discharged his duty by personal visitations. Upon the death of Mr Tomkins, one of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Worcester, Dr Conant's old friend and contemporary at Exeter-college, the worthy Earl of Radnor (e), asked it for him from King Charles II. in these terms, *Sir, I come to beg a preferment of you for a very deserving person*

‘ conform much sooner than he did, since it is certain, that his temper was never sowed by the loss of his college; that he had an awful regard for the commands of authority in things indifferent; that he constantly blamed those who held their assemblies at hours that interfered with the publick worship of God, in affront to the civil sanctions of the laws, to good order and parochial communion; that he was so far from being ambitious of a separate congregation, or covetous of their contributions, that he had industriously kept out of the way of both.’

[K] *In bringing over Dissenters of all denominations to the Church.*] He was not only constantly resident in his parish, except when his other offices absolutely required his attendance, but also constantly officiated in person, preaching twice every Sunday, and taking care to inculcate practical religion in the plainest and most pathetic language (18). In the evenings he catechized the children, and, amongst them, his own were always present. He seldom, if ever, visited his parishioners, more especially those of the better sort, in a ceremonious way; but his clerk had strict orders to inform him when any were sick, and then, without staying to be sent for, he readily waited upon the meanest of his flock. He was not afraid to speak freely where it was necessary, out of any respect to persons; and, where he saw the appearance of distress, he relieved with a bounty suitable rather to his inclinations than his circumstances. He was one of the most remarkable Casuists in his time, and was not only resorted to by some who lived at a great distance, but his advice was likewise asked, by letters, even from foreigners. As his duties took up a great part of his time, so the

short spaces that he allowed to those relaxations which are absolutely necessary for the relief of human nature, were dedicated to things that would have hardly passed with many for recreation. Reading a few pages in the classics, hearing some remarkable piece of history, and discoursing upon it to his children, or explaining to them some point in Natural Philosophy, that they might have just notions of the wisdom of Providence, and an early impression of the reverence due to its divine author were his only diversions. Yet, with all this strictness of manners, he had nothing either of moroseness or pride, great evenness of temper, which never rose higher than being cheerful; and, on the other hand, was never depressed by temporal losses, or corporal pain; his humility so true, that it discovered itself upon all occasions; he knew little of form and ceremonies, and, from the little he did know, despised them; yet, from the natural sweetness of temper, he was obliging to all, and courteous even to the meanest in his parish. His charity, as has been before hinted, had less relation to his circumstances than any other point of his conduct. At Northampton, for twenty years together, he paid for the schooling of poor children, never fewer than twenty-four, and sometimes nearer forty; and these he placed out with several needy widows, that what he gave might contribute to their assistance. He was, upon all occasions, ready to promote the relief sought by strangers, of which various instances are given in his son's memoirs; but we have already exceeded the usual limits of such an article, for which, the worth of it must be our apology, for it would be hard, as well as unjust, to say but little of so great and good a man (19).

[L] *With*

(18) Calamy's life of Baxter, vol. II. p. 76.

(19) Dr Conant's Life, thro' the last 20 pages.

person, who never sought any thing for himself, and, upon naming him, the King very kindly consented; so that December 3, 1681, he was installed (f). He governed himself strictly, with respect to this preferment, by the local statutes, as to residence, preaching, and other circumstances, so long as he was able to travel; and when his age and infirmities intitled him, in the judgment of the Chapter, to statuteable exemption, he directed a great part of the revenue of his prebend to be distributed among poor house-keepers, (g) and others, at Worcester. In 1686, after his eyes had been for some time weak, he lost his sight entirely; which great misfortune, together with the common infirmities of old age, for sharp and painful diseases he had none, he bore not only with patience and resignation, but with cheerfulness and ease (h). As his publick course of life was useful and honourable, so he was also very happy in his family. He married, in August, 1651, Elizabeth, daughter of Dr Edward Reynolds, afterwards the right reverend and learned Bishop of Norwich, by whom he had six sons and as many daughters (i). In his private life there was a happy mixture of mildness of temper, with severity of morals. He had always as great a contempt of pomp and magnificence, as he had an unfeigned affection for a private and retired life (k). Temperate he was to a degree of abstemiousness, frugal in his expences, and more of his time, and yet no man freer of both where charity required. So little desirous of the wealth of this world, that, when he had nothing but his Fellowship to support him, he generously made over the estate that descended to him from his father, to his younger brother, Robert, who had married young, and had many children (l). He was not only a man of very solid, but of very extensive learning, and yet so very modest, that though he understood most of the Oriental Languages, and was particularly as well versed in Syriac as any man of his time, yet his proficiency in these studies was known to very few. It was with much difficulty that he was prevailed upon (for that is really the fact, though directly contrary to what several authors have asserted) (m) to suffer a volume of his sermons to be published in his life-time, and, as for the rest which escaped that severe censure he passed upon what would have been thought of the highest value by the rest of the world, they were sent abroad, by the pious care of several wise and worthy persons, from a charitable desire, that the Church might not be deprived of the labours of so painful and so practical a preacher; which writings of his have met with that respect and esteem they so highly deserved (n) [L]. This learned person, after an exemplary life, deceased in the eighty-sixth year of his age, March 12, 1693, and was buried in his own parish church of All-Saints, in Northampton, with a suitable inscription to his memory upon a plain and decent monument, erected by his widow (o). His son, John Conant, Doctor of Laws, a man very eminent in his profession, wrote his life with great care and judgment, from which many particulars have been taken, and the whole of which deserves well to be published.

(f) Will's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. 11. p. 68.

(g) Life of Dr Conant, p. 67.

(h) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227.

(i) Life of Dr Conant, p. 67.

(k) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. 11. p. 76.

(l) Life of Dr Conant, p. 80.

(m) Wood's Athen Oxon, vol. 11. col. 912. Life of Dr Conant, p. 82, 83.

(n) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227.

(o) Wood's Athen Oxon, vol. 11. col. 917. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227. Will's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. 11. p. 680.

[L] *With that respect and esteem which they so highly deserved.*] In this note it is proposed to give an account of such of Dr Conant's works as have been preserved and made publick, in order to rectify the mistakes that have been made about them. There have been, in all, six volumes of his sermons sent abroad, at several times, by several hands.

Vol. I. Published in 1693, 8vo. by the care of Dr John Williams, minister of St Mildred's, in the Poultry, in the author's life-time, as appears by the preface, and Dr Conant's dedication to the inhabitants of Northampton. There are in this volume eleven sermons.

II. Published in 1697, 8vo. by John, Bishop of Chichester, with a preface before it, in which notice is taken of the former volume, published in the Doctor's life-time. This volume contains fifteen sermons.

III. Published in 1698, 8vo. by the same editor, who says in the preface, that Dr Conant committed to the flames many learned discourses, and particularly those which he had preached in a Lecture in the university on nice and difficult subjects, preserving such only as related to practice. He likewise mentions a life of the author, which was expected,

but not come to hand. This volume contains fourteen sermons.

IV. Published in 1703, 8vo. by the same editor. In the preface his Lordship takes notice, that there had been an intention of writing the author's life, as a thing that could not fail of being acceptable to those who knew him, and very useful to those who did not; but, for the present, this design being laid aside; it was hoped the loss of it would be compensated by the publication of this fourth volume of sermons from his own manuscripts. This volume contains thirteen sermons.

V. Published in 1708, 8vo. by the same editor, who, in his preface, says very confidently, that, with the next volume, an account of the author's life would appear, written by an able hand. This volume contains fourteen sermons.

VI. Published in 1722, 8vo. by Digby Coates, M. A. Principal of Magdalen-hall, in Oxford, at the request of the author's son, John Conant, LL D. but without any life or preface before it. There are in this volume thirteen sermons, making up the whole number four-score.

E

CONGREVE (WILLIAM) a celebrated English Poet in the last and present century. There is no sort of question about the descent of this gentleman, which was from the antient house of Congreve in Staffordshire, flourishing there with honour and reputation (a); neither is there any doubt as to his immediate family, for he was the only surviving son of William Congreve, Esq; who was the second son of Richard Congreve, Esq; of Congreve and Stratton in the county of Stafford (b). As to the place, and indeed as to the kingdom, in which he was born, authors differ, and not only so, but are positive on both sides; some are clear that he was a native of Ireland (c), but it seems more probable, or, to speak more plainly, it is morally certain, that he was a native of England, and drew his first breath at the village of Bardsa, near Leeds in Yorkshire (d), which was the estate of a near relation of his by the mother's side. The reason of our giving the preference to this sentiment, rather than that which entitles another island to the honour of his

(a) See the Arms of the ancient families in Staffordshire, in the margin of Dr Plot's map prefixed to his Natural History of that county.

(b) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, vol. 1. p. 41.

(c) See the article of Congrev (W) in the General Dictionary.

(d) See the funeral inscription on his monument, in note [f].

(e) See the Funeral inscription on his monument; in note [P].

(f) Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; by Charles Willson, ps 1. From the relation of Captain Southerne.

(g) Memoirs of Mr Congreve, p. 1.

(h) From Captain Southerne's relation.

(i) Lives of the Poets, Vol. I, p. 41.

(k) From the accounts given by several of his friends and acquaintance.

(l) See his Dedication of his *Incognita*: or, Love and Duty reconciled.

his birth, will be found at the bottom of the page [A]. The time when it happened can only be collected by circumstances, which place it in 1671 or 1672 (e). His father carried him, when a very child, into Ireland, where at that time he had a command in the army, but afterwards was entrusted with the management of a considerable part of the large estate of the noble family of Burlington, which fixed the residence of himself and family in that kingdom (f). Our author received the first tincture of letters in the great school of Kilkenny, and gave very early proofs of his pregnant genius; and it is said, that one of the first essays of his poetical talent was a copy of verses upon the death of his master's mag-pye (g). He went from the school of Kilkenny to the university of Dublin, then flourishing under the direction of Dr St George Ash, where, in a very short time, Mr Congreve became perfectly acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and acquired not only a general acquaintance with, but a correct and critical taste in, the Classics (h). His father, however, was desirous that his parts should be applied to more profitable studies, and therefore sent him over to England a little after the Revolution, and placed him as a student in the Middle-Temple (i). But the severe study of the Law had so little relation to the active disposition and sprightly humour of the young Gentleman, that though he continued for three or four years to live in chambers, and pass for a Templar, yet it does not appear that he ever applied himself with diligence to conquer his dislike to a course of life which had been chosen for him, with so little respect either to the turn of his natural parts, or the preceding course of his education (k). But how little soever he answered the expectation of his friends, in the prosecution of that profession to which they had destin'd him, certain it is, that he was not either indolent or inactive in the cultivation of those studies, that were both his early and his latest care. His first performance, when almost a boy, was extraordinary in it's kind, and though no more than a novel, which, under the assumed name of *CLEOPHIL*, he dedicated to Mrs Catherine Leveson, yet it was a proof, not only of the vivacity of his wit, and the fluency of his stile, but also of the strength of his judgment [B]. As he did not then think proper to

OWN

[A] Will be found at the bottom of the page.] In the new English translation, with great additions, of the learned Antiquary of Ireland's works, we find Mr Congreve's life inserted, as a native of that country; but it is not said when or where he was born (1). In a very large collection of the same kind with this, we find the same fact asserted, from the information of the late ingenious Thomas Southerne, Esq; who was Mr Congreve's intimate friend, and out-lived him many years (2). He was himself of that country, and might very probably be firmly persuaded, from his knowing him a youth there, that he was his countryman. The author, upon whose credit we rely, in giving a different account of this matter, is the late Mr Giles Jacob; and (3) though at first sight it must appear very singular, to prefer the authority of Mr Jacob to that of Mr Southerne; yet there is a reason for it, so strong, that when it is once mentioned, it may perhaps clear this dispute, in the reader's opinion as well as mine. In the preface Mr Jacob, speaking of the communications which he had received from living authors, has this passage, 'I am in particular obliged to Mr Congreve for his free and early communication of what relates to himself, as well as his kind directions for the composing of this work.' This correspondence was in the year 1719, though the book was not published till three years afterwards: but, however, as it was both written and published in Mr Congreve's lifetime, we must conclude from thence, that we have his own authority for the matter of fact, which is superior even to the recollection of his old friend and acquaintance Mr Southerne, who, as a man might mistake, though he was certainly a man of too much honour, willingly, to misinform any body.

[B] But also of the strength of his judgment.] The title of this first work of our ingenious author's was, *INCOGNITA*: or, *Love and Duty reconciled*. It has been always considered as a piece very well written, more especially as it was the first production of a youth of seventeen. It has been also asserted, that at the bottom it is a true history, and though the scene is by Mr Congreve laid in Italy, yet the adventures happened here in England. It is not our business to enter into the secret history of this entertaining piece, or to attempt giving the reader a key to what the writer took so much pains to conceal; but what we intend in this note, is to justify the observation in the text, and to prove, that though this was the first essay, and the first essay of a very young man, yet there is in it something very extraordinary, more especially when we add to what has been said before, that it was a very hasty essay likewise. There is nothing more common, and indeed there is nothing more natural, than

for young men to pique themselves upon the brightness of their parts, the quickness of their wit, and, in pieces of this nature, on the elegance and floweriness of their language. But this was not Mr Congreve's point; he aimed at perfection from the very beginning, and his design in writing this novel, was to shew how novels ought to be written. Let us hear what he says himself, and from thence we shall entertain a higher opinion of his abilities, than could possibly be raised by the warmest commendations. After observing, very judiciously, that there is the same relation between Romances and Novels, as between Tragedy and Comedy, he proceeds thus. 'Since all traditions must indisputably give place to the Drama; and since there is no possibility of giving that life to the writing or repetition of a story, which it has in the action, I resolved in another beauty to imitate dramatick writing, namely, in the design, contexture, and result of the plot. I have not observed it before in a novel. Some I have seen begin with an unexpected accident, which has been the only surprizing part of the story, cause enough to make the sequel look flat, tedious, and insipid; for 'tis but reasonable the reader should expect, if not to rise, at least to keep upon a level in the entertainment, for so he may be kept on in hopes, that, at some time or other, it may mend; but the other is such a balk to a man, 'tis carrying him up stairs to shew him the dining-room, and after forcing him to make a meal in the kitchen. This I have not only endeavoured to avoid, but also have used a method for the contrary purpose. The design of this novel is obvious, after the first meeting of Aurelian and Hippolito with Incognita and Leonora; the difficulty is in bringing it to pass, maugre all apparent obstacles, within the compass of two days. How many probable casualties intervene in opposition to the main design, viz. of marrying two couple so oddly engaged in an intricate amour, I leave the reader at his leisure to consider: as also, whether every obstacle does not, in the progress of the story, act as subservient to that purpose, which, at first, it seems to oppose. In a comedy this would be called the unity of action, here it may pretend to no more than an unity of contrivance. The scene is continued in Florence from the commencement of the amour, and the time, from first to last, is but three days. If there be any thing more in particular resembling the copy, which I imitate, as the curious reader will soon perceive, I leave it to shew itself, being very well satisfied how much more proper it had been for him to have found out this himself, than for me to prepossess him with an opinion of something extraordinary in an essay, begun and

(1) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 294.

(2) General Dictionary, Vol. IV. p. 427.

(3) Lives of the English Poets, Vol. I. p. 41.

own this piece to the world, so the reputation resulting from it was confined within the narrow compass of his acquaintance; but, as true genius cannot remain long hid, and as untoward accidents rather provoke than tame high spirits; so, upon a fit of sickness (m) which seized him about three years after his return to England, he amused himself, during a slow recovery, in writing a comedy which he very soon finished, and though he was very modest and diffident of his own abilities, yet he suffered himself to be overcome by the persuasion of his relations and friends, and consented to bring it upon the stage. In order to this he was recommended to Capt. Southerne, who, in conjunction with the great Mr Dryden, and that excellent Critick Arthur Manwaring, Esq; revised the *Old Batchelor*, of which Mr Dryden said, He never saw such a first play in his life (n), and that the author not being acquainted with the stage or the town, it would be pity to have it miscarry for want of a little assistance. The stuff was rich indeed, only the fashionable cut was wanting, which was soon given it. Mr Thomas Davenant, who had then the direction of the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, was so much struck with the merit of the piece, and the author's conversation, that he granted him what is called the privilege of the house, half a year before his play came upon the Stage, which, according to the maxims of Theatrical Government, was not barely an unusual, but an unprecedented favour (o). In 1693, *The Old Batchelor* was acted before a numerous and noble audience. The prologue, intended to be spoken, was written by Lord Falkland; the play was admirably performed, and received with such general applause, that Mr Congreve was thenceforward considered as the prop of the declining Stage, and as the rising genius in Dramatick Poesy (p) [C]. It was this play, and the very singular success that attended it upon the Stage, and after it came from the press, that brought our author to the notice of that great patron of the English Muses, Charles Mountague, Lord Halifax, who being desirous to place so eminent a Wit in a state of ease and tranquillity, made him immediately one of the Commissioners for licensing Hackney-coaches; bestowed upon him soon after a place in the Pipe Office; and gave him likewise a post in the Custom-House of the value of six hundred pounds a year (q). As these were favours of a very extraordinary nature, so they raised in the breast of Mr Congreve a noble spirit of gratitude and affection, which shewed itself in an unalterable attachment to that Nobleman during his life, and the most profound reverence for his memory after his decease. We need not be surprized, that after such encouragement as the town, and even the Criticks, had given him, our author quickly made his appearance again upon the Stage, as he did the year following, when he brought on the *Double Dealer* (r). This play was honoured with the presence of Queen Mary, and though it was not so universally applauded as his former performance, yet it had the honour to be very highly commended, as well as generally approved, by the best judges (s). We need not at all wonder

(m) *Amplification of Mr Collier's Facts and Opinions*, p. 40.

(n) From the relation of Capt. Southerne.

(o) From the same authority.

(p) *Memoirs of Mr Congreve*, p. 3.

(q) *General Dict.* Vol. IV. p. 428.

(r) *Lives of the Poets*, Vol. I. p. 43.

(s) *Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq;* p. 4.

‘ and finished in the idler hours of a fortnight's time; for I can only esteem that a laborious idleness, which is parent to so inconsiderable a birth.’

[C] *And as the rising genius in Dramatick Poesy.* This play is dedicated to the Lord Clifford, of Laneshorough, the eldest son and heir apparent of the Earl of Burlington; but himself a Peer also, being, as we have told the reader elsewhere, called up to the House of Lords, in the life-time of his father, by writ. In the text we have joined the two accounts of Mr Congreve's father going over to Ireland and remaining there, because, as it appears from what Mr Congreve himself communicated to Mr Jacob (4), that he went thither originally in a military capacity; so from this dedication we may be convinced of the truth of the other circumstance, as to his being intrusted with the concerns of the Burlington family. Mr Congreve begins his dedication thus (5). ‘ My Lord, it is with a great deal of pleasure that I lay hold on this first occasion, which the accidents of my life have given me, of writing to your Lordship: for since, at the same time I write to all the world, it will be a means of publishing what I would have every body know, the respect and duty which I owe and pay to you. I have so much inclination to be your's, that I need no other engagement; but the particular ties by which I am bound to your Lordship and family, have put it out of my power to make you any compliment, since all offers of myself will amount to no more than an honest acknowledgment, and only shew a willingness in me to be grateful. I am very near wishing, that it were not so much my interest to be your Lordship's servant, that it might be more my merit, not that I would avoid being obliged to you, but I would have my own choice to run me into the debt, that I might have it to boast, I had distinguished one to whom I would be glad to be obliged, even without the hopes of having it in my power ever to make him a return.’ There stand before this comedy three copies of verses, by

Mr Southerne, Mr Marsh, and Mr Higgins, in which it is very highly commended; but that we may be convinced this did not at all proceed either from the excusable fondness of friendship, or that more excusable tenderness for a rising genius which glows in the bosom of every true judge of writing, let us look a little into the merits of the cause, as they are stated by an excellent and impartial judge. The author of the *Tatler* says (6), ‘ In the character which gives name to the play, there is excellently represented the reluctance of a battered debauchee, to come into the trammels of order and decency: he neither languishes nor burns, but frets for love. The gentlemen of more regular behaviour are drawn with so much spirit and wit, and the drama introduced by the dialogue of the first scene, with uncommon, yet natural conversation. The part of Fondlewife is a lively image of the unseasonable fondness of age and impotence.’ We are told in another paper, by the same agreeable writer (7), That ‘ in this comedy there is a necessary circumstance observed by the author, which most other poets either over-look, or do not understand, that is to say, the distinction of characters. It is very ordinary with writers to indulge a certain modesty of believing all men as witty as themselves, and making all the persons of the play speak the sentiments of the author, without any manner of respect to the age, fortune, or quality of him that is on the stage. Ladies talk like rakes, and footmen make similies; but this writer knows men, which makes his plays reasonable entertainments, while the scenes of most others are like the tunes between the acts; they are perhaps agreeable sounds, but they have no ideas affixed to them.’ But, notwithstanding this, the remarks of Mr Collier (8), upon some passages in this comedy, are not altogether wide of truth, or of sound criticism, but they regard not the structure of the play, and only censure a few libertinisms, into which the author had fallen a little unwarily.

(6) No. 9.

(7) No. 15.

(8) *Short View of the Immodesty and Propriety of the English Stage.*

(4) *General Dict.* Vol. IV. p. 427. *Lives of the Poets*, Vol. I. p. 41.

(5) See his Dedication prefixed to *The Old Batchelor*, in the first Vol. of Mr Congreve's Works.

der at the fate of this fine performance, for regular Comedy was at that time a new thing. Our author was the very first who attempted it; I will not say he was the last who succeeded in it; but I may safely assert, that he carried it to the highest degree of perfection, and that if we were to wish any of our Comedies translated into French, for the honour of our nation, it should be his, and amongst them there is none that does him greater credit than the *Double Dealer*, notwithstanding some objections that have been made to it (t) [D]. It was towards the close of that year Queen Mary died, which melancholy accident, as it afforded a pregnant subject to Orators and Poets, so, amongst all that attempted it, none succeeded better than Mr Congreve, in the Pastoral which he wrote upon that occasion, and which, in point of simplicity, elegance, and correctness, is at least equal to any thing of the kind that has appeared in our language (u). We have taken notice in another place, of the great Revolution that happened in the theatrical world in the succeeding year, and of the justice and generosity with which Mr Congreve espoused the cause of our English Roscius (w), when he opened his new Theatre in Portugal-Row, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, by giving him his excellent Comedy of *Love for Love*, so judiciously contrived, and so happily executed, as to unite at once the approbation of the few, and the tumultuous applause of the many, in it's favour (x) [E]. The same year he distinguished himself in a new kind

(t) See this point fully cleared in note [D].

(u) The title of this piece is *The Mourning Muse of Alexis*.

(w) See the article of BETTERTON (THOMAS).

(x) Lives of the English Poets, Vol. I. p. 43.

[D] Notwithstanding some objections that have been made to it.] This play is dedicated to the Right Hon. Charles Montague, one of the Lords of the Treasury: and though we are apt to overlook dedications, as seldom containing any thing except acknowledgments and praises, yet there are in this some passages of such true and solid criticism, and which give so clear and so good an account of the play itself, that they very well deserve the reader's notice (9). I have, since the acting of this play, hearkened after the objections which have been made to it, for I was conscious where a true critick might have put me upon my defence. I was prepared for the attack, and am pretty confident, I could have vindicated some parts, and excused others, and, where there were many plain miscarriages, I would most ingeniously have confessed them. But I have not heard any thing said sufficient to provoke an answer. That which looks most like an objection, does not relate in particular to this play, but to all, or most, that ever have been written, and that is soliloquy: therefore I will answer it, not only for my own sake, but to save others the trouble to whom it may be hereafter objected. I grant, that for a man to talk to himself appears absurd and unnatural, and indeed it is so in most cases, but the circumstances which may attend the occasion, make great alteration. It oftentimes happens to a man to have designs, which require him to himself, and, in their nature, cannot admit of a confidant. Such, for certain, is all villainy, and other less mischievous intentions may be very improper to be communicated to a second person. In such a case therefore, the audience must observe, whether the person upon the stage takes any notice of them at all or no: for if he supposes any one to be by when he talks to himself, it is monstrous and ridiculous to the last degree; nay, not only in this case, but in any part of a play, if there is expressed any knowledge of an audience, it is insufferable. But otherwise, when a man in soliloquy reasons with himself, and *pro's* and *con's*, and weighs all his designs, we ought not to imagine that this man either talks to us, or to himself; he is only thinking, and thinking such matter as were inexcusable folly in him to speak. But, because we are concealed spectators of the plot in agitation, and the poet finds it necessary to let us know the whole mystery of his contrivance, he is willing to inform us of this person's thoughts, and to that end is forced to make use of the expedient of speech, no other or better way being yet invented for the communication of thought. Another very wrong objection has been made by some who have not taken leisure to distinguish the characters. The hero of the play, as they are pleased to call him, (meaning Mellefont) is a gull, and made a fool, and cheated. Is every man a gull and a fool that is deceived? at that rate I'm afraid the two classes of men will be reduced to one, and the knaves themselves be at a loss to justify their title; but if an open-hearted, honest man, who has an entire confidence in one whom he takes to be his friend, and whom he has obliged to be so,

and who, to confirm him in his opinion, in all appearance, and upon several tryals has been so: if this man be deceived by the treachery of the other, must he of necessity commence fool immediately, only because the other has proved a villain? ay, but there was caution given to Mellefont, in the first act, by his friend Careless. Of what nature was that caution? only to give the audience some light into the character of Maskwell, before his appearance, and not to convince Mellefont of his treachery, for that was more than Careless was then able to do: he never knew Maskwell guilty of any villainy; he was only a sort of man which he did not like. As for his suspecting his familiarity with my Lady Touchwood, let them examine the answer that Mellefont makes him, and compare it with the conduct of Maskwell's character through the play. I would beg them again to look into the character of Maskwell before they accuse Mellefont of weakness, for being deceived by him; for, upon summing up the inquiry into this objection, it may be found, they have mistaken cunning in one character, for folly in another. To this play there is now prefixed a copy of verses, by Mr Dryden, that were addressed to the author upon it's first appearing. They contain the highest compliments to him, and the strongest commendations of the play possible, but are too well known to the world, and too commonly met with, to be inserted here, and the force and meaning of them would be very much weakened and broken by citing parts of them. Mr Charles Hopkins also wrote a copy of verses upon the same occasion, and the best judges in general have admitted, not only that the foregoing defence of Mr Congreve was very well founded, but that he has fairly unravelled the true source of false criticism, and shewn himself thereby a deep enquirer, as well as an excellent judge of human nature, which, as we shall have frequent occasions to shew hereafter, appears to have been the constant study of his life, as well as the chief fund from whence he drew the many fine and beautiful strokes that distinguish all, but more especially his comic writings.

[E] In it's favour.] There is prefixed to this play a short dedication to the then Lord Chamberlain, Charles, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, written, as all his dedications are, with great decency and good sense, and without any of that fulsome flattery, which reflects at once on the patron and the writer, and is, at the same time, such a plague and punishment to a reader, as he has seldom the patience to go through. Some faults have been found with several characters in this play; but if the reflections, proceeding from the severe morals of Mr Collier, can be averted by any tolerable excuses, drawn from the very nature of comedy, which requires the representing the manners of the age as they really are, nothing else can affect it. The sense of succeeding times has fully justified the judgment of those in which it was first acted, and *Love for Love* continues, and is like to continue, an admired comedy, as long as true taste for theatrical entertainments shall prevail.

[F] They

(9) See the Dedication to this Play in the first Volume of Mr Congreve's Works.

kind of Poetry, by addressing to King William an irregular Ode on the taking of Namur, in which the sublimity of the sentiments, the harmony of the numbers, the happy imitation of the Antients, the graceful turn of his panegyrick, are truly admirable; but perhaps there is nothing in it that deserves higher commendation than the delicate compliment with which it ends, and where, in a single line, he says the finest things possible of his two great patrons Halifax and Dorset (y). As he had now attained the highest reputation as a Comick Poet, he was inclined to shew that a regular and finished tragedy might succeed upon the English theatre. It was an adventurous task that he set himself, and a very high stake he made, when he hazarded all the reputation he had already acquired upon this new performance, which, though written according to the rules, was altogether destitute of those artificial and irregular helps, frequently relied on by former writers. It seems to have cost him more pains than any of his former pieces, for it was not till 1697 that the *Mourning Bride* (z) was acted at the new Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. Very few Plays ever excited so great expectations as this did, and fewer still have met, after such expectation raised, with so universal an approbation. In short, it was the best received of all his pieces, and, without doubt, whatever credit he drew from this exquisite tragedy, was in some measure shared by the audience, who fairly entitled themselves to the character of equal and able judges, by the applause they bestowed upon that excellent performance [F]. He was called off from his attention to the theatre to another kind of writing, that to him, of all men living, was the most tedious and tiresome, and that was controversy. His four Plays were attacked with equal fury and celerity by the famous Mr Jeremy Collier, who, without the least pity to his fine parts, or the slightest tenderness for a reputation raised with so much pains, fell upon him, not as a dull or tasteless, but as a dangerous and destructive, writer (a). An answer was necessary, and therefore an answer was given, under a very plain title (b), and written with much modesty as well as wit. There are abundance of judicious things in this defence, which was drawn up in the form of letters to that candid Critick, and the author's constant friend, Walter Moyle, Esq; which, though the subject seems to render them now out of date, will make them always well worth a judicious reader's perusal [G]. In all probability, this quarrel created in our

(y) The title of this piece is, *To the King upon the Taking of Namur.*

(z) *Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; p. 9.*

(a) *View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage.*

(b) *Amendments of Mr Collier's false and imperfect Citations, &c. Lond. 1693, 8vo.*

[F] *They bestowed upon that excellent performance.* This play was dedicated to Queen Anne, then princess, and it is not easy to imagine any thing, either more great or graceful, than the manner in which the author shews the consistency of his address, and as there is something in this very peculiar, the following paragraph will be perused with pleasure (10). 'It is from the example of Princes that virtue becomes a fashion in the people, for even they who are averse to instruction, will yet be fond of imitation. But there are multitudes who never can have means nor opportunities of so near an access, as to partake of the benefit of such examples: and to these Tragedy, which distinguishes itself from the vulgar poetry, by the dignity of it's characters, may be of use and information; for they who are at that distance from original greatness, as to be deprived of the happiness of contemplating the perfections and real excellencies of your Royal Highness's person, in your Court, may yet behold some small sketches and images of the virtues of your mind, abstracted and represented on the theatre. Thus poets are instructed and instruct, not alone by precepts, which persuade, but also by examples, which illustrate. Thus is delight interwoven with instruction: when not only virtue is prescribed, but also represented. But, if we are delighted with the liveliness of a feigned representation of great and good persons, and their actions, how must we be charmed with beholding the persons themselves? If one or two excelling qualities, barely touched in the single action and small compass of a play, can warm an audience with a concern and regard, even for the seeming success and prosperity of the actor; with what zeal must the hearts of all be filled, for the continued and increasing happiness of those who are the true and living instances of elevated and persisting virtue? Even the vicious themselves must have a secret veneration for those peculiar graces and endowments which are daily so eminently conspicuous in your Royal Highness, and, though repining, feel a pleasure, which, in spite of envy, they *per force* approve.' This Tragedy has been highly commended by Sir Richard Blackmore (11), and he has shewn himself a very judicious critick in all that he says about it; nor is there any reason to dispute the character which he has given it, of being the most perfect tragedy written in that age.

[G] *Will make them always well worth a judicious*

reader's perusal] The title which our author gave this work was, *Amendments of Mr Collier's false and imperfect Citations, &c. from the Old Batchelor, Double Dealer, Love for Love, Mourning Bride. By the author of those plays* (12). In this apology for his own conduct, he lays down many things which are extremely well worth the knowing, and without knowing which, it is impossible to form a right notion of the innocence, excellency, or use of plays. He observes, that Aristotle defines comedy to be an imitation of the worse sort of people. He does not mean the worse sort of people in respect to their quality, but in respect to their manners. This is plain from his telling you immediately after, that he does not mean relating to all kinds of vice, there are crimes too daring and too horrid for comedy. But the vices most frequent, and which are the common practice of the looser sort of livers, are the subject matter of comedy. He tells us farther, that they must be exposed after a ridiculous manner: For men are to be laugh'd out of their vices in comedy; the business of comedy is to delight, as well as to instruct: And as vicious people are made ashamed of their follies or faults, by seeing them exposed in a ridiculous manner, so are good people at once both warn'd and diverted at their expence. Our author next observes, that since comic poets are obliged by the laws of comedy, and to the intent that it may answer the end and purpose abovementioned, to represent vicious and foolish characters; it ought not therefore to be imputed to the persuasion or private sentiments of the author, if at any time one of these vicious characters shall behave himself foolishly or immorally, in word or deed. This, says he, would be as hard and as unreasonable, as to believe that a Painter should resemble all the ugly faces that he draws. He next remarks that Mr Collier's method of citing detached sentences is unfair, because when thus cited, they may, and indeed must, carry quite another sense, than they do in the author's own work, so that a man becomes criminal by representation only. 'I cannot think it reasonable,' says he, because Mr Collier is pleas'd to write one chapter of immorality, and another of profaneness, that therefore every expression traduced by him under those heads, shall be condemned as obscene and profane immediately, and without any further enquiry. Perhaps Mr Collier is acquainted with the *deceptio visus*, and presents objects to the view thro' a stained glass; things may appear seemingly profane, when in reality they are only seen through a profane

(12) *Lond. 1693, 8vo.*

(10) See the Dedication of this play in the second Vol. of Mr Congreve's Works.

(11) See his Preface to *Prince Arthur*, Lond. 1697, fol.

author some distaste to the Stage; however, he afterwards brought on another Comedy, the last, not the least valuable, of his performances. It was intituled *The Way of the World* (c), of which it was so just a picture, that the world could not bear it, which completed the disgust of our author to the theatre, upon which Mr Dennis (though not very famous for either) said a very fine, and a very kind thing, *That Mr Congreve quitted the Stage early, and that Comedy left it with him* (d). He seems to have foreseen the fate of his play, which is well revenged in his Epilogue, as it is justly exposed in the Dedication prefixed to it when it was published, wherein our author shewed, that he knew how to resent the injuries done him by little Criticks, but it would have been better if he had stopped there, and not punished the rest of the world for their sakes, by dropping his pen in the prime of life, and when he was most capable of doing honour to himself and to his country. This play has long ago triumphed over its feeble adversaries, and is now justly esteemed as much as it deserves [H]. He amused himself, however, after this, and obliged the world by a great variety of original poems and translations (e). He had a fine taste for Musick as well as Poetry, which sufficiently appears in his Hymn to Harmony in honour of St Cecilia's day 1701, set by Mr John Eccles, his great friend, and one of the most elegant Composers our nation has produced. To him also our author was obliged, for setting several of his songs, which are very beautiful in their kind, and have all that vivacity of wit which can give life and lustre to such performances. His early acquaintance with the Great, had promised him not an easy only, but a happy station in life, to which it is very rare that either true genius, or any kind of literary merit, recommends any man. This freed him from all obligations of courting any longer publick favour, though it still left him under the tie of gratitude to his illustrious friends (f). He acted in a manner suitable to his situation, he very seldom risked the character he had obtained for the sake of exalting it: but he never missed any opportunity of paying his complements to his high patrons

(c) Lives of the English Poets, Vol. I. p. 45. Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; p. 13.

(d) Lives of the English Poets, Vol. I. p. 46.

(e) Collected in a Volume, and published by himself in 1710.

(f) Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; p. 17.

‘fane medium, and the true colour is dissembled by the help of a sophistical varnish: Therefore I demand the privilege of the Habeas Corpus Act, that the prisoners may have liberty to remove, and to appear before a just judge in an open and uncounterfeit light’: To these he adds another remark. ‘Because, says he, Mr Collier, in his chapter of the profaneness of the stage, has founded great part of his accusation upon the liberty which poets take of using some words in their plays, which have been sometimes employed by the translators of the holy scriptures: I desire that the following distinction may be admitted, viz. That when words are applyed to sacred things, and with a purpose to treat of sacred things, they ought to be understood accordingly: But when they are otherwise applied, the diversity of the subject gives a diversity of signification. And in truth, he might as well except against the common use of the alphabet in poetry, because the same letters are necessary to the spelling of words which are mentioned in sacred Writ.’ He adds farther, ‘It may not be impertinent to take notice of a very common expedient, which is made use of to recommend the instruction of our plays, which is this: after the the action of the play is over, and the delight of the representation at an end, there is generally care taken that the moral of the whole shall be summed up and delivered to the audience, in the very last and concluding lines of the poem. The intention of this is, that the delight of the representation may not so strongly possess the minds of the audience, as to make them forget, or over-see the instruction: it is the last thing said, that it may make the last impression, and it is always comprehended in a few lines, and put into rhyme, that it may be easy and engaging to the memory.’ Upon these foundations, he builds the justification of the greatest part of the passages objected, to some others he excuses, and very frankly gives up some, with a promise of correction. As we have already treated of this matter elsewhere, we will not insist any longer on it here, but content ourselves with observing, that this dispute had a very good effect upon the stage, and that of all the authors criticized by Mr Collier, Mr Congreve was thought to escape the best, and to have defended himself with the greatest appearance of learning, justice, and candour.

[H] *And is now justly esteemed, as much as it deserves.*] The reasons are mentioned in the text, why this comedy did not meet with so universal an approbation as his former pieces. It is very certain, the fault was not in the play but in the audience, who were not as yet arrived at that correct taste, which requires that all kind of follies, how general or fashionable soever, should be submitted to the chastisement of the

stage. In his dedication to Ralph Earl of Mountague, a nobleman justly celebrated both as a competent and candid judge, the author treats this matter with great penetration and perspicuity (13). ‘But little of it, says he, was prepared for that general taste, which seems now to be predominant in the palates of our audience. Those characters which are meant to be ridiculed in most of our comedies, are of fools so gross, that, in my humble opinion, they should rather disturb than divert the well natured and reflecting part of an audience, they are rather objects of charity than contempt, and instead of moving our mirth, they ought very often to excite our compassion. This reflection moved me to design some characters, which should appear ridiculous, not so much thro’ a natural folly (which is incorrigible, and therefore not proper for the stage) as thro’ an affected wit; a wit, which at the same time that it is affected, is also false. As there is some difficulty in the formation of a character of this nature, so there is some hazard which attends the progress of its success upon the stage: for many come to a play so over-charged with criticism, that they very often let fly their censure, when, thro’ their rashness, they have mistaken their aim. This I had occasion lately to observe: for this play had been acted two or three days, before some of these hasty judges could find the leisure to distinguish betwixt the character of a witwoud and a true wit.’ In the following apology to his patron, for the liberty taken in the foregoing paragraphs, he sufficiently shews, that he felt the treatment that he had met with from the many, to whose decision he was resolved to trust no more. ‘I must, says he, beg your Lordship’s pardon for this digression, from the true course of this epistle; but that it may not seem altogether impertinent, I beg that I may plead the occasion of it, in part of that excuse, of which I stand in need, for recommending this comedy to your protection. It is only by the countenance of your lordship, and the few so qualified, that such who write with care and pains, can hope to be distinguished: for the prostituted name of poet, promiscuously levels all that bear it.’ There stand prefixed to this comedy, a copy of verses by Sir Richard Steele, in which he touches on the same subject, and condemns that coarse taste which induces the multitude to slight true Comedy for Farce. He insinuates, that our author had conquered this folly, and that the crowd were disposed to admire implicitly whatever had the stamp of his name. Mr Congreve, it seems, would not trust to these implicit admirers, he was resolved not to write down to their understandings, or to put it in their power any more to question his.

(13) See this Dedication, in the third Volume of Mr Congreve’s Works.

patrons, in a manner worthy of himself and of them. The death of the Marquis of Blandford, only son to the Duke of Marlborough, which happened Feb. 20, 1705, afforded him a melancholy occasion of endeavouring to soften, by celebrating, the distress of that illustrious family, which he did in a most beautiful Pastoral (g), inscribed to the Lord Godolphin, Lord High-Treasurer of England. The glorious successes of the British arms, under the invincible Duke beforementioned, supplied a glorious theme for an Ode to the late Queen Anne, in which he celebrates victories most honourable to this nation, in numbers that justly entitle their author to unfading reputation, as they cannot fail of preserving the memory of those victories, as long as our language shall last, or a true taste in poetry remains (h). In another pindarick Ode he celebrated that great Statesman, and true Patriot, the Lord High-Treasurer Godolphin, taking occasion from that Nobleman's great delight in horse-racing, to imitate, or rather to emulate, the Greek Poet, in his favourite manner of writing, by a truly elegant and exquisite digression (i). We owe to him not only these two pieces in a kind of poetry almost before unknown to our language, but also a very learned and judicious Dissertation upon this species of poesy, which contains a solid and just criticism on those sort of irregular pieces, that hitherto have passed, though very undeservedly, for Pindaricks [I]. The clearness and candour of his criticism, ought to give him as high a character in the Republick of Letters, as even his fine performances in so many different kinds of poetry. His *Birth of the Muse*, and his *Dedication* in verse of his poems when collected, both addressed to his old patron Charles Lord Halifax, are equally grateful and pleasing, though as different in their composition as any two pieces can be; the former is solemn and sublime, the latter easy and familiar. We see in one, how able the Poet was to rise to the greatest heights without the least mixture of bombast or fustian; and in the other, how finely he could unite the becoming liberty of a friend, with that respect which was nevertheless due to his patron's superior rank and dignity. But as, in the earlier part of his life, Mr Congreve had received obligations from persons of less exalted station, so of these he was highly sensible, and never let slip any favourable opportunity of returning. He wrote an Epilogue for his old friend Mr Southorne's fine tragedy of *Oroonoko* (k), and we learn from Mr Dryden himself, how much he owed to his assistance in the translation of Virgil (l) [K]. He contributed by translating the

(g) The Title of *Amyntor* or *Amynnae*.

(h) The title of this piece was, *A Pindarick Ode, humbly offered to the Queen, on the Fishermen's Progress of her Majesty's Arms under the Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough.*

(i) The Address of this Poem was, *To the Right Honourable the Earl of Godolphin, Lord High-Treasurer of England.* A Pindarick Ode.

(k) Congreve's Works, Vol. III. p. 279.

(l) In his Dedication to John Lord Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamshire.

[I] *That hitherto have passed, tho' very undeservedly, for Pindaricks.*] It has been hinted in the text, that whenever Mr Congreve applied himself to any kind of writing in prose or verse, his constant aim was perfection; to which he had not the vanity of thinking he might arrive by the strength of his genius, but applied himself first as a critic, to acquire a thorough knowledge of the nature of his task, before he undertook to execute it as a poet. It was this led him to examine the works of Pindar, with the greatest care, before he attempted to imitate him, and at first sight he discovered how little resemblance the odes, pretending to the character of pindarick, in our language, had to the odes of that author in respect to numbers, structure, or sentiment. He resolved therefore to restore this ancient and sublime manner of writing, by giving the world a true pindarick in substance as well as show, that it might appear the force and spirit of this kind of poetry, consisted in the strength of the thought, and not in the looseness or irregularity of the numbers. He enquired also into the cause of so general a mistake, and has assigned it with an equal mixture of critical justice, and the candour of a gentleman. His words are these (14), 'Mr Cowley in his preface to his pindarick odes, speaking of the music of numbers, says, that these sometimes especially in songs and odes, almost without any thing else, makes an excellent poet. Having mentioned Mr Cowley, it may be very well expected, that something should be said of him, at a time when the imitation of Pindar is the theme of our discourse. But there is that great deference due to the memory, great parts, and learning, of that gentleman, that I think nothing should be objected to the latitude he has taken in his pindarick odes. The beauty of his verses are an atonement for the irregularity of his stanza's, and tho' he did not imitate Pindar in the strictness of his numbers, he has very often happily copied him in the force of his figures, and sublimity of his stile and sentiments. Yet I must beg leave to add, that I believe those irregular odes of Mr Cowley, may have been the principal, tho' innocent, occasion of so many deformed poems since, which instead of being true pictures of Pindar, have (to use the Italian Painters term) been only caricatures of him, resemblances that for the most part have been either horrid or ridiculous. For my own part I frankly own my error, in having heretofore mis-called a few irregular stanza's, a pindarique

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ode, and possibly if others, who have been under the same mistake, would ingenuously confess the truth, they might own, that never having consulted Pindar himself, they took all his irregularity upon trust, and finding their account in the great ease, with which they could produce odes, without being obliged either to measure or design, remained satisfied, and it may be were not altogether unwilling to neglect being undeceived.' This shews not only how desirous Mr Congreve was of writing correctly himself, but also how willing to establish so true a taste, as might render correctness necessary to applause.

[K] *In the translation of Virgil.*] As there have been few authors, whose abilities have been more universally confessed than Mr Dryden's; so never any author was more remarkable for modesty, he shewed it in that civility, kindness, and candour, with which he corrected the works of others, but much more so in the readiness and gratitude, with which he received any information of mistakes made by himself. He knew that every man was fallible, and therefore, with all the great gifts he received from nature, did not at all repine at his being in that respect not exempt from the lot of mortals. It was a true sense of this, and not a vain affectation of hearing his own praises echoed, that he communicated his works, before they were printed, to the ablest of his friends, that he might receive their help as well as censure. Neither was he afraid or ashamed to confess this to the world, for he knew that men of parts and probity, would approve and applaud it. In his dedication therefore to the Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamshire, he makes the following mention of our author (15). *Mr Congreve has done me the favour, to review the Æneis, and compare my version with the original. I shall never be ashamed to own, that this excellent young man has shewed me many faults, which I have endeavoured to correct.* The English translation of Virgil was not published 'till 1697, but Mr Dryden was engaged in it in 1695, and consequently at the time he consulted our author, he was only between twenty three and twenty four years of age. What an honour to have his opinion asked by the greatest poet of his time, upon a subject of such importance to his reputation, what an honour to justify both his friendship and his judgment on so critical an occasion, and what an honour to receive the laurel from his learned brow, only to fix it again upon his tomb, to be the defender

(15) See Dryden's Virgil, Vol. II. p. 435.

(14) Congreve's Works, Vol. III. p. 345.

the eleventh Satire to the translation of Juvenal published by that great Poet, and wrote an admirable copy of verses on the version of Perseus performed by Mr Dryden alone (*m*). He wrote likewise a Prologue for a Play of Mr Charles Dryden's; full of kindness for that young gentleman, and of respect for his father (*n*). But the noblest testimony he gave of his filial reverence for that exalted genius, was in that inimitable panegyrick upon his writings, contained in the Dedication of his Plays to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, a monument that will for ever express, in the most lively colours, the worth of him to whose honour it is consecrated, and the capacity, candour, and critical justice, of the hand that raised it. His translations have done him the greatest honour, in the sentiments of those who were the best judges, and who have taken pains to compare them with their originals. The *Hymn to Venus*, and some of the most moving passages in the *Iliad*, appear with all the spirit and dignity of Homer in the English version; and as it is impossible for a learned writer to peruse them without confessing his accuracy, so whoever has a true taste for poetry must feel the effects of that art and force, with which all the emotions naturally rising from the passions of the human mind, are expressed in these nervous pieces (*o*). His imitations of Horace have as much the air of that Poet as our times or language will permit, that is, the same strength, vivacity, and delicacy, for which, through a long series of years, they have been admired in the original (*p*). The third book of Ovid's *Art of Love* appears in our tongue with all the sweetness and softness peculiar to that author, who was perfectly acquainted with the passion, and knew how to describe it with all the masterly graces of a great Poet, and what was admired in the Augustan age, becomes excellent in ours, from the skill of Mr Congreve, and the happy union of the most distant excellencies in a translator, ease and exactness (*q*). He was the better qualified for an undertaking of this kind, from the natural turn of his own temper, for his Poem to, and his excellent Epigram on, Mrs Arabella Hunt, are entirely in the Ovidian strain, and are as pleasingly pathetick as any Poems in their kind, in our own, or perhaps in any other language (*r*). There is a strength and solemnity in his verses to the memory of Lady Gethins, and in his Epitaph upon the two Huntingtons (*s*), that makes one scarce conceive it possible that he should succeed as well in lighter compositions, and yet the tales that he has told after a celebrated French author, are so unaffected and natural, that if we were not apprised of it we should never have suspected they were translations (*t*); but there is one piece of his which ought to be particularly distinguished, as being so truly an original, that though it seems to be written with the utmost facility, yet we may despair of ever seeing it copied; this is his *DORIS*, so highly and so justly commended by Sir Richard Steele, as the sharpest and most delicate satire he had ever met with (*u*). We must not omit, in this free catalogue of his works, two pieces of the dramattick kind, which do him equal honour as a Poet, and as a lover of Musick, *viz.* the *Judgment of Paris*, a *Masque*, and the *Opera of Semele*. Of these, the former was acted with great applause, and the latter finely set to musick by Mr Eccles. In respect to both it is but bare justice to say, that they have the same stamp of excellency borne by the rest of Mr Congreve's works, were considered as master-pieces when published, and may serve as models to posterity [*L*]. We have now almost finished the list of his poetical labours,

in

of that great man's fame when he was dead, who had loved him so much living, and piously to vindicate the character of him, whose generous, tho' just, praises, had laid the foundation of his own?

[*L*] *And may serve as models to posterity.*] The great art of adapting poetry to musick, tho' studied by many, has been acquired by few. This very plainly appears from the want of a true poetick spirit, in many of the pieces set to fine musick, in which we evidently perceive, that the notes were not accommodated to the words, but the words to the notes. We do not indeed perceive this so plainly, during the performance, when the faculties of the mind are so transported by the sweetness of the sound, that we have not power to discern the defects in the sense. But what escapes us on the Theatre, flares us in the face in the closet, and we cannot help wondering, when we read what it was that transported us so much in the hearing. But the few great masters that have reached the sublime heights of Harmony, instead of receiving from, communicate helps to the most able composer. Of this we have the strongest instance in Mr Dryden's celebrated ode on St Cecilia's day, which not only ravishes us when performed, but when read, and thereby convinces the judicious peruser of the real force of numbers. The same thing may with equal justice be said of our author's masque, the songs in which are most admirably adapted to the characters, as well as the musick, and the performance is not only perfect upon the stage, but perfect also when considered only as a poetick entertainment; and though we may see it with more rapture, yet we read it too with the highest delight, and find nothing in it flat or insipid for want of the support of musick. There is an excellency in every kind

of writing, and as an author is justly entitled to reputation who reaches this in any; so admiration is the just tribute to that exalted genius that reaches it in all, I need not tell the reader, that this is Mr Congreve's claim to admiration. His opera of *Semele* was never performed; but, for all that, it has been universally admired. The fable is happily chosen and skillfully managed, the scenes are finely disposed, the sentiments perfectly agreeable to the subject, and the language exactly suitable to the sentiments. There is, however, one thing that deserves peculiar notice, and that is, the manner in which our author has disposed that part of his work which seemed least susceptible of sense and grace at the same time. Himself shall give you an account of it, for none but himself could express it so well. 'It was (16) not thought requisite to have any regard either to rhyme or equality of measure in the lines of that part of the dialogue, which was designed for the recitative stile in musick; for as that stile in musick is not confined to the strict observation of time and measure, which is required in the composition of airs and sonata's; so neither is it necessary that the same exactness in numbers, rhymes, or measure, should be observed in words designed to be set in that manner, which must ever be observed in the formation of odes and sonnets: for what they call recitative in musick, is only a more tunable, speaking, it is a kind of prose in musick, it's beauty consists in coming near nature, and in improving the natural accents of words by more pathetick or emphatical tones.' This explains what had never been explained before, that is to say, the nature and meaning of the recitative, how far it approaches, and wherein it is removed from prose, what the use of it, and

(16) See the argument prefixed to Mr Congreve's Opera of *Semele*, in the third Volume of his Works.

in which we have been the more particular, because it was peculiar to Mr Congreve to have written and excelled, not barely in every kind of dramatick poetry, but almost in every kind of poetry. The last to which he turned his genius was that of familiar epistles, of these that on the *Art of Pleasing* (w), addressed to Sir Richard Temple, now the Field Marshal Viscount Cobham, is the only one inserted in his works, and is so truly admirable, that the publick has just reason to regret some others that are still said to be preserved in the cabinets of his friends to whom they were addressed, and which it is hoped will one day see the light. Another epistle of his to the same noble person, as it is not to be found in his works, we have, as one of it's brightest ornaments, inserted in ours, from a copy that appeared to be very correct [M]. This naturally leads us to mention his prose letters, which are dispersed through the works of other men, but, whenever they have a new edition, would make a very natural and a very valuable addition to his own. His letter upon *Humour* in English Comedy, is without doubt as instructive as entertaining, and as correct a piece of criticism as is any where to be met with (x). All his other letters are written with infinite wit and spirit, and at the same time with a wonderful facility and a fine flow of language, so happily intermixed with lively and inoffensive raillery, that it is impossible not to be pleased with them at the first reading, or to find any fault with them on the most mature reflection. We may be satisfied from the perusal of them, that his conversation must have been very engaging, and therefore we need not wonder that he lived in such familiarity with the greatest men of his time, or that they courted his friendship by rendering him every good office in their power. It has been observed, that

(w) Congreve's Works, Vol. III. p. 332.

(x) Inserted in Dennis's Letters.

no

and consequently what rules are to be observed in it's composition, so as to keep it from sinking fervidly low, and to restrain it from swelling into rant and bombast.

[M] *Inserted in ours, from a copy that appeared to be very correct.* This beautiful poem is written with that simple elegance, that force of genius, and that dignity of sentiment, which leaves no room to doubt of it's being justly attributed to Mr Congreve. At what time it was written cannot be said with any pretence to certainty; but as there is a visible allusion in the poem to measures, which the writer thought were too complaisant to the *French*, it is very evident that it must have been penned but a very small time before his death. The title it bears is this,

Of improving the present time.

Sincerest critick of my prose or rhyme,  
Tell how thy pleasing Stowe employs thy time.  
Say, Cobham, what amuses thy retreat?  
Or stratagems of war, or schemes of state?  
Dost thou re-call to mind, with joy or grief,  
Great Marlbro's actions? that immortal chief,  
Whose slightest trophy, rais'd in each campaign,  
More than suffic'd to signalize a reign.  
Does thy remembrance rising, warm thy heart  
With glory past, where thou thyself had'st part;  
Or dost thou grieve indignant, now to see  
The fruitless end of all thy victory?  
'To see the audacious foe, so late subdu'd,  
Dispute those terms for which so long they fu'd,  
As if Britannia now were sunk so low,  
'To beg that peace she wonted to bestow.  
Be far, that guilt! be never known that shame!  
That England should retract her rightful claim!  
Or ceasing to be dreaded and ador'd,  
Stain with her pen the lustre of her sword.  
Or dost thou give the winds a-far to blow,  
Each vexing thought and heart-devouring woe,  
And fix thy mind alone on rural scenes,  
To turn the levell'd lawns to liquid plains;  
'To raise the creeping rills from humble beds,  
And force the latent springs to lift their heads;  
On watry columns capitals to rear,  
That mix their flowing curls with upper air?  
Or dost thou, weary grown, these works neglect,  
No temples, statues, obelisks erect;  
But catch the morning breeze from fragrant meads,  
Or shun the noon-tide ray in wholesome shades;  
Or lowly walk along the mazy wood,  
'To meditate on all that's wise and good?

For nature, bountiful in thee, has join'd,  
A person pleasing, with a worthy mind;  
Not given the form alone, but means and art,  
To draw the eye, or to allure the heart.  
Poor were the praise in fortune to excel,  
Yet want the way to use that fortune well.  
While thus adorn'd, while thus with virtue crown'd,  
At home in peace; abroad, in arms renown'd:  
Graceful in form, and winning in address,  
While well you think what aptly you express,  
With health, with honour; with a fair estate,  
A table free, and elegantly neat.  
What can be added more to mortal bliss?  
What can he want that stands possess'd of this?  
What can the fondest wishing mother more,  
Of Heaven attentive, for her son implore?  
And yet, a happiness remains unknown,  
Or to Philosophy reveal'd alone;  
A precept which, unpractis'd, renders vain  
Thy flowing hopes, and pleasure turns to pain.  
Shou'd hope and fear thy heart alternate tear,  
Or love, or hate, or rage, or anxious care,  
Whatever passions may thy mind infest,  
(Where is that mind which passions ne'er molest?)  
Amidst the pangs of such intestine strife,  
Still think the present day the last of life;  
Defer not 'till to-morrow to be wise,  
To-morrow's sun to thee may never rise;  
Or shou'd to-morrow chance to cheer thy sight  
With her enliv'ning and unlook'd-for light,  
How grateful will appear her dawning rays!  
As favours unexpected doubly please.  
Who thus can think, and who such thoughts pursues,  
Content may keep his life, or calmly lose.  
All proofs of this, thou may'st thyself receive,  
When leisure from affairs will give thee leave.  
Come, see thy friend retir'd, without regret,  
Forgetting care, or striving to forget,  
In easy contemplation, soothing time  
With morals much, and now and then with rhyme;  
Not so robust in body as in mind,  
And always undejected, tho' declin'd;  
Not wond'ring at the world's new wicked ways,  
Compar'd with those of our fore-fathers days;  
For virtue now is neither more or less,  
And vice is only vary'd in the dress:  
Believe it, men have ever been the same,  
And *Ovid's* GOLDEN AGE is but a dream.

WILLIAM CONGREVE.

[N] *With*

(y) Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; P. ii. p. 51.

no change of Ministries affected him in the least, nor was he ever removed from any post that was given him except to a better (y). His place in the Custom-house, and his office of Secretary in Jamaica, are said to have brought him in upwards of twelve hundred pounds a year, and though he lived in a manner suitable to such a fortune, yet he was so far an œconomist, as to raise from thence a competent estate. No man of his parts and learning ever passed through life with more ease or less envy, and as in the dawn of his reputation he was very dear to the greatest wits of his time, so during his whole life he preserved the utmost respect, and received continual marks of esteem from men of genius and letters, without ever being involved in any of their quarrels, or drawing upon himself the least mark of distaste, or even dissatisfaction. On the contrary, they sought his approbation with concern, and received it as the highest sanction of merit. Mr Addison testified his personal regard for him, and his high esteem of his writings, upon many occasions. Sir Richard Steele considered him as his patron upon one occasion, and was desirous of submitting to his judgment as an umpire on another (z).

(z) In his Dedication of his *Miscellanies*, and in the Address prefixed to the *Drummer*, a Comedy of Mr Addison's, of which he published a second edition.

(a) See this at large in note [N].

(b) Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; P. ii. p. 137.

(c) Voltaire's Letters concerning the English Nation, Lond. 1733, 2<sup>vo</sup>, p. 188, 189.

Even the judicious Mr Pope, tho' sufficiently jealous of his poetical character, thought fit to honour him with the highest testimony of deference and esteem (a) [N]. We may add to all this, that Mr John Dennis, who valued himself so much upon criticizing the works of the ablest writers of his time, was so sensible of the superior excellence of Mr Congreve's writings, or at least was so grateful for the repeated marks of affability and beneficence which he received from him, that he always spoke of him, not with decency only but with veneration, which, if not a peculiar felicity, must at least have been a singular satisfaction to a man of Mr Congreve's peaceable disposition, who, as he never gave any offence, was very desirous, if it was possible, to avoid abuse (b). There is no doubt that Mr Congreve had an appetite to fame, and was not insensible of praise; yet never any man was freer from vanity, or shewed less concern about the fate of his writings; insomuch, that a foreigner of distinction, and without comparison the best Poet his country has to boast, was a little offended at this, and thought him rather too careless as to his literary reputation (c) [O]. The best part of the last twenty years of his life were spent in ease and retirement, but towards the end of his days he was very much afflicted with the gout, which at length broke his constitution so much as to bring on a gradual decay. It was for this, that in the summer of the year 1728, he made a tour to the Bath for the benefit of the waters, where he had the misfortune to be overturned in his chariot, from which time he complained of a pain in his side, which was supposed to arise from some inward bruise. However it was, upon his return to London, his health declined more and more, but without making any impression on his spirits or understanding. He had accustomed

[N] *With the highest testimony of deference and esteem.*] Those who were well acquainted with the late Mr Pope know, that there was nothing he despised so much in others, or the imputation of which he could have bore with so little patience himself, as the paying a servile court, and shewing a mean dependance upon any man, how great soever. He knew that virtue was true nobility, and parts the riches of nature; hence his deep reverence for Mr Bethel, and his high regard for Mr Congreve. To them, however, he would have been ashamed to dedicate his works, and yet to them he was proud to inscribe them. He looked upon his performances, as monuments secure from time and accident, and every name they bore as consecrated to immortality. This was his sentiment, nor was it vanity; the most generous possessor of gold knows the properties and value of the metal as well as the meanest miser. Let us hear then what praises one who was so sparing of them has bestowed on Mr Congreve, we shall find them at the close of his postscript to the translation of Homer, and there they run thus (17). 'Instead of endeavouring to raise a vain monument to myself, let me leave behind me a memorial of my friendship, with one of the most valuable men, as well as finest writers of my age and country. One who has tried, and knows by his own experience, how hard an undertaking it is to do justice to Homer, and one who I am sure, sincerely rejoices with me at the period of my labours. To him therefore, having brought this long work to a conclusion, I desire to dedicate it, and to have the honour and satisfaction of placing together in this manner the names of Mr Congreve, and of

A. POPE.

[O] *As to his literary reputation.*] The gentleman mentioned in the text, is the present eminent wit, and justly esteemed poet of France, Mr Voltaire, who, in the short time that he stayed here, acquired indeed a wonderful knowledge of our language, and of our manners; notwithstanding which, however, he was sometimes mistaken, and it is the more necessary to take notice of his mistakes, because no man's autho-

rity in the world is more like to pass them upon the present age, or upon posterity, for undoubted truths. The character he is pleased to give Mr Congreve runs thus: 'He raised the glory of comedy to a greater height than any English writer before or since his time (18). He wrote only a few plays, but they are excellent in their kind. The laws of the drama are strictly observed in them. They abound with characters, all which are shadowed with the utmost delicacy, and we don't meet with so much as one low or coarse jest. The language is every where that of men of fashion, but their actions are those of knaves, a proof that he was perfectly well acquainted with human nature, and frequented what we call polite company. He was infirm, and come to the verge of life when I knew of him. Mr Congreve had one defect, which was his entertaining too mean an idea of his first profession, that of a writer, though it was to this he owed his fame and fortune. He spoke of his works as of trifles that were beneath him, and hinted to me in our first conversation, that I should visit him upon no other foot than that of a gentleman, who led a life of plainness and simplicity. I answered that had he been so unfortunate as to be a mere gentleman, I should never have come to see him, and I was very much disgusted at so unseasonable a piece of vanity.' It is somewhat strange to hear an author accused of vanity, for undervaluing his own works. We often meet with censures even upon great men, for talking continually of themselves and their writings; but it is a very singular censure that is passed upon Mr Congreve, that he was troubled with an unseasonable vanity, which hindered him from talking of them at all. The truth of the matter seems to have been, that instead of feeling an unseasonable vanity, he had out-lived the season of vanity, if ever he had any, and having no longer any thing of the pride of an author about him, it is not at all wonderful that his conversation was not relished by Mr Voltaire, whose merit, as an author, is superior to every thing—but the sense he has of that merit.

(18) Letters concerning the English Nation, P. 188, 189.

(17) Postscript to his Translation of the Iliad of Homer, dated Mar. 25, 1720.

[P] *With*

customed himself to consider life, and every thing belonging to it, as blessings in which we have a very uncertain tenure, and therefore was not either surprized or disturbed at the prospect of losing it; the only concern he expressed, was for the grief it occasioned to his friends, more especially those for whom he had a tender affection and a most profound esteem. He yielded his last breath about the hour of five on Sunday morning, Jan. 19, 1728-9, at his house in Surrey-street in the Strand, in the fifty-seventh year of his age (e), and on the Sunday following, Jan. 26, his corps lay in state in the Jerusalem-Chamber, from whence, the same evening, between the hours of nine and ten, it was carried with great decency and solemnity into King Henry the VIIth's chapel, and after the funeral service was performed, was interred in the abbey. The pall was supported by the Duke of Bridgewater, Earl of Godolphin, Lord Cobham, Lord Wilmington, the Honourable George Berkeley, Esq; and Brigadier-General Churchill; and Col. Congreve followed his corps as chief-mourner. Some time after, a neat and elegant monument, with a suitable inscription thereupon [P], was erected to his memory by Henrietta Duchess of Marlborough.

(e) Mr Congreve's Last Will and Testament, Lond. 1730, 8vo, p. 10.

[P] *With a suitable inscription thereupon* ] As the erecting of this monument is later, in point of time, than any of the collections of such kind of ornaments in Westminster-Abbey, it is proper to insert the inscription here, which runs thus. ' Mr William Congreve died Jan. the 19th, 1728, aged fifty-six, and was buried near this place, to whose most valuable memory this mo-

nument is set up, by Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough, as a mark how dearly she remembers the happiness and honour she enjoyed in the sincere friendship of so worthy and honest a man, whose virtue, candour and wit, gained him the love and esteem of the present age, and whose writings will be the admiration of the future.' E

CONNOR (BERNARD) an eminent Physician and learned Writer towards the close of the last century. He was descended from an antient family in the kingdom of Ireland, and was born in the county of Kerry about the year 1666 (a). He had an early tincture of learning given him, though he was not regularly educated in the grammar schools and university of that island, on account of his family's being of the Popish religion (b). When he grew up towards man's estate, either out of regard to the exhortations of his family, or from the natural turn of his own disposition, he determined to apply his thoughts to the study of Physick, and with that view, about the year 1686, he went over to France, resided for some time in the university of Montpellier, and went from thence to Paris, where he spent his time so well, and directed his studies in so prudent and regular a manner, that he was very much esteemed, not only for his proficiency in the art of Physick, but for his great skill in Anatomy and Chemistry (c). As he professed himself desirous of travelling, and as there were two sons of the High-Chancellor of Poland then on the point of returning to their own country, it was thought expedient they should take that long journey under the care and inspection of Dr Connor (d). He accordingly conducted them very safely to Venice, where he found the Honourable Mr William Legg, afterwards Baron and Earl of Dartmouth, much indisposed of a fever, from which, by his great skill and diligent attendance, he happily recovered him, and having accompanied him to Padua (e), went from thence through Tyrol, Bavaria, and Austria, down the Danube to Vienna, and after having made some stay at the Court of the Emperor Leopold, passed through Moravia and Silesia to Cracow, and from thence in eight days to Warsaw (f). He was very well received at the Court of King John Sobieski, and by the interest of Signor Hieronimo Alberto de Conti, Minister from the Serene Republick of Venice, who married the Lady Margaret Paston, eldest daughter to Robert, and sister to William Earl of Yarmouth, to whom he had been strongly recommended, he became Physician to that Monarch (g). This was a very extraordinary preferment in so short a time and for so young a man, for it happened in the beginning of the year 1694, when Dr Connor could not be above twenty-eight years of age. In right of his employment he was constantly near the person of that Prince, which gave him an opportunity of entering thoroughly into his character, and of discerning that he was not only a deep Politician, and one of the greatest Captains of his age, but a person also of sound sense, great reading, quick parts, and much addicted to think freely upon all subjects. He gives us a very singular and curious instance of this (h), which, as it serves to let us into the Doctor's turn and disposition as well as the King's, is inserted at the bottom of the page [A]. His reputation in

(a) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258.

(b) See the account given of this gentleman by Dr Hayley, in his Funeral Sermon.

(c) De Stupendo Offium Coalitu Dissertatio Medico-Physica, p. 4.

(d) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258. See also Dr Hayley's Funeral Sermon.

(e) Connor's Hist. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 2.

(f) See Dr Hayley's Funeral Sermon. Connor's Hist. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 2.

(g) Peerage of England, Lond. 1709, 8vo, Vol. I. p. 246.

(h) Connor's Hist. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 173.

(1) History of Poland, Vol. I. p. 172. [A] At the bottom of the page.] The King, says he (1), was a well spoken Prince, of very easy access, extremely civil, and had most of the good qualities requisite in a gentleman; he was not only well versed in all military affairs, but likewise in all polite and scholastic learning. Besides his own tongue, the Sclavonian; he understood the Latin, French, Italian, German, and Turkish languages; he delighted much in Natural History, and in all the parts of Physick; he used to reprimand the Clergy for not admitting into the university and schools the Modern Philosophy; he loved to hear persons discourse of those matters, and had a particular talent to set people about him very

artfully by the ears, that, by their disputes, he might be diverted, as happened often in my time, especially once when I was undesignedly concerned myself, the King being at dinner, and having the Bishops of Posenania, Plosko, Vilna, and other Divines about him, particularly Father Vota, an ingenious Jesuit, the King asked me in Latin, 'What part of the body I thought the soul was in?' I was willing to decline talking on that subject, and told the King, 'That being a Physician, my chief enquiry was about the body, and that the Divines there present were able to satisfy his Majesty.' The King replied, 'That since the soul has an influence upon the body, and since the passions

(i) Histoire de  
Maison de Rad-  
zivil, p. 319.  
Connor's Hist. of  
Poland, Vol. I.  
p. 199.

in the Court of Poland was highly raised by the judgment he made of the Duchess of Radzivil's distemper, which all the Physicians of the Court took to be no more than an ague, from which she might be easily recovered by the regular and constant taking of the Bark; but Dr Connor insisted that she had an abscess in her liver, and that her case was desperate (i). As this lady was the King's only sister, his prediction made a great noise, more especially when it was justified by the event, for she not only died within a month, but, upon the opening of her body, the Doctor's sentiment of her malady was fully verified. He might have continued with great reputation at that Court if he had been so inclined, but as he never proposed to remain longer in Poland, than was requisite to finish his enquiries into the Natural History and other remarkables of that kingdom, and as he

forefaw

passions of the mind, as anger and fear, breed fevers and other distempers, it was necessary that the Physicians should examine the soul in that respect, as well as the body.' I answered, 'That Physicians did enquire into the nature of the passions, and observed, that there was such an influence of the soul upon the body, and of the body upon the soul, that altered the thoughts of the one, as well as the operations of the other; but that the soul being a substance invisible, and without extension, it was impossible for Physicians to conceive the nature of it themselves, or explain it to others, as they do that of the body, which they take to pieces by Anatomy, and resolve into it's minutest elements by Chemistry; that the Physicians only agree in the main, that the supreme author of things has established such laws between the soul and the body, which make a mutual correspondence between them; that as for the seat of the soul, I might perhaps differ from the Divines then present, and consequently oppose the common doctrine of the schools; for they hold with Aristotle, that the soul is entire in all the body, and wholly in every part of the body, which was impossible to conceive; for if the soul was entire in every part of the body, there would be as many souls in the body as there are parts; since it is impossible that the self-same substance, though an indivisible spirit, can ever be in two places at the same time; besides, the soul can't be but where it thinks, and every one finds by experience, that his thought is not in his hands nor feet, but is conscious to himself, that his thought is in his head, and that consequently the soul must be only in the brain, which is the seat of sensation, and the origin of all the nerves, which are the organs of preception and motion.' Father Vota being alarmed at this doctrine, which seemed altogether new in that part of Europe, said, 'That if the soul was only in the head, the rest of the body would be dead, since the received opinion was, that the soul was the life of the whole body, and that to enliven the whole body, the soul must be wholly present in every part of it.' This drew on a longer dispute than I expected, for I answered, 'That the rational soul was not the life of the body, but the blood only, and the animal spirits, and that this blood and spirits circulated equally all over the body, and gave it natural heat and motion, which is properly it's life; and that this circulation of the blood and spirits could not possibly depend on the rational soul, because it was an involuntary motion, formed by the mechanick structure of the body, and by the natural impulse of the heart, which is the *primum mobile* of the whole machine; and that though they all held, not only in Poland, but in other countries, that the rational soul performed every minute action in the body, yet this opinion was very irreconcilable with the free will of the mind, which they all admitted; for since they allow, that whatever the soul does, it is not only conscious of it, but likewise does it freely, without being necessitated thereto, when, as it is very evidently obvious to every one, that the vital motions in our bodies, I mean the motion of the heart, and that of respiration, with the peristaltick motion of the stomach and guts, are performed naturally with such mechanisim, that the soul can't stop them, no, nor so much as hasten nor retard them, and that the soul is not at all conscious of them, for if we think of any object, or not think at all, as when we are asleep, or in an apoplexy, those vital motions go on equally the same.' The Bishop of Posnania, who was bred up in his youth a Physician, seemed to speak in favour of this opinion, as did likewise some others of the company, which made the Jesuit very angry; infomuch, that he acquainted them in a kind of pas-

sion, 'That neither the King nor they ought to hearken to any discourse contrary to the received opinions of the Church; that it might have been a pernicious consequence had it been publick: for, (says he) if the soul be not in all the body, and if it does not animate the body, and perform all it's vital functions, it would be of no use, and consequently we should live like other animals.' I answered him, 'That doubtless the operations of life were performed by the same mechanisim in us as they were in brutes, since we have the same organs with them, as likewise the same fluids to enliven us; that the prerogatives of the soul are not less for it's not being present to every action of the body, for the soul, though it is not the cause of spontaneous or vital motion in us, yet it performs all voluntary actions, as speaking, walking, and all other free motions of the body; it receives all impressions from the five senses, it forms to itself all ideas of ambient objects, it reasons upon them to know what's most useful and hurtful to itself and to the body. The soul, in short, is like the pilot, though it does not set the body in motion, as the wind does a ship, yet it is capable of governing it's actions, and directing voluntarily it's course.' The King being thus satisfied, that the rational soul did not actuate, as they call it, or enliven, all the parts of the body, desired to know what was properly *Death*. The school Divinity maintains, that *Death* is a separation of the rational soul from the body. I owned indeed, that in death the soul was actually separated from the body.' But I could not allow, 'That that separation was the cause of death, but that the death of the body was the cessation of the motion of the heart, of the blood, and of the spirits, which cessation could not proceed from the separation of the soul, since these don't at all depend upon it,' as I proved before, 'but it was occasioned by some defects in the organs and fluids of the body, which, losing their due disposition, and their mutual correspondence one with another, all their actions cease, which cessation is properly called *Death*; so that the soul finding them incapable of receiving it's influence, and of obeying it's commands, quits the body after it is dead; by which it appears, that the separation of the soul is not properly the cause of death, but that the death of the body is the cause of the separation.' The King himself illustrated this opinion from a familiar example of an organ and an organist: while the parts of the organ were in their due order, and symmetry the organist played upon them, but when, by length of time, they were either broke, used too much, or any other way put quite out of tune, he leaves playing on them. This discourse held from three of the clock till seven, and the Divines were extremely warm in it, and some of them had the boldness to tell the King, that his Majesty should not suffer such heretical opinions to be introduced before such a great assembly, contrary to the received doctrine of the Church. By this it may be plainly seen how fond the Divines are of their old opinions, relying upon the doctrine of Aristotle, whom we can't suppose to be so thoroughly acquainted with the structure, springs, and motions of the human body, nor indeed with all other natural causes as the modern Physicians are; yet it is the policy of the Divines, not only in Poland, but in Spain, Italy, and in most other countries, where their power is very great, not to let any opinions creep in among them that would seem to contradict those of Aristotle, for having built their systems of Divinity upon the principles of this Pagan Philosopher, they are justly afraid, that if experience and reason should shake the foundation, the superstructure would fall to the ground, as doubtless it would for the most part.

forefaw that the King's life could not last long, and that there was little reason to hope for the establishment that was promised him, from the political views of the royal family, he resolved to lay hold of the first favourable opportunity for quitting that country, and returning into the British dominions, nor was it long before he met with as fair an occasion as he could wish (k). The King had an only daughter, the Princess Teresa Cuni-gunda, who espoused the Elector of Bavaria by proxy, in the month of August 1694. As she was to make a journey from Warsaw to Brussels, of near a thousand miles, and in the midst of winter, it was thought necessary that she should be attended by a Physician, and, by the interest of his good friend the Venetian Minister, he procured himself to be named to that employment (l), and accordingly set out with her on the eleventh of November for Berlin, and continued his journey through the territories of the Elector of Hanover, the Bishop of Hildesheim, and the Bishop of Munster, to Wezel, where she was met by the Elector of Bavaria, and from thence he proceeded in her train to Brussels, where she arrived on the twelfth of January following (m). He soon after resigned his charge to Dr Pistorini, the Elector's Physician, and, having taken leave of the Princess, set out for Holland, and from thence came over to England in the month of February 1695 (n). He stayed some short time at London and then went to Oxford, where, in the spring of the year last mentioned, he read his lectures upon the Animal Œconomy to a numerous and learned audience with very great applause (o). In his travels through Italy he had conversed with Malpighi, Bellini, Redi, and other celebrated persons (p), of whose acquaintance he made a proper use; and distinguished himself by so clear, so methodical, and so judicious a manner of explaining the new discoveries in Anatomy, Chemistry, and Physick, that his reputation was very soon raised to a great height. This was not a little increased by his printing, during the time of his residence in that seat of the Muses, several learned and accurate Dissertations upon curious and important subjects, which treatise met with a very favourable reception (q), as it certainly deserved, from the many new and sensible thoughts that occur in every part of it, and which discover their author to have been a man of much meditation, as well as of great reading and general knowledge [B]. He returned in the Summer of 1695 to London, lived in Bow-street Covent-Garden, and in the Winter read a course of Lectures of the same kind that he had done at Oxford (r), and which were received with general approbation. He became about this time a member of the Royal Society, and a member of the Royal College of Physicians also, which were a kind of rewards justly due to his great application and singular merit (s). In the summer of the year 1696, he went to Cambridge in consequence of an invitation from some of the members of that university, read publick Lectures there, and made various experiments in Chemistry (t). Upon his return from thence to London he was honoured with a letter from the Bishop of Ploskow, wherein was contained the case of his old master the King of Poland, upon which his advice was desired, but before he had an opportunity of returning an answer, the news came of that Monarch's death (u). As he was naturally addicted to speak his sentiments very freely, even upon very nice and deli-

(k) See the Preface to his Hist. of Poland, and the first Letter to the Earl of Yarmouth.

(l) Hist. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 197.

(m) Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siècle, p. 219.

(n) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258.

(o) This appears from the Letters annexed to his first Vol. of the Hist. of Poland.

(p) See Dr Hayley's Funeral Sermon.

(q) Of this he informs us himself in the Preface to the first Vol. of his History of Poland.

(r) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258.

(s) Taken from the printed List of both those learned Bodies for that year.

(t) From the Preface to his first Vol. of the Hist. of Poland.

(u) Inserted in his Hist. of Poland, Vol. I. p. 201.

[B] As well as of great reading and general knowledge.] These essays were printed together, under the following general title, viz. *Dissertationes Medico-Physicæ, de Antris Lethiferis. De Montis Vesuvii Incendio. De Stupendo Ossium Coalitu. De Immani Hypogæstrii Sarcomate, A. D. Bernardo Connor, M. D. Serenissimi Polonix Regis Medico, è Regia Camera Parisiensis Societate. Oxonii. E. Theatro Seldoniano Sump-tibus Henrici Clements Bibliopola, An. Dom. 1659, 8vo. That is, 'Medico-physical Dissertations concerning 'Pestiferous Caverns, an extraordinary eruption of 'Mount Vesuvius, the wonderful coalition of human 'Bones, and of an extraordinary swelling or dropfy of 'the womb.' These treatises are printed separately, and with different title pages. There is a table of contents to the first, and another to the other three. The Vice-Chancellor's Imprimatur is dated June 5, 1695. The first of these discourses is dedicated to Thomas, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomeryshire, at that time Lord Privy-Seal, and one of the Lords Justices. It is written very succinctly, and with great perspicuity: the author introduces and discusses a multitude of curious questions, and gives his reasons for believing, that there is nothing infectious or poisonous in the famous cave near Naples; but that animals are killed therein, or rather lose their lives, thro' the want of elasticity in the air, which renders it unfit for animal respiration. The second discourse is addressed to Dr Edward Brown, whom he compliments highly upon his Book of Travels that he had published. He therein gives a particular description of a most remarkable eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which happened in the month of April, 1694, and which he attributes to the vast quantities of nitre and antimony lodged in the bowels of that mountain (2). He ad-*

dresses his third discourse to Dr John Ratcliff, Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the College of Physicians; and therein he gives an accurate account of an anatomical prodigy which he had seen at Paris. The fourth treatise is dedicated to Dr Hans Sloane, then one of the King's Physicians, Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal College, who has been since knighted, and President of both those learned bodies; in which he gives him an account of the dissection of a widow at Paris, who died at the age of fifty-seven, and who laboured under a monstrous big belly, occasioned by a mole, or false conception, for twenty-five years. This fleshy substance was of an enormous size, being in length twenty-two inches, twelve broad, ten thick, and weighing forty-two pounds. What is most observable in these dissertations, is the great art and skill which the author has shewn in bringing in a great variety of useful subjects, more especially relating to the animal œconomy, of which he discourses with much freedom and judgment; from whence it is very evident, that they were not published so much with a view to gratify the curiosity of the learned men at that time, as to excite a good opinion of the author's capacity and knowledge in his profession, and, at the same time, to shew the improvements he had made in his travels, that by this means he might come into practice with the greater ease and credit. It is pretty certain that this method had it's effects, and that if he had not been taken off so suddenly, he would have very soon grown into as high repute as any Physician of his time. It seems to be a pity that these dissertations have not been translated, as there is a great variety of curious observations in them, that would prove very entertaining to the English reader.

(2) He gives a very clear and accurate Description of this Mountain from his own observation.

cate subjects, he adventured, both at Oxford and at Cambridge, to let fall some discourses in relation to miracles, and of a new method of explaining the nature of them in a physical way, upon which he had digested his sentiments into writing some years before. He was very much pressed to make this work of his publick, and though he could not but foresee that many inconveniences would attend it, yet the solicitations upon this head were so strong, and came from persons to whom he was so much obliged, that he could not avoid yielding to their request (*w*). He took however the precaution of procuring the licence of the College of Physicians, which bears date April 9, 1697, and is subscribed by Sir Thomas Millington then President, and by Dr Barwick, Dr Torleffe, Dr Dawes, and Dr Gill, who were Censors (*x*). He dedicated it to the Right Honourable Charles Montague Chancellor of the Exchequer, and President of the Royal Society. This work of his made a very great noise in the world, and came to a second edition the same year: it is written in Latin with as much perspicuity as the subject would permit, and with great prudence and circumspection [*C*]. Notwithstanding this it made a bad impression upon some minds,

(*w*) See his Letter to a Reverend Clergyman and Dignitary of the Church, at the end of the first Vol. of the Hist. of Poland.

(*x*) It is prefixed to his book.

[*C*] *And with great prudence and circumspection.* In the first place it will be necessary to see the title of it at large, which we may presume has given at least as much offence as the book, it runs thus: *Evangelium Medici: seu Medicina Mystica de Suspensis Naturæ Legibus, sive de Miraculis; Reliquisque in τούτοις βιβλίοις Memoratis, quæ Medicæ indagini subijci possunt. Ubi perpenſis prius Corporum Naturâ, sano et morboſo Corporis Humani Statu, nec non Motûs Legibus, Rerum Status super naturam, præcipuè qui Corpus Humanum et Animam spectant, juxta Medicinæ Principia explicantur. A Bernardo Connor, M. D. et R. S. S. i. e. 'The Physician's Gospel: or, Mystical Physick, with respect to the suspension of the laws of nature, or of miracles; and whatever else worthy of note occurs in the sacred writings, that falls properly under the consideration of Physick, wherein the nature of bodies, the sound and diseased state of human bodies, as also the laws of motion, and the supernatural state of things, more especially of the human body and soul, are previously considered, and, according to the principles of Physick, explained.' Londini 1697, 8vo & 12mo. Amstelodami 1699, 8vo.* This curious little treatise contains sixteen short sections, in which the author, with great clearness, and conciseness, and with the most perfect connection, treats every part of his subject so as to make the reader fully sensible, that he had not hastily or superficially run it over in his mind, but with great care and caution had considered all things that he advances, and the consequences that might be drawn from them. The best, as well as most succinct account that can be given of it, the reader will meet with in the following extract of a letter, written by himself, to an eminent Divine (3).

(3) This Letter is to be found at the end of the first Vol. of his Hist. of Poland.

'My design, Sir, says he, is to endeavour to make it no longer a difficulty to conceive and make evident, by reason and the principles of Physick, I mean the principles of nature, all the supernatural effects authentically delivered to us concerning bodies chiefly, but particularly the human; I mean, supposing those effects to be true matters of fact, and all matters of fact, as well natural as supernatural, to be immediate effects of a supreme being, which must be granted; it is as easy to conceive the manner how this infinite power may be applied to bodies to work supernatural effects, as to produce the common phenomena of nature. By this I hope to convince our Scepticks, the Deists, who must give their assent when they have the same evident reason to conceive the possibility, and consequently to believe the truth, of such miraculous effects, that are authentically related, as they have to conceive, that straw can burn in a flaming fire. The foundation I go upon is the structure of the human body; which I have often taken to pieces by Anatomy, and resolved into it's essential elements, or minute particles, by Chemistry; for I find it as necessary to be acquainted with it's fabrick, to give an account of the miraculous states it is supposed to have been in supernaturally, as it is to explain the natural effects commonly produced in it. For want of a sufficient insight into this matter, several Divines in the latter ages have given very gross ideas of the supernatural effects they have pretended to explain, and in several places where I have been, I saw them, either through ignorance, or for interest, give out for miracles, phenomena, that were only surprising effects of natural causes,

which has given so great an occasion to Scepticism, and increase of Deism. Having laid down for my basis the structure of the human body, as far as I could discover from my senses, anatomy, fire, microscopes, and experiments, I proceed to examine, and endeavour to explain, the different ways it's natural state is supposed to have been supernaturally altered by an infinite power: for finding that the human body is all matter, and that all this matter is nothing but an union of particles with bulk, figure, and respective situation, I thought that all the alterations that could supernaturally happen to this bulk, figure, or situation, could be conceived. But before I enter upon those nice subjects, I find it first necessary to enquire into the cause, nature, and laws of motion, because motion is the only true cause of all natural phenomena, and the suspensions of the laws of this motion are the only causes of all supernatural effects. I conceive the laws of motion can be suspended three different ways, and by one or more of these laws of suspension, it is as easy to solve clearly all supernatural effects, as it is to explain the most evident effects of natural causes by the common laws of motion. Tho' I mention, that all supernatural effects whatsoever can be easily reduced to some of the three laws of suspension or motion, notwithstanding I do not design to speak of them all in particular, but of such only as are most in dispute amongst the learned; yet any understanding man may easily make his application, and resolve all other miraculous effects into one or other of them. By the suspension of the laws of motion, I do not mean, that these laws are changed or abrogated, but only that their course is stopt while an effect is produced by the immediate action of the Deity, without any influence of theirs, for some particular end; and it cannot be denied, but that the supreme legislator, who made first the laws, may suspend them when he pleases, and, in that state of suspension, produce, of himself alone, without their concurrence, the same effects, which are wont to be produced only by the same laws put in execution; so that though a body, for example, of a hundred pound weight, by the established laws of motion, must be moved by another that has several degrees of motion, yet an infinite power may, of himself, either move it without the concurrence of another body, or hinder it's being moved by any other body of what weight soever, though put into the most rapid motion, as if combustible matter should be in a flaming fire without burning.—Sir, the learned and judicious gentlemen of your own, can have no reason to complain, that I invade their province, or encroach upon their prerogatives; for I do not undertake to prove, that there ever were any supernatural effects produced; that matter, I think, belongs entirely to Divines to make evident from authentick testimony. I only endeavour to demonstrate the possibility of them, and if there were ever any, to explain the mode and mechanism with which we may conceive how they might have been performed. This is not doing any prejudice to your profession, for I have that respect to the Church, and that deference to the Clergy, that I did nothing in this matter without the advice and approbation of those of them that are in the highest station; and they owned, that though this subject had never yet been handled by any Physician, nor indeed by any Divine that I know of,

minds, occasioned a suspicion of the author's religious principles here at home, and has given occasion to some warm and inconsiderate writers abroad (y), to represent him as an absolute Atheist, though there is nothing more certain, than that the Doctor was entirely free from any thing of that kind, and actually wrote this piece with a very good intention, neither is there any thing in the treatise, that, fairly considered, will admit of any such construction, notwithstanding the prejudices that have been raised against it. The Polish election, upon the death of King John Sobieski, having a strong influence upon the general system of affairs in Europe, and being from thence a common topick of discourse at that time, induced many persons of the first distinction to desire the acquaintance of Dr Connor, that they might inform themselves as to the state of that kingdom, than which there was none so little known, or so indifferently understood amongst the generality even of intelligent persons, and the satisfaction given by the Doctor in his conversations upon these subjects was such, that he was desired to gratify the publick, by committing what he knew of the Polish nation and country to the press (z). Upon his giving his consent to this, he found himself so much hurried in the execution, and this hurry so inconvenient with respect to his practice, that he was obliged to engage one Mr Savage to assist in composing, correcting, and publishing that performance (a). The method he took was that of an ingenious French Jesuit in his account of China, that is to say, he threw his materials into the form of letters, each of which he addressed to some person of high rank and distinction, who perhaps had formerly desired those lights from him, that are given in the Epistle thus addressed. The two volumes of which this work consists, were published separately, and the last more especially carries in it many marks of precipitation; but however, it must be allowed the best book that we have upon the subject, or rather, to contain the best things in it, and may be read with equal pleasure and improvement (b) [D]. There are some particulars which fell more immediately under

(y) Reimanni, Historia Universalis Atheismi et Atheorum, p. 449. Heisterl Apolog. a proMedicis, p. 10.

(z) See his Preface to the first Vol. of his History.

(a) This he tells us himself in the same Preface.

(b) Methode pour etudier l'Histoire, par M. l'Abbé de Fresnoy, Tom. IV. p. 294.

of, yet it was only a Physician's business to treat of, according to the principles of Natural Philosophy and Physick: for since it is on all sides acknowledged, that miraculous effects are above natural causes, no people can better judge whether any effect is really supernatural, than those that make it their business and profession to know how far the activity of natural causes can reach. For Physicians may find sometimes that what the wilful mistakes of some, and the ignorance of others, take for supernatural, is the visible effect of a natural cause; as I observed once at Rome some years since, passing by chance through the Strada del Popolo, I saw a multitude of people hurrying a man to St Mark's Chapel, which belongs the Venetian Ambassador, they told me, that he was possessed with the devil, and that they were carrying him to be exorcised. I crowded through the throng into the church, and felt the man's pulse; I found him in a fever, making hideous grimaces and motions with his face, eyes, tongue, and all his limbs, which were nothing else but a fit of convulsive motions all over his body, occasioned by disorder of his blood and his spirits, being a hypochondriacal person. The clergy and people began very devoutly to fright the pretended devil out of him, and, in a little time, his disorderly motion ceased, which, as they thought it to be the miraculous effect of their prayers, I attributed to the natural abatement and usual cessation of such fits. Every understanding Naturalist knows, that an able Chemist can work such surprising effects in his art, as may very easily pass for miracles with such as are unacquainted how far the force of natural causes can extend. It would seem to them very astonishing to see two liquors that are cold of their own nature ferment, boil, and become very hot, without any visible cause to put them in motion: to see Aqua Regalis dissolve massy gold, Aqua Fortis dissolve silver, iron, Mercury, and most other Minerals: to see the Spirit of Nitre, and the Oil of Cloves, which separately are very quiet, turn into a burning flame when mixed together; to see transparent liquors, when mixed, turn red, green, white, and into all sorts of colours. I say nothing of the Phosphorus, of the surprising effects of the Air-Pump, of the elasticity of the Air, of the Magnet, nor of an infinite number of other wonderful Phenomena in nature, which though they may be common, yet they are not the less surprising, because their cause is as hid from those that do not, and even to those that do, study nature, as that of supernatural effects is to those Naturalists who trace natural causes to their highest sphere of activity. I do not doubt, but that if the missionaries that are sent from the Western Churches to convert the Pagans of the Ea-

stern Nations, were as well versed in Anatomy and Chemistry, as they are in the tenets of the Christian Religion, and in the Mathematicks, and that if they did but dazzle the eyes of those ignorant people with a great many curious and useful experiments in these two fundamental branches of Physick, they would perhaps make as deep impressions upon their minds, and give them as convincing testimonies of the power and legality of their mission, as they can at present by the spiritual or indelible character they say is inherent in them, by virtue of their commission. Pope Clement X. knew well the effects Chemistry, artfully applied, might produce in the minds of ignorant people, when he secured the person of the famous Italian, Signior Borri, who, about thirty-five years ago, by his skill in Chemistry, did work several extraordinary cures on diseases in Germany, and gained such universal reputation all over the Empire, and the northern kingdoms, that, (as it was reported of him) he thought he had credit and opportunity sufficient to invent and propagate a new religion, by making his surprizing experiments in Chemistry pass for miracles, which they might have easily done, since Chemistry being then in its minority was not much known in the world. But the Pope, fore-seeing the ill consequence such a design might produce, gave timely orders to his Nuncio, then at Vienna, to desire the present Emperor to get him seized, which being accordingly done, he was sent prisoner to Rome, on condition nevertheless, that his life should be safe. Here he lived in Castello St Angelo for several years, where I saw him, and his curious Laboratory for Chemistry, allowed him for his diversion. No-body was admitted to discourse him without special leave, for fear, I suppose, he should inform the world either of his pretended new doctrine, or of the injustice he might intimate that was done to him. He died lately in this close confinement since I have been at Rome. To this is added another little piece, intitled, *Tentamen Epistolare de Secretione Animalis*, that is, 'An Epistolary Essay upon Animal Secretion,' addressed to Edward Southwell, Esq; son to Sir Edward Southwell, formerly President of the Royal Society.

[D] *With equal pleasure and improvement*] The title of this work promises largely (4), and there is no doubt that the author was both willing and able to have performed what he promised, if he had been suffered to proceed in his own way; for as he was naturally a very close and concise writer, he intended to have insisted chiefly upon matters of the greatest moment, and upon facts and things that fell under his immediate observation, and to have brought the whole into an octavo volume, which if he had done, there is no doubt it would have appeared a very correct, and

(4) The History of Poland, in several Letters to Persons of Quality, giving an account of the ancient and present State of that kingdom. Historical, Geographical, Physical, Political, and Ecclesiastical; its Origin and Extent; with a Description of its Towns and Provinces, the Succession and remarkable Actions of all its Kings, and of the Great Dukes of Lithuania, &c.

the author's own inspection, that are very curious, and not to be met with elsewhere, such as his account of the salt-mines, of young children carried away and nourished by bears, and of the diseases peculiar to that country, of which some notice will be taken in its proper place (c) [E]. Dr Connor's practice, by that time he had finished the first volume of his work, was so much enlarged, that he was forced to charge his assistant with the care of the second entirely, furnishing him only with notes, and there is no doubt that if he had lived, he might have become a very eminent man in his profession. But in the flower of his age, and just as he began to reap the fruits of his learning, study, and travels, he was attacked by a violent fever, which, after a short illness, carried him off in the month of October 1698, when he was very little more than thirty-two years of age (d). He had, as we observed before, been bred in the Romish religion, but had embraced that of the Church of England upon his first coming over from Holland, but in what communion he died is not perfectly clear, the reasons of which the reader will learn at large in the notes (e) [F],

(c) See a brief account of these matters in the note.

(d) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 258.

(e) Dr Hayley's Sermon at his funeral.

finished performance; but being prevailed upon to extend his plan, and to leave the open part of it, for which he had no materials, to be filled up from books by another person, it is, to say the truth, not a little confused and unequal; but wherever we can discern the doctor's pen, the reader is sure to meet with something worthy his notice. The first volume is divided into six letters, viz. to the Earl of Dartmouth, the Earl of Rochester, the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Yarmouth, the Lord Townsend, and Mr Stepney. According to the plan of the second volume, printed before the first, there is a scheme of twelve letters, notwithstanding which, there are only ten in that volume, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, Mr Secretary Vernon, the Earl of Marlborough, the Marquis of Normanby, the Duke of Ormond, Mr de Cleverkerk the Dutch Ambassador, the Earl of Burlington, Sir Thomas Millington, and Mr Bridges, afterward Duke of Chandos, but this letter is not upon the subject which was promised, for that with another, were never executed, though the contents of them shew that this was a loss to the publick. Letter XI. Giving an anatomical account of the natural cause, why people must necessarily die of old age alone, attended with no other disease. Letter XII. Explaining the nature of curable and incurable wounds, demonstrating by practical observations, and anatomical experiments, the small number of wounds which are of themselves absolutely mortal, and shewing the true and common abuse of styptic waters and powders, in the practice of Surgery. All the letters in the second volume, except the first, are signed I. S. tho' it is evident, that part of the materials in each was furnished by Dr Connor, who seeing them indifferently put together, did not care to own them.

[E] *Of which some notice will be taken in its proper place.* We are told by Dr Connor, that the salt mines near Cracow, were discovered in 1548, by a cobbler (5), and that they have been wrought ever since without any danger of being exhausted. They descend into them by several pair of wooden stairs, and the depth of the mine is computed at three hundred geometrical paces. There are a vast number of turnings and windings at that depth, some narrow like allies, and others broad and large like streets. The owner of the mine, Mr Morstin Covałki, told the Doctor, it would require a week's time to go all over the mine, which must be consequently of a vast extent. In some places there is a great deal of fresh water, but in most places it is salt. There are frequently such fierce winds in the mine, as are not to be withstood; and the air, to those who are not used to it, is excessively penetrating and sharp. The miners positively affirm, that the salt weighs less in the mine than when brought up into the air, of which, however, the Doctor, seems a little to doubt. The salt found here is of four sorts, the first clear and hard like crystal, the second clear but not so hard, the third brittle and white like sugar, the fourth not so well coloured and of a less pungent taste. In some places it is impossible to work, because the nitrous vapours are apt to take fire upon the approach of a candle. The revenue drawn from this mine by the publick, amounts to eight hundred thousand Polish florins a year, besides which, the proprietor makes presents to each of the cities and towns of Poland, and to the Starosts, all which, and the expences of working defrayed, there remains a very great income. — The Doctor takes occasion to prove at large, a story he had before-mentioned in one of his Latin treatises (6), of a boy kept

(5) History of Poland, Vol. I. p. 246.

(6) Evangel. Medici, Art. 15. p. 181.

in a convent in his time, that had been bred up by a she-bear, and was taken in the woods when he was about ten years old, as they guessed from his stature and aspect: he was of a hideous countenance, and had not either the use of reason or of speech: he went upon all four, and had nothing in him like a man, except his human structure. But seeing he resembled a rational creature, he was admitted to the font and christened, yet still he was restless and uneasy, and often inclined to flight, and at length being taught to stand upright, by clapping against a wall and holding him after the manner that dogs are taught to beg, and being by little and little accustomed to eat at table, he after some time became indifferently tame and began to express his mind with a hoarse and inhuman tone, but being asked concerning his course of life in the woods, he could not give much better account of it than we can do of our actions in the cradle. — The account the Doctor gives us of the plica (7), is very singular, but free from the absurdities of former accounts. He tells us, that it consists in the hairs being matted and intangled like fulled cloth, sometimes on one side of the head, sometimes on both; but he assures us, that no blood follows upon cutting it, nor does the patient feel any pain in that operation, tho' he is afterwards subject to a kind of rheumatick disorder all over, and sometimes to greater inconveniences; yet he assures us, that Dr Jonas, a Jew, and the king of Poland's Physician, found a very short and safe method of curing it, by first salivating by friction, and then cutting off the hair, which was done without any dangerous consequences ensuing. The most extraordinary circumstances attending this disease are two (8); first, that it is peculiar to the kingdom of Poland, and Duchy of Lithuania; next, that it comes suddenly without any visible cause, and, that too, frequently in a night's time.

(7) History of Poland, Vol. II. p. 95.

(8) Chwalkowski Singularia Polonica, p. 191.

[F] *Will learn at large in the notes.* This funeral sermon upon Dr Bernard Connor, was preached by the Reverend William Hayley, D. D. Rector of St Giles's in the Fields, on the 30th of October 1698, at which time the corps of Dr Connor was interred there. What follows is in that Divine's own words (9). 'He had in his sickness, before his distemper arrived to a great height, and while he was in his perfect senses made a will, in which he left five pounds to the poor of this parish, where he now lived, and desired that if it should please God to take him out of this world, I might preach his funeral sermon, and that it might be made publick; his friends let me know this, and at his and their request I visited him: I found him very much decayed in strength, but perfectly sensible, as he had still been in the intervals of his fits, though the height of his fever put him into ravings. As soon as I saw him, he requested of me what his friends had told me before hand, and I presumed his design in it was, that he might be vindicated from the suspicion of some heterodox opinions, which his censurers imputed to him, as well as that his death might be the occasion of an useful discourse to the living. I therefore told him, that in case I complied with his desire, I thought it would be expected I should say something of a person whose writings and character had rendered him so much known to the world, and had given occasion to some people to speak doubtfully of his principles in religion; and that for this reason, among others, it would be very proper for me to have some satisfaction from him as to his faith, upon which I put several questions to him, *As whether he believed the gospel? whether he gave credit to the miracles*

(9) Sermon preached at the funeral of Bernard Connor, M. D. in the parish church of St Giles's, Oct. 30, 1698, by William Hayley, D. D. Rector of the said Parish, Lond. 1699, 4to.

from a Funeral Sermon preached by an eminent Divine at his own request, who seems to have spoken of him with all the candour and charity that became a Christian Priest. As his writings are very well known, and his character has been much canvassed in foreign countries, this article was thought the more necessary, in which we have endeavoured to collect all the scattered facts that can be met with about him.

‘ miracles that are there recorded, and looked upon them as attestations of the truth of the Christian religion? whether he believed that Jesus Christ was the saviour of the world, and that he came to be our propitiation, and to satisfy divine justice for the sins of mankind? To which, and such like questions, he answered affirmatively with great earnestness; and when I discoursed him on the subject of that book of his, which occasioned suspicion of his principles, he declared that he had no intention to prejudice religion thereby, and remitted me to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury for farther satisfaction, to whom he said he had explained himself in this matter; and as an attestation of his sincerity, had received the sacrament upon it at the parish church of St Martin in the Fields, which I have since found to be true.

‘ I then began to examine him as to the state of his soul, what sense he had of his sins, and what remorse for having at any time offended God? and whether he were persuaded of the necessity of repentance and amendment of life, in order to gain the salvation purchased by Jesus Christ. To all which he gave me satisfactory answers, and expressed great sorrow for the sins and errors of his life past, and then joined with us very devoutly in the prayers of the Church, in the office for the visitation of the sick.

‘ In the afternoon of the same day, I went with a desire to have had some farther discourse with him, but the violence of his fit being upon him, he was not in a condition to be spoken with.

‘ The next morning I visited him again, and found him in one of his intervals still sensible, but very much weakened. I took this occasion to talk with him more particularly concerning his principles, and upon mentioning the merits of our Saviour, ask’d him whether he depended entirely on the merits of Jesus Christ, and his intercession, for pardon of his sins and reconciliation to God? and he made answer, that he relied only on the merits of his Saviour. He was then put in mind of receiving the sacrament, and he said he desired it with all his soul. I ask’d whether in receiving the sacrament, he had in his view the professing himself a disciple of Christ and a member of his body the Church? and if in receiving it from my hands, he desired to profess himself a member of the Church of England, which question being a second time distinctly put to him by a friend of his then present, he answered with very great seriousness that he did. Then I put him in mind of his neglect of receiving the sacrament, which he had not done since about two years ago, when he communicated at St Martin’s, and he expressed a sorrow for it. By all this I thought he sufficiently purged himself from the imputation of Deism, Socinianism, or Popery. I looked

‘ on him as a true penitent member of the Church of England, and I gave him the sacrament. He received it with signs of very great devotion, with expressions of hearty repentance for all the sins and follies of his life, and earnest petitions for pardon, and so I left him as far as we could judge in a Christian disposition for death, which I looked upon as very near.

‘ These are things which I think myself obliged to give a particular account of, partly to answer what I conceive was the design of the deceased, and partly upon occasion of an accident that happened some hours after I left him, which perhaps it will be thought not fair to conceal. A certain person, who it seems was a Romish priest, came to the Doctor’s lodgings, and desired very earnestly to see him, declaring that he was his countryman, his friend, and his relation: those about him looking upon him as very near his departure, were unwilling he should be disturbed, but upon great importunity did at last grant the stranger admittance, who coming to the bed-side, called the Doctor by his name, and saluted him three times before he regarded, but at the third time he cried out for God’s sake assist me. Upon which the company was prevailed with to leave the room, but the Doctor’s most intimate friend returned to the door, and heard the Doctor repeating over his Confiteor in Latin, in a very buddled manner, upon which the priest gave him absolution; and then asked him, whether he would have extreme unction, and the Doctor said yes, after which it is suspected it was administered to him.

‘ Now here could I imagine the Doctor was in his senses, and that he was really in his heart of the Roman communion, while he only acted this part in the last scene of his life, I should look upon it as a very great stain on his memory, and I am persuaded it would give every body a shocking idea of that religion, which would allow a person so to prevaricate both with God and man.

‘ But I confess that I believe his judgment was now quite decayed, and that he did not know what he did, for he was thought dying by those about him, though he recovered out of that agony and lived till next day. His friend assures me, that in his sickness, he turned away another Romish priest who would have seen him: that the doctor thanked him for it, and desired that none of those persons (adding a reproachful word, which I do not think decent to publish) should be admitted to him; and that it was the Doctor’s own desire that I should attend him in his sickness; and I cannot see what occasion there should be for such a piece of dissimulation if he had been of the Roman communion. E

COOKE (Sir ANTHONY) Governor, Preceptor, or School-master, to King Edward VI, and great grandson to Sir Thomas Cook Lord Mayor of London in 1462 [A], was born at Giddy, or Gidding-Hall in Essex (a), about the year 1506 (b). Where the place

was septuagenarius, 70 years old, that very year when he died; and therefore must have been born about

[A] Great Grandson to Sir Thomas Cook, Lord Mayor of London, in 1462,] This Sir Thomas Cooke was son of Robert Cooke, of Lavenham, in Suffolk. He was of the Drapers Company, and probably brought up to that business. In the 5th of King Edward IV. he was made Knight of the Bath, and knighted in the field by the King (1); but in the year 1467 he came into great troubles: For one Hawkins having, some years before, desired him to lend him a thousand marks upon good security, Sir Thomas answered, he would first know for whom it was, and for what intent. Understanding it was for the use of Queen Margaret, (wife of King Henry VI.) he answered, he had no goods that he could convert into money without too much loss; and, at length, refused to lend even a hundred pounds. Two or three years after, Hawkins being committed to the Tower, and put to the

rack, impeached Sir Tho. Cooke of high-treason, for what should then have been imputed to him as a virtue rather than a crime. However, he was for the same tried at Guild-hall, by the procurement of Sir John Fogg; and tho’ he was acquitted of treason, he was sent to the Counter, and from thence to the King’s-Bench. During his confinement, his house in London, and his country-seat at Giddy-Hall, were plundered by the servants of Sir John Fogg, and Anthony Rivers, Earl of Widville: for which damages Sir Thomas could never get the least recompence: nor was he released till he had paid eight thousand pounds to the King, and eight hundred pounds to the Queen (2). His son was Philip Cooke, Esq; — his grandson John Cooke, Esq; who died Oct. 10, 1516, — and his great grandson, Sir Anthony, of whom we are now writing (3).

[B] Together

(a) Fuller’s Worthies of England, in Essex, p. 327.

(b) Mr Camden tells us, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth under the year 1576, that Sir Anthony was born about the year 1506.

(1) Stowe’s Survey of London, with Strype’s Additions, edit. 1720, fol. Vol. II. B. v. p. 122.

(2) Stowe’s Annals, edit. 1631, fol. p. 420.

(3) Hist. & Antiq. of Essex, by N. Salmon, p. 249.

(c) He is not mentioned at all by A. Wood.

(d) State Worthies, &c. by Dav. Lloyd, 2d edit. 8vo, Lond. 1679, p. 374, &c. See also Sir John Hayward's Life of King Edward VI. in Compl. Hist. of England, fol. Vcl. II. edit. 1706, p. 274, note (d).

(e) D. Lloyd; and Fuller's Worthies, ubi supra; and The History and Antiquities of Essex, &c. by N. Salmon, p. 249.

(f) *Vir—anti—qua severitate, & doctrina multiplici*—as Mr Camden styles him; Annal. Reg. Eliz. sub anno, 1576.

place of his education was, we cannot find any where mentioned; though it was most probably at Cambridge (c). But wherever it was, he became eminent in the whole circle of arts; being a thorough Master of the Latin and Greek languages; an excellent Critic and Philologist; and equally skilled in Poetry, History, and the Mathematicks. He was at the same time adorned with singular piety and goodness. These illustrious qualities, together with his uncommon prudence in the management of his own family [B], being taken notice of by those noble persons that had the charge of King Edward VI: they appointed Sir Anthony to be that Prince's chief instructor, and the great guide of his learning and manners (d). And what glorious progress he made, under his, and the rest of his Governors, good care, is sufficiently known. During Queen Mary's persecuting reign, he was an exile for his religion. But after Queen Elizabeth's happy accession, he returned to his native country: And peaceably spent the remainder of his days at Giddy-Hall, of which he finished the building (e) [C]. He died June 11, 1576, aged seventy; leaving behind him the character of a man of severe gravity, and great learning (f). See the rest of his character in the note [D]. Several witty and ingenious sayings of his are recorded [E]. He was buried in the chapel of Rumford in Essex, where a monument is erected to his memory (g). If he was great and happy in himself, he was much happier and greater in his four daughters, learned above their sex in Greek and Latin; namely, 1. Mildred, married to Sir William Cecil, Baron Burleigh, Lord Treasurer of England. 2. Anne, to Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. 3. Elizabeth to Sir John Ruffel, son and heir of Francis Earl of Bedford. And 4. Catherine [F], to Henry Killigrew, Esq; — By his Lady, Anne, daughter of Sir William Fitz-Williams of Milton, Knt. he had also two sons, Richard and William (h).

[B] Together with his uncommon prudence in the management of his family.] His childrens maintenance was always according to their quality, and their employment according to their disposition; he neither allowing them to live above their fortunes, nor forcing them against their natures. His first care was to give them a true sense of religion, and his next, to inure them to submission, modesty, and obedience, and to let their instructions grow with their years. Their book and pen was their recreation; the musick and dancing-school, the court and city, their accomplishment; the needle in the closet, and housewifery in the hall and kitchen, their business. They were reprov'd, but with reason that convinced and checked, that wrought as well an ingenuous shame, as an unfeigned sorrow, and a dutiful fear. He never loved them with over-fondness, nor chastised them in a passion. He said, 'That the joys of parents are secrets, and so are their griefs and fears.' Children sweeten labours, but they embitter misfortunes; they increase the care of life, and mitigate the remembrance of death. The recreations he indulged his in, were moderate, lawful, sober, becoming, useful, and seasonable: the expences he allowed, not so illiberal as to acquaint them with shifts, make them resort with mean company, nor surfeit when they came to plenty; nor yet so prodigal, but that they were taught how to live in the world. The books he advised were not many, but choice; the business he pressed, was not reading, but digesting. The diet he prescribed was moderate: in apparel he allowed for necessity, for decency, and in some cases for magnificence, provided that it were neither too costly, nor too vain; neither above the purse, nor beyond the calling, nor besides the estate (4).

[C] Giddy-hall, of which he finished the building.] As the following inscription, on the front of it, testified.

*Ædibus his frontem proavus Thomas dedit olim,  
Addidit Antonî cætera sera manus. 1568.  
Ædes quisque suas, Domini sed moenia pauci  
Ædificant, levior cura minora decet (5).*

The purport of which is, that the front of that house was built by his great grandfather Thomas, and the rest added by himself in 1568, &c. This feat was not long ago re-built, in an elegant manner, by the late owner, Sir John Eyles, Bart.

[D] See the rest of his character in the note.] He was, if David Lloyd may be credited (6), naturally of a reserved temper; and took more pleasure to breed up statesmen, than to be one. Contemplation was his soul, privacy his life, and discourse his element: business was his purgatory, and publickness his torment.

To which may be added what King Edward VI. used to say of his tutors, that Rodolph, the German, spake honestly, Sir John Cheke talked merrily, Dr Cox solidly, and Sir Anthony Cooke weighingly (7).

[E] Several witty and ingenious sayings of his are recorded.] Particularly the following: 'That there were three things before whom he could not do amiss; his Prince, his conscience, and his children.' Writing to his daughter Mildred, he said to her, 'My example is your inheritance, and my life is your portion.' This story is likewise related of him. That a Suffex Knight having spent a great estate at Court, and reduced himself to one park and a fine house in it, was yet ambitious to entertain King Edward VI. therein; and to that purpose had new-painted his gates, with a Coat of Arms, and this motto over them in large golden letters, *OTIA VANITAS*. Sir Anthony offering to read it, desired to know of the gentleman what he meant by *OTIA*? who told him it stood for *omnia*. Sir Anthony replied, 'Sir, I wonder, having made your *Omnia* (8) so little as you have, you notwithstanding make your *Vanitas* (9) so large (10).'

[F] Catherine.] Dr T. Fuller hath preserved the following Latin verses of this lady's, written, as he says, upon this occasion. Her husband, Sir Henry Killigrew, being designed by Queen Elizabeth Embassador for France, in troublesome times, when the employment, always difficult, was then apparently dangerous; this affectionate wife of his wrote these verses to her sister Mildred Cecil, to use her interest with the Lord Treasurer, her husband, that Sir Henry might be excused from that service.

*Si mihi quem cupio cures, Mildreda, remitti,  
Tu bona, tu melior, tu mihi sola Soror.  
Sin male cunctando retines, vel trans mare mittes,  
Tu mala, tu peyor, tu mihi nulla Soror.  
It si Cornubiam, tibi pax sit, & omnia lecta,  
Sin mare, \* Cecili, nuntio bella, vale.*

Thus englished by the same author (11).

If, Mildred, by thy care he be sent back, whom I request,  
A sister good thou art to me, yea better, yea the best.  
But if with stays thou keep'st him still, or send'st where seas may part,  
Then unto me a sister ill, yea worse, yea none thou art.  
If go to Cornwall he shall please, I peace to thee foretell.  
But, Cecil, if he set to seas, I war denounce; farewell.

(4) State Worthies, &c. as above. p. 375, 376, 377.

(5) Weaver's Funeral Monuments edit. 1631, fol. p. 650.

(6) Ubi supra, p. 377.

(g) J. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 467, &c.

(h) Strype, *ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.* p. 386.

(8) *i. e.* Your All.

(9) *i. e.* Vanity.

(10) State Worthies, by David Lloyd, ubi supra, p. 375, 385.

(\*) *Mel. trajiciat.*

(11) Fuller's Worthies, ubi supra, p. 328.

COOPER, or COUPER (THOMAS) a learned Bishop in the XVth Century, was born in the city of Oxford, about the year 1517, but not of such mean parentage as is insinuated by Anthony Wood [A]. He was educated in grammar-learning in the school joining to St Mary Magdalen-College, of which he was a Chorister (a). Making great proficiency there beyond his years, he was elected first Demi, and then in 1539 Probationer, and, the year following, perpetual Fellow of that College (b). On the 7th of July 1539, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (c), and that of Master, June 6, 1543 (d). About which time, he became Master of the school wherein he had received his education (e). In 1546, he left his Fellowship, being then probably married, and applied himself to the studies of polite Literature and Physick (f). When Queen Mary came to the Crown, he being inclined to the Protestant Religion, took the degree of Bachelor of Physick, in 1556 (g), and practised in that faculty at Oxford (h). But, after that Queen's death, he returned to his former study of Divinity, and became a frequent and celebrated Preacher (i). March 18, 1566-7, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor, and Doctor in Divinity (k); and, about that time, was made Dean of Christ-Church in Oxford (l); and for several years after, was Vice-Chancellor of the University (m). In 1569, he was made Dean of Gloucester (n); and February 24, 1570, consecrated Bishop of Lincoln (o). The 27th of July 1572, he preached a sermon at St Paul's-Cross, in vindication of the Church of England, and its Liturgy; to which an answer was sent him by a disaffected person (p). Which answer the industrious Mr Strype hath printed at length, in his Annals of the Reformation (q). A few years after, he was desired to visit King's College in Cambridge [B], but refused to do it, unless he had a special commission for that purpose (r). Upon occasion of the publick exercises (known by the name of *Prophefings*) being continued in several parts of his diocese, particularly in Hertfordshire [C], the Queen sent him a letter, in 1577, to put a stop to those exercises (s). There was a design, in 1579, to remove him to Norwich, on the intended translation of Bishop Scambler to Ely; but, for certain reasons [D], Dr Cooper declined this offer (t). He did a good service to his diocese in 1582, by getting a commission superseded, that had been obtained under pretence of discovering concealed lands and estates granted by the Crown; but which, in reality, was very perplexing and oppressive both to the clergy and laity (u). His distinguished merit and abilities having recommended him to his sovereign's favour and esteem, he was translated in 1584, to the rich Bishoprick of Winchester (w); where, as he had done before in every other station, he became much noted for his learning and sanctity of life (x). Soon after his consecration, he went and resided in his new diocese; and because it abounded with great numbers of Recusants, he thought it necessary to take an Ecclesiastical Commission along with him (y). Moreover being apprehensive of great danger from them, and of an invasion that way, he petitioned the Privy-Council, to suppress the

[A] *But not of such mean parentage as is insinuated by A. Wood.* He was the son of John Couper, fourth son of Tho. Couper of the city of Chester, Esq; by Isabel daughter and sole heiress to Richard Goodman Esq; Mayor of that city A. D. 1497: which John was sent to Oxford, and entered a Commoner of St Mary-Magdalen-Hall; but, before he took a Degree, unhappily married so much to the displeasure of his parents, that they never took notice of him afterwards, and he lived in Oxford very obscurely all the rest of his days (1).

[B] *He was desired to visit King's College in Cambridge.* Of which, by Statute, he was the legal Visitor; but as his visitations there were but from three years to three years, and it was not yet three years since his last visitation, he thought he could not take upon himself to visit them, without an extraordinary commission (2).

[C] *The Queen sent him a Letter in 1577, to put a stop to the Prophefings, that were continued in his Diocese.* These Prophefings otherwise named Exercises, were grounded upon 1 Corinth. XIV. 31. *Ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.* They were set on foot in several parts of the kingdom about the year 1571; (3) and consisted of conferences among the Clergy, for the better improving of themselves, and one another, in the knowledge of Scripture and Divinity. For that purpose, certain Ministers within a convenient compass in each Diocese, assembled together in a parish church, commonly in some market-town; and there, one after another, gave their judgments briefly of the sense of some place or places of scripture, propounded before to be discussed, either by the Bishop, or the Archdeacon's order, or some other grave person: and then it was determined by a Moderator (4). The chief members of the assemblies were Moderators, Writers, and Speakers. The Moderators, who were generally four in number, pitched upon the parts of Scripture

that were to be handled. The Writers collected several observations upon every verse of those parts of Scripture, and so proceeded upon the whole. The Speakers discoursed, or enlarged, upon such portions as were severally assigned to them. Their method of proceeding was thus: They began and ended with prayer: Then the first Moderator proposed and read the first verse of the text, or chapter that was to be handled. Upon which verse the Writers read in order the observations they had gathered. Then the Speaker assigned to that part of the text, enlarged upon the same. After him the rest of the Speakers had liberty to give any brief notes upon that verse. In the mean time, the Moderator's care, was to take notice of any error, negligence, or ignorance in any of the Writers and Speakers, and to correct and reform them. After which he further added such observations as he had gathered upon that verse. And after him the rest of the Moderators, in due order, did the like, till as much was said upon that verse, as was thought convenient. All the time, both the Speakers and Writers, took notice in writing, of the observations given by any of the Speakers or Moderators. And so all the Moderators proceeded with the whole text, or chapter, verse by verse (5). These Prophefings, or Exercises, were put down in the diocese of Norwich in 1574 (6), but continued in others, particularly in the North, for above ten years after (7). However, they were almost generally suppressed in 1577 (8), on account of their being thought to be Seminaries of Puritanism.

[D] *For certain reasons Dr Cooper declined the offer of the See of Norwich.* His reasons were; that the greatness of the charge, and number of churches, would be either little or nothing diminished: the troublesome-ness, and danger, of the diocese far greater, than where he was: the credit of the place nothing more: the benefit of the living no whit amended: and the charges of the alteration very great (9).

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. 1. col. 265.  
 (b) Ibid. & Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. p. 196.  
 (c) Idem, Fasti, Vol. 1. col. 62.  
 (d) Ibid. col. 67. & Hist. & Antiq. ubi supra.  
 (e) Hist. & Antiq. ubi supra. See also Balei Scriptor. Illustr. Majoris Bryt. Cent. IX. No. 74. p. 755, edit. Oporini.  
 (f) Athen. ubi supra.  
 (g) Fasti, Vol. 1. col. 83.  
 (h) Athen. ubi supra.  
 (i) Ibid.  
 (k) Fasti, ubi supra, col. 97.

(1) From the information of William Cowper, Esq;  
 (2) Strype's Annals, ubi supra, p. 419.  
 (3) Strype's Annals, Vol. 11. p. 90, &c.  
 (4) Ibid. p. 219.

(1) Athen. ubi supra; & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. p. 255.  
 (m) See Fasti, Vol. 1. col. 100, 101, 103, 104.  
 (n) Wood, Ath. Vol. 1. col. 158, 203.  
 (o) Godwin. de Præsulibus, edit. 1615, 4to, p. 362; and Wood, Ath. ubi supra, col. 242, 265, 712.  
 (p) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. 11. p. 193, edit. 1725.  
 (q) Ibid. &c.  
 (r) Ibid. p. 419.  
 (s) Ibid. p. 486, 487; and Appendix to Book ii, No. 9. p. 111.  
 (t) Ibid. Annals, p. 590, 591.  
 (u) Idem, Vol. 111. p. 112.  
 (w) Ibid. p. 175. Godwin. de Præsulibus, &c. p. 301.  
 (x) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.  
 (y) Strype's Annals, Vol. 111. p. 239, 240.

the boldness of the Papists in the county of Southampton [E]. Not long after, he was accused of Covetousness (z), of which he cleared himself [F]. Upon the discovery of William Parry's treason, he put out 'an order of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the preservation of the Queen's life and safety; to be used in the diocese of Winchester (a).' In the year 1588, he preached at St Paul's-Cross, on the 17th of November, being a day of publick thanksgiving, as well for the Queen's accession to the throne, as for the signal victory obtained over the Spanish Armada (b). This reverend and holy Bishop, as Mr Wood styles him (c), died at Winchester, April 29, 1594, and was buried in the cathedral there, on the south-side of the choir, a little above the Bishop's seat. Over his grave was soon after laid a flat marble, with a Latin inscription in prose and verse [G]. The several books he published, were these: I. 'The Epitome of Chronicles from the seventeenth year after Christ, to 1540, and thence afterwards to the year 1560.' Lond. 1560, 4to. The two first parts of this Chronicle, and the beginning of the third as far as the seventeenth year after Christ, were composed by Thomas Lanquet, a young man of twenty-four years of age. But he being cut off by untimely death, Mr Cooper finished the work; and his part, which is the third, contains almost thrice as much as Lanquet's two parts, being chiefly taken from Achilles Pyrrinius. When it was finished, a third person published it surreptitiously, and in a very faulty manner, in 1559, under the title of *Lanquet's Chronicle*: whereupon, our author revised, corrected, and published it again in 1560, under the general title of *Cooper's Chronicle*, &c. The running title to the first and second part, is *Lanquet's Chronicle*; and to the third, *The Epitome of Chronicles*. II. *Theſaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae*, &c. and *Dictionary Historicum & Poeticum*. Lond. 1565, fol. This Dictionary was so much esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, that she endeavoured to promote the author as high in the church as she could (d). It is an improvement of *Bibliotheca Eliotæ*; Elyot's Library or Dictionary; printed at Lond. 1541, fol. to which Mr Cooper added thirty-three thousand words and phrases, besides a fuller account of the true signification of words (e): Or rather, it is taken out of Robert Stephens's *Theſaurus Linguae Latinae*, and out of *Frisii Lexicon Latino-Teutonicum* (f). III. 'A brief Exposition of such Chapters of the Old Testament, as usually are read in the Church at Common-Prayer, on the Sundays throughout the Year.' Lond. 1573, 4to. IV. 'Sermon at Lincoln 1575, on Matth. xvi. 26, 27.' Lond. 8vo. V. 'Twelve Sermons on Rom. i. 16. Matth. vii. 15, 16. 1 Cor. x. 1, 3, 5. Matth. xiii. 3, 5. and John viii. 46.' Lond. 1580, 4to. VI. 'An Admonition to the People of England. Wherein are answered not only the slanderous Untruths, reproachfully uttered by *Martin*, the Libeller, but also many other Crimes by some of his brood, objected generally against all Bishops, and the chief of the Clergy; purposely to deface and discredit the present state of the Church.' Lond. 1589, 4to. This was a solid and judicious answer to John ap Henry's scurrilous and abusive libels against the Established Church, published under the name of *Martin Mar-Prelate* (g). Ap Henry, or his Club of Puritans, replied to the Bishop's book, in two ludicrous pamphlets, intitled, 'Ha'ye any work for a Cooper?' and 'More Work for a Cooper' (h). ——— Bishop Cooper's character is represented by several writers in a very advantageous light. One styles him (i), a very learned man, eloquent,

[E] He petitioned the Council to suppress the boldness of the Papists, &c.] Among other methods for it, he proposed, 'That an hundred, or two, of obstinate recusants, lusty men, well able to labour, might by some convenient commission be taken up and sent into Flanders as pioneers and labourers. Whereby the country should be disburthened of a company of dangerous people. And the rest that remained be put in some fear.' (10)

[F] He was accused of Covetousness.] Of which he cleared himself, by producing a schedule of the value of his bishoprick, and the charges payable out of it. By that it appeared, that the clear value, or rent of assize, of that bishoprick amounted then to two thousand seven hundred pounds ten shillings and sixpence, yearly; and the charges issuing out of it, to two thousand three hundred and seventy seven pounds: so remained clear to him, only three hundred and ninety eight pounds nine shillings. From the same schedule it moreover appears, that some of the Courtiers were quartered upon this bishoprick. For there is one article in it thus, 'My Lord of Leicester's fee 100 l.' And another, 'Paid yearly in annuities, granted by Bishop Gardiner and Bishop White; wherein Sir Fr. Walsingham's fee is contained—218 l. 6 s. 8 d.' (11)

[G] With a Latin inscription in prose and verse.] Which is as follows. Round the stone. *Hic jacet Thomas Cooper olim Lincolnensis, nuper Wintoniensis Episcopus munificentissimus, doctissimus, vigilantissimus Præsul; qui religiosissime in domino obiit Aprilis 29. an. dom. 1594.* In the middle of the stone are these verses.

*Theſaurus, Chronicorum\*, Cooperi cætera scripta Dum remanent, celebris Cooperi fama manebit. Oxoniensis erat, Glocestrensisque Decanus, Continuus primæ Vicecancellarius Urbis, Tum Lincolnensis † fit Præsul, & inde movetur Wintoniam, denos ubi sedit Episcopus annos. Summè doctus erat, summèque benignus egenis, Et summo studio divina oracula pandit. Terra tegit corpus, sed spiritus est super astra: Coelestes animæ, coelesti pace fruuntur.*

Below.

*In obitum D. Thomæ Cooperi, Sacræ Theologiæ Professoris, W. S. Δεκάστιχον* (12).

i. e. 'Here lies Thomas Cooper, formerly Bishop of Lincoln, and late of Winchester, a very bountiful, learned and vigilant prelate, who died piously in the Lord, April 29, in the year 1594. While Cooper's Dictionary, Chronicle, and other writings are in being, Cooper's great fame will last. He was of Oxford, Dean of Gloucester, for several years Vice-Chancellor of the former; then he became Bishop of Lincoln, and thence was translated to Winchester, where he sat Bishop ten years. He was very learned, extremely bountiful to the poor, and with great diligence explained the divine oracles. The earth covers his body, but his soul is above the firmament: heavenly souls shall enjoy heavenly peace.' 'These ten verses on the death of Dr Thomas Cooper, S. T. P. were made by W. S.'

(\* It is so printed in Wood, but it should be *Chronicon*, in order to make up both the sense and the verse.

(†) It should be *Lincolnensis*.

(12) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 196, 197.

[H] He

quent, and well acquainted with the English and Latin languages. Another (k) says of him, that he was a man of great gravity, learning, and holiness of life. He was, says A. Wood (l), furnished with all kind of learning almost beyond all his contemporaries, and not only adorned the pulpit with his sermons, but also the Commonwealth of Learning with his writings. 'Of him, says Sir John Harrington (m), I can say much, and I should do him great wrong if I should say nothing: For he was indeed a reverent man, very well learned, exceeding industrious; and, which was in those dayes counted a great praise to him, and a chief cause of his preferment, he wrote that great Dictionary that yet bears his name. His life in Oxford was very commendable, and in some sort saint-like; for, if it be saint-like to live unreprouable, to bear a cross patiently, to forgive great injuries freely, this man's example is sampleless in this age.' He married a wife at Oxford [H], with whom he happened to be very unhappy, she proving unfaithful to his bed. 'The whole university, in reverence of the man, and indignity of the matter, offered to separate her from him by publick authority, and so to set him free, being the innocent party. But he would by no means agree thereto, alledging he knew his own infirmity, that he might not live unmarried; and to divorce and marry again, he would not charge his conscience with so great a scandal.'

[H] He married a wife at Oxford, &c.] By her he had two daughters, Elizabeth, wife of Dr John Bel-  
 lew, some time Provost of Oriel-College, and Chan-

cellor of the diocese of Lincoln; and Mary, who was married to John Gouldwell, Gent (13).

(k) G. W. 2. P. 305.

(l) H. O. & A. 13. Univ. Oxon. 16. p. 255.

(m) A brief Survey of the State of the Church of England in Queen Elizabeth and King James's Reign. Being a Character and History of the Bishops of those Times, Lond. 1633. 8vo, p. 62, 64.

(13) From the same information as above.

COOPER (ANTHONY ASHLEY) Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the ablest persons, greatest Politicians, and most distinguished Ministers in the last century. He derived from his birth, all the advantages that could spring from an honourable descent joined to a large fortune. His father was Sir John Cooper of Rockborn in the county of Southampton, Bart. by Anne, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Anthony Ashley, of Winborne St Giles in the county of Dorset, Knight and Baronet (a); from whom he inherited an estate of eight thousand pounds a year, and all the influence that arose from such a fortune, and the credit of his ancestors in the West of England, which was very considerable (b) [A]. He was born at Winborne St Giles, July 22, 1621 (c), and educated with great care under the eye of his parents during his infancy, in which he discovered such extraordinary parts, as not only gave hopes of his becoming one day a person of excellent abilities, but rendered him even at that time the subject of general admiration; so that while a very boy he was considered as a prodigy, and, if we may credit his Historian, very extraordinary things were predicted of him (d) [B]. He had the misfortune to lose his father, March

(a) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 481.

(b) Rawleigh Redivivus, or the Life and Death of the Right Hon. Anthony late Earl of Shaftesbury, Lond. 1683, 2vo, p. 6.

(c) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 720. Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 371, where there is a glaring mistake of 1624 for 1621.

(d) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 9, 10.

[A] Which was very considerable.] As to this gentleman's descent, by the father's side, we find, that in the 22d of Henry VIII. Richard Cooper, Esq; purchased from Sir Amyas Pawlet the Manor of Pawlet (1), in Somersetshire, still in the possession of this family, and erected into a Barony in their favour by King Charles II. This Richard Cooper, by Jane his wife, daughter of Sir John Kingsmill, of Sydmonton, in the county of Southampton, Knight, had issue John Cooper, of Rockborn, in the same county, who was afterwards knighted, and was the father of Sir John Cooper, Knt. mentioned in the text, and who was also created Baronet, July 4, 1662. As for his mother's family, she was descended by the females from the ancient houses of Hamlynnes (2), Plesheys, and Malmaines, possessors of Wimborne St Giles, from whom it descended to Anthony Ashley, Esq; who, for his great services in the Cadiz expedition, where he acted as Secretary at War, had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon him (3). He was afterwards promoted to be one of the clerks of the Privy-Council in the reign of King James I (4). but falling under the displeasure of that Prince, and being removed from his office, his large fortune, which consisted of two thousand marks a year in real estate, and as much in money and effects, tempted one Sir James Creighton (5) to enter into a wicked conspiracy with Henry Smith and Mary Rice, servants to Sir Anthony, in the year 1610, to deprive him of his life and fortune; in order to which, Mary Rice presented a petition to the King, setting forth, that her husband, William Rice, dead eighteen years before, was poisoned by Henry Smith, at the instance of Sir Anthony Ashley, and Henry Smith confessed the same; but upon referring this petition to the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the whole iniquity was found out, and the conspirators punished in the Star-Chamber. This Sir Anthony Ashley, July 3, 1622, was created a Baronet (6), who by his wife, daughter of Philip Okeover, of Okeover, in the county of Stafford, had only one daughter, Anne, who married Sir John Cooper, by whom she had this only son,

(1) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 370.

(2) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 431.

(3) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 726.

(4) List of Civil Officers in the Reign of King James I. MS.

(5) Coke's Reports, P. xii. p. 91.

(6) Dugdale's Catalogue of Baronets, and the Time of their Creation.

to whom his grandfather was also godfather, and gave him both his names, so that he was christened Anthony Ashley, as being the presumptive heir of both families (7).

[B] Were predicted of him.] As the ancients were given to believe in omens and prodigies, so it was the foible of the last, as well as some preceding ages, to yield, but too much faith to pretended prophecies and idle prognostications. Of this nature we may reckon what a certain writer tells us of a Protestant gentleman, that flying out of Germany for his religion, was charitably received and entertained by Sir John Cooper, who being extremely taken with the wonderful parts of his son, who could not then be above nine years old, addressed him, in the presence of his father, in these words (8), 'Child, if thou wilt be religious, and keep close to God, and take care to avoid the vain and destructive allurements of prophaneness and debauchery, and entertain a fixed resolution to improve all thy parts and abilities for the advancing the Protestant Religion, you shall be a man of the largest parts in Christendom, and shall be an instrument of doing an extraordinary piece of service to your King, which shall be very acceptable to him, whereupon you shall stand high in his favour, and be promoted to very great honour, yet shall afterwards lose your Prince's favour, and be as much disrespected as before honoured and admired; yet, at the same time, you shall be one of the most popular men under Heaven: and that you may know that this will fall out according to my prediction, pray remember this that I am now going to tell you, and write it down in your pocket-book that you may not forget it. Not long after your coming from the university, you shall be in extream danger of drowning, telling him the very day when it should happen.' The author afterwards proceeds to shew, that this accident did happen, and was followed by all the other events hinted at in the prediction, which was not published 'till after the Earl of Shaftesbury's death, and it is very probable was invented not long before it.

(7) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 6. Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 371.

(8) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 9.

March 23, 1631, before he was ten years of age, and thereby, as his only child, became entitled to his large estate (e). At the age of fifteen he was sent to the university of Oxford, and became a Fellow-Commoner of Exeter-college, under the tuition of the famous Dr Prideaux who was then Rector of it, and is said to have studied hard there for about two years (f), and very well maintained the character with which he came thither, of being a singular and most surprizing genius. He removed from thence to Lincoln's-Inn (g), where he applied himself with great vigour and diligence to the study of the Law, but more especially turned his thoughts to the gaining a perfect skill in the constitution of this kingdom, in which, as in every thing else that claimed his attention, he became a wonderful proficient, and on various occasions in the future course of life, clearly discovered, that no man more thoroughly understood it than himself (b). He was thus employed, when, in the nineteenth year of his age, he was chosen one of the Burgesses to represent the town of Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, in that Parliament which met at Westminster April 13, 1640 (i), and of which very great hopes were entertained, but, to the great sorrow of the nation, were all frustrated by it's sudden, unexpected, and fatal dissolution (k). We have no account of his distinguishing himself in that assembly, and indeed there was but very little time for it. It is however highly probable that he was very well affected to the King's service, of which he gave sufficient proofs at the beginning of the Civil Wars, by repairing to Oxford, and offering his service there to his Majesty, not for subduing or conquering his country, but for reducing such, as had either deserted or mistaken their duty, to his Majesty's obedience. This was a very extraordinary scheme for a person of two or three and twenty years of age to propose, and therefore it is not at all strange that it should surprize his Majesty, when, in an audience obtained for that purpose, he proposed putting an end to the war by acting upon such principles (l). We have this fact from a person who had the best opportunities of knowing the truth of it, whose candour in any other instance was never doubted, and whose account however has been neglected because it is without date, and does not seem to agree with other relations. But for all this it might very well have happened in the spring of the year 1643, and seems equally to deserve the reader's notice and belief [C]. It is very certain that Weymouth submitted on the ninth of August the same year (m), and we have a very long account in the work of the noble Historian, of the dispute that happened between Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford, as to the appointing Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper Governour of that place, which was at first positively refused by the King, and at last, though not without great difficulty, granted (n). Whoever will take the pains to compare and consider these two seemingly inconsistent accounts, will find them very reconcilable, and clearly perceive, that the truth is to be collected from adverting to this circumstance, that as the former is given us by the friend of this gentleman; so the latter, which for this purpose was also inserted in the notes [D], was penned when the noble author had no good opinion of the person

(e) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 371.

(f) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 720.

(g) Memoirs of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 5.

(b) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 11.

(i) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, MS.

(k) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Oxf. fol. p. 44.

(l) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 471.

(m) Britain's Remembrancer, p. 23.

(n) Clarendon's History, p. 348. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 260.

(9) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 471.

[C] *To deserve the reader's notice and belief.* As no body was better acquainted with this noble Peer than Mr Locke, so it is highly probable, that what he has left us concerning him was taken from his own mouth, or, if received from any other authority, at least confirmed by himself. What is said in the text is sufficient to shew, that it might possibly be true, and the authorities just mentioned, may induce us to believe it really was so (9). Mr Locke's account runs thus: 'Being at Oxford in the beginning of the civil war, for he was on that side as long as he had any hopes to serve his country there, he was brought to King Charles I. by the Lord Falkland, his friend, then Secretary of State, and presented to him, as having something to offer to his Majesty worth his consideration. At this audience he told the King, that he thought he could put an end to the war if his Majesty pleased, and would assist him in it. The King answered, that he was a very young man for so great an undertaking. Sir, replied he, that will not be the worse for your affairs, provided I do the business. Whereupon the King shewing a willingness to hear him, he discoursed to him to this purpose. The gentlemen and men of estates, who first engaged in that war, seeing now, after a year or two, that it seems to be no nearer the end than it was at first, and beginning to be weary of it, I am very well satisfied would be glad to be in quiet at home again, if they could be assured of a redress of their grievances, and have their rights and liberties secured to them. This I am satisfied is the present temper generally through all England, and particularly in those parts where my estate and concerns lie; if therefore your Majesty will empower me to treat with the Parliament garrisons, to grant them a full and general pardon, with an assurance that a general amnesty (arms being laid down on both sides) should reinstate

' all things in the same posture they were before the war, and then a free Parliament should do what more remained to be done for the settlement of the nation.' He added farther,

' That he would begin and try the experiment first in his own country, and doubted not but the good success he should have there, would open him the gates of other adjoining garrisons, bringing them the news of peace, and security in laying down their arms. Being furnished with full power, according to his desire, away he goes to Dorsetshire, where he managed a treaty with the garrisons of Pool, Weymouth, Dorchester, and others, and was so successful in it, that one of them was actually put into his hands, as the others were to have been some few days after. But Prince Maurice, who commanded some of the King's forces, being with his army then in those parts, no sooner heard that the town was surrendered, but he presently marched into it, and gave the pillage of it to his soldiers. This Sir Anthony saw with the utmost displeasure, and could not forbear to express his resentments to the Prince, so that there passed some pretty hot words between them; but the violence was committed, and thereby his design broken. All that he could do was, that he sent to the other garrisons he was in treaty with to stand upon their guard, for that he could not secure his articles to them, and so this design proved abortive, and died in silence.'

[D] *Is also inserted in the notes.* It is only by this method of carefully comparing, and candidly considering, the same passages, as they are variously related by persons of different sentiments and opposite opinions, that the real matter of fact ever comes to be known. The Earl of Clarendon was so much concerned in this affair, that he must have known it to the bottom: but whether he has related all he knew, or shewn how or why Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper came

person of whom he was speaking. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was also at that time High-Sheriff of the county of Dorset, and chose therefore in that quality, rather than by virtue of any military commission, to raise, as he had power to do, the whole strength of the county, and to embark them at once in the cause of the King and the Constitution (o). To this intent he issued his summons for assembling the *Posse Comitatus*, on a day certain at Dorchester, which is the county town, but, before that day came, he was invited to Oxford by a letter from his Majesty, Col. Goring was sent into his neighbourhood with some forces (p), and Col. William Ashburnham came to him at Dorchester, and produced a commission of such a nature, as plainly enough demonstrated that there was no intention to confide in him, or to allow him to proceed in that way which he thought could alone determine this contest, without involving the nation in a long and bloody war (q). He conferred notwithstanding with Col. Ashburnham, told him what he had done, and with what view, but perceiving plainly that his behaviour was disliked, and his person in danger, he retired, first to his own house, and from thence went into the Parliament quarters (r). Neither was it long after that he went up to London, where he was very well received by the leading men on that side, who knew well his weight and interest in his county, and had a very high opinion of his parts and capacity to serve them, in case they could attach him thoroughly to their interests. This however was not very easily done,

(o) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 16, 17.

(p) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 479.

(q) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 17.

(r) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 478.

to be suspected at Oxford, the reader must judge for himself. The story, as he tells it, runs thus (10). There was, says he, an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new argument of trouble to the King, upon a difference between Prince Maurice and the Marquis. It hath been said, that the Earl of Carnarvan, who was General of the horse of the western army, had marched from Bristol the day before the Prince, and had taken Dorchester and Weymouth before his Highness came up to the army, both considerable places, and the seats of great malignity. The former was not thought necessary to be made a garrison, but the latter was the best port town of that county, and to be kept with great care. The Marquis had made some promise of the government thereof when it should be taken, of which they made no doubt, to Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, a young gentleman of that county, of a fair and plentiful fortune, and one who, in the opinion of most men, was like to advance the place by being governor of it, and to raise men for the defence of it, without lessening the army, and had, in expectation of it, made some provision of officers and soldiers, when it should be time to call them together. Prince Maurice, on the other side, had some other person in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge when it should fall. In the moment that the town was taken, and before the Prince came thither, Sir Anthony hearing that the Marquis came not with the army, but remained some time at Bristol, made all the haste he could to him, and came thither the same day the King left it, and applied himself to the Marquis, who remembered his promise, and thought himself obliged to make it good, and that it was in his power so to do, since it appeared that the town was taken, before the King had declared to him, that he should not go to the army till when he ought to be looked upon as General of it. He conferred with the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon it, as a matter in which his honour was concerned, and on which his heart was set. Sir Anthony came likewise to him, who was of his acquaintance, and desired his assistance; that after so much charge he had been put to in the expectation of it, and to prepare for it, he might not be exposed to the mirth and contempt of the country." It was evident, that if he returned with the commission from the Marquis (which he was most inclined to give him) both he and the commission would be affronted, and the town would not be suffered to submit to him: therefore the Chancellor was of opinion, that there was no other way but to appeal to the King, and desire his favour, as well as his justice, in giving his commission to the person designed by the Marquis, which would remove that part of the exception which would most trouble the Prince; and he offered to write himself very earnestly to the King. Besides his desire to gratify the Marquis, he did, in truth, believe it of great importance to his Majesty's service, to engage a person of such a fortune and interest so thoroughly in his quarrel, as he then believed such an obligation must needs do, the flexibility and

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instability of that gentleman's nature not being then understood or suspected.

He did write with all the skill and importunity he could use to the King, and writ to the Lord Faulkland, "To take Sir John Colepepper with him, if he found any aversion in the King, that they might together discourse and prevail with him." But his Majesty positively and obstinately refused to grant it, and said, "He would not, to please the Marquis in an unjust pretence, put a publick disobligation and affront upon his nephew." So the express returned without effect, and the Marquis was as sensibly touched as could be imagined, and said, "That he was fallen from all credit with the King, and was made incapable of doing him further service; that his fidelity should never be lessened towards him, (as in truth he was incapable of a disloyal thought) but since he was become so totally useless to the King and to his friends, he hoped his Majesty would give him leave to retire to his own house, where he doubted not he should be suffered to live privately and quietly to pray for the King." The Chancellor knew well the nature of the Marquis, that would never give him leave to pursue any resolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his Majesty, for whom he had all possible duty; yet he knew too, that the mischief was not small, from the observation that the Marquis thought himself ill used, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity to foment those jealousies and discontents, and therefore resolved (having dispatched all things which were incumbent on him at Bristol, and used all freedom with the Marquis for the dispelling all troublesome imaginations) to go himself to the King, and to represent that affair to him, and the probable consequences of it, with new instances. And, at last, with very great difficulty, he did so far prevail with his Majesty, that he gave a commission to Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, to be Governor of Weymouth, which he was the more easily persuaded to, out of some prejudice he had to the person who he understood was designed to that government." The words a little before this time, at the beginning of this account, refer to the plundering of Weymouth and Melcombe, by Prince Maurice, which this writer acknowledges, at the same time he excuses it all he can. He adds however, that upon this, Lyme and Poole, the only two garrisons the Parliament had in those parts, instead of submitting, sent the Prince so peremptory an answer, that though he wanted not either troops or cannon, he did not think fit to approach them (11). This agrees exactly with the former relation, and we may easily discern why those who had broke their words with Sir Anthony were afraid to trust him; neither are the words the noble Historian put into his mouth common sense, if he had not been deeper engaged than from this relation appears. This severe censure upon his mutability therefore might have been spared, if any reflections were to be made, they ought to have fallen upon that great soldier of fortune, who made so free with his own word, the liberties of the English nation, and the King his uncle's interests (12).

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[E] Could P 313.

(10) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 348.

(11) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 359. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 346.

(12) History of King Charles I. p. 313.

done, for though the Noble Historian is pleased to say, (and though it be his it is but a coarse saying) *That he gave himself up body and soul to the Parliament (s)*, yet this does not very clearly appear, since it is very certain that he betrayed none of the counsels with which he was trusted at Oxford, nor took any other step, by which he might render his former connections any way useful to those whom he had now joined (t). But it is indeed evident that he accepted a commission from the Parliament (u), and raised forces in Dorsetshire for the recovery of some places out of the hands of those, who he thought had nothing else in view but carrying on a war for the entire reduction of the kingdom, the merit of which might entitle them to great rewards, from the new government that might be then established upon the ruins of the antient and legal constitution (w); and it is no wonder at all that he should oppose this, if we consider how large an estate he had, and consequently, exclusive of principles, how much it was his private interest to look unto the safety of his country (x). In October 1644 he took Wareham by storm, and very soon after reduced all the adjacent parts of Dorsetshire; this, and some other actions of the same nature, might possibly induce the Earl of Clarendon to add to the harsh character beforementioned, that he became *an implacable enemy to the Royal family (y)*. One may reasonably suppose they had other sentiments of him at Oxford, since he was trusted with some private negotiations between his Majesty and Denzil Lord Hollis, at the treaty of Uxbridge, for which the latter was afterwards questioned in Parliament, and had lost his life, if Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper could have found his memory of what passed in that business (z) [E]. Neither was this the only service he did the Royal cause, for when it began every where to decline, and consequently when there could be no motives of interest to induce him, he thought of a surprizing expedient for giving a check to the power of the Parliament, by raising the CLUB-MEN (a), who put Sir Thomas Fairfax, after the fatal battle of Naseby, to a stand, and which design had probably given a new turn to affairs, if it had been as vigorously executed, as it was wisely and warily concerted (b) [F]. Thus was Sir Anthony employed in propping the Royal Cause, when the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, abandoned the King, and accepted passes from the Parliament to retire beyond the seas (c). Towards the end of 1645 he was chosen Sheriff of Norfolk (d), and approved by Parliament. The next year he was Sheriff of Wiltshire, and had an ordinance of Parliament to enable him to reside out of the county (e). In 1651 he was of the Committee of Twenty, appointed to consider of ways and means for reforming the Law (f). He was also one of the Members of that Convention that met after General Cromwell turned out the Long Parliament, and was very active in opposing his ambitious designs; which occasioned the dissolution of that assembly (g). He was again a Member of the Parliament of 1654, and was one of the principal persons who signed that famous Protestation, charging the Protector with tyranny and arbitrary government; neither was it in Cromwell's power, when it was at the highest, to prevent his being elected, which forced him to turn him, and other honest gentlemen, out of the House, which was done more than once, but particularly in 1656, when he shewed as much courage and firmness in exposing and thwarting the illegal measures of that arbitrary Usurper,

[E] *Could have found his memory of what passed in that business.* In the treaty at Uxbridge the King had some separate and private communication with Lord Hollis, then Mr Hollis, and the Lord Commissioner Whitlock; Lord Saville, who, about that time, was created Earl of Sussex, going over afterwards to the Parliament (13), gave information of this, and the warm and violent party, who hated Hollis for adhering steadily to his principles, were very desirous of having this imputation fixed upon him, which they apprehended it was in the power of Sir Anthony to do. There had been an old enmity between them, and Mr Hollis had prevented Sir Anthony from coming into the House of Commons, though he had been fairly elected. When the latter came to be examined, he said, that though what he knew of that matter might possibly tend to acquit Hollis of the charge, yet he could not suffer himself to say any thing about it, because it would look as if he would have taken this occasion to revenge himself, in case it had been in his power (14). This did not satisfy the House by any means, so that they ordered him to withdraw, and threatened him with a commitment to the Tower. That had no effect, and though several of his friends came out to him in the Lobby, and persuaded him to satisfy the House; yet he would not depart from his first resolution, but answered, he neither could nor would remember any thing about it. After a long debate, the main question was put, and, for want of evidence, Mr Hollis, though with difficulty, was acquitted (15). He went some time after to make his acknowledgments to Sir Anthony, who told him, he was not at all obliged to him, that he would have done the same

thing for any other man in the like circumstances; but added, that he knew the value of his friendship, and should be glad to merit it, by having the greatest regard for him for the future, which offer was very readily accepted, and a friendship commenced from thence, which lasted as long as their lives (16).

[F] *As it was wisely and warily concerted.* The true state of the business there hinted at, was briefly this: Sir Anthony met with Serjeant Fountaine, by accident, at an inn, and in discoursing about publick affairs, they quickly agreed in their sentiments, that the nation would be equally undone, which ever side prevailed, and that therefore it ought to be the aim of all well-disposed persons to compel the violent of both parties to sacrifice their animosities and private views to the interest of the publick, that absolutely required a peace (17). In order to bring this about, the Commons in several counties were encouraged to take up arms, to declare themselves neuters, and to insist upon a treaty, by which they might be restored to the benefit of the laws, and of the Constitution (18). This was carried so far, that Sir Thomas Fairfax received their proposals, and promised to communicate them to the Parliament; but General Cromwell and others, bent upon driving things to extremities, attacked some bodies of club-men, and getting the better of them, cut the poor people to pieces without mercy, which disconcerted the scheme, and frightened those who had the management of it from pursuing it as they intended (19). The reader will observe, that this was built upon the same principles with that proposition which Sir Anthony had made to the King about a year before.

[G] *That*

(s) Clarendon's History, p. 399.

(t) Locke's Works, Vol. II. p. 473.

(u) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 94.

(w) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 473.

(x) Rawleigh's Redivivus, p. 18.

(y) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 399.

(z) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 473, 474.

(a) See this both proved and explained in the note.

(b) Hist. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 157.

(c) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 289.

(d) Whitlocke's Memorials of English Affairs, p. 185.

(e) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 94.

(f) Collins's Petrage, Vol. II. p. 372.

(g) Heath's Chron. p. 350, 353.

(13) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 354.

(14) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 473.

(15) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 161.

(16) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 473.

(17) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 455. Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 472.

(18) Hist. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 157. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 171, 173.

(19) Hist. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain, &c. p. 163.

Usurper, as any man in the kingdom (*b*). It is indeed true, that the Protector endeavoured to gain him, as he did other persons of eminent parts and extensive influence, by appointing him one of his Privy-Council; but as to what has been suggested, of his aiming to become his son-in-law, and coming by that means into the chief management of affairs, may be well considered as a calumny (*i*), since it can be hardly doubted, that had it been true, Cromwell would not have missed that opportunity, of fixing him in the support of his government and of his family. When the Protector Richard was deposed, and the Rump came again into power, they nominated Sir Anthony one of their Council of State (*k*), and a Commissioner for managing the army. He was at that very time engaged in a secret correspondence with the friends of his Majesty King Charles II, laid the scheme of Sir George Booth's insurrection in 1659, and, if he had not been defeated, would have joined him with all the strength of Dorsetshire (*l*). This could not be so secretly carried, but that the Parliament had notice of it, and upon a complaint, that though Sir George Booth was the hand, yet another Knight was the head of that business, he was not only questioned but imprisoned. He defended himself with great art and skill, notwithstanding which, it was with infinite difficulty that he was acquitted and discharged (*m*) [G]. The Rump afterwards appointed him one of the Committee to secure the Tower, one of the six Commissioners for the command of the army, and colonel of a regiment of horse (*n*). Soon after, with eight other members of the old Council of State, he signed a letter to General Monk to encourage him to march into England (*o*), which was the first direct step made towards the Restoration, as Sir Anthony's Regiment of horse was one of the first that joined that General, upon his marching into this kingdom (*p*). It was by his influence that the abjuration oath was laid aside, and even the Noble Historian is pleased to allow, that as the revolt of the fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Lawson, was what broke the heart of the Committee of Safety; so he is also forced to own, that this was brought about by Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who gained that gallant officer (*q*) from his old patron Sir Henry Vane, and prevailed upon him to tell Sir Henry, when he came in person to the fleet, that he would submit to no authority but that of the Parliament. He was also very instrumental in quashing General Lambert's design, which had otherwise prevented the King's return (*r*); and though no doubt General Monk's intentions for the service of the King were very sincere, yet it is certain that

(*b*) This famous Protestation was signed by Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and 116 other Persons.

(*i*) List of the Protector's Privy Council, printed upon a broad half Sheet.

(*k*) Bates, Elench. Mot. p. 131.

(*l*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 38. Heath's Chron. p. 427.

(*m*) Compleat Statesman, p. 26.

(*n*) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 135. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 694.

(*o*) Baker's Chr. p. 673.

(*p*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 699.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 704, 705. Baker's Chron. p. 677.

(*r*) Biographia Britannica, Vol. I. p. 303.

Sir

[G] *That he was acquitted and discharged.* These were times of infinite perplexity, and in which even men of the greatest abilities had much ado to secure themselves. It was on May 13, 1659, that Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper was appointed one of the Council of State, in which the executive part of the government was vested (20). Upon the 18th of the same month a charge was brought before that council against Sir Anthony and the Lord Commissioner Whitlocke, for corresponding with the King, or some of his Ministers abroad (21). It was the misfortune of this noble person, of whom we are speaking, to be as little in the good graces of Whitlocke, as of Clarendon, as will very plainly appear from the following account, which he gives us of Sir Anthony's defence (22). 'Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper made the highest professions that could be made of his innocence, and the highest imprecations of God's judgments upon him and his posterity, if ever he had any correspondence with the King, or with Sir Edward Hyde, or any of the King's Ministers or friends; and his expressions were so high, that they bred in some the more suspicion of him, but at this time he was believed, and what followed afterwards is known.' It appears from hence, and from another passage that we shall have occasion to mention immediately, that this gentleman had no opinion of Sir Anthony's sincerity or veracity. But the question is, or at least ought to be, whether this opinion was well founded? Sir Anthony's life and fortune were at stake in this case; and, which is more, the welfare and safety of this nation: if therefore Sir Anthony had no concern or intercourse with the King, or his friends abroad, though he had concerted measures for procuring a free Parliament, in which the sense of the nation might be known, in reference to the government they were most inclined to live under, he certainly had a right to defend himself in what manner he thought proper: no doubt this was none of the most eligible methods, but perhaps it was the only method to preserve himself amongst such people. Now the fact was really thus, and this is not an apology contrived for the defence of this noble person's memory, but arises from evidence, which I will instantly produce. Many years after this, when he was Earl of Shaftesbury, and a prisoner in the tower, he wrote a letter to King Charles II. the following passage in which fully

shews his principles, and from what views he promoted the Restoration (23). The facts contained in it are very curious and very important, and I believe there will be hardly found any man so great a Sceptick as to believe, that the Earl of Shaftesbury would depart from truth, in a letter written to his sovereign, upon subjects of which that Prince was as much master as he. 'I had the honour to have a principal hand in your Restoration, neither did I act in it but on a principle of piety and honour: I never betrayed, as your Majesty knows, the party or councils I was of. I kept no correspondence with, nor I made no secret addresses to, your Majesty; neither did I endeavour or obtain any private terms or articles for myself, or reward for what I had done, or should do. In whatever I did towards the service of your Majesty, I was solely acted by the sense of that duty I owed to God, the English nation, and your Majesty's just right and title. I saw the hand of Providence that had led us through various forms of government, and had given power into the hands of several sorts of men, but he had given none of them a heart to use it as they should; they all fell to the prey, sought not the good or settlement of the nation, endeavoured only the enlargement and continuance of their own authority, and grasped at those very powers they had complained of so much, and for which so bloody and so fatal a war had been raised, and continued in the bowels of the nation. I observed the leaders of the great parties of religion, both laity and clergy, ready and forward to deliver up the rights and liberties of the people, and to introduce an absolute dominion; so that tyranny might be established in the hands of those that favoured their way, and with whom they might have hopes to divide the present spoil, having no eye to posterity, or thought of future things.' The accusation which occasioned this note hung in the House of Commons 'till the 14th of September, 1659, and then we have the following account of it from an author before cited (24). 'Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper voted not guilty of the accusation against him, of having correspondence with the King. The question was not brought against me for the same matter, there being no ground for it as there was for the other.'

(23) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 479.

(24) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 623.

(20) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 42.

(21) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 679. Compleat Statesman, p. 27.

(22) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 679.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper put it out of his power to act otherwise than he did, by first procuring that great man an unlimited commission from the Parliament, and then obliging him in the Council of State, to remove such officers as they could not depend upon, and particularly Sir William Lockhart, who was Governor of Dunkirk, and to re-place them by persons of whom they had a better opinion, as in that case by Sir Edward Harley, which left no room for disputes (s). He was returned a member for Dorsetshire, in that which was called the Healing Parliament, which sat April 25, 1660, and a resolution being taken to restore the Constitution, he was named one of the twelve members of the House of Commons to carry their invitation to the King (t), and it was in his performing this service, that he had the misfortune to be overturned in a carriage upon a Dutch road, and thereby to receive a dangerous wound between the ribs, which ulcerated many years after, and was opened when he was Lord High-Chancellor, a circumstance necessary to be mentioned, on account of the scandalous reflections that were afterwards made upon it (u). Upon his return to England, and the King's coming over, he was, together with General Monk, and other great persons, sworn of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Council (w). He was also one of the Commissioners for the trial of the regicides, and the reflection made thereupon by the Oxford Historian might have been spared, since nothing is more certain, than that he had nothing to do with the counsels of those, that either betrayed or shed the blood of their Sovereign (x). Upon the approach of the coronation, the King his master thought fit to raise him to the dignity of the peerage, and, by Letters Patent dated April 20, 1661, created him Baron Ashley of Winborne St Giles's, with very honourable mention of the share he had in bringing him back to his kingdom (y) [H]. He was soon after made Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer (z), and upon the death of that loyal old Peer, and his great friend and patron, the wise and worthy Earl of Southampton, he was appointed one of the Lords Commissioners (a) for executing the office of High-Treasurer. He continued in the councils and in the confidence of the King his master, during the happiest part of his reign, and stood as high in his favour as any of his Ministers. He was afterwards made Lord Lieutenant of the county of Dorset (b), and on the twenty-third of April 1672, he was created Baron Cooper of Pawlet in the county of Somerset, and Earl of Shaftesbury (c). At this time the Lord Keeper Bridgeman parting with the Seals, he was, on the fourth day of November, raised to the great and envied post of Lord High-Chancellor of England (d), which office he executed, as even his enemies allow, with equal ability and integrity [I]. In his other capacities, of a Minister and

[H] *In bringing him back to his kingdom.*] We have already shewn, from as good authority as can be desired, that this noble person, as he acted very cautiously on one side in the management of that nice affair, behaved also very disinterestedly on the other. Whitlocke very frankly owns, that he was ready to have gone to the King with proposals, and what he blames this great man for, was an intention to restore the King, without making terms (25). It was, however, the judgment of Lord Ashley, that this was the only right way of acting, for he thought that any terms so made would alter the Constitution, and what he chiefly aimed at by bringing back the king, was reviving the Constitution, which, from the experience of successive changes, he judged would be a blessing to the nation. Sir Philip Warwick tells us in his Memoirs, that himself, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and Sir Geoffery Palmer, met Mr Annesly, afterwards Earl of Anglesey, Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, and Sir William Morrice, before the Healing Parliament sat, by which his Majesty was very well informed of their good intentions for his service (26). The same writer informs us, that General Monk was tampered with by the French Ambassador, and great offers made to support him, in case he had been susceptible of French counsels; and acquaints us, that it was upon the appointing of a new Council of State, the names of some of which he gives us, and amongst them Sir Anthony, that the old republicans began to fear the calling back of the King (27). There is also extant a letter to Admiral Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, from Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, upon Lambert's defeat, which plainly shews his sense of things in general, and of that seasonable stroke in particular (28). But the words in the preamble to his patent are so full and express, that they need not any authority to support, or commentary to explain, them. In this his Majesty takes notice (29), 'that he had in sundry respects manifested his loyalty to King Charles I. and his great affection to his country in the late perilous and difficult times, and likewise to him, by his prudent and seasonable advice and consultation with General Monk, in order to his restoration, in

consideration of which acceptable services he created him to the degree and dignity of a Baron.'

[I] *With equal ability and integrity.*] He resided, during his continuance in that employment, at Exeterhouse in the Strand, and proceeded from thence to Westminster, with all the solemnity possible, for it was his opinion, that ceremony and state were both useful and necessary to keep up the credit of great offices (30); for to use his Lordship's own words to Baron Thurland, Reputation is a thing of consequence to magistrates as well as merchants. He wore an ash-coloured silk gown, richly laced, and did not at all alter his garb upon his accession to that high seat of judicature. He was desirous of cutting business short, and of avoiding forms, in which we are told, that the Lawyers gave him so much trouble, that to be able to proceed, he was forced to return to them: however, he was as expeditious as it was possible, and his quick penetration enabled him to see very far in a short time, and what he saw, his eloquence made every body else see; so that whatever he decreed was so plain, and so perspicuous, that there needed no learning to perceive he was in the right, nor was it possible to puzzle things again so much as to create a doubt that he was in the wrong (31). This gave him a high reputation at that time, so that Mr Dryden, to beget an opinion of his own impartiality, in that most invidious character which he gave of his Lordship, was forced to throw in a fine compliment upon his integrity in the distribution of justice (32). It was a point of too great consequence to be omitted, and it seems was then too well understood to be misrepresented. Some attempts have been since made to lessen his character, as a Chancellor, but whoever considers them attentively, and observes, that they are destitute of facts, and published at a great distance of time, will not be much moved by them (33). Another writer, immediately after his Lordship's death, speaks of his behaviour thus (34): 'With what prudence, candour, honour, and integrity, he acquitted himself in that great and weighty employment, the transactions of the Court of Chancery, during the time of his Chancellorship, will best testify; justice then run in an equal channel, so that the cause of the rich

(30) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 377.

(31) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 301.

(32) Dryden's Original Poems and Translations, Vol. I. p. 156, 157.

(33) North's Examen. p. 59.

(34) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 53. 54.

(t) Locke's Works, Vol. III. p. 478.

(s) Heath's Chr. p. 447.

(u) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 43.

(w) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 704. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 722.

(x) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 52. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 722.

(y) Bill. Sign. de ann. 13 Car. II.

(z) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 52.

(a) Dugd. Chron. Series, p. 116.

(b) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 377.

(c) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 53.

(d) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 723. North's Examen. p. 33.

(25) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 691.

(26) Memoirs of Affairs after the King's murder, p. 428.

(27) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 426, 427.

(28) See this Letter in the first Volume of this Work, p. 303.

(29) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 482.

and Privy-Counsellor, he has been variously spoken of, and it would require a volume to enter into the merits of the question, and to discuss fairly and impartially what has been said, and what might be said, on both sides, in this article, however we cannot be expected to enter into any such field, and shall therefore be content with observing, that from the publick records of his discharge of these offices, particularly his speeches in Parliament upon the swearing in the Lord High-Treasurer Clifford, his successor Sir Thomas Osborne and Mr Baron Thurland (e), we must conclude him one of the ablest men, and one of the most accomplished orators, this nation has ever bred. The short time that he was at the helm was a season of storms and tempests, and it is but doing him strict justice to say, that they could not either affright or distract him. Whatever he did he did with his might, and there was a spirit and dignity in his administration, which that government could never recover after he left it (f). He was the soul and genius of the Ministry while he made a part of it, but whether he did not carry things too high, and out of the reach of all other capacities but his own, it would favour of rashness to determine (g) [K]. When the King had taken a resolution, as he was apt to take such resolutions without consulting others, of changing measures, the Chancellor very quickly discerned it; and as he knew it was for his safety, so he thought it no diminution to his honour, to follow the example of his Prince, and therefore he changed in time, in which

(e) See those Speeches in Rawleigh Redivivus, and in Echard's Hist. of England.

(f) Memoires; and A just Vindication of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 13.

(g) This seems to be insinuated by Mr Dryden, in his *Abraham and Abithophel*.

\* was not suffered to swallow up the rights of the poor, nor was the strong or cunning oppressor permitted to devour the weak or unskilful opposer; but the abused found relief suitable to their distress, and those by whom they were abused a severe reprehension, answerable to their crimes. The mischievous consequences which commonly arise from the delays, and other practices of that court were, by his ingenious and judicious management, very much abated, and every thing weighed and determined with exact judgment and equity.'

[K] *It would favour of rashness to determine.*] All that is said, either in our general histories, or private memoirs, of the conduct of the Earl of Shaftesbury while in power, and as it were at the head of the administration, is liable to many objections, and ought therefore to be read with much circumspection. Such as have written direct apologies for him, of which there are several, will have every thing to have been not only well and wisely, but uprightly and virtuously done, which, perhaps, is more than ought to be advanced in favour of any Minister (35). On the other hand, such as make no secret of their dislike to this great man, very seldom shew the least scruple of painting him in the blackest colours, and both discover how far they deviate both from impartiality and truth, by running into palpable absurdities, and visible contradictions. A few instances seem to be requisite, that it may appear we have collected the materials of this article with that caution and care which it's importance demands. There were three great strokes which distinguished the period of his ministry, and 'tis not a little difficult to form a right judgment of his behaviour in any one of them. The *first* of these is as to his shutting up the Exchequer. In reference to this, Sir Joseph Tylcy's manuscript (36) positively affirms, that that the measure was of Lord Ashley's contrivance, but that it was picked out of him when heated with wine, and in a free conversation by Sir Thomas Clifford, who, by that artifice, got himself advanced to the Peerage, and to the high dignity of Lord Treasurer of England. An honourable author affirms the direct contrary; he compares the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Lord Clifford to a sub-sheriff and a sheriff; the former, he says, had the authority, and the latter carried the wand (\*). Both these stories cannot be true, and it is highly probable that neither of them are so. The Earl of Shaftesbury was not a man to be over-reached, and Lord Clifford had too great a capacity to stoop to any direction. It is most likely, that they acted in concert; and tho' it may be very true, that the Earl of Shaftesbury was ambitious of being Treasurer, yet he might be prevailed upon to give way to the Lord Clifford, because the very measure required the assistance of a Chancellor, and none of the great men in that administration were capable of exercising that office but the Earl of Shaftesbury. The Earls of Clarendon and Southampton had mutually supported each other in those posts, and we may very reasonably suppose, that Shaftesbury and Clifford proposed to follow their examples; indeed it is certain they did follow them as long as they were in power, and whoever considers the speeches made by

the Chancellor Shaftesbury, at the admission of Lord Clifford, and his successor, the Lord Osborne, to the office of Treasurer, will see such a manifest difference as will give no small weight to this conjecture (37). The *second* great stroke was, the declaration for Liberty of Conscience, in which both these great Ministers were equally concerned, though with very different views, for Lord Clifford was then a concealed, and not long after a declared, Papist: the Earl of Shaftesbury was desirous of obliging the Dissenters, the former was for maintaining this Declaration, even against the opinion of Parliament; the latter, finding his master wavering, gave up the Declaration, that he might put himself at the head of the Protestant interest. They both acted, considering the circumstances under which the Declaration was framed, like wise Statesmen; and, when they came to divide, each of them shewed a steadiness to his principles, not in the least unworthy of a great politician, so that Lord Clifford retired with credit, and the Earl of Shaftesbury kept his power when he lost his post, and when no longer able to rule a Court, shewed his dexterity in becoming the ruler of the people (38). The *third* great stroke was peculiarly his, and that was, the issuing writs during the recess of Parliament, in virtue of his office, and making use of his interest in the country to procure elections in consequence of those writs, agreeable to the views of his administration. Father Orleans, who had his lights from King James, applauds this measure, and acknowledges as well the candour as the capacity of the Chancellor, in respect to his master's service (39). The honourable writer before-mentioned gives us quite another account. He tells us (40), the Chancellor did it to bring in his own creatures in Dorsetshire more especially, and to keep out the friends of Colonel Strangeways, whom he disliked for many reasons, but most for being a very loyal gentleman. It happens unluckily, that he entirely overturns his own system, by acknowledging, that all the persons brought in by Shaftesbury's interest, were Royalists (41). However, the House of Commons turned them out again without the least struggle, either on the part of these new members, or of the Crown. Shaftesbury said upon this, that if the King would not support his Chancellor, his Chancellor could do little in that capacity for his master's service. Upon the whole, it seems to be pretty clear, that the Earl of Shaftesbury was in hopes the Court would have prosecuted the Dutch war with such success, as to have carried the glory of the English flag to the utmost height, promoted the English commerce in it's largest extent, and have sacrificed that kind of bigotry, which he judged to be the bane of the Protestant Religion, in which case he thought the power of the Crown, and the grandeur of the people, must have stood upon the same basis; but finding that other schemes were bringing upon the carpet, though not by the King, but rather the Duke, he chose to make a short turn, and to comply with those who could save him, instead of continuing to play a desperate game in conjunction with such, as, to make their peace, might be tempted to make him a victim (42).

(37) See both those Speeches in Echard's History.

(38) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 296.

(39) Hist. of the Revolutions in England, under the Family of the Stuarts, p. 242.

(40) North's Examen, p. 42, 56.

(41) Id. ib. p. 56.

(42) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 83, 84, 85.

(35) Of these there are many, such as Rawleigh Redivivus, Memoirs and Vindication of the Earl of Shaftesbury, Compleat Statesman, &c. in print; and there are several others in MS.

(36) As it is cited by Archdeacon Echard, in his History.

(\*) North's Examen, p. 38.

- his enemies say he had a very great dexterity; and, on the other hand, his friends believe, that he made a virtue of necessity, and when he saw that his great parts could be no longer serviceable to his Master in office, he thought it very allowable to make use of them to save himself (b), and in this it is no small commendation, that he retired with credit, where it would have been the highest point of wisdom in any other man to have escaped ruin (i).
- The Duke of York was apprehensive, from his conduct in Parliament, that he should find him in many respects uncomplying, and was therefore very earnest with the King to remove him, which however his Majesty was not much inclined to do, because he had a great opinion of his skill in finding out expedients, and of diverting dangers before things came to extremity (k). At length, however, that point was carried, and Nov. 9, 1673, the Earl of Shaftesbury resigned the Great-Seal, but with some particular circumstances, with the knowledge of which the reader cannot be displeased (l) [L]. After he had thus quitted the Court, he continued to make a great figure in Parliament; his abilities enabled him to shine, and his inclinations did not incline him to rest (m). In 1675, the Lord Treasurer Danby introduced the Test Bill into the House of Lords, which was vigorously opposed by the Earl of Shaftesbury, who, if we may believe a great Prelate, distinguished himself more in this session than ever he had done (n), which is somewhat singular, considering he had long before attained the reputation of being one of the greatest speakers of that age. In this indeed he shewed his parts, and contradicted the character that some had given him, of being an indiscreet Orator, by insisting, for a full hour, on the folly and impropriety of condemning all resistance by an express law (o). He shewed, that as government could not subsist if men might resist as often as they were displeased; so liberty must be lost, if in no case resistance was lawful. He observed, that a King might be in the hands of a faction, and then it would be treason to oppose what had the sanction of his name, though it was to rescue his authority. He delivered this discourse with his usual ease and freedom, though he knew that every word he said was watched, and his enemies had the mortification of finding, that he could say what he pleased, without putting it in their power, how much soever it was in their will, to hurt him (p). A dispute between the two Houses, occasioned an unexpected prorogation by which the bill was lost. There ensued upon this a recess of fifteen months, and when the Parliament met again Feb. 16, 1676-7, the Duke of Buckingham argued, that it ought to be considered as dissolved, the Earl of Shaftesbury was of the same opinion, and maintained it with so much warmth, that together with the Duke beforementioned, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Lord Wharton, he was sent to the Tower, where he continued for thirteen months, though the other Lords upon their submission were speedily discharged (q). In order to be delivered from his confinement, he applied himself to the Court of King's-Bench, where, after his Counsel had done speaking, he argued his own case with much eloquence and wit. He was notwithstanding remanded to the Tower, and, at the next meeting of Parliament, this application was magnified into a great crime by the then Lord Treasurer Danby, who very soon after was obliged to have recourse to the same method for his own deliverance, and felt very sensibly the weight of those severe doctrines, which he took so much pains to establish upon this occasion (r). At length the Earl of Shaftesbury made a full submission, and, upon an address of the House of Peers, the King was pleased to discharge him (s), and the precedent made in his case was afterwards reversed (t). He managed the opposition to the Earl of Danby's administration with such vigour and dexterity, that it was found absolutely impossible to do any thing effectually in Parliament, without changing the system which then prevailed. The King, who desired nothing so much as to be easy, resolving to make such a change, dismissed all the Privy-Council at once, and formed a new one; this was declared April 21, 1679, and at the same time the Earl of Shaftesbury was appointed Lord President (u). This was one of the best received, as well as one of the most popular, measures, in his whole reign, and was equally acceptable to the people at home, and to the natural allies of this nation abroad (w). It had

[L] *With the knowledge of which the reader cannot be displeased.* We have this relation, which is pleasant enough in it's circumstances, and these are so much the more credible, from their agreeing exactly with the characters of the persons mentioned; from Mr Archdeacon Echard, which we shall give the reader in his own words (43). 'Soon after the breaking up of the Parliament, the Earl was sent for, on a Sunday morning, to Court, as was also Sir Heneage Finch, Attorney-General, to whom the seals were promised. As soon as the Earl came, he retired with the King into the closet, while the prevailing party waited in triumph to see him return without the purse. His Lordship being alone with the King, said, *Sir, I know you intend to give the seals to the Attorney-General, but I am sure your Majesty never intended to dismiss me with contempt.* The King, who could not do an ill-natured thing, replied, *God's fish, my Lord, I will not do it with any circumstance that may look like an affront.* Then Sir, said the Earl, *I de-*

*fire your Majesty will permit me to carry the seals before you to chapel, and send for them afterwards from my house.* To which his Majesty readily complied, and the Earl entertained the King with news, and other diverting stories, 'till the very minute he was to go to chapel, purposely to amuse the courtiers and his successor, who he believed was upon the rack for fear he should prevail upon the King to change his mind. The King and the still Chancellor came out of the closet talking together, and smiling, and went together to chapel, which surprized them all, who could have no opportunity to inform themselves what was to be expected, and some ran immediately to tell the Duke of York all their measures were broken, and the Attorney-General was said to be inconsolable. After sermon the Earl went home with the seals, and that evening the King gave them to the Attorney-General, a man of great parts and abilities, with the title of Lord Keeper.

had not however long the good effects that were expected from it, which was owing to the factions at Court, and those quickly rose to such a height, that the Earl was removed from that high employment on the fifth of October following (x). He had drawn upon himself the implacable hatred of the Duke of York, by steadily promoting, if not originally inventing, the project of an Exclusion Bill. In respect to this he was indeed immoveable, notwithstanding he knew the King would never consent to it, and though most of his friends were inclined to accept the expedient offered by the Court, of providing against what they feared, by establishing legal limitations. It is not our business to determine in so nice and important a point, but this we may have leave to say, that his Lordship's reasons were clear and weighty, allowing his principles to be well founded (y) [M]. The discovery of the Popish plot opened a way for subverting the Earl of Danby's ministry, and the general opinion seems to be, that this induced the Earl of Shaftesbury to push that matter, not only with vigour but vehemence. There is nothing plainer than that he was the author and promoter of all the prosecutions that followed thereupon, as well in the inferior Courts, as in Parliament; with a view of quashing the Popish party entirely, and of excluding the Duke, which were the points he had most at heart, and which, without doubt, he pursued with unrelenting severity (z). Upon the King's summoning a Parliament to meet at Oxford, March 21, 1680-1, he joined with several Lords in a petition to prevent it's meeting there (a), which however failed of success. He was present in that Parliament, and strenuously supported the Exclusion Bill, which however was thrown out in the House of Lords. He is likewise said to have used his utmost endeavours to have reconciled his Majesty to that measure, but without effect (b). It is no wonder that such a conduct as this should inflame the Duke and his friends against him, and not long after, an occasion either offered or was found, to make him feel the weight of their resentments. Upon the dissolution of that Parliament, and his return to London, one Bryan Haines applied himself to him, under pretence that he could make still clearer discoveries than hitherto had been made of the Popish plot, and the murder of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, provided, that for this service, he might obtain a pardon (c). But when this man was brought before the Privy-Council, he gave quite another account, and boldly charged the Earl

(x) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 383.

(y) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 469, 477, 482, 494, 502.

(z) Hist. of the Revolutions in England, p. 249. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 486.

(a) Rawleigh Redivus, P. ii. p. 89.

(b) North's Examen, p. 123.

(c) Rawleigh Redivus. P. ii. p. 103. North's Examen, p. 117. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 506.

[M] *Allowing his principles to be well founded.* It was a misfortune to the Earl of Shaftesbury, that those who were angry with him have transmitted to posterity the history of those times in which he lived, and of that government in which he had so large a share. As for instance, Sir William Temple having come in by the interest of the Earl of Arlington, and being afterwards supported by that of the Lord Treasurer Danby, could not avoid feeling a distaste to one who left the former, and opposed the latter, and of this there are visible marks in those passages of his Memoirs, where the Earl of Shaftesbury is mentioned (44). The Bishop of Salisbury was very intimate in his turn with the Earl of Shaftesbury, as well as other great men of those times, but had the misfortune to be upon bad terms with him afterwards, by bringing the unfortunate Lord Stafford to charge Shaftesbury at the Bar of the House of Lords, with being a friend to the Papists a little before he suffered death (45). The Hon. Roger North had his reasons also for disliking him, which he tells us very fairly, speaks upon all occasions as an enemy, but as an enemy declared, and therefore the less to be feared (46). It cannot be asserted, that when these writers relate facts concerning this noble Lord, they do not deserve credit, for as men of sense and reputation, that is due to whatever they relate, as a thing known; but these remarks, and many more that might be added, are sufficient to take off the edge of their censures, to lessen the credibility of their conjectures, and to keep the reader from having an implicit faith in the characters they have drawn of a man they did not love, and that chiefly, because he opposed those who are the heroes of their respective works, such as Lord Halifax, Lord Danby, and Lord North. As to the point of the Bill of Exclusion, it is generally mentioned as an instance of the Earl of Shaftesbury's dislike to monarchy, and those who opposed it are magnified as men who were best affected to what was, at that time, esteemed the English Constitution. One of those writers says, that the Earl of Shaftesbury never denied his changing sides, but, on the contrary, took a pleasure in relating the many turns he had made, and in shewing that he made them at the proper times (47). It might have been added, that he valued himself likewise upon never betraying those he left, and upon quitting parties without leaving his principles. He had a good opinion of King Charles the second's inclinations, and thought his affairs were prejudiced by carrying the dead weight of a Popish successor. This he thought necessary to be removed,

and thought the only way to remove it, without prejudice to the monarchy, was to exclude the Duke of York, and pass on to the next heir. He judged that such a law, would be no improper instance of the absolute power of a King and Parliament, might provide for the safety of the subject, and yet leave the power of the Crown entire, without tinging the Constitution with the least colour of a common-wealth (48). How far he might act in this from his personal resentment against the Duke of York, what views he might have of re-establishing his own power, or what schemes he might be drawn into after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, are out of the case. We are speaking of the grounds upon which he promoted the Exclusion, and how far they were reconcileable to his former principles, of which the reader, from what has been said, may very easily settle his judgment. As for Lord Halifax, who was the great patron of the limitations, he made no scruple of owning, that he meant thereby not to limit the successor only, but to lessen and curtail the prerogatives of the Crown. He carried it so far, if we may believe the Bishop of Sarum, and there is not the least colour for disbelieving him, as to insinuate, that a Popish King was a blessing, as it afforded an opportunity of putting all his successors under these restraints (49). Now granting these accounts to be true, there cannot be any thing clearer than that Shaftesbury continued a Royalist, though at the head of an opposition, and that Lord Halifax acted, or affected to act, upon the maxims of a common-wealth's man, when in the service of the Court. The reasons why Shaftesbury always rejected the scheme of limitations were, first, because he thought it was not for the benefit of the subject, that the prerogatives of the Crown should be lessened, but that the abuse of those prerogatives by Ministers should be punished; and therefore he conceived it unjust, that the English Monarchy should suffer for the fault of the Duke of York; and secondly, he thought limitations impracticable, because, if the person limited came to be King, and had a Parliament to his mind, those limitations might be as easily and as legally repealed as ever they were enacted. It is evident, that neither of these objections lay against his scheme of the Exclusion, for that would have left the Monarchy sound and entire, and have placed such a new head as would have always maintained his own title, and must have governed by law, in order to have it effectually in his power to do that; which would have been an advantage to the nation, rather than an inconvenience.

(48) Collected from his several Speeches made upon that occasion in Parliament.

(49) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 456.

(44) Temple's Works, Vol. I. p. 334, 335, 337, 339, 340, 341, 343, &c.

(45) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 494.

(46) In his Examen, and in his Life of Lord North, as often as he mentions him.

(47) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 97.

(d) North's Examen, p. 117. Earl with endeavouring to suborn him (d). Upon this information his Lordship was apprehended on the second of July 1681, and after being examined by his Majesty in Council, he was committed to the Tower, where he remained upwards of four months, notwithstanding he petitioned, and took every other legal method to obtain a trial, or to be admitted to bail according to the *Habeas Corpus* Act (e). At length, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1681, a bill was presented to the Grand Jury at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey, against him, for high-treason, and the witnesses were examined in open court. They certainly testified enough, or rather too much; for, on the one hand, the evidence they gave was very incredible in itself; and, on the other, their characters were so infamous, that even a probable story would scarce have deserved belief upon their deposition (f). But what was chiefly relied on, was a paper found in the Earl's study, which contained the draught of an association; yet it was neither written, or so much as marked, with his hand; and though it contained many strange things, yet it was full of the highest zeal for the preservation of the King's person (g). Upon the whole, the Jury thought fit to return the bill *Ignoramus*. This occasioned a very high controversy, many asserting that this was inconsistent with their oaths, and others, who took themselves to be as good judges, maintaining as positively, that, consistent with their oaths, they could not have found another verdict; and several things were published on both sides (h) [N]. It is certain that great rejoicings were made upon his Lordship's acquittal and discharge, and a MEDAL was also struck upon that occasion, which gave a subject to the satyrick muse of Mr Dryden, whose poem under that title is thought not at all inferior to any of his writings, which however decides nothing as to the fact, since Poets do not always succeed best upon the basis of truth or reason (i). The Earl, as soon as he was at liberty, endeavoured to vindicate himself by law, and brought an action against one Mr Cradock, for speaking of him as a traitor. A rule however being made upon the motion of the defendant, that the trial should not be had before a Jury either of London or Middlesex, but in any other county that his Lordship should chuse, he thought fit to discontinue his suit (k). He resided for many years at Thanet House in Aldersgate-street, but finding his health decay, his spirits declining, and the times growing still more and more tempestuous, to which we may add, that those who were his bitterest enemies were now in the zenith of their power, he thought it high time to seek for some place of retirement, where, out of the reach of their endeavours to injure him, he might wear out the small remainder of his life in peace (l). It was with this view, that in the month of November, 1682, he embarked for Holland, and arriving safely at Amsterdam, after a very dangerous voyage, he took a house there, proposing to live in a manner suitable to his quality, being visited by persons of the first distinction, and treated with all the deference and respect that he could desire; but being seized by his old distemper the gout, it speedily flew up into his stomach, and soon became mortal, so that he expired on the twenty-second of January, 1682-3, in the sixty-second year of his age (m). His body being embalmed was transported to England, and the corps being landed at Poole in Dorsetshire, the gentlemen of that county, out of their extraordinary regard to his memory, came uninvited, and accompanied it to Winborne St Giles's, where he was interred with his ancestors (n), and, in 1732, a noble monument, with a large inscription to his honour, was erected by his worthy descendant, the present Earl of Shaftesbury (o). His Lordship

[N] Were published on both sides.] The reader will find a full account of the proceedings against the Earl of Shaftesbury, upon this bill of indictment, in it's proper place (50), and will there see what was sworn against him, and by whom. The great design of the Court was to make it evident to all the world, that the King could not obtain justice, even for the highest offences committed against him by a subject, from the manifest partiality of the Grand Juries in London, disposed and packed by malecontent sheriffs. The proof of this was supposed to depend on the manifest strength of the evidence offered to prove the facts laid in this indictment, which it was alledged the Grand Jury could not reject, without breach of their oaths (51). On the other hand, it was insisted upon, that the Grand Jury being sworn to bring in a *true verdict*, they could not, in their consciences, return *Billa vera*, where the evidence was inconsistent, given by infamous witnesses, and made up of absurd and incredible relations; in short, that a Grand Jury was bound to return *Ignoramus*, notwithstanding any evidence, when they, in their consciences, saw reason not to believe that evidence (52). To this purpose, a strong and bold piece was written, as a certain great Prelate informs us, by the learned and ingenious Mr Somers, afterwards Lord Somers, and Chancellor of England (53). As for the Association mentioned in the text, the same Prelate tells us, and indeed it is very probable, that it was put into the hands of the Earl of Shaftesbury when the Parliament sat at Oxford, in which an Association had been proposed, as a necessary security against the apprehensions of Popery, and the dangers arising from a popish Successor after the Ex-

clusion Bill was rejected (54). Thus much is certain, that the Association was not mentioned in the indictment, but was offered as a supplemental and corroborative proof of what was sworn against his Lordship by the witnesses. There was another strange circumstance attended this, that one Mr Wilson, who, on the part of the Earl, attended to receive back such of his papers as were seized, and were not considered as criminal, and to mark those of another nature, that it might appear they were really found in the Earl's custody; I say it was another strange circumstance in regard to this Association, that it was not indorsed as the other papers were, and that Mr Wilson was committed for High-Treason (55). To say the plain truth, these were very dreadful times, when all parties had recourse to the most unjustifiable methods for carrying their points. Such as opposed the Government made no scruple of publishing the most bitter and injurious libels against it. On the other hand, those employed by the Court sacrificed truth and decency, without the least scruple. Marchmont Needham, who had been employed by the Regicides and the Parliament, to vilify the Royal Family in the most scandalous and barbarous manner, was paid by the Ministers to abuse and defame the Earl of Shaftesbury, which he did with all the alacrity in the world (56), and his abuse is transferred, verbatim, into the account given of this noble person by the Oxford Historian (57). It was given out, with the like design, that the Earl of Shaftesbury had the vanity to expect to be chose King of Poland, and this made way for calling him Count *Tap-ley*, alluding to the tap which had been applied upon the breaking out of the ulcer between his ribs when he

(54) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 506.

(55) North's Examen, p. 112. Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 107, 108.

(56) In a quarto pamphlet, intituled, A Packet of Advices and Animadversions, sent from London to the men of Shaftesbury, which is of use for all his Majesty's subjects in the three Kingdoms, London, 1676.

(57) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 721, 722, 723.

(e) Kennet's and Echard's Histories.

Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 104.

Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 506.

(f) Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 400.

(g) Remarks upon the new Project of Association, where the Association is printed at large.

(h) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 121.

(i) Dryden's Original Poems and Translations, p. 189.

Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 389.

(k) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 122.

(l) Kennet's and Echard's Histories.

(m) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 125.

Compl. Hist. of Engl. Vol. III. p. 400. Sir John Rereby's Memoirs, p. 158.

(n) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 125.

(o) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 385.

(50) State Tryals, Vol. III. p. 418.

(51) North's Examen, p. 117.

(52) See the third part of No Protestant Plot, said to be written by the famous Robert Ferguson.

(53) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 509. Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 108.

Lordship married three wives, the first Margaret, daughter to Thomas Lord Coventry, by whom he had no issue; secondly Frances, daughter to David Earl of Exeter, by whom he had Anthony his son and heir (p). And thirdly, Margaret daughter of William Lord Spencer, by whom he left no issue (q). Anthony, his only son and successor born the 16th of January 1651, married Dorothy, daughter to John Earl of Rutland, by whom he had issue two sons Anthony and Maurice, and three daughters; Lady Mary married to Francis Stonehouse of Hungerford-park, in the county of Berks, Esq; Lady Elizabeth wife of James Harris of Salisbury, Esq; and Lady Dorothy espoused to Edward Hooper, of Hearn-court in the county of Southampton, Esq; And his lordship departing this life on the 10th of November 1699, was succeeded by Anthony his son and heir, which Anthony born 26th of February 1670, was a nobleman of extraordinary parts and learning (r), as from his celebrated writings appears. He married in 1709, Jane, daughter of Thomas Ewer, of Bushy-Hall in the county of Hertford, Esq; and departing this life at Naples, on the 14th of February N. S. 1712-13, was succeeded by Anthony his only son, now Earl of Shaftesbury. His Lordship married on the 12th of March 1724 5, the Lady Susan Noel, sister to Baptist now Earl of Gainborough, but as yet they have no issue.

(p) Double's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 482; where he is entirely mistaken as to his Lordship's having issue by his last wife, and not by his second.

(q) This appears from the inscription upon his monument.

(r) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 385.

(s) At present Lord Lieutenant of the county of Dorset and town of Poole.

(58) See the Preface to Dryden's Poem upon the Medal.

(59) North's Examen, p. 42. Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 331.

(60) North's Examen, p. 60.

(61) Character of King Charles II. p. 5.

was Lord Chancellor (58). It was also a standing jest with the lower form of Wits, to stile him *Shifsbury* instead of *Shaftesbury* (59). A very grave author is pleased to tell us, that when his Lordship was Chancellor, one Sir Paul Neal watered his mares with Rhenish and sugar, that is, entertained his mistresses (60); which, if true, was certainly a story that needed not to be communicated to posterity. We are told, that King Charles II. who would both take liberties and bear them, once said to the Earl at Court, in a vein of raillery and good humour, and in reference only to his amours, *I believe, Shaftesbury, thou art the wickedest fellow in my dominions.* To which, with a low bow, and a very grave face, the Earl replied, *May it please your Majesty, of a subject I believe I am; at which the merry Monarch laughed heartily.* When parties were at their greatest height, the King would very often honour him with his conversation, and would ask his opinion upon indifferent things, which was not pleasing to the Ministers, as it carried nothing of that aversion which they would have had the world believe he entertained against his Lordship (61). In return,

there is good reason to maintain, that whatever lengths party might carry him, his Lordship still retained a deep sense of that favour, with which his indulgent master had honoured him (62); and it happens a little strangely, that the author who has drawn this noble person's character in the blackest colours has, notwithstanding, left us a passage, which is the strongest proof of it (63). 'If he was a friend really to any human kind besides himself, I believe it was to King Charles II. whose gaiety, breeding, wit, good humour, familiarity, and disposition, to enjoy the pleasures of society and greatness, engaged him very much, that had a great share of wit, agreeableness, and gallantry himself. But this same superiority spoiled all, his Majesty would not be always influenced by him, but would take short turns on his toe, and so frustrate his projects: and by that, finding he could not work under him, strove, if possible, to reduce his authority, and get above him. It seems, by what was given out, that he would not have hurt the King personally, but kept him tame in a cage with his ordinary pleasures about him.' E

(62) See his Letter to the King, at the end of Locke's Memoirs concerning the Earl's life.

(63) North's Examen, p. 119.

COOTE (Sir CHARLES) a brave and active Officer in the seventeenth Century, created in 1660 Earl of Mountrath, was the eldest son of Sir Charles Coote [A] who was made a Baronet the 2d of April 1621 (a). In January 1641-2 he was besieged in Castle-Coote by twelve hundred Irish, but he valiantly raised the siege within a week. Not long after, he defeated Hugh O Connor and his forces: And on the 2d of March encountered Con O Rourk and his followers, who came to plunder Roscommon; took him prisoner, and killed most of his party. Afterwards he gave a total defeat to the rebels, who had formed a Camp at Kregs, and took all their baggage and provisions. He likewise got a considerable prey from about Ballyniflow. And in Easter-week relieved Athlone with some provisions

(a) The Irish Compendium, &c. by Fr. Nicholls, edit. 1735, p. 107.

[A] Was the eldest son of Sir Charles Coote J This Sir Charles Coote was a man of great consideration in Ireland. Upon the breaking out of the Irish rebellion, in 1641, he had a commission for a regiment of foot, and was made Governor of Dublin (1). On the 29th of November he relieved the castle of Wicklow, beat a thousand of the Irish, with their commander, Luke Toole, and put them to a shameful flight; whereby he became so terrible to the Irish, that they seldom made any resistance where he was (2). In December, the Lords of the Pale, in Ireland, accused him of having uttered, at the council-board, some speeches, tending to a purpose and resolution of executing a general massacre upon the Irish Roman Catholics: but the Lords Justices cleared him of that imputation (3). On the 15th of the same month he pillaged and burnt the village of Clantarf, near Dublin (4). The 10th of April, 1642, he was sent with Sir Thomas Lucas, and six troops of horse, to relieve Bir, and some other places. They were to pass a causeway which the rebels had broke, and had cast up a ditch at the end of it; but Coote made thirty of his dragoons alight, and, in person, led them on, and beat off the Irish, with the slaughter of forty rebels and their captain, and then relieved the castles of Bir, Barrous, and Knocknemeafe; and having sat almost forty-eight hours on horseback, and lost and spoiled a hundred horse in this expedition, they returned to the camp on the eleventh, at night, without the loss of one man. And this was the pro-

(1) The Irish Rebellion, &c. by Sir John Temple, edit. 1646, 4<sup>to</sup>, p. ii. p. 3.

(2) Ibid. p. 17; and Cox, Hist. of Ireland, p. ii. p. 83.

(3) Temple, ibid. p. 23, 24.

(4) Ibid. p. 29; and Cox, p. 34, 85.

digious passage through Mountrath-woods, which indeed is wonderful in many respects, and therefore justly gave occasion for the title of Earl of Mountrath to be entailed upon the posterity of Sir Charles Coote, who was the chief commander in this expedition (5). Some time after he accompanied the Lord Lisle in relieving the castle of Geashill, and, at the council of war, told the rest, that if they made haste they might easily pass the defiles and causeways, before the enemy could assemble to oppose them: whereto another replied, that perhaps it might be so, but when the country was alarmed how should they get back? 'I protest, said Sir Charles Coote, I never thought of that in my life; I always considered how to do my business, and when that was done, I got home again as well as I could, and hitherto I have not missed of forcing my way:' so they relieved that place, and besides took Philipstown and Trim; which last, three thousand Irish attempting to recover the next night, Sir Charles Coote routed them with a very few forces. But in this rencounter he had the misfortune of being shot to death; whether by the enemy, or by one of his own troopers, is uncertain (6). Besides his other offices and employments, he was one of the council to the Lords Justices of Ireland (7). He left several sons, namely, Sir Charles his eldest son and heir, created Earl of Mountrath; Richard, afterwards Baron of Colloony and Earl of Belamont; Chudleigh; Thomas (8).

(5) Cox, ibid. p. 105.

(6) Idem, p. 106, 107.

(7) Temple, as above, p. 26, 23, 51.

(8) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 850. See also The Irish Compendium, p. 107, 119.

(b) Hist. of Ireland, &c. by R. Cox, P. ii. p. 97.

(c) Cox, *ibid.* p. 139.

(d) Memorials of the English Affairs, &c. by Mr Whitelock, edit. 1732, p. 228.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 251.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 258.

(g) Page 275.

(h) *Ibid.* p. 367.

(i) Hist. of Ireland, by R. Cox, P. ii. p. 203.

(k) Whitelock, p. 367.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 396.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 414, 420.

(n) Page 422.

(o) Page 425, 426, 427.

(p) *Ibid.* p. 435, 436.

(q) *Ibid.* p. 443.

(r) Page 446.

(s) Page 451.

(t) Page 453, 455.

(u) Page 455, 458.

(v) Page 463, 464.

(x) Page 477, 493.

Ludlow's Memoirs, edit. 1698, Vol. I. p. 343, 348.

(y) Whitelock, p. 495, 497, 500.

(z) *Ibid.* p. 507.

(a) Page 516.

provisions and other necessaries (b). About the beginning of the year 1644, he was one of the Agents from the Irish Protestants, who attended King Charles I. at Oxford, in order to treat of a Peace between them and the Catholics in Ireland (c). In November 1646, having received some forces from England, he broke through the army of the Irish with a party, and caused them to draw farther off from Dublin, which they kept in a manner besieged (d). In May 1647, he gave them a great defeat, in which a thousand of them were slain (e). Soon after, he had several skirmishes with them, in which some of the leading Rebels were taken prisoners (f). In October the same year, joining his forces with those of Col. Jones and Col. Monk, they took several Castles and places from the Irish; and among the rest, Port Lester, and Athboy (g). About the end of the next year, marching with the forces he had assembled in Connaught, from Sligo seventy miles into the Rebels county; after a little skirmish with them, he burned great store of their corn, and brought away a great booty (h). He also took Culmore-fort (i). At his return, he apprehended Sir Robert Stuart, the King's commander in those parts, and sent him into England with an Accusation against him. Upon which occasion, so well did the Parliament approve of his conduct, that they ordered care to be taken of his forces, and sent him a letter of thanks (k). In 1649 he did not meet with the same success: For he was straitly besieged in Londonderry [B] by such of the Irish as had declared for King Charles II; and they demanded he should depart the Kingdom (l). But having some relief come from England, he sallied out, and scoured the country for seven miles on all sides of the city, killing many, and taking several prisoners (m). After which, he concluded a peace with Major-general Owen Row O-neal, in order to preserve the garrison of Londonderry, and the English interest in those parts: which the Parliament highly approved of, and ordered him to be supplied with provisions and ammunition (n). Accordingly, being supplied with them, and reinforced with a thousand foot, and five hundred horse, he march'd into the country possessed by King Charles's friends, and having clear'd all round Londonderry for fourteen miles together, he brought great store of provisions into that city (o): and kept the field without any considerable opposition. In December, he routed about four thousand horse and foot, that came to the relief of Carrick-fergus, then closely besieged by him, and slew fourteen hundred men; whereupon Carrickfergus surrendered (p). About the beginning of the year 1650, he marched towards Belfast, where he found no opposition, and settled that country (q). Then he reduced Castle-dove (r), and advanc'd towards Catherlough (s). In April, he reduced many small Forts near Carrickfergus, and took Inniskilling and some other places (t), whereby he became so formidable, that the Irish army in Ulster would not engage with him, tho' he took great booties from them (u). In June, he gave a great defeat to the Bishop of Clogher [C], who was advancing at the head of four thousand foot and six hundred horse, to hinder the junction of Sir Charles, and Colonel Venables (w). In September, he was at the siege of Athlone: And in May 1651, was sent to attend the motions of the Irish in Connaught (x). In June, he marched thirty miles in a day and a night, in order to escape the Marquis of Clanrickard who endeavoured to intercept his passage; and joining the then Deputy of Ireland, they routed the united forces of the Marquis of Clanrickard and Earl of Castlehaven, killing and taking three thousand of them: Then he went, and sat down before Galloway (y). Soon after, advancing against the remains of the Marquis of Clanrickard's Forces, they abandoned several passes, and a castle of consequence (z). And he also took Maso-castle (a). In the beginning of the year 1652, he harass'd the Barony of Burren [D], which refused to pay him contributions (b). And on the 12th of May ensuing, Galloway surrendred to him, after a long and tedious siege. Whereupon, the Marquis of Clanrickard desired to enter into a Treaty with him, for putting a period to the war in Ireland, and establishing the repose of that Nation (c). In June he reduced Sligo (d): And in July marched against a party of the Royalists in Kerry [E]; whom having

(b) Page 521.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 527, 531, 532. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. edit. 1698, p. 396, &c. Hist. of Ireland, by R. Cox, Vol. II. in Charles II. p. 69.

(d) Whitelock, as above, p. 538.

[B] For he was straitly besieged in Londonderry.] During this siege, he agreed to supply the besiegers with powder, upon their engaging to furnish him with such provisions as he wanted; which was performed on both sides (g). This shows how little Sir Charles was afraid of the besiegers. But how greatly he was, and had been, distressed, for want of pay and provisions, is evident, from a paper of requests to Lieutenant-General Cromwell, wherein it was represented, in the name of Sir Charles Coote and his forces, that they, being three regiments of horse, and three of foot, had received but eight months pay in eight years, and a peck of oatmeal a week (10). [C] In June he gave a great defeat to the Bishop of Clogher.] This battle was fought at Skirfolas, on the 21st of June (11); and, after an hour's hot dispute, with great resolution on both sides, the Irish were wholly routed. Many of them were killed upon the place, and the execution was ten or eleven miles every way that night (12): but, afterwards, the pursuit was continued farther than ever was heard of be-

fore, namely, above thirty miles. So that it was believed, that five hundred of all this army did not escape (13). But Sir Charles writes in a letter, that there were at least, in all, three thousand killed. The Bishop being taken, much wounded (14), was hanged the next day, by order of the President, and his head set up on one of the gates of Londonderry; of which, but the year before, he had assisted Sir Charles Coote in raising the siege (15).

[D] He harassed the Barony of Burren.] Mr Whitelock informs us, that this Barony hath neither wood, water, nor earth enough to hang, drown, or bury a man (16).

[E] And in July he marched against a party of the Royalists in Kerry.] They had got together a body of about five thousand men, under the conduct of the Marquis of Clanrickard and Sir Phelim O Neal, with which they had besieged and taken the fort of Balkishannon, Whereupon Sir Charles Coote and Colonel Venables drew out what forces they could, and advanced towards them with such expedition, that they

(13) R. Cox, ubi supra.

(14) Whitelock, as above.

(15) R. Cox, as above, p. 24; and Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 331.

(16) Memorials, p. 521.

(g) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 294.

(10) Whitelock, as above, p. 410.

(11) Hist. of Ireland, by R. Cox, P. ii. p. 24.

(12) Whitelock, p. 464.

beaten from their fastnesses, and secured the passes by planting some garrisons, he so distressed them that they could no longer continue in a body; therefore they, and the Marquis of Clanrickard came in and submitted. And he had leave to transport himself with three thousand men to any foreign country in friendship with England, within the space of three months (e). To enable Sir Charles to carry on the war, he was one of the Commissioners of the taxes, excise, and customs, for Ulster (f). After Ireland was reduced to the obedience of the Parliament, he was one of the Court of Justice in the province of Connaught (g); of which he was made President by Act of Parliament (h). Being in England at the time of the deposing of Richard Cromwell, he went post for Ireland, to carry the news of that great alteration to his brother Henry Cromwell, and to concert with him what to do in order to maintain themselves in their posts (i). At first he seemed to aim at nothing more, than to keep his Government in Connaught, and to have his Regiment of Foot, and troop of Horse, continued to him (k) [F]. But when he found that King Charles the Second's interest was likely to prevail, he endeavoured to insinuate himself into his favour. For that purpose, he sent over to the Marquis of Ormond, then at Brussels, one Sir Arthur Forbes, a Scottish Gentleman of good affection to the King, and good interest in the Province of Ulster where he was an Officer of horse, 'To assure his Majesty of Sir Charles's affection and duty; and that, if his Majesty would vouchsafe to come into Ireland, he was confident the whole Kingdom would declare for him: that though the present Power in England had remov'd all the sober men from the government of the State in Ireland, under the character of Presbyterians; and had put Ludlow, Corbet, and others of the King's judges in their places; yet they were generally so odious to the Army as well as to the People, that they could seize upon their persons, and the very castle of Dublin, when they should judge it convenient.' However, the King not chusing to go to Ireland, dismiss'd Sir Arthur Forbes with such letters and commissions as he desired: who, upon his return to Ireland, found the state of affairs much alter'd since his departure (l). For Sir Charles Coote, and one or two more, so influenc'd the whole council of Officers, that they prevail'd upon them to vote, Not to receive Col. Ludlow as commander in chief; and, besides, made themselves masters of Athlone, Drogheda, Limerick, Dublin, and other places for the service of the King (m). Then he sent to Col. Monk, to acquaint him with the progress he had made in securing Ireland; who was so pleas'd with it, that he caus'd the cannon at Berwick to be fired in testimony of his joy, and sent back the messenger with letters of thanks for the good service, desiring him and his friends not to restore the Commissioners of the Parliament, whom they had seized, to the exercise of their authority (n). Soon after, Sir Charles Coote, and some others sent to the Parliament a charge of high-treason, against Col. Ludlow, Col. John Jones, Col. Thomlinson, and Miles Corbet (o). But the opposite party resolv'd to seize him, and his friends: of which having notice, he mounted on horse back, and, attended by great numbers of people, rid about the streets of Dublin, and declared for a Free Parliament (p). He likewise made himself master of Dublin-castle, and expelled Sir Hardress Waller from the command of the army (q). To recommend himself further to the King, he apprehended John Coke, chief justice of Ireland, who had been Solicitor-general at the trial of King Charles I (r). Notwithstanding all that, the Rump thought themselves so sure of him, that on the 5th of January 1659-60, they approved of what had been done by him and other officers of the army in Ireland for the service of the Parliament; and ordered, that the Thanks of the House should be given them for their good service, to be signed by the Speaker, and sealed with the Seal of the Parliament (s). On the 19th of the same month, they appointed him one of the Commissioners for the management of the affairs of Ireland (t). But, before those Commissioners declared for King Charles, they insisted upon several particulars relating to their interest as members of that nation (u). The 6th of September 1660, Sir Charles Coote was, on account of his many and great services for the Royal Cause, created Baron and Viscount Coote, and Earl of Mountrath in the Queen's county in Ireland: and was also appointed one of the Lords Justices of Ireland (w). But he did not long enjoy these Honours, for he died the 18th of December 1661 (x). He was succeeded in honour and estate by Charles his son, the second Earl; ancestor of Algernon, the present, and fifth, Earl of Mountrath, late representative in Parliament for the borough of Heydon in Yorkshire.

they were near the place before the enemy had notice of their march; who, finding themselves surprized, retreated to the bogs, leaving a small garrison in Ballishannon; but being pursued by the Parliament's forces, who killed and wounded about three hundred of them, (in which number were thirty officers) and took from them seven or eight thousand cows, on whose milk they chiefly subsisted; twelve hundred of them came in and laid down their arms; upon which the garrison they had placed in Ballishannon surrendered upon articles (17).

[F] *At first he seem'd to aim at nothing more than to keep his government in Connaught, and to have his regiment of foot, and troop of horse continued to him.* Mr Ludlow informs us, (if he is altogether to be credited) that he assur'd him of his endeavours, to have all those things confirm'd to him by the Parliament,

in hopes that he would employ them in the defence and preservation of that authority under which he had done so many great services, and from whom he had received so many marks of favour. This Sir Charles promis'd to do, and added, that he was fully convinc'd that his interest was wholly involved in the preservation of the Parliament, all that he enjoyed being derived from their authority; and that as he had oppos'd the late King in his arbitrary designs, so he would continue to act in conformity to those actions, well knowing, that if the son should happen to prevail, the English interest would be lost in Ireland, and the Irish restored to the possession of their lands, according to an agreement pass'd between them. And this Sir Charles promis'd Ludlow he would do (18).

(e) *Ibid.* p. 540. Ludlow, as above, p. 413.

(f) Ludlow, *ibid.* p. 338.

(g) *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 443.

(h) *Ibid.* p. 704.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 642.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 704.

(l) *The Hist. of the Rebellion, &c.* by Lord Clarendon, edit. 1751, 8vo, p. iii. Vol. II. p. 754, 755.

(m) Ludlow, as above, Vol. II. p. 787, 788.

(n) *Ibid.* p. 798.

(o) *Ibid.* p. 805, 806.

(p) *Ibid.* p. 838.

(q) Page 839.

(r) Page 851.

(s) *Mercurius Politic.* No. 622, p. 1009.

(t) *Ibid.* No. 604.

(u) *Ibid.* No. 612.

(w) *The Fifth Compendium, &c.* as above, p. 107, 108.

(x) *Ibid.*

(17) Ludlow, as above, Vol. I. p. 412.

(18) Ludlow's *Memoirs, &c.* Vol. II. p. 704, 705.

CORBET (RICHARD), Bishop of Norwich, and an excellent Poet, was son of Mr Vincent Corbet [A], and born at Ewell in Surrey, towards the latter end of the sixteenth Century, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He had his education in Westminster School, and from thence was sent to Oxford in Lent-Term 1597-8, where he was admitted a Student of Christ-Church. In 1605, he took the degree of Master of Arts, being at that time esteem'd one of the most celebrated Wits of the University. Afterwards entering into Holy Orders, he became an eminent Preacher, and was much followed by persons of taste and learning. His Wit and Eloquence recommended him to the favour of King James I. who made him one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, and, in 1620, promoted him to the Deanery of Christ-Church; about which time he was Doctor in Divinity, Vicar of Calfington near Woodstock in Oxfordshire, and Prebendary of Bedminster-Secunda in the Church of Sarum (a). He made verses, whilst Dean of Christ-Church, on a Play acted before the King at Woodstock [B]. He was elected, the 30th of July 1629, Bishop of Oxford, in the room of Dr Howson translated to the See of Durham; was consecrated the 19th of October, and installed the 3d of November following. Lastly, upon the translation of Doctor White to Ely, he was elected Bishop of Norwich, the 7th of April 1632; and received the Temporalities, the 12th of May following (b). This Prelate married Alice the daughter of Dr Leonard Hutten, Vicar of Flower in Northamptonshire (c) [C], by whom he had a son named after his Grandfather Vincent [D]. In his younger years, he wrote several pieces of Poetry [E], without any intention of their being made publick (d); and

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 600, 601.

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) Ibid. col. 571.

(d) Id. ubi supra, col. 601.

[A] *He was son of Mr Vincent Corbet.* Our author's filial piety put him upon immortalizing the memory and virtues of his father in an excellent elegy, which begins thus (1):

(1) See Poems, written by the Right Rev. Dr Richard Corbet, late Lord Bishop of Norwich. London, 1672, p. 31.

Vincent Corbet, farther known  
By Pointer's name than by his own,  
Here lies engaged, till the day  
Of raising bones, and quick'ning clay.

That gentleman's character is beautifully drawn in the following lines:

Years he liv'd were near fourscore;  
But, count his virtues, he liv'd more:  
And number him by doing good,  
He liv'd the age before the flood.

Again;

Simple he was, and withal  
His purse not base nor prodigal;  
Poorer in substance than in friends,  
*Future* and *public* were his ends.  
His conscience, like his diet, such  
As neither took, nor left, too much.  
So the made laws needless grown  
To him, he needed but his own.

The elegy ends with this turn:

Read then, and mourn, whate're thou art  
That dost hope to have a part  
In honest epitaphs; lest being dead,  
Thy life be written, and not read.

[B] *He made verses on a play acted before the King at Woodstock.* The play was called *Technogamia*: or, *The Marriage of Arts*; and was written by Barten Holiday, the Poet. The ill success it met with in the representation (2), occasioned several copies of verses; among which, to use Anthony Wood's words (3), 'Corbet, Dean of Christ-Church, put in for one, who had that day preached (as it seems) before the King, with his band starched clean; for which he was reproved by the graver sort, but those who knew him well took no notice of it, for they have several times said, that he loved to the last boys play very well.' The verses in question may be seen in the Article HOLYDAY (BARTEN).

(2) See the article HOLYDAY (BARTEN).

(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 260.

[C] *He married Alice, the daughter of Dr Leonard Hutten, Vicar of Flower, in Northamptonshire.* He mentions that village in his *Iter Boreale*.

Here we paid thanks, and parted, and at night  
Had entertainment, all in one man's right,  
At *Flower*, a village, where our tenant she,  
Sharp as a winter morning, fierce, yet free, &c. (4).

(4) Poems, &c. p. 2.

It is not improbable, that our author's acquaintance with Dr Hutten might take its rise from that *Northern-Trip*, and that he might then have had the first sight of the Doctor's daughter, whom he afterwards married.

[D] *He had a son named Vincent* Our author's Muse obeyed the dictates of paternal affection no less than of filial piety; for as he wrote an elegy on his own father, so he addressed the following verses, fraught with the best and kindest wishes, to his son.

What I shall leave thee none can tell,  
But all shall say, I wish thee well.  
I wish thee, *Vin*, before all wealth,  
Both bodily and ghostly health:  
Nor too much wealth, nor wit, come to thee;  
So much of either might undo thee.  
I wish thee learning, not for show,  
Enough for to instruct, and know;  
Not such as gentlemen require,  
To prate at table, or at fire.  
I wish thee all thy mother's graces,  
Thy father's fortunes, and his places.  
I wish thee friends, and one at Court,  
Not to build on, but to support;  
To keep thee, not in doing many  
Oppressions, but from suffering any.  
I wish thee peace in all thy ways,  
Nor lazy, nor contentious days;  
And when thy soul and body part,  
As innocent as now thou art (5).

(5) Page 35.

I conjecture, from the last line, that *Vin* was very young when his father wrote these.

[E] *He wrote several pieces of Poetry* A collection of them was published, under the title of *Poetica Stromata*, in octavo, London, 1647-8 (6). There is another edition of them in a thin *duodecimo*, London, 1672, dedicated to Sir Edmund Bacon, of Redgrave-Hall, in Suffolk, Baronet. The Editor tells his patron, that *the most pious of the Clergy have made use of the innocent art of poesy, not only for their pleasant diversion, but their most fervent devotion.* After the dedication follows an *advertisement*, in which we are told, that 'Upon reprinting these poems, diligent search was made to perfect them, which were very imperfectly printed before;' and that, 'though in this edition there be but few new poems, yet we may find many of them more perfect than before; for in some there are six, in others four, and in many two lines added out of perfecter copies, which were left out in the former impression.' Besides what has been already cited, I shall give the curious reader a farther specimen of Bishop Corbet's poetical genius, as his works are in but few hands. In his *Iter Boreale*: or *Journey Northward*, he has the following humorous description of a Serjeant.

(6) Wood, ubi supra, Vol. I. col. 601.

17th

and he was one of those celebrated persons, who, with Ben Johnson, Sir John Harrington,

I'th' interim comes a most officious drudge,  
His face and gown draw'd out with the same budge.  
His pendent pouch, which was both large and wide,  
Look'd like a letters-patents by his side.  
He was as awful, as he had been sent  
From Moses with the eleventh commandment (7).

(7) Poems, &c.  
P. 3.

In the same poem we meet with a fine moral reflection upon the burial place of King Richard III. and Cardinal Wolfey, who were both interred at Leicester.

Is not usurping Richard buried here,  
That King of Hate, and therefore slave of fear ;  
Dragg'd from the fatal Bosworth-field, where he  
Lost life, and, what he liv'd for, cruelty ?  
Search, find his name ; but there is none : O Kings,  
Remember whence your pow'r and vastness springs ;  
If not as Richard now, so may you be,  
Who hath no tomb, but scorn and memory.  
And tho' from his own store Wolfey might have  
A palace \*, or a college †, for his grave,  
Yet here he lies interr'd, as if that all  
Of him to be remembered were his fall.  
Nothing but earth on earth, no pompous weight  
Upon him, but a pebble or a quoit.  
If thou art thus neglected, what shall we ||  
Hope after death, that are but shreds of thee (8) ?

(\*) Whitehall.

(†) Christ-church.

(||) Students of Christ-church.

(8) Page 6, 7.

The host's pointing out the disposition of the two armies in Bosworth-field affords a very humorous and entertaining picture.

Mine Host was full of ale and history,  
And on the morrow when he brought us nigh  
Where the two roses joined, you wou'd suppose  
Chaucer ne're writ the Romant of the Rose.  
Hear him : see ye yon woods ? there Richard lay  
With his whole army : look the other way,  
And lo ! where Richmond in a bed of grosse  
Encamp'd himself o're night with all his force.  
Upon this hill they met. Why, he could tell  
The inch where Richmond stood, where Richard fell.  
Besides what of his knowledge he could say,  
He had authentic notice from the play :  
Which I might guess by's mustering up the ghosts,  
And policies, not incident to hosts :  
But chiefly by that one perspicuous thing,  
Where he mistook a player for a King ;  
For when he wou'd have said, King Richard died,  
And call'd a horse, a horse, he *Burbage* cry'd (9).

(9) Page 17, 18.

Our author appears to have had an excellent genius for *Panegyric*, by the following lines, which are part of an *elegy on the late Lord William Howard, Baron of Effingham, who died the 10th of December, 1615.*

What did he ? Acts of mercy, and refrain  
Oppression in himself, and in his train ?  
Was his essential table full as free  
As boasts and invitations used to be ;  
Where if his Ruffet-friend did chance to dine,  
Whether his Satten-man wou'd fill him wine ? —  
Did he seek regular pleasures ? was he known  
Just husband of one wife, and she his own ?  
Did he give freely without pause or doubt,  
And read petitions e're they were worn out ? —  
Did he attend the court for no man's sa'l ?  
Wore he the ruin of no hospital ?  
And when he did his rich apparel don,  
Put he no widow, nor an orphan on ?  
Did he love simple virtue for the thing ?  
The King for no respect but for the King ?  
But above all, did his religion wait  
Upon God's throne, or on the chair of state ?  
He that is guilty of no *Quare* here,  
Out-lais his epitaph, out-lives his heir.

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And a few lines further :

And therefore I am angry, when a name  
Comes to upbraid the world like *Effingham*.  
Nor was it modest in thee to depart  
To thy eternal home, where now thou art,  
E're thy reproach was ready ; or to die,  
E're custom had prepar'd thy calumny.  
Eight days are past since thou hast paid thy debt  
To Sin, and not a libel stirring yet ;  
Courtiers, that scoff by patent, silent sit,  
And have no use of slander, or of wit :  
But, which is monstrous, tho' against the tide,  
The water-men have neither rail'd nor ly'd.  
Of good or bad there's no distinction known,  
For in thy praise the good and bad are one (10). (10) P. 38, 39, 40.

Nor was his talent for *Satire* less extraordinary, as appears by his verses upon *Mrs Mallet, an unbandsome gentlewoman that made love unto him.*

Have I renounc'd my faith ? or basely sold  
Salvation, or my loyalty for go'd ?  
Have I some foreign practice undertook,  
By poison, shot, sharp knife, or sharper look,  
To kill my King ? Have I betray'd the state  
To fire or fury, or some newer fate,  
Which learned murth'ers, those grand destinies,  
The Jesuits, have nurs'd ? If of all these  
I guilty am, proceed, I am content  
That *Mallet* take me for my punishment.  
For never sin was of so high a rate,  
But one night's Hell with her might expiate.

Again ;

Whether her wit, form, talk, smile, fire, I name,  
Each is a stock of tyranny and shame.  
But for her breath, spectators, come not nigh,  
That lays about, God blefs the company.  
The man in a bear's skin, bated to death,  
Wou'd chuse the dogs much rather than her breath.  
One kiss of her's, and eighteen words alone,  
Puts down the Spanish Inquisition.

He concludes with these lines :

No Tyger's like her, she feeds upon man,  
Worse than a Tygers or a Leopard can.  
Let me go pray, and think upon some spell,  
At once to bid the devil and her farewell (11). (11) P. 44, 45, 46.

Our author's *Epigrammatic* turn may be seen in the following tetrallick on *Henry Bolings*.

If gentleness cou'd tame the fates, or wit  
Deliver man, Bolings had not dy'd yet :  
But one, which over us in judgment sits,  
Doth say, our sins are stronger than our wits (12). (12) Page 88.

And in those verses, *On the birth of the young Prince Charles.*

When private men get sons, they get a spoon,  
Without eclipse, or any star at noon.  
When Kings get sons, they get withal supplies,  
And succours far beyond a'l subsidies.  
Welcome God's loan, thou tribute to the state,  
Thou money newly coin'd, thou fleet of plate ;  
Thrice happy child, whom God thy father sent,  
To make him rich without a parliament (13). (13) Page 108.

I shall only add here the following sensible and witty reflection in his *Elegy upon the death of Queen Anne.*

Know henceforth, that grief's vital part  
Consists in nature, not in art ;  
And verses that are studied,  
Mourn for themselves, not for the dead (14). (14) Page 126.

(e) Winstanley's Lives of the English Poets, Lond. 1687, p. 121.

(f) Wood, ubi supra, col. 609.

(g) No. 1153.

(b) Id. ib. col. 601.

(i) Ibid. col. 736.

ton, Dr Donne, Michael Drayton, and others, wrote Mock-Commendatory verses on Tom Coryate's *Crudities* (e). He concurred likewise with other Poets of the University in inviting the celebrated Ben Johnson to Oxford, where that Poet was created Master of Arts (f). There is extant in the *Museum Asmoleanum* (g) a Funeral Oration in Latin, by Dr Corbet, on the death of Prince Henry, A. D. 1612. This learned and ingenious Prelate died in the year 1635, and was buried at the upper end of the Choir of the Cathedral Church of Norwich [F]. He was very hospitable, and always a generous encourager of publick designs; and particularly, when St Paul's Cathedral was repaired, an. 1634, he not only contributed largely himself, but was very diligent in procuring contributions from others (b). I know not why Anthony Wood says, *he was consecrated Bishop of Oxford, tho' in some respects unworthy of such an office* (i), unless it be that he thought the character of a Poet inconsistent with that of a Bishop. It appears by our author's Poems, that, at some time or other of his life, he took a journey to Paris [G]. I shall subjoin some manuscript verses in honour of Bishop Corbet [H].

These extracts may serve to give the reader a taste of an author, who is but little known at present, and whose works are not easily to be met with.

[F] *He was buried—in the Cathedral Church of Norwich.* Soon after, a large freestone, of a sandy colour, was laid over his grave, and the following inscription, engraven on a plate of brass, was fastened thereon.

*Richardus Corbet Theologiæ Doctor, Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Christi Oxoniensis primum Alumnus, inde Decanus, exinde Episcopus, illinc huc translatus, et hinc in cœlum, Julii 28. an. 1635.*

In English.

Richard Corbet, Doctor of Divinity, first student, then Dean, of Christ-Church, in Oxford, and next Bishop of that See; from thence translated hither, and from hence to Heaven, July 28. 1635.

On the said stone are the antient arms of the Corbets, of Shropshire, viz. *Or, a raven passant sab.* (15).

[G] *He took a journey to Paris.* I cannot forbear giving the reader one more sample of Bishop Corbet's wit, out of the ballad he made on that journey. It is a ridicule on the superstitious veneration of the Roman Catholics for relics, and the many forgeries practised in that respect.

Then to *St Dennis* fast we came,  
To see the fights of *Notre Dame*;  
The man that shews 'em snaffles;  
Where, who is apt for to believe,  
May see our lady's right-arm sleeve,  
And eke her old pantoffles;

Her breast, her milk, her very gown  
That she did wear in Bethlem town,  
When in the inn she lay:  
Yet all the world knows that's a fable;  
For so good cloaths ne're lay in stable  
Upon a lock of hay.

No Carpenter cou'd by his trade  
Gain so much coin as to have made  
A gown of so rich stuff;  
Yet they, poor fools, think for their credit  
They may believe old Joseph did it,  
'Cause he deserved enough.

There is one of the cross's nails,  
Which who so sees his bonnet vails,  
And, if he will, may kneel:  
Some say 'twas false, 'twas never so;  
Yet feeling it, thus much I know,  
It is as true as steel.

There is a lanthorn, which the Jews,  
When Judas led them forth, did use;  
It weighs my weight downright:  
But to believe it, you must think,  
The Jews did put a candle in't,  
And then 'twas very light (16).

[H] *Some manuscript verses in honour of Bishop Corbet.* I found them in a blank leaf of his poems.

In flowing wit, if verses writ with ease,  
If learning, void of pedantry, can please;  
If much good humour, join'd to solid sense,  
And mirth accompanied with innocence,  
Can give a poet a just right to fame,  
Then CORBET may immortal honour claim:  
For he these virtues had, and in his lines  
Poetic and heroick spirit shines;  
Tho' bright, yet solid, pleasant, but not rude,  
With wit and wisdom equally indu'd.  
Be silent, Muse, thy praises are too faint:  
Thou want'st a pow'r this prodigy to paint,  
At once a poet, prelate, and a faint. J. C.

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(16) Poems, &c.  
p. 129.

(a) But originally of Foxhearth. He was a very rich man, and a person of great probity.

(b) See *The dead Man's real Speech*. A funeral Sermon on Bishop Cosin, &c. by M. Basire, 8vo, Lond. 1673, p. 38; and *Vita Joannis Cosini Episcopi Dunelmensis*. *Scriptore Thoma Smitho*. Lond. 1707, 4to, p. 1.

(c) Dr Smith, ib. and Dr Basire, p. 36, 43.

COSIN (JOHN) a learned bishop of Durham in the seventeenth century, was the eldest son of Giles Cosin a citizen of Norwich (a), by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Remington of Remington-castle, a good and ancient family (b). He was born at Norwich November 30, 1594; and educated in the free-school there, till he came to be fourteen years of age. Then he was transplanted into Caius-College in Cambridge, in 1610; of which he was successively chosen Scholar, and Fellow: and where he regularly took his degrees in Arts (c). Having distinguished himself by his learning, diligence, and ingenuity; in the year 1616, when he was about twenty years of age, he had an offer, at the same time, both from Dr Lancelot Andrews then Bishop of Ely, and from Dr Overall Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, of a Librarian's place. But, by his late Tutor's advice, he accepted of the latter's invitation: who liked him so well, that, on account of his knowledge and fair writing, he made him also his Secretary (d). At the same time he encouraged him to study Divinity, and sent him from time to time to keep his Exercises in the University (e). But, in 1619, he lost his excellent patron, and with him all hopes and prospect of advancement (f). However, Providence soon raised him a better Patron in Dr Richard Neile then Bishop of Durham, who took him for his domestic chaplain: And in 1624 conferred upon him the tenth Prebend in the Cathedral Church

(d) Smith, p. 1, 2.

(e) Basire, ubi supra.

(f) Bishop Overall died May 7, 1619, having the year before been translated to Norwich.

Church of Durham [A], in which he was installed the 4th of December that same year (g). In September following, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of the East-riding in the church of York, vacant by the resignation of Marmaduke Blakelton, whose daughter he had married (b). And on the 20th of July 1626, was moreover collated by his patron Bishop Neile to the rich Rectory of Branspeth [B], in the diocese of Durham (i). The same year, he took the Degree of Batchelor in Divinity (k). About that time, having frequent meetings, at the Bishop of Durham's house in London, with Dr William Laud then Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr Francis White soon after Bishop of Carlisle, Dr Richard Montague; and other learned men, distinguish'd by their zeal for the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England; He began to be obnoxious to the then Puritans, who (so great was their malice or ignorance!) look'd upon all such Divines as Popishly affected (l). This imputation of theirs on Mr Cofin in particular, was sufficiently authorized, as they imagin'd, by his 'Collection of Private Devotions,' [C] publish'd in 1627; wherein many things were thought too much favourable to Popery: But how wrong this imputation was, let his whole conduct testify. In 1628 he was concerned, with other members of the Church of Durham, in a prosecution against Peter Smart Prebendary there, for a seditious Sermon preached in that Cathedral [D]. About the same time, he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity. And in 1634, February the 8th, was elected Master of Peter-House, in the room of Dr Matthew Wren newly made Bishop of Hereford:

[A] And, in 1624, conferred upon him the tenth prebend in the Cathedral Church of Durham.] All the while he enjoyed it, which was about six and thirty years, he was very constant in his residences, both ordinary and extraordinary; during which he kept a laudable hospitality according to the statutes of that Church. So that Dr Basire testifies (1), that upon search of the register of that Cathedral, he could not find one dispensation for him in all the time he continued Prebendary.

[B] Was moreover collated by his patron, Bishop Neile, to the rich Rectory of Branspeth.] The parochial Church of which he beautified in an extraordinary manner (2).

[C] His Collection of Private Devotions.] The title of it was, *A Collection of Private Devotions: or, The Hours of Prayer.* Dr Smith informs us (3), that it was written at the command of King Charles I. who observing that his Queen's Protestant attendants were frequently reading in *the Hours of the Virgin Mary*, and other popish books of devotion, that were set, perhaps on purpose, about the royal apartments: lest they should thereby be tainted with superstition, and other false principles, he ordered a Manual of Prayers to be composed for their use, out of the holy Scriptures, and the ancient Liturgies, which was accordingly done, by Mr Cofin. Others affirm (4), that it was written at the request of the Countess of Denbigh, the Duke of Buckingham's sister. This lady being then somewhat unsettled in her religion, and warping towards Popery, these Devotions were drawn up to recommend the Church of England farther to her esteem, and preserve her in that communion. This book, though furnished with a great deal of good matter, was not altogether acceptable in the contexture; altho' the title-page sets forth, that it was formed upon the model of a book of *private Prayers*, authorized by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1560 (5). To give the reader some part of it: 'After the Calendar, it begins with the Apostles Creed in twelve articles, the Lord's Prayer in seven petitions, the Ten Commandments, with the duties enjoined, and the sins forbidden. Then follow the precepts of charity, the seven sacraments, the three theological virtues, the three kinds of good works, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the twelve fruits of the Holy Ghost, the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, the eight beatitudes, the seven deadly sins, their opposite virtues, and the four last things. And, after some explanatory prefaces and introductions, were subjoined the forms of prayer for the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours, and likewise for the *Vespers* and *Compline*, formerly called the canonical hours. Next to these was the litany, the seven penitential psalms, prayers preparatory for receiving the Holy Eucharist, prayers to be used in time of sickness, and at the approach of death, &c.' Tho' this book was approved by Geo. Mountain, Bishop of London, and licensed with his own hand, yet it was somewhat surprising at first view; and some moderate persons were shocked with it, as drawing too near the superstitions of the Church of Rome; at least they suspected it as a preparation to further advances. The top of the frontispiece had the name of Jesus, in three capital letters,

I. H. S. Upon these there was a cross, incircled with the sun, supported by two Angels, with two devout women praying towards it. This book was severely animadverted upon by Henry Burton, in his 'Examination of Private Devotions: or, The Hours of Prayer, &c.' and by W. Prynne, in his 'Brief Survey and Censure of Mr Cofin's cozening devotions'

[D] In 1628 he was concerned, with other members of the Church of Durham, in a prosecution against Peter Smart, &c.] This P. Smart, who had been schoolmaster at Durham, was collated Dec. 30, 1609, to the sixth Prebend in the Church of Durham, and removed July 6, 1614, to the fourth Prebend (6). He had also other preferments. Being to preach, July 7, 1628 (7), in the Cathedral Church of Durham, he took for his text Psalm xxxi. 7. *I hate them that hold of superstitious vanities.* From which he took occasion to make a most bitter invective against some of the Bishops, charging them with no less than Popery and Idolatry. Among other virulent expressions he had these — p. 11. 'The Whore of Babylon's bastardly brood, doting upon their mother's beauty, that painted harlot of the Church of Rome, have laboured to restore her all her robes and jewels again, especially, her looking-glass the Mass, in which she may behold her bravery. — The Mass coming in, brings with it an inundation of ceremonies, crosses, and crucifixes, chalices and images, copes and candlesticks, tapers and basons, and a thousand such trinkets, which we have seen in this Church since the communion-table was turned into an altar. — p. 26. I assure you the altar is an idol, a damnable idol as it is used. I say, they are whores and whoremongers, they commit spiritual fornication who bow their bodies before that idol the altar, — &c.' For this sermon he was questioned first at Durham, afterwards in the High-Commissioned-Court at London; from whence he was removed, at his own desire, to that at York, where refusing, with great scorn, to recant, he was, for his obstinacy, degraded, and by sentence at Common Law, soon after dispossessed of his prebend and livings; whereupon he was supplied with 400 l. a year by subscription from the Puritan party (8), which was more than all his preferments amounted to. As for Dr Cofin, he was so far from being Mr Smart's chief prosecutor (as he avers) that after he was questioned in the High Commission at Durham, he never meddled in the matter, save that once he wrote a letter to the Archbishop of York, and the Commissioners, in his favour (9). — Mr Smart's character is not represented to any great advantage. One author indeed (10) calls him a man 'of a grave aspect, and reverend presence.' But another, who knew him better (11), assures us, 'That he was an old man of a moist brow, arid, fierce, and unpeaceable spirit, &c.' He had not preached in the Cathedral Church of Durham, tho' Prebendary of it for seven years, 'till he preached that seditious sermon for which he was questioned. And whilst he held and enjoyed his preferment, and his health too, he seldom preached more than once or twice a year.

(g) Smith, and Basire ubi supra. See also Survey of the Cathedral of York, Durham, &c. by Dr. Wren, li. fol. 470, Lond. 1727, Vol. 1. p. 273.

(b) Willis, ibid. p. 100.

(i) Smith, and Basire, as above.

(k) Smith, p. 4.

(l) Ibid.

Lond. 1628, 4to.

Ibid. 1628.

(6) Willis, as above, p. 266, 268.

(7) Dr Nalson says, by mistake, it was 1638, p. 518. But he was suspended for his Sermon in 1631.

(8) Out of the peculiar contributions at London and elsewhere, gathered up for sinned Ministers.

(9) This is Dr Cofin's own account, as published in Dr Heylin's *Exam. Hist. Anglican.* p. 213. &c. Compare it with that in Fuller's *Ch. Hist.* B. xi. p. 173.

(10) Fuller, ibid.

(11) Dr Ceza, ubi supra.

(1) Ubi supra, p. 441, 45.

(2) See The Hist. of the Cathedral Church of Durham, by Sir William Dugdale, p. 81, at the end of his Hist. of St Paul's, 2d edit. 1716, fol.

(3) Ubi supra, p. 5, 6.

(4) Collier, Eccl. Hist. Vol. 11. p. 742.

(5) *Horarium Regia Auctoritate Editum*, ann. 1560; and reprinted in 1573, cum privilegio, by Will. Seers.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 8, 9, 10.  
 (n) *Ibid.* p. 9, 11. and J. Le Neve's *Fasti*, edit. 1716, p. 241.  
 (o) Ruffworth's *Historical Collect.* P. iii. Vol. I. edit. 1721, p. 41, 53; and Dr Nalson, *&c.* ed. 1682, Vol. I. p. 518.  
 (p) Nalson, *ibid.* p. 538.  
 (q) *Ibid.* p. 569.  
 (r) *Ibid.* p. 651, 728.  
 (s) Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, fol. Lond. 1714, P. ii. p. 58.

Hereford: In that station, he strenuously applied himself to promote sound Religion, and useful Learning (m). He served the office of Vice-Chancellor for the University of Cambridge, in 1640. And the same year, King Charles I, to whom he was Chaplain, conferr'd upon him the Deanery of Peterborough; in which he was installed November 7, 1640 (n). But this dignity he did not long enjoy, or rather he did not quietly enjoy it at all: since his troubles began three days after. For on the 10th of November, a petition from Peter Smart against him was read in the House of Commons; wherein Smart complained, of the Doctor's superstition, and innovations in the Church of Durham, and of his severe prosecution in the High-Commission-Court (o). Whereupon, on the 21st of the same month, Dr Cofin was ordered to be sent for by the Serjeant at Arms, and a Committee appointed to prepare a charge against him (p). Soon after, he presented a Petition to the House, which, on the 28th following, was read, and referred to a Committee (q). On the 3d of December, the Serjeant had leave given him by the Commons, to take bail for Dr Cofin; which was accordingly done, the 19th of January 1640-1, the Doctor himself being bound in two thousand pounds, and his securities in a thousand pounds a-piece, for his appearance upon summons (r). Three days after, namely January the 22d, he was, by a vote of the whole House, sequestred from his ecclesiastical Benefices; being the first clergyman that was then used in that manner (s). On the 15th of March ensuing, the Commons sent up one and twenty Articles of impeachment against him [E] to

[E] *The Commons sent up one and twenty articles of impeachment against him.* They were carried up by one Mr Rouse, who introduced them with the following speech. 'My Lords, I am commanded by the House of Commons, to present your Lordships a declaration and impeachment against Dr Cofins, and others, upon the complaint of Mr Peter Smart; which Mr Smart was a *Proto-Martyr*, or first confessor of note in the late days of persecution. The whole matter is a tree, whereof the branches and fruit are manifest in the articles of this declaration.—Then follow these articles against Dr Cofin. 1. That he was the first man that caused the communion-table in the Church of Durham to be removed and set altar-ways, in the erecting and beautifying whereof, he (being then Treasurer) expended two hundred pounds (12). 2. That he used to officiate at the west side thereof, turning his back to the people. 3. That he used extraordinary bowing to it. 4. That he compelled others to do it, using violence to the Persons of them that refused so to do: for instance, once some omitting it, he comes out of his seat, down to the seat where they sat, being gentlewomen, called them whores, and jades, and pagans, and the like unseemly words, and rent some of their clothes. 5. That he converted divers prayers, in the Book of Common Prayers, into hymns, to be sung in the choir, and played with the organ, contrary to the ancient custom of that Church. 6. That whereas it had been formerly a custom in that Church, at the end of every sermon, to sing a psalm; this custom, when Dr Cofin came thither, was abrogated, and instead thereof, they sung an anthem in the choir, there being no psalm sung either at the minister's going up into the pulpit, or at his coming down. 7. That the first Candlemas-day at night, that he had been in that Church, he caused three hundred wax-candles to be set up and lighted in the Church at once, in honour of our Lady, and placed threescore of them upon and about the altar. 8. That in this Church there were reliques of divers images, above which were remaining the ruins of two Seraphims, with the picture of Christ between them, erected in Queen Mary's time, in the time of Popery; all which, when Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, were demolished, by vertue of a commission by her to that intent granted, which so continued demolished from that time, 'till Dr Cofin came to that Church, who, being Treasurer, caused the same to be repaired, and most gloriously painted. 9. That all the time he was unmarried, he wore a cope of white sattin, never officiating in any other, it being reserved solely for him, no man excepting himself making use thereof, which, after marriage, he cast off, and never after wore. 10. That there was a knife belonging to the Church, kept altogether in the vestry, being put to none but holy uses, as cutting the bread in the sacrament, and the like; Dr Cofin refusing to cut the same with any other but that, thinking all others that were unconsecrated, polluted; but that, which he putting holiness in, never termed but the consecrated knife. 11. That in a sermon preached in that Church, he did deliver certain words in dif-

grace of the reformers of our Church, for instance, the words were these, 'The reformers of this Church, when they abolished the Mass, took away all good order, and, instead of a reformation, made it a deformation (13).' 12. That he seldom or never, in any of his sermons, stiled the Ministers of the word and sacraments by any other name than Priests, nor the communion-table by any other name than altar. 13. That by his appointment there was a cope bought, the seller being a convicted Jesuit, and afterwards employed in that Church, having upon it the picture of the invisible and incomprehensible Trinity. 14. That whereas it had been formerly a custom in that Church, at five of the clock to have morning-prayers read, winter and summer: this custom, when Dr Cofin came thither, was abandoned; and instead thereof was used singing and playing on the organs, and some few prayers read, and this was called first service; which being ended, the people departed out of the Church, returning at nine a-clock, and having then morning-prayers read unto them, and this was called second service; which innovation being disliked, and complained of by Mr Justice Hutton, was reformed. 15. That he framed a superstitious ceremony in lighting the tapers which were placed on the altars, which, for instance, was this: a company of boys that belonged to the Church, came in at the choir-door with torches in their hands lighted, bowing towards the altar at their first entrance, bowing thrice before they lighted their tapers: having done, they withdrew themselves, bowing so oft as before, not once turning their back-parts towards the altar, the organs all the time going. 16. That he counselled some young students of the university to be imitators and practicers of his superstitious ceremonies, who, to ingratiate themselves in his favour, did accordingly; and being afterwards reprov'd for the same, by some of their friends, confessed, that Dr Cofin first induced them to that practice, and encouraged them therein. 17. That he used, upon communion-days, to make the sign of the cross with his finger, both upon the seats whereon they were to sit, and the cushions to kneel upon, using some words when he so did. 18. That one sabbath-day there was set up an unnecessary company of tapers and lights in the Church, which Dr Hunt, being then Dean, fearing they might give offence, being they were then unnecessary, sent his man to pull them down, who did so; but Dr Cofin being thereat aggrieved, came to the fellow, and there miscalled him in a most uncivil manner, and began to beat him in the publick view of the congregation, to the great disturbance of the same. 19. That the Dean and Chapter of that Church, whereof Dr Cofin was one, with many others, being invited to dinner in the town of Durham, Dr Cofin then and there spake words derogating from the King's prerogative: the words were these, 'The King hath no more power over the Church than the boy that rubs my horse-heels.' 20. That there being many of the Canons of the said Church present at that time, amongst the rest there was one took more notice of his words than the rest, and acquainted one of his fellow-

(13) Dr Nalson informs us, that the Doctor's words were, 'That we must not think that when the Bishops took away the Mass, they took away all religion.' Which he made out by producing his Sermon. Nalson, ubi supra, p. 792.

(11) Mr Fuller says, that it was a marble altar with Cherubins, which cost 200*l.* with all the appurtenances thereof. See Fuller, ubi supra, p. 173.

to the House of Lords (\*) : To which the Doctor put in his Answer upon oath ; and so fully vindicated himself (†), during the five days the affair was depending before the Lords, that most of them acknowledged his innocence : And Mr Glover, one of Smart's own Counsel, told him openly at the bar of the House of Lords, ' That he was ashamed of him, and could not in conscience plead for him any longer.' Whereupon the Lords dismissed the Doctor, upon his putting bail for his appearance : But they never sent for him again (‡). About the same time, upon a motion made in the House of Commons, ' that he had enticed a young Scholar to Popery,' he was committed to the Serjeant at Arms, to attend daily till the House should call him to a hearing. After fifty days imprisonment, and charges of twenty shillings a day, he came at length to a hearing ; when he made it appear, That being Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, he had most severely punished that young Scholar (whom, upon examination, he had found guilty) by making him recant, and expelling him the University. And to this some of the members bore witness. However, the Doctor had no manner of reparation made him for his great trouble and expences ;

(\*) Ruthwoth, ubi supra, p. 183 ; and Nalson, Vel. 1. p. 789, 790.

(†) Both by his own self, and by the very witness that Smart and his son-in-law, produced against him. *Examen Historicum*, p. 286.

(‡) Walker, ubi supra, p. 19 ; and Smith, p. 10, 11 ; and Heylyn's *Examen Historicum*, p. 286.

Canons with them when he came home. This Canon being a friend to Dr Cofin, told the Doctor that such a man exclaimed of him, and charged him with words that he should speak at such a time ; the Doctor presently sends for him, and when he came into the house the Doctor desires him to follow him into an inner room, who did so ; but so soon as he came in, the Doctor shuts the door, and sets both his hands upon him, calling him rogue and rascal, and many other names, insomuch that the man, fearing he would do him a mischief, cried out ; Mrs Cofin coming in, endeavoured to appease her husband, and, holding his hands, the other ran away. 21. That the Doctor did seek many unjust ways to ensnare this man, that so he might take a just occasion to put him out of his place ; but none of them taking effect, he put him out by violence, having no other reason why he did so, but because he had no good voice, when he had served the place two years before Dr Cofin came thither : for instance of which unjust ways to ensnare this man, Dr Cofin hired a man and woman to pretend a desire of matrimony, and to offer a sum of money to this petty Canon to contract matrimony between them in a private chamber, so thereupon to take advantage of his revenge upon him. This plot being confessed by the parties, to be first laid by Dr Cofin, and that they were his instruments (14).—Besides the several particulars mentioned in these articles, Mr Fuller informs us, that Dr Cofin was accused of having bought a cope with the Trinity, and God the Father in the figure of an old man ; another with a crucifix, and the image of Christ, with a red beard, and a blue cap. And to have made an anthem to be sung, of the three Kings of Colen, by the names of Gasper, Balthazar, and Melchior (15).

To these articles Dr Cofin put in his answer, upon oath, before the House of Lords, as is above related. But seeing afterwards the substance of them published in Mr Fuller's Ecclesiastical History (16), he writ from Paris a letter to Mr Warren, and Dr Reves, in his own vindication, dated April 6, 1658, wherein he declares, as he had done before the Lords, 1. That the communion-table in the Church of Durham (which in the Bill of Complaint and Mr Fuller's History is said to be the marble-altar, with Cherubims) was not set up by him [Dr Cofin], but by the Dean and Chapter, (whereof Mr Smart himself was one) many years before Mr Cofin became Prebendary of that Church, or ever saw the country. 2. That by the public accounts which are there registered, it did not appear to have cost above the tenth part of what is pretended, appurtenances and all (17). 3. That likewise the copes used in that Church were brought in thither long before his [Dr Cofin's] time, and when Mr Smart, the complainant, was Prebendary there, who also allowed his part (as he [Dr Cofin] was ready to prove by the Act-book) of the money that they cost, for they cost but little. 4. That as he never approved the picture of the Trinity, or the image of God the Father, in the figure of an old man, or otherwise to be made or placed any where at all ; so he was well assured that there were none such (nor to his knowledge or hearsay ever had been) put upon any cope that was used there. One there was that had the story of the Passion embroidered upon it, but the cope that he used to wear, when at any time he attended the communion-service, was of plain white sattin only without any embroidery upon it all. 5. That what the Bill of Complaint, called the image of Christ, with a blue

cap, and a golden beard, (Mr Fuller's History says it was red, and that it was set upon one of the copes) was nothing else but the top of Bishop Hatfield's tomb (set up in the Church, under a side-arch there, two hundred years before Dr Cofin was born) being a little portraiture, not appearing to be above ten inches long, and hardly discernable to the eye what figure it is, for it stands thirty foot from the ground. 6. That by the local statutes of that Church, (whereunto Mr Smart was sworn, as well as Dr Cofin) the treasurer was to give order, that provision should every year be made of a sufficient number of wax-lights for the service of the Choir, during all the winter-time ; which statute he [Dr Cofin] observed when he was chosen into that office, and had order from the Dean and Chapter, by capitular act, to do it : yet upon the Communion-table they that used to light the candles, never set more than *two fair candles, with a few small sizes* near to them, which they put there of purpose, that the people all about might have the better use of them for singing the psalms, and reading the lessons out of the Bibles : but *two hundred* was a greater number than they used all the Church over, either upon Candlemas-night, or any other.—7. That he never forbade (nor any body else that he knew) the singing of the (meeter) psalms in the Church, which he used to sing daily there himself, with other company, at morning-prayer. But upon fundays and holydays, in the choir, before the sermon, the creed was sung, (and that plainly for every one to understand) as it is appointed in the Communion-book, and after the sermon, was sung a part of a psalm, or some other anthem taken out of the scripture, and first signified to the people where they might find it. 8. That so far was he from making any anthem to be sung of the three Kings of Colen, as that he made it, when he first saw it, to be torn in pieces, and he himself cut it out of the old song books belonging to the choristers school, with a pen-knife that lay by, at his very first coming to that college. But he was sure that no such anthem had been sung in the choir during all his time of attendance there, nor (for ought that any of the eldest persons of the Church and town could tell, or ever heard to the contrary,) for fifty or threescore years before, or more. 9. That there was indeed an ordinary knife, provided and laid ready among other things belonging to the administration of the Communion, for the cutting of the bread, and divers other uses in the Church-vestry.—But that it was ever consecrated, or so called, otherwise than as Mr Smart, and some of his followers had, for their pleasure, put that appellation upon it ; he [Dr Cofin] never heard, nor believed any body else had, that lived at Durham (18). The rest of the articles mentioned above, Mr Smart could not prove, and Dr Cofin gave a very satisfactory answer to them, remaining upon the Rolls of Parliament. But as Mr Fuller did not specify them all, the Doctor did not think it necessary to repeat in this letter his answer to each of them. Upon the whole, therefore, as we cannot, on the one hand, enough wonder at the weakness of Dr Cofin, for inventing and pressing the observance of such ceremonies and insignificant things, as some of those above-mentioned : so, on the other hand, who can be sufficiently amazed at the confidence of P. Smart, in charging the Doctor with things which he could so easily disprove ? and what must be thought or said of that House of Commons which would encourage and receive such kinds of accusations ?

(14) This Letter is printed in Dr Heylyn's *Examen Historicum*, &c. Appendix, p. 283, &c. Dr Fuller afterwards asked Dr Cofin's pardon for what he had said as above, relating to him. See Worthies, in Durham, p. 295.

(14) Nalson, ubi supra, p. 789, 790 ; and *The Diurnal Occurrences, or daily Proceedings of Parliament in 1640 and 1641*, Lond. 1641, 4<sup>to</sup>, p. 52, &c.

(15) Fuller, Ch. Hist. ubi supra.

(16) B. xi. p. 173.

(17) By this it seems, that the sum mentioned in the original articles was 2000*l.* tho' in the printed ones there is only 200*l.*

See above, note (12).

pences; which gives but a disadvantageous idea of the justice and honesty of that House (w). In 1642, he was concern'd, with others, in sending the Plate of Cambridge University to King Charles I. then at York. For which a furious storm fell upon several members of that University, and particularly upon Dr Cofin: who having, some time before (x), been voted unworthy to be a Head or Governor in either of the Universities, or to hold or enjoy any ecclesiastical promotion; was ejected from his Mastership by a warrant from the Earl of Manchester, dated March 13, 1642-3. So that, as he was the first that was sequestred, so was he also the very first of his university, who was turned out (y). Thus being deprived of all his preferments, and still fearing the worst that might follow, he thought fit to leave the kingdom, and to withdraw to Paris, in the year 1643. Being safely arriv'd to that place, he did, according to King Charles's order and direction, take under his care, and officiate as Chaplain to, such of Queen Henrietta Maria's household as were Protestants. With them, and other English exiles that were daily resorting to Paris, he form'd a congregation, that assembled at first in a private house, and afterwards in the chapel of Sir Richard Brown Ambassador from the court of England to that of France. Not long after, he had lodgings assign'd him in the Louvre, with a small pension, on account of the relation he bore to Queen Henrietta (z). During his residence in this place, he showed, how false and groundless was the imputation that had been thrown upon him, 'of his being Popishly affected.' For, notwithstanding his great straits, he remained steady and unmoved in the profession of the Protestant Religion. He kept up the English Church-Discipline, and the form of worship appointed by the Common Prayer: He reclaimed some that were quite gone over to Popery, and confirmed several more in the Protestant Profession; who by their converse with Romanists, were become wavering, and inclinable to entertain favorable opinions of the Popish Tenets (a). He also had several Controversies and Disputes with divers Jesuits and Romish Priests; particularly once with the Prior of the English Benedictines at Paris [F]; in which he acquitted himself with so much learning and sound reasoning, that he utterly defeated the suspicions of his enemies, and much exceeded the very expectations of his friends (b). There were made him very great offers of Preferment [G], if he would have been tempted thereby, to alter his Religion; but he stood proof against them all (c). He compos'd, during his exile, several learned works, chiefly against the Roman Catholics, of which we shall give an account below. Tho' he was extremely zealous for the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, yet he kept a friendly intercourse and correspondence with the Protestant Ministers at Charenton [H]; who, on their parts, expressed the utmost regard for him: and permitted him sometimes to officiate in their congregations [I], according to the rites prescribed by the book of Common-prayer (d). Thus having, during his seventeen years exile in France, behaved 'discreetly and prudently' even in the judgment of his enemies (e); he returned to his native country at the Restoration of King Charles II. and took possession again of his preferments and dignities. About the end of July

[F] *Particularly once with the Prior of the English Benedictines at Paris.* The Prior's name was ——— Robinson. And the controversy between him and Dr Cofin was managed both by word and writing. The argument was, concerning the validity of the ordination of our Priests, &c. in the Church of England. And the Doctor had the better so far, that he could never get from the Prior any reply to his last answer. This conference was undertaken to fix a person of honour then wavering about that point. The sum of the conference was written by Dr Cofin to Dr Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, in two letters, bearing date June 11, and July 11, 1645 (19).

[G] *There were made him very great offers of preferment.* One author speaks upon this point to the following purpose (20). Dr Cofin 'being by the violence of the persecution which was raised against the episcopal party, forced to quit his native country, and seek a retreat among the Papists in France, he continued a most unshaken Protestant, and bold pugnator of the Reformed Religion, even to the hazard of his life; and when the necessitous condition to which he was reduced, and all the advantageous offers imaginable were made him to embrace the Roman Communion, yet were not those temptations capable of removing him from his foundation, insomuch, that despairing of ever obliging him to change his religion, the Papists were so enraged at him, as, I have heard it from his own mouth, frequently to threaten him with assassination, and that he should not escape pistol or ponyard; and in revenge, which I have heard him aver was the most sensible affliction that ever befel him in his whole life, they inveigled his only son from him to become a Papist (21).' We may add this other testimony of Dr Cofin's attachment to the Reformed Religion.—' Whilst he remained in France, he was the Atlas of the Protestant

Religion, supporting the same with his piety and learning, confirming the wavering therein, yea, daily adding proselytes (not of the meanest rank) thereunto (22).'

[H] *He kept a friendly intercourse and correspondence with the Protestant Ministers at Charenton.* One author indeed tells us (23), that 'after getting over into France, he neither joined with the Church of French Protestants, at Charenton, nigh Paris, nor with the Papists,—but confined himself to the Church of old English Protestants therein.' But Dr Cofin, in opposition to the former part of that assertion, declared to all the world, that he never refused to join with the Protestants there, or any where else, in all things wherein they joined with the Church of England (24). And that he was constant in the same opinion, appears by a letter of his, dated from Paris, Feb. 7, 1650, to one Mr Cordel, then at Blois, who seem'd shy to communicate with the Protestants there, upon the scruple of their in orderly ordination: in which letter he has this passage,—' To speak my mind freely to you, I would not wish any of ours absolutely to refuse communicating in theyre Church, or determine it to be unlawful, for fear of a greater scandal that may thereupon arise, than we can tell how to answer or excuse — (25).'

[I] *And permitted him sometimes to officiate in their congregations.* Where he baptized, married, and had even some persons ordained Priests and Deacons by English Bishops, according to the several forms in the book of Common Prayer. With their consent likewise he did, in the year 1645, 'solemnly, in his priestly habit, with his surplice, and with the office of burial used in the Church of England, inter, at Charenton, the body of Sir William Carnaby, Knt. not without the troublesome contradiction and contention of the Romish Curate of that parish (26).'

[K] *He*

(w) Persecutio Undecima, p. 23. Nalson, as above, p. 568.

(x) January 22, 1640-41. Nalson, as above, p. 734.

(y) Walker, ubi supra, p. 152.

(z) Smith, p. 12, 13, 14.

(a) See *Examen Historicum*, ut supra, p. 293.

(b) Fuller, Ch. Hist. B. xi. p. 173.

(c) Walker, ubi supra, p. 60.

(d) Smith, ubi supra, p. 19, 20. *Examen Historicum*, p. 291, 292.

(e) See D. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. edit 1733, p. 388. Mr Neal adds, that the Doctor was 'softened in his principles by age and sufferings.'

(19) Basire, ubi supra, p. 59, 60.

(20) Nalson, as above, p. 519.

(21) He was educated in grammar learning in a Jesuit's school (as were many others of our youths during the Civil War) which corrupted him. Smith, p. 13.

(22) Fuller's Worthies, in Durham, p. 295.

(23) Fuller, ubi supra.

(24) In his Letter, inserted in Heylyn's *Examen Historicum*, p. 283, &c.

(25) See Basire, p. 58, 59; and note [P] No. 2.

(26) Basire, p. 58; and Smith, p. 19. See particularly *Examen Historicum*, p. 291, 292.

July 1660, he came to his Deanery at Peterborough, and was the first that read the Common-prayer in that cathedral, after the late times of confusion (*f*). But here he was not suffered to rest; for the King designed, a very little while after, to make him Dean of Durham: But reflecting on his sufferings, and upon his constant attendance and services beyond the seas, he nominated him Bishop of that rich See (*g*). Accordingly, he was consecrated on the 2d of December 1660 in Westminster-Abbey (*b*). As soon as he could go down into his Diocese, he set about reforming many Abuses that had crept in there during the late Anarchy; and by his generous and hospitable temper, accompanied with a kind and courteous deportment, he gained an universal respect and esteem (*i*). But he chiefly distinguished himself by his very great munificence, and charity, and by a public spirit. For, considering himself principally as steward of the large revenues belonging to his See, he laid out a great share of them, in repairing or rebuilding the several edifices belonging to the Bishopric of Durham, which had either been demolish'd, or neglected, during the civil wars. For instance, he repaired the castle at Bishop's Aukland [*K*]; and that at Durham, which he enlarg'd with some additional buildings: And repair'd the Bishop's house at Darlington, then very ruinous. He also enriched his new chapel at Aukland, and that in the castle of Durham, with several pieces of gilt plate, books, and other costly ornaments, to remain to his successors in the Bishopric for ever: the charge of all which buildings, repairs, ornaments, &c, amounted to no less than twenty six thousand pounds (*k*). He likewise built and endowed two Hospitals; the one at Durham for eight poor people, the other at Aukland for four; the annual revenue of the first being seventy pounds, and of the other thirty pounds: And near his Hospital at Durham rebuilt the School-Houses, to the charge of three hundred pounds. He also built a Library near the castle of Durham; the charge whereof, and pictures wherewith he adorned it, amounted to eight hundred pounds; and gave books thereto, to the value of two thousand pounds; as also an annual pension of twenty marks for ever to a Library-keeper. The College of dissolved Prebends at Aukland, purchased by Sir Arthur Haselrigg, and by him forfeited to the King, which King Charles II. gave to Bishop Cosin, in fee, he gave to his successors, Bishops of Durham for ever; the value thereof being three hundred and twenty pounds. He rebuilt the East end of the chapel at Peterhouse in Cambridge, which cost three hundred and twenty pounds; and gave in books to the library of that college, a thousand pounds. He founded eight scholarships in the same university, namely five in Peter-house, of ten pounds a year, each; and three in Gonvill and Caius College of twenty nobles a-piece *per Annum*. Both which, together with a provision of eight pounds yearly, to the common chest of these two colleges respectively, amounted to two thousand five hundred pounds. He likewise made an augmentation of sixteen pounds a year to the vicarage of St Andrews at Aukland (*l*). The rest of his numerous Benefactions we shall give an account of, in the note [*L*]. In a word, this generous Bishop, during the eleven years

(1) See Dr. Cosin's Life, p. 339.

(2) Balfour, p. 49.

(3) Register and Councils of the Bishops of Durham, ed. by Dr. Cosin, p. 123. Dr. Cosin preached the Consecration Sermon. Vid. Smith, p. 21.

(4) Smith, p. 21, 22, 23. In 1661, he was one of the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference, where he yielded to some moderating concessions. See Life of R. Baxter, vol. I. i. Part II. p. 305.

(5) Dr. Smith says, it was only near sixteen thousand pounds. *Vid.* ut supra, p. 24, 25.

(6) Smith, ubi supra, p. 25.

[*K*] He repaired the castle at Bishop's Aukland.] This (the chief country-seat of the Bishops of Durham,) was, upon the seizure of the Bishops land, bestowed upon Sir Arthur Haselrigg; who designing to make it his principal seat, and not liking the old fashioned building, resolved to erect a new and beautiful fabrick, all of one pile, according to the most elegant fashion of those times. To fit himself therefore with materials for this his new house, he pulled down a most magnificent and large chapel, built by Anthony Beke, Bishop of Durham, in the time of King Edward I. with the stone whereof, and an addition of what was deficient, he erected his new fabrick in a large court, on the east side of the castle. But Bishop Cosin, soon after his consecration, taking notice that the greatest part of the materials, used in that building, were taken from the above-mentioned consecrated chapel, he not only refused to make use of it for his habitation, though it was commodiously contrived, and nobly built, but took it wholly down, and with the stone thereof built another beautiful chapel on the north side of that great court; and, under the middle aisle thereof, caused a convenient vault to be made for his own sepulture (27).

[*L*] The rest of his numerous benefactions, &c.] They were as follows. He gave to the Cathedral at Durham a fair carved Lectern, and Litany-desk, with a large scallop'd silver patten, gilt, for the use of the communicants there, which cost *forty-five pounds*.—Upon the new building of the Bishop's Court, Exchequer, and Chancery, and towards the erecting of two sessions houses at Durham, he gave a *thousand pounds*.—Moreover, he gave towards the redemption of Christian captives, at Algier, *five hundred pounds*.—Towards the relief of the distressed loyal party in England, *eight hundred pounds*.—For repairing the banks in Howdenshire, a *hundred marks*.—Towards the repair of St Paul's Cathedral, in London,

*fifty pounds*. By his Will he bequeathed to the poor of his hospitals at Durham and Aukland, to be distributed at his funeral, *six pounds*.—To the poor people of the country, coming to his funeral, *twenty pounds*.—To poor prisoners detained for debt, in the goals of Durham, York, Peterborough, Cambridge, and Norwich, *fifty pounds*.—To the poor people within the precincts of the Cathedral at Norwich, and within the parish of St Andrews there, in which he was born and educated in his minority, *twenty pounds*.—To the poor of Durham, Aukland, Darlington, Stockton, Gateshead, and Branspeth, (all in the Bishoprick of Durham) *thirty pounds*.—To the poor in the parishes of Chester in the Street, Houghton le Spring, North-Allerton, Creike, and Howden, (all lordships belonging to the Bishops of Durham) *forty pounds*.—Towards the re-building of St Paul's Cathedral, in London, when it should be raised five yards from the ground, a *hundred pounds*.—To the Cathedral of Norwich, whereof the one half to be bestowed on a marble-tablet, with an inscription, in memory of Dr John Overall, some time Bishop there, (whose Chaplain he had been) the rest for providing some useful ornaments for the Altar, *forty pounds*.—Towards the re-edifying of the north and south-sides of the College-chapel at Peterhouse, in Cambridge, suitable to the east and west ends, already by him perfected, *two hundred pounds*.—Towards the new building of a Chapel at Emanuel-College, in Cambridge, *fifty pounds*.—To the children of Mr John Heyward, late Prebendary of Iitchfield, as a testimony of his gratitude to their deceased father, who, in his Lordship's younger years, placed him with his uncle, Bishop Overall, *twenty pounds* a piece.—To the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough, to be employed for the use of the poor in that town, a *hundred pounds*.—To the poor of Durham, Branspeth, and Bishop's Aukland, to be distributed as his two daughters (the Lady Gerard, and the Lady Burton) should think best,

a hun-

(27) Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 82.

(m) Bafire, ubi supra, p. 79, 80.

(n) Ibid. p. 86, 87.

(o) Smith, ubi supra, p. 27, 28.

(p) Archdeacon of the East Riding, and Prebendary of York and Durham, &c. See Willis, ubi supra, p. 100, 180, 269; and Bafire, as above, p. 39.

years he fate in the see of Durham, is said to have spent above two thousand pounds a year, in pious and charitable uses (m). The two last years of his life he enjoyed but a very indifferent state of Health, being very much afflicted with the stone. At length the roaring pains of that distemper, as he used to call them; together with a pectoral Dropsy; put an end to his most valuable life (n), at his house in Pall-mall Westminster, on the 15th of January 1671-2, when he was seventy seven years, one month, and sixteen days old (o). In his Will, dated December 11, 1671, he made a large and open declaration of his Faith [M]. About the year 1625, he married Frances daughter of Marmaduke Blakeston M. A. (p). by which he had a son, whom he disinherited on account of his embracing Popery [N]; and four daughters, one married to Sir Gilbert Gerard, Bart. another to Sir ——— Burton, Bart. and the youngest to Dr Denys Granville, brother to the Earl of Bath, and afterwards Dean of Durham (q). As for the Bishop's body it was for some time deposited in a vault in London; and in April, 1672, conveyed to Bishop's Aukland in the diocese of Durham: where on the 29th of that month, it was buried in the chapel belonging to the palace, under a Tomb of black marble, with an inscription [O] prepar'd by the Bishop in his life-time (r). We shall give an account of his works in the note [P]. As to his personal qualifications; the Bishop was tall and

(q) Smith, p. 26; and from private information.

(r) Smith, p. 28. Willis, ubi supra, p. 251. The Burial Service was read by Guy Carleton, Bishop of Bristol and Prebendary of Durham; and Dr I. Bafire, preached the funeral Sermon. Smith, ibid.

erect

a hundred pounds.—To some of his domestick servants he gave a hundred marks, to some fifty pounds, and to the rest half a year's wages, over and above their last quarter's pay (28).

(28) Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 83, 84, 85; and Smith, p. 25, 26, 27.

[M] In his Will—*he made a large and open declaration of his Faith.* Wherein, after repeating the substance of the Apostles and Nicene Creeds, he condemns and rejects whatsoever heresies or schisms, the ancient catholick and universal Church of Christ with an unanimous consent, had rejected and condemned; together with all the modern fautors of the same heresies; sectaries, and phanaticks, who, being carried on with an evil spirit, do falsely give out, they are inspired of God. As the Anabaptists, new Independents, and Presbyterians of our country, a kind of men hurried away with the spirit of malice, disobedience, and sedition.—‘Moreover, (adds he) I do profess, with holy asseveration, and from my very heart, that I am now, and ever have been from my youth, altogether free and averse from the corruptions and impertinent new-fangled, or *papistical*, superstitions and doctrines,—long since introduced, contrary to the Holy scripture, and the rules and customs of the ancient Fathers. But in what part of the world soever any Churches are extant, bearing the name of Christ, and professing the true Catholick Faith and Religion, worshipping and calling upon God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, with one heart and voice, if I be now hindered actually to join with them, either by distance of countries, or variance amongst men, or by any hindrance whatsoever; yet always in my mind and affection I join and unite with them: which I desire to be chiefly understood of Protestants, and the best Reformed Churches, &c.’ This part of his Will was written in Latin, and the latter part, containing his benefactions, in English (29).

(29) See B. fire, p. 111, &c. Smith, p. 55, &c.

[N] *He had a son, whom he disinherited on account of his embracing Popery.* See above, note [G] of this article. He was prevailed upon, not only to embrace Popery, but also to take Religious Orders in the Church of Rome; and though Dr Cosin used all the ways imaginable, and even the authority of the French King, which, by his interest, he had procured, to regain him out of their power, and from their persuasion, yet all proved ineffectual. Whereupon he disinherited him, allowing him only an annuity of one hundred pounds (30). He pretended to turn again, but relapsed before the Bishop's decease.

(30) Nalson, as above, p. 519; and Smith, p. 13, 26.

[O] *With an inscription* Which runs thus.

*In non morituram memoriam.*

J O H A N N I S C O S I N

*Episcopi Dunelmensis,*

*Qui hoc Sacellum construxit,*

*Ornavit, & Deo consecravit*

*Ann. M, DC, LXV.*

*In Feslo S. Petri.*

*Obiit xv die Mensis Januarii*

*Anno Domini, MDCLXXI.*

*Et hic sepultus est, expectans*

*Felicem corporis sui Resurrectionem,*

*Ac vitam in coelis æternam.*

*Requiescat in pace.*

Round a marble-stone on the floor, are also these words engraved.

*Beati mortui*

*Qui moriuntur in Domino,*

*Requiescunt enim*

*A laboribus suis (31).*

(31) Smith, ubi supra, p. 28; and J. le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, from 1650 to 1679, p. 171.

*i. e.* To the never-dying memory of John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, who built and adorned this Chapel, and consecrated it to God in 1665, June 29. He died the 15th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1671, and is buried here, waiting for the happy resurrection of his body, and eternal life in heaven. Let him rest in peace. Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours.

[P] *We shall give an account of his works, &c.* Besides his *Collection of Private Devotions*, mentioned above, he published, ‘A Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture: or, The certain and indubitable Books thereof, as they are received in the Church of England.’ London, 1657, 4to. reprinted in 1672. This history is deduced from the time of the Jewish Church, to the year 1546, that is, the time when the Council of Trent corrupted, and made unwarrantable additions to, the ancient Canon of the Holy Scriptures. Consequently it was directed against the Papists, and was written by the author during his exile at Paris. He dedicated it to Dr M. Wrenn, Bishop of Ely, then a prisoner in the tower. Dr P. Gunning had the care of the edition (32).—Since the Bishop's decease the following books and tracts of his have been published. I. ‘A letter to Dr Collins, concerning the Sabbath,’ dated from Peterhouse, Jan. 24, 1635 (33). In which, speaking first of the morality of the sabbath, he affirms, that the keeping of that particular day was not moral, neither by nature binding all men, nor by precept binding any other men but the Jews, nor them further than Christ's time. But then, adds he, whether one day of seven, at least, do not still remain immutably to be kept by Us Christians, that have God's will and example before, and by virtue of the rules of reason and religion, is the question? And for this he decides in the affirmative. Then he proves, that the keeping of our Sunday is immutable, as being grounded upon divine institution, and Apostolical Tradition, which he confirms by several instances. Next he shews, that the Schoolmen were the first who began to dispute, or deny, this day to be of Apostolical Institution, on purpose to set up the Pope's power, to whom, they said, it belongeth, either to change or abrogate the day. Towards the end, he lays down these three positions against the Puritans: 1. ‘The observation of the Sunday in every week is not commanded us by the fourth commandment, as they say it is. 2. Nor is our Sunday to be observed according to the rule of the fourth commandment, as they say it is. 3. Nor hath it the qualities and conditions of the Sabbath annex to it, as they say it hath.’ II. There is published, ‘A Letter from our author to Mr Cordel, dated Paris, Feb. 7, 1650. See above note [H]. It is printed at the end of a pamphlet, intitled, ‘The Judgment of the Church of England,

(32) Bafire, p. 66; and Smith, p. 17.

(33) And printed in *Bibliotheca Literaria*, &c. Lond. 1723, 4to, No. 70. p. 33, &c.

erect, and had a grave and comely presence. He had a sound understanding, well improved with all kinds of useful learning. And, as for his hospitality, generosity, and charity, they were so very conspicuous and extensive; that he is justly reckoned to have been one of the most munificent, if not the most munificent, of all the Bishops of Durham (s). Among many other services he did to his see, one was; the obtaining a release (in compensation of the loss that see suffered by taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries,) of the annuity, or pension, of one thousand pounds (t), charged upon that Bishopric, ever since Queen Elizabeth's days (u).

(s) See Baire, p. 57—103.

(t) Or, eight hundred and four score pounds. Baire, p. 56.

(u) See Willis, ubi supra, p. 228, 811. This 1000*l.* was for keeping a garrison at Berwick, against the Scots.

(34) 2d edit. Lond. 1712, 8vo. 'England, in the case of Lay-baptism, and of Dissenters baptism (34).' III. *Regni Angliæ Religio Catholica, prisca, casta, defœcata: omnibus Christianis Monarchis, Principibus, Ordinibus, ostensa. Anno MDCLII. i. e.* A Short Scheme of the ancient and pure doctrine and discipline of the Church of England (35). Written at the request of Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon (36). IV. *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis. Cui præmittitur, atque opponitur, tum S. Scripturæ, tum Veterum Patrum, & Reformatarum Ecclesiarum Doctrina Catholica, de Sacris Symbolis, & præsentia Christi in Sacramento Eucharistiæ. i. e.* The History of Popish Transubstantiation, &c. written by the author at Paris, for the use of some of his countrymen, who were frequently attacked upon that point by the Papists. It was published by Dr Durell, at London, 1675, 8vo. and translated into English in 1676, by Luke de Beaulieu, 8vo (37). There is a *Second Part* still in manuscript (38). V. 'The differences in the chief points of religion, between the Roman Catholics and us of the Church of England; together with the agreements which we, for our parts, profess, and are ready to embrace, if they, for theirs, were as ready to accord with us in the same. Written to the Countess of Peterborough (39).' VI. 'Notes on the Book of Common-Prayer.' Published by Dr William Nicholls, at the end of his Comment on the Book of Common-Prayer, Lond. 1710, fol. VII.

'Account of a Conference in Paris, between Cyril, Archbishop of Trapezound, and Dr John Cosin.' Printed in the same book.—The following pieces were also written by Bishop Cosin, but never printed. 1. 'An Answer to a Popish Pamphlet, pretending, that St Cyprian was a Papist. 2. An Answer to four queries of a Roman Catholick, about the Protestant Religion.' 3. 'An Answer to a paper delivered by a Popish Bishop to the Lord Inchequin.' 4. 'Annales Ecclesiastici, imperfect.' 5. An Answer to 'Father Robinson's Papers, concerning the validity of the Ordinations of the Church of England.' See above, note [F]. 6. 'Historia Conciliorum, imperfect. 7. 'Against the forsakers of the Church of England, and their seducers in this time of her tryal. 8. 'Chronologia Sacra, imperfect. 9. A Treatise concerning the abuse of auricular confession in the Church of Rome (40).' By all which learned works, as one observes (41), and his abilities, quick apprehension, solid judgment, variety of reading, &c. manifested therein; he hath perpetuated his name to posterity, and sufficiently confuted, at the same time, the calumnies industriously spread against him, of his being a Papist, or Popishly inclined (42); which brought on him a severe persecution, followed with the plunder of all his goods, the sequestration of his whole estate, and a seventeen years exile. C

(40) Baire, p. 67, 68.

(41) Fuller, Worthies, in Durham, p. 294.

(42) Therefore, as Dr Smith observes, *Erubescant jam Schismaticorum filii de parentum avorumque convitiis, mendaciis, & calumniis, in Cosinum*, p. 18.

COTES (ROGER) a celebrated Mathematician and Plumian Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy in the university of Cambridge in the eighteenth Century. He was the son of the Reverend Mr Robert Cotes, Rector of Burbage in Leicestershire, which was also the place of his nativity (a) [A]. He was born there July the 10th, 1682, and received his first education at Leicester school, where, when he was between eleven and twelve years of age, he shewed a strong inclination to the mathematicks, which being observed by his uncle the Reverend Mr John Smith, father to the worthy Dr Robert Smith, his successor as Plumian Professor in the university of Cambridge, he gave him all imaginable encouragement, and prevailed upon his father, to send him for some time to his house in Lincolnshire, that he might assist him in those studies, where he laid the solid foundation (b) of that deep and extensive knowledge in those sciences, for which he was afterwards so deservedly famous. He removed from thence to London, and was sent to St Paul's school, where under the care of Dr Thomas Gale, and Mr John Postlethwait successive masters, he made a great progress in classical learning, and yet found so much leisure as to keep up a constant correspondence with his uncle, not only in Mathematicks, but also in Metaphysicks, Philosophy, and Divinity (c). His next remove was to Cambridge, where April 6th, 1699, at the age of seventeen, he was admitted Pensioner of Trinity-college in that university, and at michaelmas 1705 was chosen Fellow of his college (d). He was at the same time tutor to Anthony Earl of Harold, and the Lord Henry de Grey sons to the then Marquis, afterwards Duke of Kent, to which most noble family Mr Cotes had the honour to be related (e). In January following he was appointed Professor of Astronomy, and Experimental Philosophy, upon the foundation made by Thomas Plume, Doctor in Divinity, archdeacon of Rochester, being the first that enjoyed that office, to which he was chosen for his great learning and eminent abilities (f). He took the degree of master of arts in 1706, and in 1713 he entered into holy orders. The same year, at the desire of Dr Richard Bentley, he published at Cambridge the second edition

(a) From the information of Dr Robert Smith, Master of Trinity college in Cambridge.

(b) From the information before-mentioned.

(c) A fact often mentioned by the late Professor Saunderson.

(d) From the information of Dr Smith.

(e) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 38.

(f) Knight's Life of Dr Colet, Dean of St Paul's, p. 430.

[A] Which was also the place of his nativity.] The little town of Burbage, or rather Burbach, lying in Sparkenhoe-hundred, in Leicestershire, and at the distance of about six miles from Leicester; is remarkable for it's once having had an Earl for it's Rector (1). This noble and reverend person was Anthony de Grey, the eighth Earl of Kent, who was Minister there at the time that ancient title descended to him, in 1639, and to his honour be it remembered, that he did not think himself obliged to alter his manner of living in the least, he kept a very hospitable house before, and was al-

ways glad of the company of his brethren, in which course he continued, excusing his attendance in parliament, on account of his age and infirmities, which, however, he would not suffer to excuse him from the duties of his function, preaching constantly as long as it was possible for him to be carried up into the pulpit (2). He was great grandfather to the late Henry, Earl, Marquis, and at length Duke of Kent, to whom, as descended from a daughter of Major Farmer, in the same county, our author, Mr Cotes was, nearly related.

(2) Fuller's Worthies, in Durham, p. 299.

(1) Knight's Life of Dean Colet, p. 429, 430.

edition of Sir Isaac Newton's Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy, with all the improvements which the author had made to that time, to which he prefixed a most excellent preface (g). This added greatly to the high reputation he had already acquired for his profound knowledge in the abstrusest parts of the mathematicks, amongst the greatest men of the age. He wrote also a description of the great Meteor, that was seen on the 6th of March 1715-6, which was published in the Philosophical Transactions (b) [B] These were the only fruits of his learned and laborious studies, that appeared in his lifetime, but he left behind him several admirable and judicious tracts, part of which, after his decease, his learned kinsman and worthy successor in his professorship, Dr Robert Smith, gave to the publick, which were received with universal approbation [C]. He died

(g) This was the second edition of that most valuable Work, and the Preface is considered as a master-piece in it's kind.

(b) No. 365.

[B] Which was published in the Philosophical Transactions.] This curious account is contained in a letter to Robert Danye, D. D. Rector of Spofforth, in Yorkshire; which though it went out of his hands in his life-time, and might be very probably transmitted to the Royal Society before his death, yet it was in some respect a posthumous work, since it did not appear till after our author's decease; there are two things in it very remarkable, the first is the clearness and conciseness with which the facts are described, the other the plainness and perspicuity of the manner in which he accounts for them; the reader will not be displeas'd to have a taste of both (3). 'It was, says he, after seven before I had notice of this uncommon sight, at first I saw only two or three of the triangular streams towards the north and north-west: These were not of long duration, but were succeeded by others, which appeared, and vanished again by turns, arising from, and ascending up to places in the Heavens of very different altitudes above the Horizon. From the time I began to view them, they continued to ascend more and more copiously, being propagated still further and further from the north towards the west and east, and directed always to the heads of Gemini, till at length when they seem'd almost to meet at the point of convergence, they began to ascend up towards it from the southern parts also, and all round it; inso-much that at a quarter after seven we had a perfect canopy of rays over us: the bottom of this canopy did no where reach down to the horizon, for near the north, where it descended the most, it's altitude was about ten or fifteen degrees, and near the south where it descended the least, it's altitude was about forty degrees. It remained in this state about two minutes, during which time we saw several colours, some fainter and more permanent, others brighter, but quickly vanishing. Thus in the west I observed the rays to be tinged for some considerable time, with an obscure and heavy red; and in one of the brightest streams, at another time there suddenly broke out a very vivid red, which was instantly and gradually succeeded by the other prismatic colours; all vanishing in about a second of time. These colours affected the sense so strongly, that I thought them to be more intense than those of the brightest rainbow I had ever seen. A small time before the appearance lost it's perfection, we were surpris'd to observe a shaking and trembling of the streams, chiefly in their upper parts; during which their convergence was confounded, and the whole Heaven seem'd to be in a convulsion. At the same time I could perceive waves of light towards the north, which moved upwards, and in their motion crossed the streams lying parallel to the horizon. These waves were different from those broad ones, which you mention, and which I also took notice of: Their breadth seem'd to be about a degree, their length about ninety degrees, and I can compare them to nothing better, than to those slender waves upon the surface of stagnant waters, which are made by casting in a small stone.—An irregular gust of wind blowing upon and shaking the columns, was I suppose the cause of that trembling which appeared in the triangular streams; and the cause also which destroyed that fine appearance of the canopy. The slender circular waves seen at the same time, might also be explained from the same cause. I need not detain you any longer by endeavouring to make out some other particulars of this unusual appearance: I fear I have been already too tedious. However I will not omit to mention a very easy contrivance by which the thing may be tolerably well represented to

(3) Philosophical Transactions, Vol. XXXII. No. 365. p. 66.

view. Take a hoop and round about it fasten several straight sticks parallel to each other, but all inclined to the plane of the hoop; hold this plane parallel to the horizon, and in that posture move it with sticks over a candle, the shadows of the sticks upon the ceiling of your room, will converge to a point not directly over the candle (as they would have done had the sticks been perpendicular to the plane of the hoop) but to the point in which a line drawn from the candle parallel to the sticks, shall intersect the plane of the ceiling.'

[C] Were received with universal approbation.] The title of this work at large runs thus. HARMONIA MENSURARUM, sive Analysis & Synthetis per rationum angularum mensuras promotæ: accedunt alia Opuscula Mathematica: per Rogerum Cotesium. Edidit et auxit Robertus Smith, Collegii S. Trinitatis apud Cantabrigienfes socius, Astronomiæ & Experimentalis Philosophiæ post Cotesium professor. Cantabrigiæ 1722, 4to. That is The Harmony of Measures: or Analysis and Synthetis advanced by the measures of Ratio's and Angles. To which are added other Mathematical pieces by Roger Cotes. Published and augmented by Robert Smith, Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, and successor to the said R. Cotes, as Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy. This work is dedicated by the learned editor to Dr Richard Mead. He next proceeds to give us, in a very elegant and affectionate Preface, a copious account of the performance itself; the pieces annexed to it, and of such other of the author's work as are yet unpublished: He tells us how much this work was admired by the judicious Professor Sanderfon, and how dear the author of it was to the late learned Dr Bentley, to whom he gives the highest, that is the justest, commendations. This book consists of three parts. In the first, called Logometria, the author's chief design is to shew how that sort of problems, which are usually reduced to the quadrature of the Hyperbola and Ellipsis, may be reduced to the measures of Ratio's and Angles, and afterwards be solved more readily by the canon of Logarithms, Sines, and Tangents. He defines the measures of Ratio's to be quantities of any kind, whose magnitudes are analogous to the magnitudes of the Ratio's to be measured. In this sense any canon of Logarithms is a system of numeral measures of the Ratio's of the absolute numbers to an Unit: The parts of the asymptote of the Logistic line intercepted between its ordinates, are a system of linear measures of the Ratio's of those ordinates: The areas of an hyperbola, intercepted between it's ordinates to the asymptote, are a system of plane measures of the Ratio's of those ordinates: And since there may be infinite systems of measures, according as various kinds of quantities are made use of; such as number, time, velocity, and the like; or according as the measures of any one system may be all increased or diminished in any given proportion; in such variety, much confusion may possibly arise, as to the kind and absolute magnitudes of particular measures, which happen to fall under consideration. Our author very happily removes this difficulty, by shewing, that the nature of the subject points out the measure of a certain immutable Ratio, for a modulus in all systems whereby to determine the kind and absolute magnitudes of all other measures in each system. The first proposition is to find the measures of any proposed Ratio. This he considers in a way so simple and general, as naturally leads to the notion and definition of a modulus; namely, that it is an invariable quantity in each system, which bears the same proportion to the increment of the measure of any proposed Ratio, as the increasing term of the Ratio bears to it's own increment. He then shews that the

measure

died, to the regret of the university in general, and more especially of such as were addicted

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measure of any given Ratio is as the modulus of the system from whence it is taken, and that the modulus in every system is always equal to the measure of a certain determinate and immutable Ratio, which he therefore calls the Ratio modularis. He shews that this Ratio is expressed by these numbers 2,7182818, &c. to 1, or by 1 to 0,3678794, &c. so that in Briggs's canon, the Logarithm of this Ratio is the modulus of that system: In the Logistic line, the given subtangent is the modulus of that system. In the hyperbola, the given parallelogram contained by an ordinate to the asymptote, and the absciss from the center, is the modulus of that system, and in other systems the modulus is generally some remarkable quantity. In the second proposition, he gives a concise uncommon method, for calculating Briggs's canon of Logarithms, together, with rules for finding intermediate Logarithms, and numbers, even beyond the limits of the canon. In the third proposition, he constructs any system of measures by a canon of Logarithms, not only when the measure of some one Ratio is given, but also without that datum, by seeking the modulus of the system by the rule abovementioned. In the 4th 5th and 6th propositions, he squares the hyperbola, describes the logistic line, and equiangular spiral, by a canon of Logarithms; and shews some curious uses of these propositions in their scholia. Take an easy example of the logometrical method in the common problem for finding the density of the atmosphere. Supposing gravity uniform, every one knows that if altitudes are taken in any arithmetical progression, the densities of the air in those altitudes will be in a geometrical progression, that is, the altitudes are the measures of the Ratio's of the densities below, and in those altitudes; and so the difference of any two altitudes is the measure of the Ratio of the densities in these altitudes. Now to determine the absolute or real magnitude of these measures, the author shews *à priori*, that the modulus of the system is the altitude of the atmosphere, when reduced every where to the same density as below. The modulus therefore is given (as bearing the same proportion to the altitude of the mercury in the barometer, as the specific gravity of mercury does to the specific gravity of air) and consequently the whole system is given. For since in all systems the measures of the same Ratio's are analogous among themselves, the Logarithm of the Ratio of the air's density in any two altitudes, will be to the modulus of the canon (that is to the Logarithm of the Ratio modularis defined above) as the difference of those altitudes is to the aforesaid given altitude of the homogeneous atmosphere. He concludes the Logometria with a general scholium, containing great variety of elegant constructions, both logometrical and trigonometrical, such as give the length of curves, either geometrical or mechanical, their area's and centers of gravity, the solids generated from them, and the surfaces of these solids, together with several curious problems in Natural Philosophy, concerning the attraction of bodies, the density and resistance of fluids, and the trajectories of planets. Several of these problems have two cases, one constructed by the measure of a Ratio, and the other by the measure of an angle. The great affinity and beautiful harmony of the measures in these cases has given occasion to the title of the book. The measures of angles are defined to be quantities of any kind, whose magnitudes are analogous to the magnitudes of the angles. Such may be the arcs or sectors of any circle, or any other quantities of time, velocity, or resistance, analogous to the magnitudes of the angles. Every system of these measures has likewise its modulus, homogeneous to the measures in that system, and may be computed by the trigonometrical canon of sines and tangents, just as the measures of Ratio's by the canon of Logarithms; for the given modulus in each system, bears the same proportion to the measure of any given angle, as the Radius of a circle bears to an arc, which subtends that angle, or the same as this constant number of degrees 57,29577 95130 bears to the number of degrees in the said angle. Upon the whole our author expresses himself thus. 'From these examples it will lie wholly in the power of able Geometricians to form a judgment of our method, which if they shall approve, they may carry it still farther, and thereby considerably extend it's uses. A

‘ vast field lies open, in which they may exert their abilities; but especially if they add to Logometries, the assistances that may be derived from trigonometry, that there is a wonderful affinity and connection between these, I shall plainly make appear. I can hardly believe that any principles can be devised more general than these; as mathematicks contains scarce any thing else within it's compass, than the theory of angles and ratio's. Neither will any one desire a more commodious method, who considers the facility in these matters, derived to us from those extensive tables, as well of the logarithms of whole numbers, as of sines and tangents, which were the valuable effects of our predecessors, laudable industry. To this end I have added some theorems both logometrical and trigonometrical, &c.’ The reason which induced the author to assert his principles to be so general, will appear farther by an instance or two. In the problem already mentioned, he measures the ratio of the air's densities in any altitudes, by the altitudes themselves, making use of the altitude of an uniform atmosphere for the modulus. So likewise when he considers the velocities acquired, and the spaces described, in given times, by a body projected upwards or downwards, in a resisting medium with any given velocity; he shews that the times of descent added to a given time, are the measures of ratio's to a given modulus of time; whose terms are the sum and difference of the ultimate velocity and the present velocities that are acquired, that the times of ascent taken from a given time are the measures of angles to a given modulus of time, whose radius is to their tangents in the ratio of the ultimate velocity to the present velocities; and lastly, that the spaces described in descent or ascent, are the measures of ratio's to a given modulus of space, whose term are the absolute accelerating and retarding forces arising from gravity and resistance taken together at the beginning and end of those spaces. This general account may suffice to illustrate what I am going to say, that since the magnitudes of ratio's, as well as their terms, may be expounded by quantities of any kind, the mathematician is at liberty, upon all occasions, to chuse those which are fittest for his purpose, and such are they without doubt that are put into his hand by the conditions of the problem. He may indeed represent these quantities by an hyperbola, or any other logometrical system, were not his purpose answered with greater simplicity by the very system itself which occurs in each particular problem. And the same may be said for the systems of angular measures, instead of recurring upon all occasions to elliptical or circular area's. As to the convenience of calculating from our author's constructions; he shews that the measures of any ratio's or angles are always computed in the same uniform way, by taking from the tables the logarithm of the ratio, or the number of degrees in the angle, and then by finding a fourth proportional to three given quantities, for that will be the measure required. The simplest hyperbolic area may indeed be squared by the same operation taught in the author's fourth proposition, but the simplest elliptic area requires somewhat more: Those that are more complex in both kinds, which generally happens, require an additional trouble to reduce them to the simplest, to square them by infinite series is still more obscure, and does not answer the end of Geometry. Upon the whole therefore it may deserve to be considered; for what purpose should problems, be always constructed by conic areas, unless it be to please or assist the imagination. The design of theoretical Geometry differs from problematical, the former consists in the discovery and contemplation of the properties and relations of figures, for the sake of naked truth, but the design of the latter is to do something proposed and is best executed by the least apparatus of the former. The Logometria was first published by the author himself, in the Philosophical Transactions. But his logometrical and trigonometrical theorems abovementioned were not published till after his decease. These theorems make the second part of the book, and are calculated to give the fluents of fluxions reduced to 18 forms by measures of ratio's and angles, in such a manner that any person may perfectly comprehend their construction and use, though altogether unacquainted with curvilinear figures

(i) See this inscription at the end of Dr Smith's Preface to the *Harmonia Mensurarum*.

to mathematical studies, in the prime of his life, in the thirty third year of his age, June the 5th, 1716, and was buried in the chapel of Trinity College Cambridge, his memory being honoured with an inscription by the elegant pen of the most learned Dr Bentley, master of that college, his constant friend and patron (i).

figures as expressed by equations. And this circumstance also renders the speedy application of them to the analysis and construction of problems extremely easy. Of this kind the author has given a great many choice examples both in abstract and physical problems, which make up the third and last part of the book. The editor has published the author's own solution of a very difficult problem in fluxions by measures of ratio's and angles, and upon this foundation has constructed new tables of logometrical and trigonometrical theorems for the fluents of fluxions, reduced to ninety-four forms part rational and part irrational. He has likewise added several notes upon the chief difficulties in the book, together with a method of composing synthetical demonstrations of logometrical and trigonometrical constructions, illustrated by various examples.

The first treatise in the miscellaneous works is concerning the estimation of errors in *mixt Mathematicks*. It consists of twenty eight theorems, to determine the proportion among the least contemporary variations of the sides and angles of plane and spherical triangles, while any two of them remain invariable. An example will shew their great use in astronomy. The time of the day or night is frequently to be determined by the altitude of some star. Let it then be proposed to find the error that may arise in the time from any given error, in taking the altitude. By applying the 22d theorem to the triangle formed by the complement of the star's altitude and declination, and by the complement of the pole's elevation, the author shews that the variation of the angle at the pole, and consequently the error in time, will be as the error in the altitude directly, as the sine complement of the pole's inversely, and as the sine of the stars azimuth from the meridian inversely. Consequently if the error in the altitude be given, under a given elevation of the pole; the error in time will be reciprocally as the sine of the azimuth contained by the meridian, and the vertical which the star is in. This error therefore will be the same, whatever be the altitude of the star, in the same vertical, and will be least when the vertical is at right angles to the meridian. But will be absolutely the least in the same circumstance if the observer be under the equator. In which case, if the error in the altitude be one minute, the error in the time will be four seconds. If the observer recedes from the equator towards either pole, the error will be increased in the

proportion of the radius to the sine complement of the latitude: So that in the latitude of 45 degrees it will be  $5\frac{2}{3}$  seconds, and in the latitudes of 50 and 55 it will be  $6\frac{2}{3}$  and  $6\frac{3}{8}$  seconds respectively. If the star be in any other vertical oblique to the meridian, the error will still be increased in the proportion of the radius to the sine of that oblique angle. Lastly, if the error in the altitude be either bigger or less than one minute, the error in time will be bigger or less in the same proportion. Much after the same manner may the limits of errors be computed in other cases which arise from the inaccuracy of observations, and from hence the most convenient opportunities for observing are also determined. The second treatise is concerning the differential method. The author having wrote it before he had seen Sir Isaac Newton's treatise upon that subject, has handled it after a manner somewhat different. The name of the third treatise is CANONOTECHNIA: OR concerning the construction of Tables by differences. It consists of ten propositions, most admirably contrived for expeditious computation of intermediate terms in any given series. The last proposition, which contains a general solution of the whole design, is this. 'Some of the equidistant terms being given of any series, the intervals of which are divided into any number of equal parts, let it be proposed to find the intermediate terms. The book concludes with three small tracts concerning the *Descent of Bodies, the motion of Pendulums in the Cycloid, and the motion of Projectiles*, delivered in a very natural and easy manner. These tracts as the editor informs us, were all composed by Mr Cotes, when he was very young. He wrote also a *Compendium of Arithmetick, of the Resolutions of Equations, of Dioptricks, and of the nature of curves*; all which pieces the learned editor declares his intention of publishing: Besides these which were in Latin, he composed a course of Lectures in English, which were published by Dr Smith in 1737; since which time there has been a second edition; the title of which we shall give at large for the reader's satisfaction.

HYDROSTATICAL and PNEUMATICAL LECTURES, by Roger Cotes, M. A. late Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy at Cambridge, the second Edition by Robert Smith, D. D. Master of Trinity College Cambridge 1747, 8vo. The first edition was printed as is before observ'd in 1737, and both are inscribed to his royal Highness William duke of Cumberland. E

COTTON (Sir ROBERT) a most eminent Antiquarian, was born at Denton [A], near Connington in Huntingdonshire, January 22, 1570 (a). His father was Thomas Cotton, Esq; [B], the fourth of the name, and his mother Elizabeth daughter of Francis Sherley of Stanton in the County of Leicester, Esq; Where this worthy person laid the foundation of that great knowledge of Antiquities he afterwards acquired, or what school he was educated in, is unknown. However, when he was fit for the university, he was admitted into Trinity College in Cambridge (b), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1575 (\*). From thence he went and lived some time in the country with his Father. But finding, he wanted in that retired condition several opportunities of improvement, which

(a) Vita D. Rob. Cottoni Scriptore T. Smitho, p. 1, col. 1.

(b) Ibid. p. iv. col. 2. The old College-books being lost, the exact time of his admission cannot be known.

(\*) From the University Register and some of the College-books.

[A] Was born at Denton] The ancient seat of the family was Connington; but Sir Robert's Grandfather being alive at the time of his Father's Marriage, the young married Couple went and lived at Denton (1).

[B] His Father was Thomas Cotton, Esq; &c.] The Cotton Family has for many Years flourish'd in England, even long before the time of King Edward III. They took their surname from Cotton in the County Palatine of Chester; and from William de Cotton, who lived in that County, are derived all the eminent Families of that name in England. From this William was descended, in the fourth degree, William who married Agnes daughter and heir of Walter de Redware in the County of Stafford. His son was John, who, 12 Henry IV. married Isabella daughter and heir of William Falconer of Thurcaston in the County of Leicester. They had Richard who married Elizabeth, sister and coheir of Sir Hugh Venables Knt. Their SECOND son was William, who, in the

reign of Henry VI. married Mary daughter and heir of Robert Wefenham, Esq; This William being slain at the battle of St Albans May 23, 1455, left his only son and heir Thomas great-great-grand-father of Sir Robert Cotton. Mary just now mention'd, was grand-daughter of Agnes daughter and coheir of John Brus (or Bruce) of Connington and Exton Esq; and by her was the Connington Estate brought into the Cotton Family. This John Brus was lineally descended from Bernard second son of Robert Brus Lord of Annandale in Scotland, and Isabella daughter and coheir of David the second Earl of Huntingdon. From this Robert and Isabella was the Royal Family of Scotland descended; and by this means the Cotton-Family came to be related to the Kings of Scotland and England. On which account King James was wont to call Sir Robert Cotton *Cousin*; and Sir Robert used frequently to write his own Name *Robert Cotton Bruce* (2).

(2) Ibid.

(1) Vita Cottoni, ubi supra, p. i. col. 1.

which he could have in a more publick place, he came to London; And having soon made himself known, was admitted into a Society of Antiquaries (c), which was composed of several very learned and eminent persons [C]. Here, following the natural bent of his genius, he prosecuted the study of Antiquities with the utmost alacrity, and with uncommon success: And, improving the favourable circumstances that were presented to him [D], he began in the eighteenth year of his age (d) to gather together ancient Records, Charters, and other Manuscripts; and left at his death the choicest Collection of this kind that ever was seen in any Age or Nation. In 1599, or 1600 (e), he accompanied Mr Camden to Carlisle, who acknowledges to have received from his singular courtesy great light in those obscure and intricate matters, he treats of in his Britannia. And, probably, then it was that Mr Cotton brought from the Picts-Wall, several Roman Monuments still to be seen at Connington (f). In the same year 1600 he writ a *Brief Abstract of the Question of Precedencie between England and Spaine* (g), which was occasioned by Queen Elizabeth's desiring the thoughts of the Antiquarian Society on that point, upon her sending Sir Henry Nevill Embassador to Boulogne to treat of a peace with Archduke Albert (b). Having, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, rendered himself eminent for merit and learning, and being highly in favour with the Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton; he was, at the accession of King James I, to the throne of England, created a Knight (i). During this whole reign he was very much courted, admired, and esteemed by the greatest men in the nation, and consulted, as an Oracle, by the Privy-Counsellors, and the rest of the Ministers, upon every difficult point relating to our Constitution: As, namely, about the Union of England and Scotland—the Dignity and precedence of the Knights of the Bath—the Laws of England before the Conquest—about embasing the Coin—the taxes granted from time to time to our Kings, &c. (k). In 1608, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to enquire into the State of the Navy, which had lain neglected ever since the death of Queen Elizabeth (l): And drew up a Memorial of their Proceedings, to be presented to the King (m). In 1609 he writ 'a Discourse of the lawfulness of Combats to be performed in the presence of the King, or the Constable and Marshal of England (n).' And, 'An answer to such Motives as were offered by certain Military men to Prince Henry, to incite him to affect arms more than peace.' Compos'd at the command of that Prince (†). For, several persons that were about him, knowing his enterprising genius, were endeavouring to stir up in him an inclination to military affairs; which was not at all agreeable to the King his father's peaceable and timorous temper. But, what mostly employed Sir Robert's thoughts was, the Collections he was ordered to make relating to the Revenue of the Crown, and the 'Manner and Means how the Kings of England have from time to time supported, and repaired their estates (o).' For King James having prodigally exhausted his Treasury, new Projects (as they were then called) were to be contrived to fill it up again. Accordingly, our ancient Histories and Records were searched, to find out means and methods to repair the King's Revenue, and to discover the Courses used by our Kings in raising Money (p). But of all the methods set down by Sir Robert and others, none proved so agreeable to the King, as the creating a new order of Knights, called *Baronets* [E]. Sir Robert Cotton, who had done great service in that affair (q), was chosen to be one, being the twenty-ninth Baronet that was created. He was, soon after, employed by the same King, to write Animadversions upon Buchanan's and Thuanus's Accounts of the Behaviour and Actions of Mary Queen of Scots, and to give a different turn to them from what had been done by those two famous Historians (r). What he drew upon that subject is supposed to be interwoven in Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, or else printed

[C] *A Society of Antiquaries, &c.* The first rise of this Society was 1590, when several ingenious Lovers of Antiquities agreed to meet every Friday in Term-time, at Derby-House, where the Heralds Office is now kept. Two Questions were proposed at every meeting, which were to be handled at the next. But many of the chief Supporters of it either dying, or removing from London, it was discontinued for about twenty years. At last in 1614, it was reviv'd by Sir James Ley Attorney of the Court of Wards, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir John Davis his Majesty's Attorney for Ireland, Sir Richard St George Norroy, William Hackwell the Queen's Solicitor, Mr Camden, Sir Henry Spelman: To whom may be added such of the old Foundation as were still living, viz. Arthur Agard, Lancelot Andrews, Henry Bouchier, Richard Broughton, Richard Carew, William Dethick, Sir John Dodderidge, ——— Doyley, William Fleetwood, Abrah. Hartwell, Michael Heneage, Joseph Holland, Thomas Lake, Francis Leigh, ——— Oldworth, William Patten, John Stow, Thomas Talbot, Francis Thynne, James Whitlock, &c. They met at the same place as the former.—The first Society petitioned Queen Elizabeth, to be incorporated into a Society, or Academy, for the study of Antiquities and English

History; but for fear That should be prejudicial to our two Universities, their Petition was rejected; As it was also in the next reign. And at last the suspicious Court of King James I. taking umbrage at their Meetings, they dissolv'd themselves of their own accord (3). What Subjects they handled, the curious Reader may see in Sir Robert Cotton's Life, by Dr T. Smith, prefixed to his Catalogue of the Cottonian Library, p. 1x. (See article A G A R D (ARTHUR). [D] And, improving the favourable circumstances that were presented to him, &c.] For there were many such MSS. dispersed about, which had been taken out of the Libraries belonging to the Monasteries, that that were then but newly dissolv'd.

[E] *Of all the methods — none proved so agreeable to the King, as the creating a new order of Knights, called Baronets.* By which he could easily raise a hundred thousand pounds; as each Baronet was to pay, at three payments, as much as would maintain for the space of three years, thirty foot Soldiers, to serve in the Province of Ulster in Ireland, at 8d a day, which amounted to 1095 l. This Title was not unknown in our Records, for, 13 Edward III. it was granted to William de la Pole, and his heirs; and mention is made of it in an Agreement between King Richard II. and several Earls, Barons, and Baronets, &c. (4).

(c) Ibid. p. vii. viii. lx. Life of W. Camden. Sir H. Spelman's Pref. to his Law-Terms.

(d) Vita R. Cottoni, ubi supra, p. vii. col. 1.

(e) Ibid. p. ix. Life of Camden.

(f) Camden's Britannia, col. 506, edit. 1720.

(g) It is in Cotton. Libr. Julius, C. 1X. 21. See Casley's Catalog. p. 345.

(h) See Camden's Ann. ad ann. 1600; and Memorials, &c. published by E. Sawyer, Vol. I. p. 186, &c.

(i) Vita R. Cottoni ubi supra, p. x. col. 2.

(j) Ibid. p. xiii.

(k) Ibid. p. xiv. col. 1.

(l) It is in Cotton. Libr. Julius, F. 111.

(m) Printed at Lond. 1651 and 1672.

(n) It is in Cotton. Libr. Cleopatra, F. VI. 1.

(o) Extant, ibid. and in Cottoni Posth.

(p) Vita R. Cottoni, p. xiv. xv. xvi.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Ibid. p. xvii. xviii.

(3) Vita D. Rob. Cottoni, ubi supra, p. vii. viii. ix. Sir H. Spelman's Preface to Law Terms.

(4) Cotton. Libr. Nov. D. VI. 16. & Vita Cottoni, p. xvii. col. 1.

printed at the end of Camden's Epistles. In 1616 the same King, who was always a favourer of the Papists, and never cared to put the laws against them in execution, finding the Nation uneasy on account of their swarming in the Kingdom, he ordered Sir Robert to examine, Whether, by the laws of the land, they ought to be put to death, or imprisoned? which Sir Robert performed with great learning (s), and writ upon that occasion, 'Twenty-four Arguments, whether it be more expedient to suppress Popish practices against the due allegiance of his Majesty, by the strict executions touching Jesuits and Seminary Priests? or, to restrain them to close prisons, during life, if no reformation follows (\*).' Probably then, likewise, he composed 'Considerations for the repressing of the encrease of Preefts, Jesuits, and Recufants, without drawinge of blood (t).' He was also employed by the House of Commons, when the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain was in agitation, to show, by a short examination of the treaties between England and the House of Austria, the Unfaithfulness and Infincerity of the latter, and to prove, that in all their Transactions they aimed at nothing but universal Monarchy (u). In 1621, at the request of the Lord Montague of Boughton, he compiled 'A Relation to prove, That the Kings of England have been pleased to confult with their Peeres in the Great Councell and Commons in Parliament, of Marriadge, Peace and War [F].' He writ likewise a Vindication of our Ecclesiastical Constitution, against the Innovations that were attempted to be brought in by the Puritans; in 'An Answer to certain Arguments raised from supposed Antiquity, and urged by some members of the lower house of Parliament, to prove that ecclesiastical lawes ought to be enacted by Temporal men (w).' Being a Member of the first Parliament of King Charles I. he joined in the Complaints of the Grievances which the Nation was then said to groan under. But, however, he was always for mild remedies; and intended the King's Honour and Safety, and the Nation's Advantage [G], as appeared by the honest Advice he gave in 1627. For, being called before the King and Council, to deliver his Opinion, in point of History and Law, upon the juncture of affairs then, he declared (x), 'That those English Princes, who had most opposed [the growing Power of the House of Austria,] had always the affections and hearts of their People. That this was the business of the present reign, and the desire of the English Nation. That to carry on this design the King must have Money; and no way to get money with speed, assurance, and satisfaction but by grant of Parliament: No way to dispose a Parliament to suitable Grants but by removing all Jealousies, especially those relating to Religion and Liberties: And nothing more plausible than for the Duke of Buckingham to be the first adviser of calling such a Parliament (y). He was also consulted about the Imprisonment of those Gentlemen, who had refused to contribute to the Loan (z): And about a Project then set on foot, to enhance the value of the Coin, in order to raise money for the King, when he could not obtain any from his Parliaments. This Project Sir Robert opposed to the utmost of his power, and showed in a Speech before the Privy-Council, Sept. 2, 1626, what a Dishonour such an Alteration would be to his Majesty, and how great a Loss and Prejudice to the Subject (a). He writ Books upon several other subjects, that remain in manuscript; namely, (b) Of Scutage—Of Enclosures, and converting arable Land into pasture—The Antiquity, authority, and office of the High-Steward and Marshall of England—The antiquity, etymology, and privileges of Castles—and of Towns—Of the measures of Land—The Antiquity of Coats of Arms—Curious Collections—about military affairs—and Trade—Collections out of the Rolls of Parliament, different from those printed under his name [H]. He likewise

(s) Vita, ut supra, p. xvii. xviii.

(\*) Printed at London, among Cottoni Posthuma, 1672, p. 109.

(t) It is in the Royal Library 18 B. xxiv. 4. See D. Casley's Catal.

(u) Vita, ut supra, p. xix. It is printed among Cottoni Posthuma, p. 91, under the title of 'A Remonstrance of the Treaties of Amity, &c.'

(w) Ibid. p. xxi. See Cottoni posthuma, p. 202, &c.

(x) This seems to be the substance of the treatise, intitled, 'The danger wherein this kingdom now standeth, and the remedy.' Cottoni Posthuma, p. 308, &c.

(y) Rushworth, Histor. Collect. Vol. 1. p. 467.

(z) See Rushw. ibid. p. 422, 428. Vita R. Cotton, p. xxiii.

(a) Vita, &c. ubi supra. See the whole Speech in Cottoni Posthuma, p. 285, &c.

(b) Vita, &c.

[F] *A Relation to prove, &c.* This was printed at London in 1651: and 1672 among Cottoni Posthuma, and in 1679, under the Title of 'The Antiquity and Dignity of Parliaments' fol. but it is extremely full of faults. There are good and exact Copies of it extant in manuscript.

[G] *Intended the King's honour and safety, and the Nation's advantage.* A certain writer observes, 'That he was no great friend to the Prerogative (4)' that is, he was not inclined to come into all the violent Measures of the Court. The Speech he delivered in the lower House of Parliament assembled at Oxford, is printed in Cottoni posthuma (\*)

[H] *Collections out of the Rolls of Parliament, &c.* In 1657 William Prynne Esq; published, *An exact Abridgment of the Records of the Tower of London, from the Reign of King Edward 2. unto King Richard 3. of all the Parliaments holden in each King's reign, and the several Acts in every Parliament, &c.* collected by Sir Robert Cotton Kt. and Bart. Lond. fol. 1657, (reprinted again 1679). ————— which the said Mr Prynne did revise, rectify in sundry mistakes, and supplied with a Preface, marginal Notes, several omissions, and exact Tables. Tho', after all, it was not done by Sir Robert Cotton, but by Mr Bowyer, Keeper of the Tower Records in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign and beginning of King James the first's, as Mr Tyrrel asserts in the Preface to his 3d vol. of the Hist.

of England (p. ix.). — The other works of Sir Robert Cotton, not already mentioned, are as follows, I. 'A relation of the Proceedings against Ambassadors who have miscarried themselves, and exceeded their Commission.' II. 'That the Sovereign's person is required in the Great Councils, or Assemblies of the State, as well at the consultations as at the conclusions.' III. 'The argument made by the command of the House of Commons (out of the Acts of Parliament, and authority of Law expounding the same) at a conference with the Lords, concerning the Liberty of the person of every Freeman.' IV. 'A brief Discourse concerning the power of the Peeres and Commons of Parliament in point of Judicature.' These four are printed in *Cottoni posthuma*. V. 'A short view of the long Life and Raigne of Henry the third, King of England: Written in 1614, and presented to King James I.' Printed 1627, 4to. and reprinted in *Cottoni posthuma*. VI. 'Money rais'd by the King without Parliament from the Conquest untill this day, either by Imposition or free Gift, taken out of Records, or ancient Registers.' Printed in the *Royal Treasury of England, or General History of Taxes*, by Capt. J. Stevens 8vo. There is also published under his name, 'A Narrative of Count Gondamor's Transactions during his Embassy in England, London 1659, 4to.' In the Epistle Dedicatory, the Publisher, John Rowland, says —

(4) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 616. edit. 1721.

(\*) Page 273.

likewise made collections for the History and Antiquities of Huntingdonshire. And had formed this noble Design, To write an Account of the state of Christianity in these Islands, from the first reception of it here, to the Reformation. The first part of this design was executed by the learned Archbishop Usher, in his book, *De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum primordiis*, composed probably at the request of Sir Robert Cotton; who left eight Volumes of Collections for the continuation of that work (c). J. Speed's History of England owes most of its value, and its ornaments, to Sir Robert Cotton. For he put in order some of the author's indigested materials, adding many curious observations of his own: As his fine Collection of Seals, Medals, &c. furnished it with those Coins and Seals wherewith it is adorned (d). And Mr Camden acknowledges (e), to have received those Coins that are in his Britannia, out of the Collection of the famous Sir Robert Cotton: Who, it seems, intended to have writ an account and explanation of them; but was unhappily hindered. To Richard Knolles, author of the Turkish History, he communicated authentic Letters of the Masters of the Knights of Rhodes; and the Dispatches of Edward Barton, Embassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Porte: To Sir Walter Raleigh, Books and Materials for the second Volume of his History, never published: And the same to Lord Verulam, for his History of Henry VII (f). The famous J. Selden was greatly indebted, for his learning and reputation, to the books and instructions of Sir Robert Cotton, as he thankfully acknowledges in more places than one (g). In short, this great and worthy man was the generous Patron of all lovers of Antiquities, and his House and Library were always open to ingenious and inquisitive persons. And incredible is the service that hath been done to Learning, especially to the History of these three Kingdoms, by his securing, as he did, his valuable Library for the use and service of posterity [I]: Witness the Works of Sir Henry Spelman, Sir William Dugdale, the Decem Scriptores, Dr Gale, Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, Strype's Works, Rymer's *Fœdera*, several pieces put out by T. Hearne; and every Book almost that hath been since published, relating to the History and Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland. So valuable a Person, we may imagine, must have had many Friends and Acquaintance. The chief of them in the British Dominions, were, Henry Earl of Northampton, Thomas Earl of Arundel, Archbishop Usher, Henry Earl of Bath, Edward Earl of Manchester, Henry Lord Boughton, James Montague Bishop of Winchester, Sir John Dodderidge, Sir John Davis, David Powell, Hugh Holland, Arthur Agard Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Roger Doddesworth, Richard Carew, William Burton, Sir James Ware, &c. And in foreign Parts, Janus Gruterus, Francis Sweertius, Andrew Duchesne, John Bourdelot, Peter Puteanus, Nicolas Fabricius Peireskius, &c. (h). Thus Sir Robert Cotton having lived, respected and esteemed both at home and abroad, died of a fever, in his house at Westminster, May 6, 1631, aged sixty years, three months, and fifteen days; and was buried in the south Chancel of Connington-Church. He married Elizabeth, one of the daughters and co-heirs of William Brocas of Thedingworth in the County of Leicester, Esq; by whom he left one only Son, Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart.

(c) Ibid. p. xxiv. They are in Cotton Libr. Cleopatra E.

(d) Vita, &c. p. xxiv.

(e) Britannia, under the title *Romana in Britannia*, at the end.

(f) Vita R. Cotton. p. xxiv. xxv.

(g) Dedicat. Annalector. Britann. and of History of Tithes.

(h) Vita R. Cottoni, ut supra, p. xxvi. xxvii.

' It bears in the frontispiece the name of that ever-famous Antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, who was never wont to treasure up any thing but what was rare; nor can I certainly say, whether it were penn'd by Himself or not. I insist the more upon him, because it was my chance to be one whom he vouchsafed to take by the hand a little before his death, I being sent to him by my Lord Privie-Seal, to acquaint him that by my Lord's mediation, the King was reconciled to him: but his Answer was, That his heart was broken, and that it was now too late: whereby it appears, that Princes are sometimes abused, and misinformed, to the ruin of the best men.' — We find, moreover, that he writ the following things — ' An Abstract or memorial of such courses as have been used in military affairs both at land and sea, under 35 heads (5). — Extracts about Commerce, imperfect (6). — Short Memoranda from 1548 to 1553 (7). — Extracts about the Rights of the Crown and the Parliament (8). — Historical passages taken out of Letters from the year 1551 to 1573 (9). — And the Notes and Collections for the reign of King Henry VIII, in Speed's Chronicle (10).

[I] He secured his Library for the use and service of posterity. For he ordered in his will, That it should not be sold, but pass to his Family, &c. As it was this valuable and curious Library that has rendered Sir Robert Cotton most famous, and is likely to perpetuate his name, it will be proper to give a larger Account of it. It consists wholly of Manuscripts; many of which being in loose skins, small Tracts, or very thin Volumes, when they were purchased, Sir Robert caused several of them to be bound up in one Cover. They relate chiefly to the History and Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland, tho' the ingenious Collector refused nothing that was curious or valuable in any point of Learning. He lived indeed at a time when he had great opportunities of making such a fine Col-

lection: when there were many valuable Books yet remaining in private hands, which had been taken from the Monasteries at their Dissolution, and from our Universities and Colleges at their Visitations: when several learned Antiquarians, such as Josephine, Noel, Allen, Lanibarde, Bowyer, Elsing, Camden, &c. died, who had made it their chief business to scrape up the scatter'd Remains of our Monastical Libraries; and, either by legacy or purchase, he became master of all that he thought valuable in their studies (11). This Library was placed by Sir Robert Cotton in his own House at Westminster, near the House of Commons, and very much augmented and enlarged by his son and grand-son, Sir Thomas and Sir John Cotton. In the reign of King William (12), an Act of Parliament was made for the better securing and preserving that Library in the name and Family of the Cottons, for the benefit of the public; that it might not be sold, or otherwise disposed, and embezzled. Sir John, great-grand-son of Sir Robert Cotton, having sold Cotton House to the late Queen Anne, to be a repository for the Royal as well as the Cottonian Library, an Act was made (13) for the better securing of her Majesty's purchase of that House; and both House and Library were settled and vested in Trustees: After which the Books were remov'd into a more convenient Room, the former being very damp, and Cotton-house was set apart for the use of the King's Library-keeper, who had there the Royal and Cottonian Libraries under his care. Some years after, the Cottonian Library was remov'd into a house near Westminster-Abby, purchased by the Crown of the Lord Ashburnham; where a Fire happening October 23, 1731, one hundred and eleven Books were lost, burnt, or entirely defaced, and 99 render'd imperfect (14). And it was thereupon remov'd to the new Dormitory, and afterwards to the old Dormitory belonging to Westminster-School.

(11) Chamberlayne's Present State of Great Britain, p. 217, 218, edit. 1735.

(12) 12 William III. c. 7.

(13) 5 Anne c. 30.

(14) Addit. Catalog. of Cotton. Libr. by D. Casley, p. 313-4 317.

(5) Cotton. Libr. Julius C. IV.

(6) Ibid. F. VI. 48.

(7) Ibid. Titus B. VI. 13. fol. 45.

(8) Ibid. F. 162.

(9) F. 177.

(10) A Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 530.

COVEL (JOHN) a very learned Divine, in the seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth Century, was born at Horningshearth in Suffolk, in the Year 1638 (a) being the son of William Covell of that place (b). He was educated in Grammar-learning at St Edmund's-Bury, under Mr Stephens; and on the 31st of March 1654, in the sixteenth year of his age, admitted into Christ's College in Cambridge, of which he was afterwards chosen Fellow (c). In the year 1657, he took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts; and that of Master in 1661 (d). Afterwards entering into holy Orders, he had the advantage of going, in 1670, as Chaplain to Sir Daniel Harvey (e), Ambassador from King Charles II. to the Ottoman Porte: where he served, in that quality, both him, and his successor, Sir John Finch, for the space of seven years (f). Some time after his Return to England he was created Doctor in Divinity, namely in 1679 (g); and the same year was chosen Lady Margaret's Preacher in the University of Cambridge (h). On the 5th of March 1680, he had institution to the Sine-cure-Rectory of Littlebury in Essex, to which he was presented by Dr Gunning Bishop of Ely (i). And, on the 9th of November 1687, was installed into the Chancellorship of York, conferr'd upon him by the King, during the vacancy of that see (k). The 7th of July 1688 he was elected Master of Christ's College (l), in which station he behaved as a good and prudent Governor. He was also Rector of Kegworth in Licesstershire (m). In the year 1708, he served the office of Vice-chancellor in the University of Cambridge (n). At length, after having led a kind of itinerant Life, [as he himself informs us (o),] at York, in Holland, and elsewhere; he arrived at his long Journey's end, on the 19th of December 1722, in the 85th year of his age: And was buried in the Chapel of Christ's College, where there is an Epitaph to his memory [A]. He gave a Benefaction of Three pounds a year to the poor of the parish of Littlebury above-mention'd (p). Having, during his seven years residence at Constantinople, had an opportunity of informing himself well of the ancient and present state of the Greek Church, and collected several curious observations and notices relating thereto; he digested them, during the remainder of his Life, into a curious and useful Book, publish'd not long before his decease. It is intituled, 'Some Account of the present Greek Church, with Reflections on their present Doctrine and Discipline; particularly in the Eucharist, and the rest of their seven pretended Sacraments, compared with Jac. Goar's Notes upon the Greek Ritual, or ΕΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ.' Cambridge MDCCXXII. fol. [B]. As for the

Author's

[A] Where there is an Epitaph to his memory] As follows.

Lector,

*Hic Sepultas habes, beatam Resurrectionem expectantis, Reliquias venerabilis & eruditissimi Viri Johannis Covell S. T. P. nuper hujus Collegij Custodis sive Magistri, nec non Eccles. Cathedr. Eborac. Cancellarij.*

Obiit Dec. XIX. A. D. MDCCXXII

Ætat. LXXXV.

i. e. Here lye buried, in hopes of a blessed Resurrection, the remains of that venerable and most learned man John Covell D. D. late Master of this College, and Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of York. He died Dec. 19. 1722 in the 85th Year of his Age.

[B] Some Account of the present Greek Church &c.] The chief occasion of that work, was the great Controversy which for several years was hotly debated in the last Century, by two of the most eminent Divines of France, Monsieur Arnauld Doctor of the Sorbonne, on the side of the Papists; and Monsieur Claude Minister of Charenton, in behalf of the Protestants. The former, not being content to say, That the Church in all ages believed Transubstantiation, did also positively affirm, That all the Eastern Churches do at this very day believe it, in the same sense as it was defined by the Council of Trent. Mr Claude, in his answer to him, brought most authentic proofs of the contrary. Whereupon Arnauld set all the Missionaries of the East on work to procure Testimonies for him: Which, by bribes and other indirect means, they obtained in such numbers, that there was, soon after, a large Quarto in French printed at Paris, full of the names of Patriarchs, Bishops, and Doctors of those Churches, who all approved the Roman Doctrine (1). But Monf. Claude having had most certain Information, by means of a French Gentleman at Colchis, that some of those Testimonies were meer Fictions; and others quite otherwise than they were told: He sent some Queries into the East, and desired the English Clergymen residing there, To enquire of the Greeks, and other Eastern Christians of the best note, who had no correspondence with the Romaniſts, nor were Emis-

saries of the Court of Rome, or retainers to them: 'Whether Transubstantiation (μετεσώωσις) i. e. the real and natural change of the whole substance of the Bread into the same numerical substance as the Body of Christ which is in heaven, be an article of Faith amongst them, and the contrary be accounted heretical and impious.' &c. (2) This set therefore Dr Covell upon examining thoroughly into that point. But, after all, he declares, that the Greeks, and Easterlings, are so far from being learned and well versed in that Controversy, that he never met with one amongst them, who ever pretended fully to understand, much less ever offered to clear that matter. 'I have, says he, here and there met with an Easterling brought up in the College de propaganda fide at Rome, or elsewhere in Italy, who would sometimes venture at a Solution to some difficulties about transubstantiation; but it was ever done only by some scraps of the common evasions and jargon of the Schools, and never with any satisfactory or solid reason. But from a native Greek, or Easterling, who was never out of his country, (though he was there a man of some dignity) I never could meet with any tolerable reasoning or answer towards the clearing of the point. Many of my acquaintance would avoid any set discourse about these matters. Some few who had pick'd up any scatter'd notions in the East, or elsewhere, from the Romish emissaries, would offer them very imperfectly, and as ill apply them. But as for the bulk of their Clergy (the far greatest part of their Prelates and topping Ministers) I do positively assert that they are in general profoundly ignorant in these points; and not one of a thousand amongst the ordinary Priests knows any thing of the matter. They have no books to read, but their Hours of Prayer, and common Church-Offices, which are very numerous; and in Country-Churches you will rarely find any of these, except their common Euchologium, their ordinary Prayers and Liturgies: and these, like parrots, they commonly mumble and hurry over by heart, and use them very imperfectly with strange variety and confusion (3).' Afterwards he observes, 'That we need not wonder at the want of Learning among the Greeks, and other Easterlings, since they have no Academies or Schools for instructing Students in any points of Philosophy, Divinity, Mathematicks,

(a) This appears from his age at the time of his death, as mentioned below.

(b) From Memoirs communicated to us.

(c) From the College-Register.

(d) From the University Regist.

(e) Sir Dan. Harvey was appointed Ambassador to Constantinople in August 1668. The Historian's Guide, 8vo, edit. 1688, p. 72.

(f) See Some Account of the present Greek Church, &c. by J. Covell, D. D. Cambr. 1722, fol. in the Dedicat. p. 3; and Pref. p. 1.

(g) From the University Regist.

(b) See Catalogue of Preachers at Cambridge, prefixed to the Lady Margaret's Funeral Sermon, re-published by T. Baker, B. D. Lond. 1708, 8vo.

(i) Repertorium Eccles. &c. by R. Newcourt, Vol. II. p. 394.

(k) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq. Vol. I. p. 81. See ibid. p. 59.

(l) J. Le Neve's Fasti, edit. 1716, fol. p. 432.

(m) Br. Willis, ibid.

(n) J. Le Neve, ubi supra, p. 409.

(o) Dedication to Account of the present Greek Church, as above.

(p) Hist. and Antiq. of Essex, by N. Salmon, p. 134.

(1) Preface to Some Account of the Greek Ch. p. II.

(2) Ibid. p. ii. v.

(3) Ibid. p. vii.

Author's Character; we are inform'd, that he was ' a person noted for polite and curious Learning, singular humanity, and knowledge of the World (q).'

(y) T. Baker, ubi supra.

(4) *Ibid.* p. vii. ' or any other part of the polite Literature of Europe (4). Upon the whole therefore, we may easily judge, how incompetent Judges such ignorant persons are in that and other religious matters; and how little their testimonies are to be depended upon. Nor can it be really believ'd, that their Subscriptions contain'd in them the real Faith or Sentiments of the whole Eastern Church, or the positive, firm, and clear belief of every particular Subscriber (5).'

(7) *Ibid.* p. xx. In order to trace this point to its fountain and original Head, and to place it in a true light, our Author writ the *Account of the present Greek Church*, now before us. He divides the whole into two Books, whereof the First contains five chapters, and the Second but two. In the III Chapter, he gives his private thoughts concerning the Christian Communion in general. And shews, how solemn, but withal how simple and plain, the celebration of the Eucharist was in the Primitive Church. In the III Chapter, he explains, ' How the familiar and primitive way, of breaking bread, and drinking wine together like brethren, joined with plain and known Forms of Prayer and Thanksgiving, in a devout remembrance of Christ, hath been loaded and clogg'd with amusing Rites and empty Ceremonies.' And here he represents in figures the chief Ceremonies used by the Greeks at the administration of the Eucharist; and gives an English translation of their form of celebrating it, from St Chrysostome's Liturgy, printed in their Euchologium, or Prayer-book. The III Chapter contains ' some Notes upon that Liturgy, which is attributed to St Chrysostome.' In the IVth he gives his conjecture, ' How the plain and familiar way of the first administration of the Eucharist came to be turn'd into the present Greeks practice of consecrating, and partaking of, only a few little bits and mites of bread, [*υγιειναι* or portions] and of giving to the Laity only a little Spoonful of wine.' The Vth Chapter contains ' some Observations concerning the first rise of that new doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the endeavours used to propagate it over the whole Christian world.' Under which he shews, That it was not introduc'd into the Greek Church, till after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks; that is, till after the Year of Christ 1453.—— The III Chapter of the Second book treats of ' the Greeks seven Mysteries or Sacraments: ' namely 1. Confirmation; 2. Priesthood; 3. Orders; 4. Matrimony; 5. Penance; 6. Auricular Confession; and 7. Extream Unction. The III and last Chapter, is, ' Concerning Images, and the worship of Saints.'——The author intermixes throughout curious accounts of the

Jewish, and Mahometan, customs and Ceremonies. He tells us for instance, that ' all over Turkey where he happen'd to travel, the common Bread is not much unlike our thicker sort of Pancakes, being very soft, and seldom above a day old; so as you may wind it round your finger. This flat loaf, or rather cake, is round, and about the breadth of one of our plates, and about an inch thick at most. When we eat at an ordinary man's house, (be it Turk, Greek, Armenian, Jew, &c) the master, or chief of the family, or some friend by his appointment, takes as many of these loaves, or cakes, as he thinks sufficient for the present company, and with his hands breaks, or rather pulls them into pieces of moderate bigness, and streas them all upon the table, or whatever else they eat upon.'—— Moreover, the common food in Turkey, be it boyl'd or roasted, is never cook'd in whole joints, but in small morsels; so that there is no use of knives at the table, but every one takes a bit of the bread, and dipping it in the dish, he takes up with it a morsel of meat between his thumb and his two fore fingers, and so puts all into his mouth together. If these morsels be boiled (as they often are with their *Churbaz*, or Potage) they first eat the potage with a wooden spoon, or sop it up with bits of the bread, and then take up the more solid morsels remaining, and eat them (6). The conclusion of the whole work is written with such an excellent Spirit, that we cannot forbear laying it before the Reader— ' I have sincerely and impartially, and I hope candidly, set down only my own private thoughts, and I would not willingly be judg'd an absolute slave to any party, but, as I really am, a compassionate lover of every good Christian who heartily desires to serve our God in Spirit and in truth. I must verily think with myself that those great Churches, which perfectly differ from us, have in many things left their first Love, and have been out unto themselves many broken cisterns that can hold no water. But God forbid that I should rashly return upon them their extravagant anatHEMA's, or peremptorily damn them, that is, deliver them unto Satan and adjudge them all to Hell-fire, as they serve us; who am I (poor, private, obscure creature) that I should judge another's servant? For my part I will leave them to the righteous Judge of all the world, before whose Judgment-Seat we shall all one day stand.'

The Author having made use of several curious (and before, unknown) Manuscripts, he took care, for the Reader's satisfaction, to deposite them in the late Earl of Oxford's Library, at Wimpole near Cambridge.

(6) Account of the present Greek Church, &c. p. 1.

C

COVERDALE (MILES), Bishop of Exeter in the reign of Edward VI, and author of several Tracts [A], was born in Yorkshire, in the reign of Henry VII [B], and, being

[A] He was author of several Tracts.] He wrote I. *The Christian Rule or state of all the worlde from the highest to the lowest: and how every man shoulde live to please god in hys callinge.* II. *The Christen state of Matrymonye, wherein husbandes and wyfes maye learne to keepe house together with loue.* The Originall of holy wedloke: when, where, how, and of whom it was instituted and ordeyned: what it is: how it ought to proceede: what be the occasions, frute, and comodities thereof: contrarywyse how shamefull and horrible a thinge whoredome and adoutry is: how one ought also to chose hym a mete and convenient spouse to kepe and increace the mutual loue, truth and dewtye of wedloke: and how married folkes shoulde bring up theyr chyldren in the feare of god. III. *A Christen Exhortation to custonable Savcarers.* What a ryghte and lawfull othe is: when, and before whome it oughte to be. IV. *The maner of sayenge grace, or giving thanks to god, after the doctrine of holy scripiture.* IV. *The old Fayth: an evident probacion out of the holy scripiture, that the Christen Faith (which is the ryghte, true, olde, and undoubted fayth) hath endured sens the beginning of the worlde.* Herein hast thou also a short summe of the whole Byble, and a probacion, that al vertuous men have pleased god, and wer saved through the Christen fayth. These four pieces are printed together in a small duodecimo, and a black VOL. III. No. 125.

(\*) Adversary.

letter, an. 1547. V. *A saythfull and true Pro-nostication upon the year M. CCCC. xlix. and perpetually after to the worldes ende, gathered out of the prophecies and scripatures of god, by the experience and practise of his workes, very comfortable for all Christen hartes; divided into seven chapters.* VI. *A Spirituall Almanacke, wherein every Christen man and woman may see what they ought daylye to do, or leaue undone.* Not after the doctrine of the Papisles, nor after the lernynge of Ptolomy, or other heytben Astronomers, but out of the very true and wholsome doctrine of god our almyghty heavenly father, shewed unto us in his worde by his prophetes, apostels, but specyaly by his dere sonne Jesus Christ: and is to be kept not onely this newe yeare, but continually unto the daye of the lorde's comyng agayne. These two were printed in a thin duodecimo, and a black letter, at London by Richard Kele, ' dwellynge at the longe shoppe in the Poultry under saynt Myldreds church. cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.' Bale ascribes some other pieces to our author; particularly, *A Consutation of John Star-dish, a tract on the Lord's Supper, A Concordance to the New Testament, A Christian Catechison;* and some translations from Bullinger, Luther, Osiander, Johannes Campensis, and Erasmus (1).

[B] Born in the reign of Henry VII.] This I infer from his dying an old man in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,

(1) Balus, de Script. Hist. Cent. 9. n. 61.

(a) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. 9. n. 61.

(b) Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 183.

(c) Godwin, ubi infra, says the 20th.

(d) 1 Pat. 5 Ed. VI. p. 1.

(e) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 680.

(f) Rymer's Fœdera, &c. Vol. XV. p. 283.

being educated in the Romish religion, became an Augustin Monk. Afterwards, embracing the Reformation, he entered into holy Orders (a) [C]. He assisted William Tindal in the English Version of the Bible, published in 1537, and afterwards revised and corrected the edition of it in a larger volume, with notes, in 1540 (b). August the 14th (c), 1551, he succeeded Dr John Harman in the see of Exeter, being promoted *propter singularem sacrarum literarum doctrinam, moresque probatissimos* (d), i. e. 'on account of his extraordinary knowledge in Divinity, and his unblemish'd character (e)'. The Patent for conferring this bishoprick on him, tho' a married man, is dated August 14, 1551, at Westminster (f). Upon the change of religion in Queen Mary's reign, Bishop Coverdale was ejected from his see, and thrown into prison; out of which he was released at the earnest request of the King of Denmark, and, as a very great favour, permitted to go into banishment. Soon after Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, he return'd from his exile, but refused to be restored to his bishoprick. He died, in a good old age, at London, and lyès buried in the church of St Bartholomew-Exchange (g) [D].

(g) Godwin, de Præful. Angl. inter episc. Exon. an. 1551.

Elizabeth. For, supposing him to have died about the seventieth year of his age, and not many years (as is most probable) after Queen Elizabeth's accession in 1558, the year of his birth will fall somewhere between 1490 and 1500. But Henry VII. began his reign in 1485, and died in 1509.

(2) Ibid.

[C] *Went into holy Orders.*] Bale tells us (2), he was one of the first, who, upon the revival of the Church of England, together with Dr Robert Barnes, taught the purity of the Gospel, and dedicated himself wholly to the service of the reformed religion. *Ex primis unus erat, qui renascente Anglorum ecclesia, cum Roberto Barnso, suæ professionis doctore, Christum pure docuit. Alii partim, hic se totum dedit ad propagandam evangelii regni Dei Gloriam.*

(3) Maitland's History of London, p. 377.

[D] *Lyes buried in the Church of St Bartholomew-Exchange.*] Upon his Grave-stone is the following Inscription (3):

Hic tandem requiemque ferens finemque laborum  
Ossa Coverdali mortua tumbus habet:  
Exoniæ qui præful erat dignissimus olim,  
Insignis vitæ vir probitate suæ.  
Octoginta annos grandævus vixit et unum,  
Indignum passus sæpius exilium.  
Sic tandem variis jactatus casibus iste  
Excipitur gremio, terra benigna, tuo.

I have been obliged to make some alterations in this Epitaph, which seems to have been faultily transcribed in my author: for in the third line he has put *Oxonix* for *Exoniæ*; in the sixth, *indigni* for *indignum*; in the seventh, *jaſtabam* for *jaſtatus*, and *ista* for *iste*; and in the last line *exceptitur* for *excipitur*, and *suo* for *tuo*.

T

COURTNEY (WILLIAM), Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of King Richard II, was the fourth son of Hugh Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, by Margaret, daughter of Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward I (a); and was born in the year 1341 (b). He had his education at Oxford, where he applied himself to the study of the Civil and Canon Law. Afterwards, entering into holy Orders, he obtained three Prebends in three Cathedral Churches, viz. those of Bath, Exeter, and York (c). The nobility of his birth, and his eminent learning, recommending him to public notice, in the reign of Edward III, he was promoted, in 1369, to the see of Hereford (d), and from thence translated to the see of London, September the 12th 1375, being then in the 34th year of his age (e). In a Synod, held at London in 1376, Bishop Courtney distinguished himself by his opposition to the King's demand of a subsidy [A]; and presently after he fell under the displeasure of the High Court of Chancery, for publishing a Bull of Pope Gregory II, without the King's consent [B]. The next year, in obedience to the Pope's mandate, he cited Wickliff to appear before his tribunal in St Paul's church: but that heresiarch being accompanied by John of Ghaunt Duke of Lancaster, and other nobles, who secretly favoured his opinions [C], the Bishop

(a) Fa'nes's Life of King Edward III. Cambr. 1688, p. 904.

(b) This appears from his age at the time of his promotion to the See of London.

(c) M. Parker, De Antiq. Eccl. Brit. Ed. S. Drake Lond. 1729, fol. p. 398.

(d) Id. ib. & Godwin, De Præful. Angl. inter Episc. Heref. an. 1369.

(e) Registr. Sudbury.

[A] *He opposed the King's demand of a subsidy.*] He laid before the Synod a written account of some injuries offer'd to him, and William Wickham bishop of Winchester, and conjured the Clergy not to grant the subsidy required, till satisfaction was made for them. The Synod hereupon being divided, the King cou'd not obtain a subsidy, till he had given hopes of redress; which however he thought no more of after the breaking up of the Synod (1).

(1) M. Parker, De Antiq. Eccl. Brit. Ed. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 383; and Wharton, De Episc. &c. London. London, 1695, 2vo, p. 137.

[B] *He publish'd a Bull of Pope Gregory II. without the King's consent.*] The Affair was this: Pope Gregory II. had lately excommunicated the Florentines, and had dispatched his Bulls every where, ordering their effects to be seized. The bishop of London, without consulting the King, publish'd the Pope's Bull at Paul's Cross, and gave the populace licence to plunder the houses of such Florentines as were in the City. The Lord Mayor hereupon, restraining the violence of the people, clapp'd a seal on the doors of the Florentines, and conducted them to the King, who took them into his protection. Afterwards, by order of the King, the bishop of Exeter, Lord High Chancellor, summon'd the bishop of London into the Court of Chancery, to answer for having dared to publish the Pope's Bull, without consent of the King and council,

and contrary to the laws of the land. Courtney pleaded the Pope's authority and command. But the Chancellor gave sentence, that he should either forfeit his temporalities, or revoke his words with his own mouth. With some difficulty the bishop of London obtain'd, that he might re-call them by one of his officers; and accordingly an Official mounted Paul's Cross, and address'd the people in these words: *My Lord said nothing about the Interdict: it is strange you should misunderstand, who hear so many sermons from this place* (2).

[C] *The Duke of Lancaster, and other Nobles, secretly favoured Wickliff's opinions.*] This appeared openly by their behaviour upon this occasion. The Duke of Lancaster, the Lord Marshal Percy, and others, countenanced Wickliff by their presence in the bishop of London's Court. There was a vast concourse of people about St Paul's church, so that the Lord Percy could not pass thro' the crowd without difficulty. Courtney was alarmed at Wickliff's appearance in so extraordinary a manner: upon which there ensued the following dialogue between the Bishop and the two Lords above-mention'd; which I shall set down in Fox's language (\*).

(2) Chronic. Eulogium dictum. Apud Wharton, ubi supra, p. 138.

(\*) Acts and Monuments.

Bishop

(f) Walsingham, Hist. Angl. p. 172. apud Wharton, De Episc. &c. Londin. Lond. 1695, p. 139.

(g) Dugdale, Chr. Servient. p. 52.

(h) Registr. Courtney.

Bishop proceeded no farther than to enjoin him and his followers silence (f). In 1378, it is pretended, Courtney was made a Cardinal [D]. In 1381, he was appointed Lord High Chancellor of England (g). The same year, he was translated to the see of Canterbury (b), in the room of Simon Sudbury [E]; and on the 6th of May 1382, he received the Pall from the hands of the Bishop of London in the archiepiscopal palace at Croydon. This year also he performed the ceremony of crowning Queen Anne, consort of King Richard II, at Westminster (i). Soon after his inauguration, he restrained, by ecclesiastical censures, the bailiffs, and other officers, of the see of Canterbury, from taking cognizance of adultery and the like crimes [F]. About the same time, he held a Synod

(i) Harpfield, Hist. Eccl. Angl. Duaci, 1622, p. 536.

at

' Bishop Courtney. Lord Percy, if I had known before hand what malleries you wou'd have kept, I wou'd have stopt you out from coming hither.

' Duke of Lancaster. He shall keep such malleries here, tho' you say nay.

' Lord Percy. Wickliff, sit down, for you have many things to answer to, and therefore have need of a soft seat.

' Bishop Courtney. It is unreasonable that one cited before his Ordinary should sit down during his answer; he shall stand.

' Duke of Lancaster. The Lord Percy's motion for Wickliff is but reasonable. And as for you, my lord bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride, not of you only, but of all the prelacy in England. Thou bearest thy self so; brag upon thy parents, which shall not be able to help thee; they shall have enough to do to help themselves.

' Bishop Courtney. My confidence is not in my parents, nor in any man else, but only in God in whom I trust, by whose assistance I will be bold to speak the truth.

' Duke of Lancaster. Rather than take these words at the bishop's hands, I'll pluck him by the hair of the head out of the church.

These last words, tho' spoken softly by the Duke to one next him, were over-heard by the Londoners, who, being enraged to see their bishop thus used, would have torn the duke to pieces, had not Courtney interposed, and checked their fury. However they could not be restrained from marching directly to the Duke of Lancaster's palace in the Savoy, which they plundered, and were preparing to set fire to it; when the bishop, leaving his dinner, hastened to the Savoy, and, by his presence and intreaties, quieted the tumult, and saved the duke's house (3). And here we cannot but take notice of the generous and Christian temper of the bishop of London, in appearing thus heartily in behalf of the Duke of Lancaster, after he had been so lately outraged by him. Nor is the zeal of the Londoners, and their affection for their bishop shewn on this occasion, less remarkable.

[D] It is pretended, he was created a Cardinal.] This is bishop Godwin's opinion, which he founds upon the historian Thomas Walsingham, who writes, that the bishop of London was one of those, whom Urban VI promoted to the Cardinalate in 1378. Ciaconius also and Onuphrius affirm, that a bishop of London was, about that time, created a Cardinal; but his name, they tell us, was Adam. Now it is not to be doubted, that one Adam Elton, an Englishman, was honoured with the red hat; but Bale (\*), and other authors, tell us, it was by Gregory II. If therefore a bishop of London was made a Cardinal by Urban VI. in 1378, it must be Courtney (4). You see bishop Godwin's argument: upon which M. Aubery (5) makes the following remark. 'Godwin, a modern

author, will have it, that Adam Elton was one of the creatures of Pope Gregory II, Urban's predecessor; and as one absurdity is usually followed by another, this writer, by his own authority, creates a new Cardinal, whom he calls William Courtney bishop of London, because Thomas Walsingham writes, that the bishop of London was one of those, whom Urban VI promoted to the Cardinalate in 1378. It must certainly be acknowledged, that Godwin does not deal fairly in this matter; since, for fear of being obliged to recognize Adam Elton for bishop of London, he has set down but half his epitaph, and has purposely omitted the other part, by which the reader might have been informed, that our Cardinal was actually bishop of London. It must however be observed, that S. Contelorio writes, that

William Courtney, being nominated to the Cardinalate in 1378, would never consent to his promotion. But the English writers will not agree, that there were two bishops of London created Cardinals successively by the same Pope Urban VI. So that, probably, either Adam Elton was not bishop of London, which I cannot assent to, since his epitaph, reported by credible authors, proves the contrary; or William Courtney was not created a Cardinal. See this question discussed in the Article ESTON ADAM. In the mean time, I shall only observe here, that neither is Cardinal Elton acknowledged for bishop of London by our own writers, nor bishop Courtney for a Cardinal by foreigners.

[E] He succeeded Simon Sudbury in the See of Canterbury.] He was elected by the Monks of Canterbury, July the 30th 1380 (6), and confirmed by the Pope's Bull of September the 9th 1381, which was published January the 9th 1382 (7). Having received the Temporalities, and done homage to the king, he repaired to Lambeth; and on the 12th, a Monk of Canterbury came thither, being sent by the Prior and Convent with the archiepiscopal cross: which he delivered to the Archbishop, sitting in his chapel, with these words: 'Reverend father, I am the messenger of the supreme King, who intreats, commands, and enjoins, that you take upon you the government of his Church, and that you love and protect it: In token of which message, I deliver into your hand the banner of the supreme King.' *Pater Reverende, nuncius sum summi regis, qui te rogat, mandat, et præcipit ut ecclesiam suam regendam suscipias, eamque diligas et protegas: In cujus signum nuncii, summi regis vexillum tibi trado ferendum* (8). The archbishop, not having yet received the Pall, was doubtful whether the Cross might be carried, as usual, before him, and whether he had a right to crown the new queen. But these scruples were easily removed by the monks of Canterbury, who brought precedents for both. Nevertheless the archbishop, though, upon the authority of the monks, he suffered the Cross to be carried before him, yet cautiously entered a Protest, that he did not do it in contempt of the Court of Rome. *Archiepiscopus autem, accepta a monacho cruce, dubitationem ipse hanc injecit: An Crucem ante se perferri liceat, antequam a Papa pallium accepisset. Ex eaque questione alia dubitatio nata est. Regis Bobemiæ soror regi Angliæ Richards Secundo nuptura in Angliam hoc tempore venit. Has regias nuptias Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus jure, ut diximus, metropolitico celebrare, et reginam coronare debuit. De quo non minus ante acceptum pallium, quam de cruce gerenda, dubitavit. Qui tam perplexus dubitationis scrupulus non à Jurisconsultis et Causidicis, sed à Monachis Cantuariensibus, qui aëtus crebros et frequentes rerum similiter sine pallio gestarum proferebant, et Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ consuetudinem allegabant, facile sublatus est. Et tamen archiepiscopus, etsi ex monachorum assertionem, gesta ante se cruce, incessit. Protestationem cautè interposuit: Non se id in Romanæ Curie contemptum facere* (9).

[F] He restrained the officers of the see of Canterbury from taking cognizance of adultery, and the like crimes.] He extended his censures to others, who were guilty of the like offence: for, about two years after, we are told (10), he excommunicated one Richard Ismonger, a Kentish-man, for pretending to punish crimes, cognizable only in the ecclesiastical courts, by meer lay authority. Who, or in what office, this person was, we are not told: but, it seems, he could not obtain absolution, but by submitting to be beaten with a cudgel, naked, three successive market-days, in the open market-place of West-Maling; to have the same punishment repeated in the market-places of Maidstone and Canterbury; and, at the latter

(6) Registr. Eccl. Cantuar.

(7) Registr. Courtney.

(8) Verba Archiv. apud M. Parker, ubi supra, p. 398.

(9) M. Parker, ibid.

(10) Id. ib. p. 409.

(3) Harpfield, Hist. Wickliff. in eccl. Hist. Eccl. Angl. Duac. 1622, p. 683; & Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 191, 192. Apud Wharton, ubi supra, p. 138, 139.

(\*) De Script. Brit. Centur. 7. n. 15.

(4) Godwin, de Præsul. Angl. inter Episc. Londinens. an. 1375.

(5) H. Poire General des Cardinaux. Paris 1642, 4to, Tom. I. p. 624, 625.

(†) In his Cardinalium Catalogus, &c. n. 51.

at London, in which several of Wickliff's tenets were condemned as heretical and erroneous [G]. In 1383, he held a synod at Oxford, in which a subsidy was granted to the King [H]. The same year, in pursuance of the Pope's Bull directed to him for that purpose, he issued his mandate to the Bishop of London for celebrating the festival of St Anne, mother of the blessed Virgin (k). In 1384, he had a contest with the Earl of Arundel, some of whose servants had robbed one of his fish-ponds [I]. The same year, the King, by the advice of his Parliament, put the administration of the government into the hands of eleven Commissioners [K], of whom Archbishop Courtney was the first (l). In 1387, he held a synod at London, in which a tenth was granted to the King (m). The same year, it being moved in a Parliament, held at London on occasion of the dissension between the King and his nobles, to inflict capital punishment on some of the ringleaders, and it being prohibited by the Canons for Bishops to be present and vote in cases of blood, the Archbishop and his suffragans withdrew from the house of Lords (n), having first entered a Protest in relation to their Peerage [L]. In 1399, he held a synod in St Mary's church in Cambridge, in which a tenth was granted to the King [M], on condition that he

place, to enter naked into the Cathedral Church, and offer a wax taper of five pounds weight at the shrine of Thomas Becket.

[G] *He held a synod, in which Wickliff's tenets were condemned as heretical and erroneous.* A more particular account of this synod will be found in the article WICKLIFF. Robert Rigge, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Thomas Brightwell, Doctor in Divinity, being suspected of favouring Wickliff's doctrines, appeared before this synod, and were obliged to disclaim those tenets, and subscribe to the contrary. Nicholas Hereford and Philip Repindon, Doctors in Divinity, and John Asheton, master of Arts, were accused in the same synod of heresy, and, refusing to purge themselves, were excommunicated. The King, in support of this ecclesiastical severity, directed his letters to the archbishop and his suffragans, empowering them to seize and imprison all persons suspected of the aforefaid heresy (11).

[H] *A synod at Oxford, in which a subsidy was granted to the King.* It was held in St Fridiswide's monastery. Archbishop Courtney officiated at divine service, and the sermon was preached by the Chancellor Dr Rigge. After the affair of the subsidy was over, the bishops proceeded to enquire after persons suspected of heresy: upon which occasion, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Repindon, and John Asheton, excommunicated in the last synod, recanted their opinions, and were absolved. And, to secure the University from latitude in opinion, all the Graduates were obliged to swear a renunciation of Wickliff's tenets condemn'd at London (12).

[I] *The Earl of Arundel's servants had robbed one of the archbishop's fish-ponds.* It was at his manor of South-Maling in the diocese of Chichester. The Earl's servants had dragged the pond, and cleared it of all the fish. The archbishop, in a great rage, ordered the bishop of Chichester to excommunicate the robbers, whom he styled sacrilegious persons, and violaters of the Church of Canterbury. The Earl hereupon applied to the King, desiring his majesty to take cognizance of the affair, that he might not incur the sentence of excommunication. The King complying with with Earl's request, the archbishop wrote to the bishop of Chichester, to revoke the excommunication. And thus the affair dropped. *Archiepiscopus, qui in Wickliffianos ante vehementissimus erat, jam in Arundelice comitem magnam controversiam instituit. Hujus servuli piscinam in archiepiscopi manerio de Southmallig Cicestrensis diocesis sublatis piscibus evacuarerunt. Quo facto archiepiscopus in magnam aetis sevitiā Cicestrensi Episcopo mandavit, ut piscinæ suæ prædones, quos sacrilegos et Cantuariensis ecclesiæ violatores nominavit, excommunicatione feriret. Comes autem Regem adiit, petiitque, ut de ea controversia, ne excommunicationem incurrat, in sua præsentia transigatur. Atque Archiepiscopus, postquam Rex hujus controversiæ cognitionem suscepisset, ad Cicestrensem Episcopum scripsit, ut latas excommunicationes revocaret (13).*

[K] *The King put the administration of the government into the hands of eleven Commissioners.* Namely, William archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander archbishop of York, Edmund duke of York, Thomas duke of Gloucester, William bishop of Winchester, Thomas bishop of Exeter, Nicholas abbot of Waltham, Richard earl of Arundel, John lord Cobham, Richard Le Scroop, and John Devereux. This committee

was authorized to receive the publick revenues, to inspect the King's household and Courts, in short, to direct the government, and make what reformatiōns in the kingdom they thought fit. But their commission expired at the end of one year (14). Henry de Knyghton adds three more commissioners to the foregoing, viz. the bishop of Ely Chancellor, the bishop of Hereford Treasurer, and John de Waltham Privy-Seal, making the whole number fourteen (15).

[L] *The bishops entered a protest in relation to their Peerage.* The purport of it is to set forth, that the Lords Spiritual, by virtue of their Baronies, and as Peers of the Realm, had a right to sit, vote, and give judgment with the rest of the Peers, in all cases and matters transacted in Parliament. But since Impeachments of High Treason, and Tryals for Life, were coming on, and they were forbidden by the Canons of the Church to concern themselves in matters of that nature, they protested, that, for this only reason they were obliged to withdraw. And thus having guarded the entirety of their Peerage, they concluded with declaring, that nothing done in their absence upon this occasion should be hereafter questioned or opposed by any of their body. This instrument, at the instance and petition of the archbishop and his suffragans, was read in full Parliament, and entered upon the Parliament Rolls, by the King's command, with the assent of the Lords Temporal and the Commons (16).

[M] *A tenth was granted to the King.* Speed has particularly dilated upon the circumstances of this grant, which we shall represent in that historian's own words. 'The Laitie, at the Parliament now holden at London, had yielded to ayde the king with a Fifteenth, upon condition that the Clergie should succour him with a Tenth and an Halfe: against which unjust proportion William de Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, most stiffly opposed, alleading, that the Church ought to be free, nor in any wise to be taxed by the Laitie, and that himself would rather die then endure that the Church of England (the liberties whereof had by so many free Parliaments, in all times, and not only in the raigue of this king, bene confirmed) should be made a bond-maile. This answer so offended the Commons, that the Knights of the Shires, and some Peeres of the land, with extreame fury besought, That Temporalities might be taken away from ecclesiastical persons, saying, that it was an Almesdeed, and an Act of Charitie, so to do, thereby to humble them. Neither did they doubt, but that their petition, which they had exhibited to the king, would take effect. Hereupon they designed among themselves, out of which Abbey, which should receive such a certaine summe, and out of which, another. I my self (saith a \* Monk of St Albans) heard one of those Knights confidently sweare, that he would have a yearly pension of a thousand Markes out of the Temporalities belonging to that Abbey. But the king, having heard both parts, commanded the Petitioners to silence, and the Petition to be razed out, saying, He wou'd maintaine the English Church in the qualitie of the same state or better, in which himselfe had known it to be, when hee came to the crowne. The archbishop hereupon, having consulted with the Clergie, came to the King, and declared, that he and the Clergie had with one consent willingly provided to supply his majesties occasions with a Tenth. This Grant the King tooke so contentedly,

(14) Rot. Parl. to Ric. II.

(15) De Eventib. Anglæ, l. v. ap. X. Scriptor. col. 2685.

(16) Registr. Courtney, fol. 174. Rot. Parl. II Ric. II. n. 9. See also M. Parker, ubi supra, p. 401.

(\*) Tho. Walsingham.

(k) Speiman's Councils, Vol. II. p. 636.

(l) H. de Knyghton, De Eventib. Anglæ, l. v. ap. X. Scriptor. col. 2685.

(m) M. Parker, ubi supra, p. 401.

(n) Registr. Courtney, fol. 174, & Walsingham Hist. Angl. apud M. Parker, ubi supra.

(11) Id. ib. p. 399.

(12) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 193; & M. Parker, ibid.

(13) M. Parker, ib. p. 400, 401.

he should pass over into France with an army before the first of October following. This year, Archbishop Courtney set out upon his metropolitical visitation, in which he was at first strongly opposed by the Bishops of Exeter and Salisbury [N]: but those prelates being at last reduced to terms of submission, he proceed in his visitation without further opposition: only, at the intercession of the Abbot of St Alban's, he refrained from visiting certain Monasteries at Oxford (p). The same year, the King directed his Royal Mandate to the Archbishop, not to countenance, or contribute any thing towards a subsidy for the Pope [O]. In a Parliament held at Winchester 1392, Archbishop Courtney, being probably suspected of abetting the papal encroachments upon the Church and State, delivered in an answer to certain Articles exhibited by the Commons in relation to those encroachments [P]. The same year, he visited the diocese of Lincoln, in which, by his vigilance

(16) Wiliam. de. ap. M. p. 402. ib. l. p. 402.

(17) Registr. Court. m. l. 86; & Walf. ib. ep. M. Parker, ib. p. 404.

as he openly affirmed he was better pleased with this free contribution of one Tenth for the present, than if he had gotten foure by compulsion (17). We have much the same account, but more briefly deliver'd, by the author of the *Antiquities*, &c. (18), in the following words: *In superiori autem Parlamento, cum Laici Subsidium sub hac conditione regi concessissent, si Clerus Decimam concederet; Archiepiscopus cum suis Suffraganeis valde iniquum et pessimi exempli afferebant, Cleri in regem donationes, quæ spontaneæ gratuitæque esse debent, à Laicis tam strictis modis et conditionibus alligari: proinde se de quacunque cleri concessione in Synodo non assuros, nisi illa laicorum conditione deleta. Itaque Rex, qui eo die interfuit, expulsi laicorum conditionem jussit; quod mox publice in Parlamento factum est.*

[N] He was opposed by the bishops of Exeter and Salisbury.] The bishop of Exeter (\*) issued his mandate, forbidding all persons in his diocese, under pain of excommunication, to acknowledge the archbishop's jurisdiction. Courtney issued a mandate in opposition thereto, requiring their submission to his authority. The bishop appealed to the Pope, and fixed up his Appeal upon the gates of his Cathedral. The archbishop notwithstanding proceeded in his Visitation, and cited the bishop to appear before him, and answer to certain articles exhibited against him. The Citation was dispatch'd by one of the archbishop's Officers named Peter Hill; who being met by some of the bishop of Exeter's servants in the town of Topsham, they, discovering his business, not only beat him most unmercifully, but obliged the poor fellow to chew, and swallow down the *Instrument*, which was of parchment, wax and all. The King, being informed of this violence sent an order to the earl of Devonshire, and others, to apprehend the bishop's servants, and bring them before the archbishop. Which being done, Courtney enjoined them the following penance. They were to walk in procession before the Cross, in their shirts only, and carrying lighted tapers in their hands; to pay a certain stipend to a Priest for saying daily Mass at the tomb of the Earl of Devonshire; and lastly to pay twenty shillings each towards repairing the walls of the city of Exeter. The bishop in the mean time prosecuted his appeal in the Court of Rome; but finding the archbishop's credit prevail there, and that the King likewise espoused his cause, he thought it the most prudent course to withdraw his appeal, and to acknowledge both his own offence and the archbishop's jurisdiction (19). The bishop of Salisbury (+), when it came to his turn to be visited, made no less resistance, but proceeded, as he thought, with more prudence and caution, than the bishop of Exeter had done. For being of opinion, that the archbishop's visitatorial power was founded solely upon the authority of Pope Urban, who was now dead, he found means to procure from Pope Boniface, his successor, an exemption of himself and his diocese from metropolitical visitation in virtue of Pope Urban's authority. With this privilege he waited on the archbishop at Croydon, but met with an unexpected reception from that Prelate, who declared he would visit the diocese of Salisbury, notwithstanding any papal exemption, and commanded the bishop to be ready to receive him on a certain day in his Cathedral Church. The bishop, depending on his privilege, took no notice of this order, and, the archbishop beginning his visitation, appealed to the Pope. The archbishop immediately excommunicated him, and commenced a prosecution at Law against him, for endeavouring to withdraw himself from the subjection he owed to the See of Canterbury. The bishop of Salisbury, terrified by this severity, and the recent

example of his brother of Exeter, renounced his appeal, acknowledged the archbishop's jurisdiction, and thro' the intercession of the Earl of Salisbury, and others, obtained Absolution and Reconciliation (20).

[O] *The King commanded him not to countenance, or contribute any thing towards a subsidy for the Pope.* The writ sets forth, that the archbishop could not be ignorant, that the King was bound by oath to maintain the rights and customs of the kingdom, to govern impartially by the Laws, to secure the property of the subject, and to prevent impositions being charged or levied upon the people without the common consent of the kingdom. The King suggests farther, that the Commons, lately assembled in Parliament at Westminster, had address'd him for a remedy against the Impositions upon the Clergy, at that time exacted by the Court of Rome; and had petition'd him, that if any person should bring in any *Papal Bulls* for levying such impositions, or should actually collect or levy such impositions, he should be adjudged, and suffer, as a traitor to him and his kingdom. His highness adds, that he had granted, with the consent of the same Parliament, that nothing should be levied or paid, that might tend to the burthen or damage of the subject and kingdom: That notwithstanding this legal provision, he was informed of a new Papal Imposition upon the Clergy, which by his (*the archbishop's*) authority, or that of his Suffragans by his order, was to be levied without the common advice and assent of the kingdom; which he (*the King*) could not suffer consistently with his oath. And therefore in the close he commands the archbishop, upon his allegiance, and under the highest forfeitures, to revoke his orders for the levying this tax, and to return what had been already paid, enjoining him not to pay, or contribute any thing to this subsidy, under the penalties aforesaid. *Witness the King at Westminster, the 10th day of October* (21). Writs of the same purport and date were directed to the archbishop of York, to all the bishops of both Provinces, to the Guardians of the Spiritualities, and to the several Collectors of this Tax. A like Writ was directed to the Pope's Nuntio, commanding him to desert from exacting this subsidy, *sub forisfactura vitæ et membrorum*, under forfeiture of life and limb. This imposition was the payment of a *Tenth* laid upon the Clergy by the Pope, as appears by the title of the record, *Decimis Papæ non solvendis*.

[P] *He delivered in an answer to certain Articles exhibited by the Commons, &c.* The tenor of it was as follows. To our Dread Sovereign Lord the King in this present Parliament, his humble Chaplain, William archbishop of Canterbury, gives in his Answer to the *Petition* brought into the Parliament by the Commons of the Realm, in which *Petition* are contained certain *Articles*: That is to say, First, *Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King, and all his Liege Subjects, ought of right, and had been always accustomed to sue in the King's Court, to recover their presentations to churches, to maintain their titles to prebendaries, and other benefices of Holy Church, to which they have a right to present: The cognizance of which plea belongs solely to the Court of our Sovereign Lord the King by virtue of his antient prerogative, maintained and practised in the reigns of all his predecessors Kings of England; and when judgment is given in his highness's said court upon any such plea, the archbishops, bishops, and other spiritual persons, who have the right of giving Institution to such benefices within their jurisdiction, are*

(20) Ibid.

(21) Rot. Clauf. 13 Ric. II. p. i. M. 17. De Decimis Papæ non solvendis.

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(17) Speed's Hist. of Great Britaine, &c. Lond. 1632. fol. p. 726.

(18) M. Parker, ubi supra, p. 402.

(\*) Tho. Bingham, late Lord Treasurer.

(19) Registr. Courtney, fol. 86; & M. Parker, ib. p. 402, 403.

(†) Job. Waltham

(q) Knyghton, ubi supra, col. 2736, 2737.

(r) Walf. ib. ap. M. Parker, ib. d. p. 405.

(s) Chronic. W. Thorn, apud X. Scriptoris, col. 2197, 2198. See also Dart's Hist. and Antiq. of the Cath. Ch. of Cant. Lond. 1726, p. 157.

vigilance and activity, he gave a considerable check to the growth of Wickliff's doctrines (q). In 1395, he obtained from the Pope a grant of four pence in the pound on all ecclesiastical benefices; in which he was opposed by the Bishop of Lincoln, who would not suffer it to be collected in his diocese, and appealed to the Pope (r). But, before the matter could be decided, Archbishop Courtney died, July the 31st 1396, at Maidstone in Kent, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury [Q], under a monument of alabaster, on the South side, near the tomb of Thomas Becket, and at the feet of the Black Prince; the King, who was then going to marry the King of France's daughter, being present, with several of his nobles, at the funeral solemnity (s). This Prelate founded a College of Secular Priests at Maidstone. He left a thousand marks for the repair of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury; also to the same church a silver-gilt image of the Trinity, with six Apostles standing round it weighing 160 pounds; some books [R], and some ecclesiastical vestments (t). He obtained from King Richard a grant of four fairs at Canterbury yearly, viz. on Innocents-Day, Whitfun-Eve, the Eve of Becket's translation, and Michaelmas-Eve; each to continue nine days, and to be kept within the site of the Priory (u).

' bound to execute such judgments, and used always to make execution of them at the King's command (since no lay person can make any such execution), and are also bound to make execution of many other commands of our Lord the King: Of which right the Crown of England has been all along peaceably possess'd: Notwithstanding, of late, divers processses have been made by the Holy Father the Pope, and Excommunications publish'd against several English Bishops, for making such executions, and acting in pursuance to the King's commands in the cases above-mentioned; and such censures of his Holiness are inflicted in open disherison of the crown, and subversion of the Prerogative Royal, of the King's Laws, and his whole Realm, unless prevented by proper remedies.' To this article, the archbishop, premising his Protestation, that it was not his intention to affirm, that our holy father the Pope has no authority to excommunicate a bishop, pursuant to the Laws of Holy Church, declares and answers, that if any executions of processses are made, or shall be made, by any person; if any censures of excommunication shall be published and served upon any English bishops, or any other of the King's subjects, for their having made execution of any such commands, he maintains such censures to be prejudicial to the King's prerogative, as is set forth in the Commons Petition: And that so far forth he is resolved to stand with our Lord the King, and support his Crown, in the matters above-mentioned, to the utmost of his power. And whereas it is alledged in the Petition, That complaint has been made, that the said Holy Father the Pope had designed to translate some English Prelates to Sees out of the Realm, and some from one bishoprick to another, without the knowledge and consent of our Lord the King, and without the assent of the Prelates so translated (which Prelates are very serviceable and necessary to our Lord the King, and his whole Realm); which translations if they should be suffered, the statutes of the Realm would be defeated, and made in a great measure insignificant, and the said Lieges of his Highness's Council would be removed out of his kingdoms, without their assent, and against their inclination, and the treasure of the said Realm would be exported: By which means the country would become destitute both of wealth and counsel, to the utter destruction of the said Realm: And thus the Crown of England, which has always been so free and independent, as not to have any earthly sovereign, but to be immediately subject to God in all things touching the Prerogatives and Royalty of the said Crown, would be made subject to the Pope, and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm defeated and set aside by him at pleasure, to the utter destruction of the Sovereignty of our Lord the King, his Crown and Royalty, and his whole kingdom, which God forbid.

' The said archbishop, first protesting, that 'tis not his intention to affirm, that our Holy Father aforesaid cannot make translations of Prelates according to the Laws of Holy Church, answers and declares, that if any English Prelates, who by their capacity and qualifications were very serviceable and necessary to our Lord the King, and his Realm, should be translated to any Sees in foreign dominions, or the sage Leiges of his Council were forced out of the kingdom against their will, and that by this means the wealth and treasure of the kingdom should be exported; that such translations are prejudicial to the King and his Crown, and that if any such thing should happen, he resolves to adhere loyally to the King, and endeavour, as he is bound by his allegiance, to support his Highness in this, and all other instances, in which the rights of his Crown were concerned.' He concluded with praying, that this Declaration might be entered in the Parliament Rolls; which was granted (22). This Declaration of archbishop Courtney's seems to have led the way to the famous Statute of *Præmunire* passed in this Parliament; and it is evident from hence, that this Prelate was no vassal to the Court of Rome, nor asserted the Pope's Supremacy so far as to weaken his allegiance, or to make him an ill subject.

[Q] He was buried in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury.] It appears by a codicil annexed to his Will, extant in the Archives of the church of Canterbury, that, upon his death bed, not thinking himself worthy to lye in his own Metropolitan, or in any other Cathedral or Collegiate Church, he chose, and desired, to be buried in the church-yard of Maidstone-College, in the place designed for his Esquire John Butler. *Languens in extremis in interiori camera Manerii de Maydenston, voluit et ordinavit, quod quia non reputavit se dignum, ut dixit, in sua Metropolitana, aut aliqua Cathedrali aut Collegiata Ecclesia sepeliri, voluit et elegit sepulturam suam in Cæmeterio Ecclesiæ Collegiatae de Maydenston, in loco designato Johanni Botelere Armigero suo* (23). But most certain it is, Dart tells us (24), that, notwithstanding this humble thought of his, in his lowness of spirits, King Richard, being at Canterbury, when he was to be buried, overruled his Will, and ordered him to be interred in that Cathedral.

[R] — some books.] These were: St Augustin's *Milleloquium*, A *Dictionary* in three volumes, and *Doctor de Lira* in two volumes. His nephew Richard Courtney was to have the use of them during his life, and his executors to return them after his death, under a penalty of three hundred pounds; for which they gave a bond. My author calls them, *sex libros preciosos*, six valuable books (25).

(t) Dies Obital. Archiep. Cant. apud Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Vol. I. p. 61.

(u) Dart, ubi supra.

(22) Rot. Parl. 16 Ric. II. N. 20. Cotton's Abridgment, p. 343.

(23) Verba Archiv. Apud Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Vol. I. p. 121.

(24) Hist. and Antiq. of the Cath. Ch. of Cant. Lond. 1726. p. 157.

(25) Dies Obital. Archiep. Cantuar. apud Wharton, ubi supra, p. 62.

(a) Catal. Soc. Col. Reg. Cantab. MS. mentioned in Preface to Cowell's Interpreter, edit. Lond. 1708. N. B. It is not paged. Prince's Worthies of Devon. Exon. 1701, p. 194. Fuller's Worthies in Devon, p. 262.

COWELL (JOHN) a learned Civilian in the latter end of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth, century, was born at Ernsborough in the parish of Swimbridge in Devonshire (a), and educated at Eaton-School, where he so distinguish'd himself by his good parts and agreeable industry, that he was elected a Scholar of King's College Cambridge (b), in the year 1570 [A]. Here he applied himself closely to his studies, and

[A] He was elected a Scholar of King's College Cambridge, in the year 1570.] And there, in all probability, put under the tuition of his name-fake

and relation John Cowell fellow of that House, who had been one of the University-Proctors in the year 1561 (1).

(b) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 160, edit. Lond. 1725.

(1) Fasti Cantabr. MS.

[B] Among

by his learning and unblameable course of life, grew up to so much reputation and interest in the University, that he was elected Fellow of that House: And after he had taken the two degrees in Arts, he had the honour to be chosen one of the Proctors for the year 1585 (c). He particularly turn'd his thoughts to the study of the Civil-Law, by the advice of that active Prelate Richard Bancroft Bishop of London (d), who had judgment to find the genius of our Author, and knew the great necessity the Church was in, to have men of abilities and integrity in that profession. He was regularly admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Laws in his own University (e); and in 1600 was incorporated into the same degree at Oxford (f). His Reputation was now so well establish'd, that he was made the King's Professor of Civil Law in the University of Cambridge; and about the same time, Master of Trinity-Hall; which two stations had as much Honour and Profit, as could possibly be bestowed, in that place, on a man of his Profession (g). In 1603 and 1604 he executed the office of Vice-chancellor of Cambridge (h). His chief patron Bishop Bancroft being advanc'd to the see of Canterbury in December 1604, and projecting many things which he thought would be for the interest and honour of Church and State, employed several men in their proper professions; imagining that to be the most effectual way to promote the public service (i). Among the rest, he solicited Dr Cowell (B) to show himself an antiquary, and a useful man, by giving the interpretation of such words and terms, as created most difficulty to the Students of our Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Common Laws. This laborious task the Doctor performed with so much application and diligence, that his work was finished in about three years time, and published under the title of **THE INTERPRETER** [C]. By this book the Archbishop was so well satisfied with the author's parts, industry, and courage, that upon the death of Sir Edward Stanhope, Vicar General to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which happen'd on the 16th of March 1608, his Grace conferr'd that honourable place on Dr Cowell, who had practised before as an Advocate in the Arches (k). In this station, he carried himself with that fairness and integrity, that equity and honour, as rais'd him no enemies and lost him no friends. And if he was afterwards invidious as a writer, he was still blameless as a judge: For, when the warmest objections were made against some expressions in his book, there was not any fault found with his administration of justice (l). For some time, his book pass'd uncensured; but at last great offence was taken at it: Because, as was pretended, the author had spoken with too much liberty, and in too sharp expressions, of the Common Law, and some eminent professors of it, particularly Littleton. Moreover, he had recited Hottoman's reflections on his treatise of Tenures, and by reciting them was thought to make them his own. This especially fired Sir Edward Coke, then chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who was more particularly concern'd for the honour of Littleton, whom he had commented upon; and valued himself as the chief Advocate of his Profession. Another thing seems to have put Dr Cowell out of favour with this Judge; namely, within two years after the publication of the Interpreter, Archbishop Bancroft sensible that the jurisdiction of the Spiritual Courts was perpetually obstructed by the grant of Prohibitions from Westminster-hall, employed Dr Cowell to draw up Reasons and Exceptions against the too frequent grants of Prohibitions; which were delivered to King James I. in time of Parliament, under the title of *Articuli Cleri*, or the Clergy's Articles. These Articles the King ordered to be argued by the Judges, and their Arguments are printed by Coke in his XIIth Report, who had the chief hand in them: and was now more and more incens'd against Dr Cowell, whom he took for a profess'd enemy to the Westminster-Courts, and therefore directly or obliquely reflects upon him in several pages of his works [D]. But paper-reproofs not being satisfactory, Sir Edward Coke, who

was

(c) Ibid. He was elected through the recommendation of William I. de Bury, A. D. 1171. Vol. III. p. 268, 269.

(d) See Epistle Dedicat. to the Interpreter, 1607.

(e) Preface to Cowell's Interpreter, edit. Lond. 1703.

(f) Wood, Fasti, ubi supra.

(g) Preface, ubi supra.

(h) T. Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, p. 157.

(i) Preface to the Doctor's Interpreter, edit. 1708.

(k) Continuat. of Hatcher's Catal. of Provofts, Fellows, &c. of King's-college, Cambr. MS.

(l) Pref. to the Interpreter, as above.

[B] Among the rest, he solicited Dr Cowell ——— to give the interpretation of the difficult words in our Laws.] This the Doctor hints at, in his Dedication of *The Interpreter* to the Archbishop, in these words. — 'Yet the remembrance of those your honourable Provocations, whereby at my coming to your Grace from the University, you first put me upon these Studies, at the last by a kind of necessity inforc'd me to this attempt; because I could not see how well to avoid it, but by adventuring the hateful Note of Unthankfulness.'

[C] **THE INTERPRETER.** The whole title of it was as follows, 'The Interpreter, or Book containing the signification of Words: wherein is set forth the true meaning of all, or the most part of such Words and Terms, as are mentioned in the Law-writers, or Statutes of this Victorious and Renowned Kingdom, requiring any Exposition or Interpretation. A work not only Profitable, but Necessary for such as desire thoroughly to be instructed in the Knowledge of our Laws, Statutes, or other Antiquities. Collected by John Cowell Doctor, and the King's Majesties Professor of the Civil Law in the University of Cambridge. In legum obscuritate captus.' A: Cambridge, Printed by John Legate,

Anno 1607, 4to. It was re-printed in 1609, and several times since, particularly in 1638, for which Archbishop Laud was reflected upon, and it was made an Article against him at his tryal, as if the impression of that book had been done by his authority, or at least with his connivance, in order to countenance the King's arbitrary measures (2). In 1677, and 1684 it was published, with large Additions, by Tho. Manley of the Middle-Temple, Esq; and again in 1708 with very considerable improvements by another hand. In all these later Editions, those passages that were dubious or offensive have been corrected or omitted.

[D] *Sir Edward Coke reflects upon him in several pages of his Works.* Being the grand Oracle of the Common Law, as Dr Cowell was of the Civil, emulation produced so great an ill will between those two great men; especially because the Doctor, who was well skilled in both Laws, practised frequently at Westminster-hall as well as at Doctors Commons; that Sir Edward took all occasions to affront him, and used to call him in derision *Doctor Cow-beel*. It is to be observed, that at that time the contest ran very high between the Civilians and Common-Lawyers, the latter of which were discountenanc'd by the Court (\*).

(2) Hist. of the Troubles and Tryal of Archbishop Laud, p. 235. Lond. 1695.

(\*) Fuller's Worthier; in Devon. p. 262.

(l) Preface, as above.

(m) King James Ith's Proclamat. 25 March 1610.

(n) Wood, ubi supra.

(o) Pref. to the Interpreter, as above.

The Commons were very desirous to proceed criminally against him; nay even to hang him, if the King had not interposed.

See Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. published by Edm. Sawyer, Esq; Lond. fol. 1725, Vol. III. p. 125, 131.

(p) Miscellanea Parliamentaria, by W. Petyt, Esq; p. 64.

(q) Which is inserted in Preface to the Interpreter, edit. 1708.

(r) Preface, as above.

was of some authority with the King, and had good interest in the House of Commons, represented Dr Cowell as an enemy to both (l). He knew, nothing would so much excite the jealousy of the King, who was very fond of Power, as to touch upon the point of Prerogative, and therefore he suggested, that Dr Cowell 'had disputed too nicely upon the 'mysteries of this our monarchy, yea in some points very derogatory to the supream power 'of this Crown (m):' And had asserted, 'That the King's prerogative is in some cases 'limited (n).' The author, by touching upon so tender a point, was in great danger of being ruin'd; but, in all probability, was saved through the Archbishop's interest. His adversaries hereupon turn'd the tables, and resolved to make him a betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the People, thinking this accusation would do more with the Parliament, than the other had done with the King. The Complaint against him in the House of Commons was carried on by men of parts and interest, and it came to this issue, that the author was committed to custody, and his book publickly burnt (o). Moreover the Commons complained of him to the Lords, as equally struck at, who resolved to censure his Errors and Boldness [E]; but upon the interposition of the King, who declared that the man had mistaken the fundamental points and constitutions of Parliament, and promised to condemn the Doctrines of the book as absurd, together with the author of them, they proceeded no farther (p). However, the King published a Proclamation (q) on the 25th of March 1610 [F], wherein, 'he not only prohibited the buying, uttering, or reading of 'the said book, but also straitly commanded all and singular persons whatsoever, who had 'or should have any of them in their hands or custody, that upon pain of his high dis- 'pleasure and the consequence thereof, they deliver the same, presently upon the pub- 'lication thereof, to the Lord Mayor of London, if they or any of them were dwelling 'in or near that city; or otherwise to the Sheriff of the county where they should reside; 'and, in the two Universities, to the Chancellor or Vice-chancellor there, to the intent 'that further order might be given for the utter suppressing thereof [G].' When Dr Cowell had thus felt the displeasure of the King, and the indignation of the people; he took his leave of the press, and retired to his college and his private studies, where he lived in- offensively and in good repute; but not averse however to serve the publick, either with his advice, or any other way. It was his misfortune to be afflicted with the stone, for which being cut, that operation proved fatal to him: for he died of it on the eleventh of October, 1611; and was buried in the chapel of Trinity-hall under the altar (r), where there is an inscription to his memory [H]. He writ other things besides *the Interpreter* above-mentioned [I]. And he was a considerable benefactor to the college of which he had

[E] *To censure his Errors and Boldness.* The Errors charg'd upon him, were, That he had asserted, 1. 'That the King was *solutus à legibus*, and not 'bound by his Coronation-oath. 2. That it was not 'ex necessitate, that the King should call a Parliament 'to make Laws, but might do that by his absolute 'Power; for *voluntas Regis* with him was *Lex populi*. 3. That it was a favour to admit the consent of his 'subjects in giving of subsidies. 4. That he draws 'his Arguments from the Imperial Laws of the Roman 'Emperors, which are of no force in England (3). The Author of the Preface to the Edition of the Interpreter in 1708, observes, That these positions are so gross and intolerable, that no Englishman would defend or excuse them. But he says, that having run over most part of the first edition in 1607, 4to. he finds no such abominable assertions in words at length, tho' there be many things too unadvisedly express'd, which a wise author would have omitted, and a wise Govern- ment might have despised. But when a suspected book is brought to the torture, it often confesseth all, and more than it knows.

[F] *The King published a Proclamation on the 25th of March 1610.* The beginning of this Proclamation is pretty remarkable, being as follows. 'This latter 'age and times of the World wherein we are fallen, 'is so much given to verbal profession, as well of 'religion, as of all commendable moral virtues, but 'wanting the actions and deeds agreeable to so specious 'a profession, as it hath bred such an unfatiable 'curiosity in many mens spirits, and such an itching in 'the Tongues and Pens of most men, as nothing is 'left unsearched to the bottom both in talking and 'writing. For from the very highest Mysteries in the 'God-head and the most inscrutable counsels in the 'Trinity, to the very lowest pit of hell, and the con- 'fused actions of the devils there, there is nothing now 'unsearched into by the curiosity of men's brains. Men 'not being contented with the knowledge of so much 'of the will of God as it hath pleased him to reveal, 'but they will needs sit with him in his most private 'closet, and become privy of his most inscrutable

'counsels: and therefore it is no wonder, that men in 'these our days do not spare to wade in all the deepeft 'mysteries that belong to the persons and state of Kings 'and Princes, that are Gods upon Earth: since we 'see (as we have already said) that they spare not 'God himself.—

[G] *That further order might be given for the sup- pressing thereof.* The reasons alledged in the Procla- mation for suppressing that book, are, 'That the author had fallen into many mistakes; namely — 'In some things disputing so nicely upon the mysteries 'of this our Monarchy, that it may receive doubtful 'interpretations; yea in some points very derogatory 'to the supream power of this Crown: In other cases 'mistaking the true state of the Parliament of this 'Kingdom and the fundamental constitutions and pri- 'vileges thereof: And in some other points speaking 'un-reverently of the Common Law of England, and 'the works of some of the most famous and ancient 'Judges therein: it being a thing utterly unlawful to 'any subject, to speak or write against that Law 'under which he liveth.' — This whole Proclamation is manifestly in the stile of that pedantic Monarch, who then sat upon the throne.

[H] *Where there is an inscription to his memory.* And which runs thus; *Johannes Cowell L. L. D. Custos hujus Collegii, Juris Civilis in hac Academia Cantab. Professor Regius, Vicarius Generalis Cantuariensis Provinciae sub Domino Richardo Bancroft, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, hic expectat Resurrectionem. Obiit undecimo die mensis Octob. Ann. Dom. 1611. i. e. 'John Cowell 'L. L. D. Master of this College, the King's Pro- fessor of Civil Law in this University of Cambridge, 'and Vicar General of the Province of Canterbury 'under Richard Bancroft Lord Archbishop of Can- terbury, waits here for the Resurrection. He died 'the eleventh day of October, in the year of our Lord '1611 (4).*

[I] *He writ other things besides the Interpreter* In 1605, he published *Institutiones juris Anglicani ad methodum & seriem institutionum Imperialium compositæ & digestæ. Cantab. 8vo. i. e. 'Institutes of 'the*

(3) W. Petyt's Miscellanea Parl. ubi supra. R. Coke's De- rection, edit. 1719 Vol. I. p. 63.

(4) Pref. ubi supr.

had been Fellow, to the hall of which he was Master, and to the University of which he had been Governor.

(1) Wood, Fasti, Vol. 1. col. 100.  
 ' the Laws of England in the same method as  
 ' Justinian's Institutes (5). He also composed ' A  
 ' Tract *De Regulis Juris* [of the Rules of the Law]  
 ' wherein his intent was, by collating the cases of both  
 ' Laws to shew, that they both be raised of one

' Foundation, and differ more in Language and Term  
 ' than in substance, and therefore were they reduced  
 ' to one method (as they easily might) to be attained  
 ' (in a manner) with all one pains.' But it doth not  
 appear that this last was ever published (6).

(1) See Pref. to the Reader, in the beginning of C The Interpreter.

COWLEY (ABRAHAM), one of our best Poets of the XVIIth century, was born at London (in Fleet-street, near the end of Chancery-lane, in the parish of St Dunstan in the West) in the year 1618, and fifteenth of King James I. His father, who was a Grocer, dying before the birth of this his son, his mother, by the interest of her friends, procured him to be admitted a King's Scholar in Westminster-school (a). His first, and early, inclination to Poetry was occasioned by accidentally reading Spenser's *Fairy Queen* [A], a Poem fitted for the examination of men, than the consideration of a child: but in him it met with a fancy, whose strength was not to be judged by the number of his years (b). In the sixteenth year of his age, being still at Westminster-school, he published a collection of Verses, under the title of *Poetical Blossoms* [B], in which there were many things that might well become the vigour and force of a manly wit [C]. It is remarkable of Mr Cowley, what he himself tells us (c), that he had this defect in his memory, that his teachers could never bring him to retain the ordinary rules of grammar; the want of which however he abundantly supplied by an intimate acquaintance with the books themselves, from whence those rules had been drawn. With these extraordinary hopes, he was removed to Trinity-college in Cambridge, being elected a Scholar of that house in 1636 (d). Here the continuance and progress of his wit gained him the love and esteem of the most eminent members of that society. His exercises of all kinds were highly applauded, with this peculiar praise, that they were fit, not only for the obscurity of an academical life, but to have appeared on the true theatre of the world. And here it was that he wrote, or at least laid the designs of most of those masculine works, which he afterwards finished. In 1638, he published his *Love's Riddle* [D], a pastoral comedy, and a Latin comedy intitled

(a) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 120.

(b) Sprat's Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Abraham Cowley, prefixed to his Works, edit. Lond. 1721, 12mo, p. 3.

(c) In his Essay on himself. See his Works, Vol. II. p. 718.

(d) Wood, ubi supra.

[A] His first, and early, inclination to Poetry was occasioned by accidentally reading Spenser's *Fairy Queen*.] This we learn from our poet himself. ' I believe, ' says he (1), I can tell the particular little chance ' that filled my head first with such chimes of verses, ' as have never since left ringing there: for I remem- ' ber when I began to read, and take some pleasure in ' it, there was wont to lye in my mother's parlour (I ' know not by what accident, for she herself never in ' her life read any book but of devotion) but there was ' wont to lye Spenser's Works: this I happened to fall ' upon, and was infinitely delighted with the stories of ' the knights, and giants, and monsters, and brave ' houses, which I found every where (though my ' understanding had little to do with all this) and by ' degrees with the tinkling of the rhyme, and dance ' of the numbers; so that I think I had read him all ' over before I was twelve years old, and was thus ' made a poet as immediately as a child is made an ' eunuch.'

(1) In his Essay on himself. See Mr Cowley's Works, Lond. 1721, 12mo, Vol. II. p. 719.

[B] He published a collection of verses under the title of *Poetical Blossoms*.] They were published at London in 1633 (2), and consequently in Mr Cowley's fifteenth year; so that Dr Sprat is mistaken in saying (3) this book came out in the thirteenth year of his age. It contains among other pieces, *Antonius and Melida*, and *The tragical history of Pyramus and Thisbe*. The first is dedicated to Dr Williams Bishop of Lincoln, and the other to his master Mr Lambert Osbaldeston. Before both is his picture, and his age set over it, viz. 13, but erroneous. There are prefixed some commendatory verses by some of his school fellows; and at the end are two *Elegies*, one on Dudley Lord Carleton, and the other on his kinsman Richard Clerk of Lincoln's-Inn; and *A Dream of Elifium* (&c).

(2) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 120.

(3) Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Abraham Cowley, prefixed to his Works, p. 4.

(4) Wood, ibid.

(5) In his Essay on himself, ubi supra, p. 718.

[C]— In which there were many things that might well become the vigour and force of a manly wit.] Mr Cowley himself has given us (5) a specimen in the latter end of an Ode, written when he was but thirteen years of age. The beginning of it, says he, is boyish, but of this part which I here set down, if a very little were corrected, I should hardly now be much ashamed.

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## IX.

This only grant me, that my means may lye,  
Too low for envy, for contempt too high.

Some honour I would have  
Not from great deeds, but good alone:  
The unknown are better than ill known.  
Rumour can ope' the grave:  
Acquaintance I wou'd have, but when't depends  
Not on the number, but the choice of friends.

## X.

Books shou'd, not business, entertain the light,  
And sleep, as undisturb'd as death, the night:  
My house a cottage, more  
Than palace, and shou'd fitting be  
For all my use, no luxury:  
My garden painted o'er  
With nature's hand, not art's; and pleasures yield,  
Horace might envy in his Sabine field.

## XI.

Thus wou'd I double my life's fading space,  
For he that runs it well, twice runs his race.  
And in this true delight,  
These unbought sports, that happy state,  
I wou'd not fear, nor wish my fate;  
But boldly say each night,  
To-morrow let my sun his beams display,  
Or in clouds hide them, I have liv'd to day.

You may see by it, adds Mr Cowley, I was even then acquainted with the poets, for the conclusion is taken out of Horace; and perhaps it was the immature and immoderate love of them, which stamp'd first, or rather engrav'd, the characters in me: they were like letters cut in the bark of a young tree, which with the tree still grow proportionably.

[D] His *Love's Riddle*.] It was written at the time of his being a King's scholar in Westminster-school.

titled *Naufragium Jocularis* [E], or the *Merry Shipwreck*. The first occasion of his entering into business, was, an *Elegy* he wrote *On the death of Mr William Harvey* [F]; which brought him acquainted with Mr John Harvey, the brother of his deceased friend, from whom he received many offices of kindness thro' the whole course of his life (e). In 1643, being then Master of Arts, he was, among many others, ejected his college and the university; whereupon, retiring to Oxford, he settled in St John's college, and, that same year, under the name of a Scholar of Oxford, published a Satire (f), intituled *The Puritan and the Papist* [G]. His affection to the Royal Cause engaged him in the service of the King, and he was present in several of his Majesty's journies and expeditions. By this means he gained an acquaintance and familiarity with the great men of the Court and the Gown, and particularly had the entire friendship of my Lord Falkland, one of the Principal Secretaries of State. During the heat of the Civil War, he was settled in the family of the Earl of St Alban's [H], and accompanied the Queen-Mother, when she was obliged to retire into France. He was absent from his native country about ten years [I]; which were wholly spent either in bearing a share in the distresses of the Royal Family, or in labouring their affairs. To this purpose he took several dangerous journies into Jersey, Scotland, Flanders, Holland, and elsewhere; and was the principal instrument in maintaining a constant correspondence between the King and his Royal Consort, whose letters he cyphered and decyphered with his own hand (g). His Poems intituled *The Mistress* were published at London in 1647, and his comedy called *The Guardian*, afterwards altered and published under the title of *Cutter of Coleman-Street* [K], in 1650 (b). In 1656 (i), it

(e) Sprat's Account, &c. ubi supra, p. 4, 5.

(f) Wood, ubi supra.

(g) Life, &c. p. 5, 6, 7.

(b) Wood, ib.

(i) Id. ibid.

and dedicated by a Copy of Verses to Sir Kenelm Digby, to whom he thus apologizes for it:

Take it as early fruits, which rare appear,  
Though not half ripe, but worst of all the year;  
And if it please your taste, my muse will say,  
The birch, which crown'd her then, is grown a bay.

(6) Account of the English Dramatic Poets, Oxf. 1691, 8vo, p. 82. Langbain pretends (6), it was first printed with his *Poetical Blossoms*, in 4to, London, 1633, and afterwards printed with the second volume of his works in folio 1681.

[E] *His Latin Comedy, intituled Naufragium Jocularis*] It was acted before the University of Cambridge by the members of Trinity College, February the second, and printed the same year at London, in octavo (7).

(7) Id. ib. p. 86; & Wood, ubi supra, col. 121.

[F] *His Elegy on the death of Mr William Harvey.*] There appears to have been the strictest and most intimate friendship between Mr Cowley and that gentleman (8):

(8) See the Elegy among Mr Cowley's Miscellanies, in Vol. I. p. 20.

He was my friend, the truest friend on earth;  
A strong and mighty influence joyn'd our birth;  
Nor did we envy the most founding name  
By friendship given of old to fame.

Their conversation was chiefly employ'd in the improvement of their minds:

Say, for you saw us, ye immortal lights,  
How oft unwearied have we spent the nights,  
'Till the Lætan stars so fam'd for Love,  
Wonder'd at us from above?  
We spent them not in toys, in lufts, or wine;  
But search of deep philosophy,  
Wit, Eloquence, and Poetry,  
Arts which I lov'd, for they, my friend, were thine.

Mr Cowley tells us, he communicated his poems, as fast as he wrote them, to Mr Harvey, for his approbation:

To him my muse made haste with ev'ry strain,  
Whilst it was new, and warm yet from the brain:  
He lov'd my worthless Rhimes, and like a friend  
Wou'd find out something to commend.

[G] *He publish'd a Satire, intituled The Puritan and the Papist.*] It was printed in one sheet and a half in quarto, and re-published at London in 1682, in quarto, in a book intituled, *Wit and Loyalty revived in a Collection of some smart Satires in verse and prose on the late times.* The writer of the Preface to this book complains, that this Satire of Mr Cowley's was not published by the Editor of his first Collection of Poems, for which he assigns two presumptive reasons. He wonders likewise, that the Poem called *Brutus*, and that upon the Bishop of Lincoln's *Enlargement from*

*the Tower*, which he imagines not to have been written by Mr Cowley (\*), had met with such good fortune as to have a place there (9).

[H] *He was settled in the family of the Earl of St Albans.*] Dr Sprat tells us (10), Mr Cowley was obliged for this settlement to Mr John Harvey, brother of his deceased friend Mr William Harvey (11). But Anthony Wood tells us (12), that, when Mr Cowley came to Paris, he fell into the acquaintance of Dr Stephen Goffe, a brother of the Oratory, by whose means he was placed and preferred in that noble family.

(\*) They are inserted in all the editions of his Works.

(9) Wood, ubi supra.

(10) Life, &c. p. 5.

(11) See the remark [F].

[I] *He was absent from his native country about ten years.*] I assign this space of time for Mr Cowley's absence upon the authority of Mr Wood, who assures us (13), he left Oxford a little before the surrender of that city to the parliament; which being in the year 1646, and Mr Cowley returning in 1656, he could not be absent a longer term; tho' the author of his *Life* pretends he was twelve years abroad.

(12) Ubi supra; and Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 271.

(13) Ubi supra.

[K] *His comedy called The Guardian, afterwards altered and publish'd under the title of Cutter of Coleman-street.*] The *Guardian* was acted before Prince Charles at Trinity College in Cambridge, March the 12th 1641, and printed at London, in 4to, in 1650 (14). Mr Cowley, in the *Preface* to his *Poems* (15), complaining of the publication of some things of his without his consent or knowledge, and those so mangled into imperfect, that he could neither with honour acknowledge, nor with honesty quite disavow them; adds: 'Of which sort was a Comedy called *The Guardian*, made and acted before the Prince, in his passage thro' Cambridge towards York, at the beginning of the late unhappy war; or rather neither made nor acted, but rough-drawn only and repeated: for the haste was so great, that it could neither be revised or perfected by the author, nor learned without book by the Actors, nor set forth in any measure tolerably by the Officers of the College.' This Mr Cowley thought fit to acquaint the Prince with in the Prologue address'd to him (16), which concludes with these lines:

(14) Id. ibid.

(15) Printed after his return into England. See his Works, Vol. I. p. 44.

(16) It is printed together with the Epilogue, among his Miscellanies.

Accept our hasty zeal; a thing that's play'd  
• E'er 'tis a Play, and acted e'er 'tis made.  
Our ignorance, but our duty too we show;  
I would all ignorant people wou'd do so!  
At other times expect our wit and art:  
This comedy is acted by the heart.

And in the Epilogue:

But pow'r your grace can above nature give;  
It can give pow'r to make abortives live:  
In which if our bold wishes shou'd be crost,  
'Tis but the life of one poor week 't has lost:  
Though it shou'd fall beneath your mortal scorn,  
Scarce cou'd it dye more quickly than 'twas born.

• After

it was thought proper by those, on whom Mr Cowley depended, that he should come over into England, and, under pretence of privacy and retirement, should give notice of the posture of affairs in this nation (k). Upon his return, he published a new edition of all his Poems, consisting of four parts; viz. I. *Miscellanies* [L]: II. *The Mistress, or Several Copies of Love-Verses* [M]: III. *Pindarique Odes, written in imitation of the Style and manner of Pindar* [N]: IV. *David's, a sacred Poem of the troubles of David, in four books.*

(17) Preface, ubi supra, p. 44.

‘ After the representation, says our author (17) (which I confess, was somewhat of the latest), I began to look it over, and changed it very much, striking out some whole parts, as that of the *Poet* and the *Soldier*: but I have lost the copy, and dare not think it deserves the pains to write it again, which makes me omit it in this publication, tho’ there be some things in it, which I am not ashamed of, taking the excuse of my age, and small experience in human conversation, when I made it. But, as it is, it is only the hasty first-fitting of a picture, and therefore like to resemble me accordingly.’ This Comedy, Langbaine tells us (18), notwithstanding Mr Cowley’s modest opinion of it, was acted, not only at Cambridge, but several times afterwards privately, during the prohibition of the Stage, and, after the King’s return, publickly at Dublin, and always with applause. It was this, probably, which put the author upon revising it; after which he permitted it to appear publickly upon the Stage, under a new title, as indeed it was in a manner a new Play, calling it *Cutter of Coleman Street*. Under this name, it was acted at his Royal Highness’s theatre, and printed at London in 1663, in 4to. It met with some opposition at first from some, who envied the author’s unshaken loyalty: but afterwards it was acted with universal applause, and was generally esteem’d an excellent Comedy.

(18) Ubi supra, p. 51.

[L] *His Miscellanies.*] ‘ Some of these, says our author (†), were made when I was very young, which it is perhaps superfluous to tell the reader. I know not by what chance I have kept copies of them; for they are but a very few in comparison with those I have lost, and I think have no extraordinary virtue in them, to deserve more care in preservation, than was bestow’d upon their brethren; for which I am so little concern’d, that I am ashamed of the arrogancy of the word, when I said *I had lost them.*’ This Collection consists of *Odes, Elegies, &c.* with some imitations of *Horace* and *Martial*; together with *cleven Anacreontiques*, or paraphrastical imitations of *Anacreon*.

(†) Preface, ubi supra, p. 51.

[M] *His Mistress, or several Copies of Love-verses.*] Let us first hear what our poet himself says of this part of his compositions. ‘ Poets, says he (19), are scarce thought free-men of their company, without paying some duties, and obliging themselves to be true to love. Sooner or later they must all pass through that trial, like some Mahometan Monks, that are bound by their order, once at least in their life, to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

(19) Ibid.

‘ In furias ignemque ruunt, amor omnibus idem.

‘ But we must not always make a judgment of their manners from their writings of this kind, as the Romanists uncharitably do of Beza for a few lascivious Sonnets composed by him in his youth. It is not in this sense that Poésie is said to be a kind of painting: it is not the picture of the poet, but of things and persons imagined by him. He may be in his practice and disposition a philosopher, and yet sometimes speak with the softness of an amorous Sappho.

‘ Feret et rubus asper anomum.

‘ He professes too much the use of fable (though without the malice of deceiving) to have his testimony taken even against himself. Neither would I here be misunderstood, as if I affected so much gravity, as to be ashamed to be thought really in love. On the contrary, I cannot have a good opinion of any man who is not at least capable of being so. But I speak it to excuse some expressions (if such there be) which may happen to offend the severity of supercilious readers: for much excess is to be allowed in love, and even more in poetry, so we avoid the two unpardonable vices in both, which are, obscenity and profaneness, of which, I am sure, if my words be ever guilty, they have ill represented my thoughts

‘ and intentions.’ What opinion Dr Sprat had of Mr Cowley’s *Mistress* appears by the following passage (20). ‘ If there needed any excuse to be made that his Love-verses take up so great a share in his works, it may be alledged, that they were composed when he was very young. But it is a vain thing to make any kind of apology for that sort of writings. If devout or virtuous men will superciliously forbid the minds of the young, to adorn those subjects about which they are most conversant, they would put them out of all capacity of performing graver matters, when they come to them. For the exercises of all mens wits must be always proper for their age, and never too much above it: and by practice and use in lighter arguments they grow up at last to excel in the most weighty. I am not therefore ashamed to commend Mr Cowley’s *Mistress*. I only except one or two expressions, which I wish I could have prevailed with those that had the right of the other edition, to have left out. But of all the rest I dare boldly pronounce, that never yet so much was written on a subject so delicate, that can less offend the severest rules of morality. The whole passion of Love is intimately described, with all it’s mighty train of hopes, and joys, and disquiets. Besides this amorous tenderness, I know not how in every copy there is something of more useful knowledge very naturally and gracefully insinuated, and every where there may be something found, to inform the minds of wise men, as well as to move the hearts of young men or women.

(20) Ibid. p. 16.

[N] *His Pindarique Odes, written in imitation of the style and manner of Pindar.*] The occasion of Mr Cowley’s falling on the Pindaric way of writing, Dr Sprat, tells us (21), was, his accidentally meeting with Pindar’s works, in a place where he had no other books to direct him. Having then consider’d at leisure the height of his invention, and the majesty of his style, he tried immediately to imitate it in English. And he performed it (says my author) without the danger that Horace prefiged to the man who should dare to attempt it. Dr Sprat then vindicates the style and manner of Mr Cowley’s *Pindariques*. ‘ If any, says he, are displeas’d at the boldness of his metaphors, and length of his digressions, they contend not against Mr Cowley, but Pindar himself, who was so much revered by all antiquity, that the place of his birth was preserved as sacred, when his native city was twice destroyed by the fury of two conquerors. If the irregularity of the numbers disgust them, they may observe, that this very thing makes that kind of poetry fit for all manner of subjects; for the pleasant, the grave, the amorous, the heroic, the philosophical, the moral, the divine. Besides this they will find, that the frequent alteration of the rhythm and feet affects the mind with a more various delight, while it is soon apt to be tired by the settled pace of one constant measure. But that, for which I think this inequality of numbers is chiefly to be prefer’d, is, it’s nearer affinity with prose; from which all other kinds of English verse are so far distant, that it is very seldom found, that the same man excels in both ways. But now this loose and unconfined measure has all the grace and harmony of the most confined. And withal it is so large and free, that the practice of it will only exalt, not corrupt, our prose: which is certainly the most useful kind of writing of all others; for it is the style of all business and conversation.’ Mr Cowley himself, speaking of his Pindaric Odes (22), tells us, he is in great doubt whether they will be understood by most readers, nay, even by very many, who are well enough acquainted with the common roads and ordinary tracks of poëtic. *They either are, says he, or at least were meant to be, of that kind of style, which Dion Halicarnassus calls μεγαλοφωνος και ιδιου μετὰ δεινότητος, and which he attributes to Alcaeus. The digressions are many and sudden, and sometimes long, according to the fashion of all Lyriques, and of Pindar above all men living. The figures are unusual and bold,*

(21) Ibid. p. 16.

(22) Preface, ubi supra, p. 52.

even

books [O]. Soon after his return, he was seized on, through a mistake, the search being intended

even to temerity, and such as I durst not have to do without in any other kind of poetry. The numbers are various and irregular, and sometimes (especially some of the long ones) seem harsh and uncouth, if the just measures and cadencies be not observed in the pronunciation. So that almost all their sweetness and numerosity (which is to be found, if I mistake not, in the roughest, if rightly repeated) lies in a manner wholly at the mercy of the reader. Mr Cowley adds: 'I have briefly described the nature of these verses, in the Ode intitled *The Resurrection*: and tho' the liberty of them may incline a man to believe them easy to be composed, yet the undertaker will find it otherwise:

— — — — Ut tibi quivis  
Speret idem, fudet multum, frustra que laboret  
Aufus idem.

The verses our author refers to are these:

Stop, stop, my muse, allay thy vigorous heat  
Kindled at a hint so great.  
Hold thy Pindarique Pegasus closely in,  
Which does to rage begin,  
And this steep hill wou'd gallop up with violent course,  
'Tis an unruly and a hard-mouth'd horse  
Fierce and unbroken yet,  
Impatient of the spur or bit:  
Now prances stately, and anon flies o'er the place,  
'Disdains the servile law of any settled pace,  
Conscious and proud of his own natural force:  
'Twill no unskilful touch endure,  
But flings writer and reader too that fits not sure.

Two of our greatest poets, at the same time that they allow Mr Cowley to have been a very successful Imitator of Pindar, yet find fault with his numbers. Mr Dryden, having told us (23), that our author brought Pindaric verse as near perfection as was possible in so short a time, adds: 'But if I may be allowed to speak my mind modestly, and without injury to his sacred ashes, somewhat of the purity of English, somewhat of more equal thoughts, somewhat of sweetness in the numbers, in one word, somewhat of a finer turn and more Lyrical verse is yet wanting.' And Mr Congreve, having excepted against the irregularity of the measure of the English Pindaric Odes, yet observes (24), that the beauty of Mr Cowley's verses are an atonement for the irregularity of his Stanzas; and that tho' he did not imitate Pindar in the strictness of his numbers, he has very often happily copied him in the force of his figures, and sublimity of his style and sentiments.

[O] His Davideis, a sacred Poem of the troubles of David in four books.] Our poet tells us himself (25), he design'd to have written this poem in twelve books, not for the sake of the twelve tribes, but after the pattern of Virgil, and to have closed it with that most poetical and admirably Elegy of David's on the death of Saul and Jonathan. 'This, says he, was the whole design, in which there are many noble and fertile arguments behind; as, The barbarous Cruelty of Saul to the Priests at Nob, the several flights and escapes of David, with the manner of his living in the wilderness, the Funeral of Samuel, the Love of Abigail, the sacking of Ziklag, the loss and recovery of David's wives from the Amalekites, the witch of Endor, the war with the Philistines, and the Battle of Gilboa; all which I meant to interweave upon several occasions, with most of the illustrious stories of the Old Testament, and to embellish with the most remarkable Antiquities of the Jews, and of other nations before or at that age. But I have had neither leisure hitherto, nor have appetite at present to finish the work, or so much as to revise that part, which is done, with that care, which I resolved to bestow upon it, and which the dignity of the matter deserves.' After displaying the great excellence and dignity of his subject, Mr Cowley complains very pathetically of the great prostitution of poetry to mean and unworthy purposes, and recommends the choice of divine subjects in terms, which, surely, merit the

serious consideration of every son of Apollo. 'It is not without grief and indignation, says he, that I behold that divine Science employing all her inexhaustible riches of wit and eloquence, either in wicked and beggarly flattery of great persons; or the unmanly idolizing of foolish women, or the wretched affectation of scurril laughter, or at best on the confused and antiquated dreams of senseless fables and metamorphoses. Amongst all holy and consecrated things, which the devil ever stole and alienated from the service of the Deity, as, altars, temples, sacrifices, prayers, and the like, there is none that he so universally and so long usurp'd, as Poetry. It is time to recover it out of the tyrant's hands, and to restore it to the kingdom of God, who is the father of it. There wants, methinks, but the conversion of that, and the Jews, for the accomplishment of the kingdom of Christ — I do not wonder, that the old poets made some rich crops out of these grounds (\*); the heart of the soil was not then wrought out with continual tillage: But what can we expect now, who come a gleaner, not after the first reapers, but after the very beggars? Besides, though those mad stories of the Gods and Heroes seem in themselves so ridiculous, yet they were then the whole body (or rather chaos) of the Theology of those times. They were believed by all, but a few Philosophers, and perhaps some Atheists, and served to good purpose among the vulgar (as pitiful things as they are) in strengthening the authority of Law with the terrors of conscience, and expectation of certain rewards and unavoidable punishments. There was no other religion, and therefore that was better than none at all. But to us, who have no need of them, to us who deride their folly, and are wearied with their impertinences, they ought to appear no better arguments for verse, than those of their worthy successors the Knights-errant. What can we imagine more proper for the ornaments of wit and learning in the story of Deucalion, than in that of Noah? Why will not the actions of Sampson afford as plentiful matter as the labours of Hercules? Why is not Jephthah's daughter as good a woman as Iphigenia? and the friendship of David and Jonathan more worthy celebration, than that of Theseus and Pirithous? Does not the passage of Moses and the Israelites into the Holy Land, yield incomparably more poetical variety, than the voyages of Ulysses or Æneas? Are the obsolete thread-bare tales of Thebes and Troy, half so stored with great, heroic, and supernatural actions (since verse will needs find, or make such) as the wars of Joshua, of the Judges, of David, and divers others? Can all the Transformations of the gods give such copious hints to flourish and expatiate on as the true miracles of Christ, or of his Prophets and Apostles? Why do I instance in these few particulars? All the Books of the Bible are either already most admirable and exalted pieces of Poësie, or are the best materials in the world for it.' Mr Cowley's Davideis was written, says Dr Sprat (26), in so young an age, that, if we shall reflect on the vastness of the argument and his manner of handling it, he may seem like one of the miracles, that he there adorns, like a boy attempting Goliath. — This perhaps may be the reason, that in some places there is more youthfulness and redundance of fancy, than his ripper judgment would have allowed. — But for the main of it, I will affirm, that it is a better instance and beginning of a Divine Poem, than ever I yet saw in any language. The contrivance is perfectly antient, which is certainly the true form of heroic poetry, and such as was never yet out-done by any new devices of modern wits. The subject was truly divine, even according to God's own heart. The matter of his invention, all the treasures of knowledge and histories of the Bible. The model of it comprehended all the learning of the East. The characters lofty and various: the numbers firm and powerful: The digressions beautiful and proportionable: The design, to submit mortal wit to heavenly truths. In all there is an admirable mixture of human virtues and passions, with religious raptures. The truth is, adds the Life-writer (27), methinks, in other matters his wit excelled most other mens; but in his Moral and Divine works it out-did itself. And no doubt it proceeded

(\*) The fabulous Stories of Paganism.

(23) Preface to the first Part of Miscellany Poems, Lond. 1716, 12mo, p. 32, 33.

(24) Preface to his Pindarique Ode to the Queen. See his Works, Vol. III. p. 344, 345, edit. Lond. 1716, 12mo.

(25) Preface, ubi supra, p. 53, 54.

(26) Life, &c. p. 18.

(27) Ibid. p. 19.

tended after another gentleman of considerable note in the King's party. The Usurpers would fain have brought over Mr Cowley to their interest, but, all their attempts proving fruitless, he was committed to a severe restraint, and with some difficulty at last obtained his liberty, upon the hard terms of a thousand pounds bail, which burthen Dr Scarborough very honourably took upon himself. Under these bonds he continued till the general redemption; when, taking the opportunity of the confusions that followed upon Cromwell's death, he ventured back into France, and there remained in the same station as before, 'till near the time of the King's return (1). This account is a sufficient vindication (1) *Ibid.*, of Mr Cowley's unshaken loyalty, which some endeavoured to call in question [P]. During his stay in England, he wrote his *Two Books of Plants*, published first in 1662; to which he afterwards added *four books* more; and all six, together with his other Latin Poems, were printed at London in 1678 [Q]. It appears by Mr Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses* (m), that our Poet was created Doctor of Physick at Oxford [R], December 2, 1657. After the King's restoration, Mr Cowley, being then past the fortieth year of his age, the greatest part of which had been spent in a various and tempestuous condition, resolved to pass the

(m) Vol. II.  
col. 120.

'proceeded from this cause, that, in the lighter kinds of poetry, he chiefly represented the humours and affections of others; but in these he sat to himself, and drew the figure of his own mind.' We have the *First Book of the Davideis* translated out of English into very elegant Latin verse by Mr Cowley himself.

[P] Mr Cowley's loyalty was called in question.]

(28) *Life, &c.* p. 3. This, Dr Sprat tells us (28), was occasioned by a few lines in the preface to one of his books. 'The objection, says he, I must not pass by in silence, because it was the only part of his life that was liable to misinterpretation, even by the confession of those that envied his fame. In this case perhaps it were enough to alledge for him to men of moderate minds, that what he there said was published before a book of poetry, and so ought rather to be esteemed as a problem of his fancy and invention, than as a real image of his judgment. But his defence in this matter may be laid on a surer foundation. This is the true reason to be given of his delivering that opinion. Upon his coming over, he found the state of the royal party very desperate. He perceived the strength of their enemies so united, that, 'till it should begin to break within itself, all endeavours against it were like to prove unsuccessful. On the other side, he beheld their zeal for his majesty's cause to be still so active, that it often hurried them into inevitable ruin. He saw this with much grief; and tho' he approved their constancy as much as any man living, yet he found their unseasonable shewing it did only disable themselves, and give their adversaries great advantages of riches and strength by their defeats. He therefore believed that it would be a meritorious service to the king, if any man, who was known to have followed his interest, could insinuate into the usurpers minds that men of his principles were now willing to be quiet, and could persuade the poor oppressed Royalists to conceal their affections for better occasions. And as for his own particular, he was a close prisoner when he writ that against which the exception is made; so that he saw it was impossible for him to pursue the ends for which he came hither, if he did not make for a kind of declaration of his peaceable intentions. This was then his opinion; and the success of the thing seems to prove that it was not very ill grounded. For certainly it was one of the greatest helps to the king's affairs, about the latter end of that tyranny, that many of his best friends dissembled their counsels, and acted the same designs, under the disguises and names of other parties.' This Sir, adds the Life-writer, addressing himself to Mr Martin Clifford, you can testify to have been the innocent occasion of these words, on which so much clamour was raised. Yet seeing his good intentions were so ill interpreted, he told me, the last time that ever I saw him, that he would have them omitted in the next impression, of which his friend Mr Cook is a witness. However, if we should take them in the worst sense, of which they are capable, yet methinks, for his maintaining one false tenet in the political philosophy, he made a sufficient atonement by a continual service of twenty years, by the perpetual loyalty of his discourse, and by many of his other writings, wherein he has largely defended and adorned the royal cause. And, to speak of him not as our friend, but according to the common laws of humanity, certainly that life must needs be very un-

blameable, which had been tried in business of the highest consequence, and practised in the hazardous secrets of Courts and Cabinets; and yet there can nothing disgraceful be produced against it, but only the error of one paragraph, and a single metaphor.

[Q] His *Books of Plants*, and his other *Latin Poems*, &c.] The occasion of his choosing the subject of his six books of *Plants*, Dr Sprat tells us (29), was this. When he returned into England, he was advised to dissemble the main intention of his coming over, under the disguise of applying himself to some settled profession: and that of Physick was thought most proper. To this purpose, after many anatomical dissections, he proceeded to the consideration of Simples; and having furnished himself with books of that nature, he retired into a fruitful part of Kent, where every field and wood might shew him the real figures of those Plants of which he read. Thus he speedily master'd that part of the Art of Medicine. But then, as one of the Antients did before him in the study of the Law, instead of employing his skill for practice and profit, he presently digested it into that form which we behold. The two first books treat of Herbs, in a style resembling the Elegies of Ovid and Tibullus, in the sweetness and freedom of the verse, but excelling them in the strength of the fancy and vigour of the sense. The third and fourth discourse of *Flowers*, in all the variety of Catullus and Horace's numbers: for the last of which authors he had a peculiar reverence, and imitated him, not only in the numerous and stately pace of his Odes and Epodes, but in the familiar easiness of his Epistles and Discourses. The two last speak of *Trees*, in the way of Virgil's Georgicks. Of these the sixth book is wholly dedicated to the honour of his country. For, making the British Oak to preside in the Assembly of the Forest Trees, upon that occasion he enlarges on the history of our late troubles, the King's affliction and return, and the beginning of the Dutch War; and manages all in a style, that (to say all in a word) is equal to the greatness and valour of the English nation. Of Mr Cowley's *Latin Poetry* in general the Life-writer gives this character (30), that in them 'he has express'd to admiration all the numbers of verse, and figures of poeie, that are scattered up and down amongst the antients;' and that 'there is hardly to be found in them any good fashion of speech, or colour of measure, but he has comprehended it, and given instances of it, according as his several arguments required either a majestic spirit, or a passionate, or a pleasant. This (he observes) is the more extraordinary, in that it was never yet performed by any single poet of the antient Romans themselves.'

(29) *Ib.* p. 21.

(30) *Ib.* p. 19.

[R] He was created Doctor of Physick at Oxford] Anthony Wood pretends (31), Mr Cowley had this degree conferr'd upon him by virtue of a *Mandamus* from the then government. 'Afterwards (says he) complying with the men then in power (which was much taken notice of by the Royal party) he obtained an order to be created Doctor of Physick.' Allowing this state of the fact to be true, tho' the Life-writer says not a word of it, Mr Cowley's compliance with the men then in power could only be seemingly such, for the better carrying on the design of his coming over under the pretence of studying Physick.

(31) *Ubi supra.*

the remainder of his life in a studious retirement [S]. At first he was but slenderly provided for such a retreat, by reason of his travels, and the distresses of his party, which had put him quite out of the road of gain. But, upon the settlement of the peace of the nation, he obtained a plentiful estate through the favour of his principal patrons the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of St Albans. Thus furnished for his retreat, he spent the last seven or eight years of his life in his beloved obscurity [T], and possessed that solitude, which from his very childhood he had most passionately desired (n). He chose for the seats of his declining life, two or three villages on the banks of the Thames (o); particularly Chertsey, where he had a lease of a farm held of the Queen (p). This great Poet died [U] at a house called The Porch-house, towards the west end of the town of Chertsey in Surrey, July 28, 1667, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His body, accompanied by a great number of persons of the most eminent quality, was interred, the third of August following, in Westminster-abbey, near the ashes of Chaucer and Spenser, the two most famous English Poets of former times (q). King Charles II was pleased to bestow upon him the best epitaph, when, upon the news of his death, his Majesty declared, that *Mr Cowley had not left a better man behind him in England* (r). A monument was erected to his memory, in May 1675, by George Duke of Buckingham, with a Latin inscription written by his friend Dr Thomas Sprat [W], author of the *Account of Mr Cowley's Life and Writings*, prefixed to his *Works*, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester. Besides Mr Cowley's Works, already

(n) Life, &c. p. 10, 11, 12.

(o) Ibid. p. 12.

(p) Ubi supra.

(q) Life, &c. p. 32, 33; and Wood, ubi supra.

(r) Life, &c. p. 34.

(32) Ibid.

(33) Life, &c. p. 10.

[S] *He resolved to pass the remainder of his life in a studious retirement.*] Anthony Wood (32) ascribes this resolution to disappointment, in not finding that preferment conferred upon him, which he expected, while others for their money carried away most places.

But Dr Sprat (33) represents his retirement as the effect of choice, not of discontent. 'He now thought, says that author, he had sacrificed enough of his life to curiosity and experience. He had enjoyed many excellent occasions of observation. He had been present in many great revolutions, which in that tumultuous time disturb'd the peace of all our neighbour states, as well as our own. He had nearly beheld all the splendor of the highest part of mankind. He had lived in the presence of princes, and familiarly conversed with greatness in all its degrees, which was necessary for one that would condemn it aright: for to scorn the pomp of the world before a man knows it, does commonly proceed rather from ill manners than a true magnanimity. He was now weary of the vexations and formalities of an active condition. He had been perplexed with a long compliance to foreign manners. He was fatiated with the arts of Court; which sort of life, tho' his virtue had made innocent to him, yet nothing could make it quiet. These were the reasons that moved him to forego all publick employments, and to follow the violent inclination of his own mind, which, in the greatest throng of his former business, had still called upon him, and represented to him the true delights of solitary studies, of temperate pleasures, and of a moderate revenue, below the malice and flatteries of fortune.'

[T] *His beloved obscurity.*] Mr Cowley's Works, especially his *Essays in prose and verse*, abound with the praises of solitude and retirement. His three first Essays are on the subjects of *Liberty, Solitude, and Obscurity*; and most of the translations are of such passages of the Classic authors as relate to the pleasures of a country life: particularly, Virgil's *O fortunatos nimium, &c.* Horace's *Beatus ille qui procul, &c.* The same author's *Country Mouse*; Claudian's *Old Man of Verona*; and Martial's *Vitam quæ faciunt beatorem, &c.* To these are subjoined the following epitaph, by the author, on himself, while living.

Epitaphium Vivi Auctoris.  
Hic, O Viator, sub Lare parvulo  
Couleius hic est conditus, hic jacet  
Defunctus humani laboris  
Sorte, supervacuaque vita;  
Non indecora pauperie nitens  
Et non inerti nobilis otio,  
Vanoque dilectis popello  
Divitiis animosus hostis.  
Possis ut illum dicere mortuum,  
En terra jam nunc quantula sufficit!  
Exempta fit curis, viator,  
Terra fit illa levis, precare.

Hic sparge flores, sparge breves rosas,  
Nam vita gaudet mortua floribus;  
Herbifque odoratis corona  
Vatis adhuc cinerem calentem.

[U] *He died.*] His solitude, from the very beginning, had never agreed so well with the constitution of his body, as of his mind. The chief cause of it was, that, out of haste to be gone away from the tumult and noise of the city, he had not prepared so healthful a situation in the country, as he might have done, if he had made his choice more at leisure. Of this he soon began to find the inconvenience at *Barn-elms*, where he was afflicted with a dangerous and lingering fever. After that he scarce ever recovered his former health, tho' his mind was restored to its perfect vigour. Shortly after his removal to *Chertsey*, he fell into another consuming disease. Having languished under this for some months, he seemed to be pretty well cured of its ill symptoms. But, in the heat of the summer, by staying too long amongst his labourers in the meadows, he was taken with a violent defluxion, and stoppage in his breast and throat. This he at first neglected as an ordinary cold, and refused to send for his usual physicians, 'till it was past all remedies; and so, in the end, after a fortnight's sickness, it proved mortal to him (34). 'Who can here forbear exclaim-

(34) Ibid. p. 32.

(35) Ibid.

[W] *An inscription on his monument, written by his friend Dr Thomas Sprat.*] It is this:

Abrahamus Couleius, Anglorum Pindarus, Flaccus, Maro, Deliciae, Decus, Desiderium, ævi sui, hic juxta fitus est.

Aurea dum volitant late tua scripta per orbem,  
Et fama æternum vivis, divine Poeta,  
Hic placida jaceas requie: custodiat urnam  
Cana Fides, vigilantque perenni lampade Musæ.  
Sit facer iste locus, nec quis temerarius ausit  
Sacrilega turbare manu venerabile bustum.  
Intacti maneant, maneant per sæcula, dulcis  
Couleii cineres, serventque immobile saxum.

Sic vovit, votumque suum apud posteros sacratum esse voluit, qui viro incomparabili posuit sepulchrale marmor *Georgius Dux Buckinghamiæ*.

Excessit e vita anno ætatis suæ 49, et honorifica pompa elatus ex ædibus Buckinghamianis, viris illustribus omnium ordinum excquias celebrantibus, sepultus est die 3 M. Augusti, Anno Domini 1667.

[X] A

already mentioned, we have by the same hand, *A Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy* [X]; *A Discourse by way of Vision concerning the government of Oliver Cromwell* [Y]; and *Several Discourses by way of Essays in prose and verse* [Z]. Mr Cowley had designed also a *Discourse concerning Style* [AA], and a *Review of the principles of the primitive Christian Church* [BB], but was prevented by death (s). A spurious piece, intituled *The Iron Age*, was published under Mr Cowley's name [CC], during his absence; and, in Mr Dryden's *Miscellany Poems* (t), we find *A Poem on the Civil War*, said to be written by our author [DD], but not extant in any edition of his works. Dr Sprat

mentions,

[X] A Proposition for the advancement of Experimental Philosophy.] It is by a College, consisting of Professors, Scholurs, Chaplains, and other officers. Their business, to use Mr Cowley's own words (36), should be, *to study the improvement and advantage of all other professions, from that of the highest General, even to the lowest artisan—to employ their whole time, wit, learning, and industry, to these four, the most useful that can be imagined, and to no other ends: First, to weigh, examine, and prove, all things of nature delivered to us by former ages; to detect, explode, and strike a censure thro' all false monies, with which the world has been paid and cheated so long, and, as I may say, to set the mark of the college upon all true coins, that they may pass hereafter without any farther tryal: Secondly, to recover the lost inventions, and, as it were, droron'd lands of the antients: Thirdly, to improve all arts, which we now have; and lastly, to discover others, which we yet have not.*

[Y] A Discourse by way of Vision concerning the government of Oliver Cromwell.] Our author, having been a spectator of Cromwell's funeral procession (which, to his thinking, somewhat represented the life of him for whom it was made: much noise, much tumult, much expence, much magnificence, much vain-glory; briefly a great show, and yet, after all this, but an ill sight); tell us, he was rocked asleep by the different motions and agitations of his mind, and at last fell into this vision. He finds himself on the top of a famous hill in the island of Mona, from whence he had a prospect of Great Britain and Ireland. After some melancholy reflections, and a poetical complaint of the present unhappy condition of these kingdoms, he is interrupted by a strange and terrible apparition of the figure of a man, rising out of the earth, taller than any giant. This phantom, which is there described at length, calls himself the *North-West Principality*, and *Protector* of the *Common-wealth* of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and undertakes the defence of Cromwell's character and government, against the severe censures and keen invectives of the author, who represents both in the blackest and most detestable colours. At last, the Evil Angel's fury being raised, the author is in great danger, but is preserved by the descent of a good Angel, the poetical description of which concludes the vision.

[Z] Several Discourses, by way of Essays, in prose and verse.] These, which are upon some of the gravest subjects that concern the contentment of a virtuous mind, he intended, Dr Sprat tells us (37), as a real character of his own thoughts upon the point of his retiring (38). Accordingly, it is observable, that, in the prose of them, there is little curiosity of ornament; but they are written in a lower and humbler style than the rest, and, as an unfeigned image of the soul should be drawn, without flattery. He designed to have added many others to them, and to have dedicated them all to the Earl of St Alban's, as a testimony of his entire respects to him, and a kind of apology for having left human affairs in the strength of his age, while he might still have been serviceable to his country.

[AA] He designed A Discourse concerning Style.] In this he had designed to give an account of the proper sorts of writing, that were fit for all manner of arguments; to compare the perfections and imperfections of the authors of antiquity with those of the moderns; and to accommodate the whole to the particular use of the English Genius and Language (39). This subject, adds Dr Sprat, he was very fit to perform, it being most proper for him to be the judge, who had been the best prauser. But he scarce lived to draw the first lines of it. All the footsteps that I can find remaining of it, are only some indigested characters of antient and modern authors. And now for the future, I almost despair ever to see it well accomplish'd.

[BB]—and a Review of the principles of the primitive Christian Church.] Tho' Mr Cowley was in his practice exactly obedient to the usages and precepts of the Church of England, nor was inclined to any uncertainty and doubt, as abhorring all contention in indifferent things, and much more in sacred; yet, beholding the divisions of Christendom, and observing how many controversies had been introduced by zeal and ignorance, and continued by faction; he had therefore an earnest intention, for the establishing his own mind in the faith he profes'd, to look back to the original principles of the primitive Church; believing that every true Christian had no better means to settle his spirit, than that which was proposed to Æneas and his followers, to be the end of their wanderings, *Antiquam exquirite matrem*. This examination he purposed should reach to our Saviour's and the Apostles lives, and their immediate successors, for four or five Centuries, till interest and policy prevailed over Devotion. He hoped to have absolutely compassed it in three or four years, and, when that was done, there to have fixed for ever, without any shaking or alteration in his judgment (40). 'Indeed, adds

[CC] A spurious piece, intituled *The Iron Age*, was published under Mr Cowley's name.] He speaks of it himself (41), with some asperity and concern. 'I wonderd, says he, how one, who could be so foolish to write such ill verses, should yet be so wise to set them forth as another man's rather than his own; though perhaps he might have made a better choice, and not father'd the bastard upon such a person, whose stock of reputation is, I fear, little enough for maintenance of his own numerous legitimate off-spring of that kind. It would have been much less injurious, if it had pleased the author to put forth some of my writings under his own name, rather than his own under mine. He had been in that a more pardonable Plagiary, and had done less wrong by robbery, than he does by such a bounty: for no body can be justified by the imputation even of another's merit: our own coarse cloaths are like to become us better than those of another man, tho' never so rich. But these, to say the truth, were so beggarly, that I myself was ashamed to wear them. It was in vain for me, that I avoided censure by the concealment of my own writings, if my reputation could be thus executed in effigy; and impossible it is for any good name to be safe, if the malice of witches have the power to consume and destroy it in an image of their own making. This indeed was so ill made, and so unlike, that I hope the charm took no effect.'

[DD] A Poem on the Civil War, said to be written by our author.] It was printed, first, at London, in *quarto*, in 1679 (42). The publisher tells us (43), that, meeting accidentally with this poem in manuscript, and being informed that it was a piece of the incomparable Mr Abraham Cowley's, he thought it unjust to hide such a treasure from the world. 'I remembered, says he, that our author, in the Preface to his Works, makes mention of some poems, written by him on the late Civil Wars, of which the following is unquestionably a part. In his most imperfect and unfinished pieces you will discover the hand of so great a master. And (whatever his own modesty might have advised to the contrary) there is not one careless stroke of his, but what should be kept sacred to all posterity. He could

(s) Ib. p. 30, 31.

(t) P. iii. p. 225, edit. 1716.

(40) Ibid. p. 31.

(41) In the Preface to his Poems. See his Works, Vol. I.

(42) Wood, ubi supra.

(43) In the Pref.

(36) Works, &c. Vol. II. p. 577.

(37) Life, &c. p. 24.

(38) See the remark [Y].

(39) Life, &c. p. 30.

(u) Life, &c.  
p. 23.

mentions, as very excellent in their kind, Mr Cowley's *Letters to his private friends* [EE], none of which were published (u). That author gives us a most advantageous character of Mr Cowley, both as a man [FF], and as a Poet [GG]. Mr Addison has celebrated his praises with a mixture of blame [HH]. Sir John Denham has given us a fine copy of verses

' could write nothing that was not worth the preferring, being habitually a poet, and always inspired. In this piece the judicious reader will find the turn of verse to be his; the same copious and lively imagery of fancy, the same warmth of passion, and delicacy of wit, that sparkles in all his writings. And certainly no labour of a Genius so rich in itself, and so cultivated with learning and manners, can prove an unwelcome present to the World.' The passage of Mr Cowley's Preface, here pointed at, is this. ' I have cast away all such pieces as I wrote during the time of the late troubles, with any relation to the differences that caused them; as among others, *Three Books of the Civil War* itself, reaching as far as the first Battle of Newbury, where the succeeding misfortunes of the party stopped the work.'

[EE] *His Letters to his private friends.*] Let us hear Dr Sprat. ' In these he always expressed the native tenderness and innocent gaiety of his mind. I think, Sir (\*), you and I have the greatest collection of this fort. But I know you agree with me, that *nothing of this nature should be published*: and herein you have always consented to approve the modest judgment of our countrymen, above the practice of some of our neighbours, and chiefly of the French. I make no manner of question, but the English, *at this time*, are infinitely improved this way, above the skill of former ages, nay of all the countries round about us, that pretend to greater eloquence. Yet they have been always judiciously sparing in printing such compositions, while some other witty nations have tired all their presses, and readers, with them. The truth is, the letters that pass between particular friends, if they are written as they ought to be, can scarce ever be fit to see the light. They should not consist of fulsome compliments, or tedious politicks, or elaborate elegancies, or general fancies: but they should have a native clearness and shortness, a domestic plainness, and a peculiar kind of familiarity; which can only affect the humour of those for whom they were intended. The very same passages which make writings of this nature delightful among friends, will lose all manner of taste, when they come to be read by those that are indifferent. In such letters the souls of men should appear undressed: and in that negligent habit they may be fit to be seen by one or two in a chamber, but not to go abroad into the streets (44).'

[FF] *His character, as a man*] He had a perfect natural goodness, which neither the uncertainties of his condition, nor the largeness of his wit could pervert. Nothing vain or fantastical, nothing flattering or insolent, appeared in his humour. Nor was there any thing affected or singular in his habit, or person, or gesture. He understood the forms of good breeding enough to practise them, without burthening himself or others. He never had any emulation for fame, or contention for profit, with any man. His modesty and humility were so great, that, if he had not had many other equal virtues, they might have been thought dissimulation. His conversation was such, as was rather admired by his familiar friends, than by strangers at first sight. In his speech, neither the pleasantness excluded gravity, nor was the sobriety of it inconsistent with delight. He governed his passions with great moderation. Whatever he disliked in others, he only corrected it by the silent reproof of a better practice. His wit was so tempered, that no man had ever reason to wish it had been less. He never willingly recited any of his writings; and none but his intimate friends ever discovered he was a great poet by his discourse. His learning was large and profound, and sat exceeding close and handsome upon him: it was not embossed on his mind, but enamelled. He never guided his life by the whispers, or opinions of the world. He was a passionate lover of liberty, and freedom from restraint both in actions and words: But what honesty others receive from the direction of laws, he had by native inclination. He performed all his natural and civil duties with admirable tenderness. His friendships were

inviolable: his thoughts never above nor below his condition. In a word, he was accomplished with all manner of abilities, for the greatest business, if he would but have thought so himself (45).

[GG] —as a Poet.] In all the several shapes of his style, there is very much of the likeness and impression of the same mind; the same unaffected modesty, and natural freedom, and easy vigour, and chearful passions, and innocent mirth, which appeared in all his manners. If he was not wonderfully curious in the choice and elegance of his words, on the other side he had no manner of affectation in them, but took them as he found them made to his hands. If his verses in some places seem not as soft and flowing, as some would have them, it was his choice, not his fault. Where the matter required it, he was as gentle as any man; but where higher virtues were chiefly to be regarded, an exact numerosity was not then his main care. He had a perfect mastery in both the languages in which he writ, and excelled both in prose and verse. Tho' his fancy flowed with great speed, he never runs his reader, nor his argument, out of breath, but always leaves off in such a manner, that it appears it was in his power to have said more. His invention is powerful, but seems all to arise out of the nature of the subject, and to be just fitted for the thing of which he speaks. The variety of arguments that he has managed is so large, that there is scarce any particular of the passions of men, or works of nature and providence, which he has passed by undescribed: yet to all these matters, so wide asunder, he still proportions a due figure of speech, and a proper measure of wit (46). Whether Mr Cowley's works have been always viewed in the same favourable light, will be seen in the following remark.

[HH] Mr Addison celebrates his praises with a mixture of blame.] It is in his *Account of the greatest English Poets*, addressed to Mr Henry Sacheverell, April 3, 1694 (47). The Lines are these.

Great Cowley then, a mighty Genius, wrote,  
O'rerun with wit, and lavish of his thought:  
His turns too closely on the reader press;  
He more had pleased us, had he pleased us less.  
One glittering thought no sooner strikes our eyes  
With silent wonder, but new wonders rise;  
As in the milky way a shining white  
O'reflows the heav'ns with one continued light;  
That not a single star can shew his rays,  
Whilst jointly all promote the common blaze.  
Pardon, great poet, that I dare to name  
Th' unnumbered beauties of thy verse with blame.  
Thy fault is only wit in it's excess;  
But wit like thine in any shape will please.  
What Muse but thine can equal hints inspire,  
And fit the deep-mouthed Pindar to thy lyre?  
Pindar, whom others in a labour'd strain,  
And forc'd expressions, imitate in vain.  
Well-pleas'd in thee he soars with new delight,  
And plays in more unbounded verse, and takes a  
nobler flight.  
Blest man! whose spotless life and charming lays  
Employ'd the tuneful prelate in thy praise.  
Blest man! who now shall be for ever known  
In Sprat's successful labours and thy own.

In one of the notes on this author's translations from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (48), we have the following account of the nature of *mixed wit*, of which OVID, he tells us, among the antients, was the greatest admirer, as our COWLEY was among the moderns. ' Mr Locke, in his *Essay of Human Understanding*, has given us the best account of wit in short that can any where be met with. *Wit*, says he, *lies in the assemblage of Ideas, and putting those together with quickness and variety,*

(45) Ibid. p. 36,  
37, 38.

(46) Ibid. p. 13,  
14, 15.

(47) See Mr Addison's Works, edit. 12mo, 1726, Vol. I. p. 35.

(\*) Addressing himself to Mr Clifford.

(44) Life, &c.  
p. 23, 24.

(48) Ib. p. 248.

verses on his death and burial among the antient Poets [II]; and Mr Pope has paid the tribute of verse to his memory, in his *Windfor-Forest* [KK].

' variety, wherein can be found any resemblance or congruity, thereby to make up pleasant pictures and agreeable visions in the fancy. Thus does true wit, as this incomparable author observes, consist in the likeness of Ideas, and is more or less wit, as this likeness is more surprizing and unexpected. But as true wit is nothing else but a similitude in Ideas, so is false wit the similitude in words, whether it lyes in the likeness of letters only, as in anagram and acrostic; or of syllables, as in Doggrel rhimes; or whole words, as Puns, Eccho's, and the like. Besides these two kinds of false and true wit, there is another of a middle nature, that has something of both in it: when in two Ideas, that have some resemblance with each other, and are both express'd by the same word, we make use of the ambiguity of the word, to speak that of one Idea included under it, which is proper to the other. Thus, for example, most languages have hit on the word which properly signifies *Fire*, to express *Love* by, (and therefore we may be sure there is some resemblance in the Ideas mankind have of them); from hence the witty poets of all languages, when they have once called Love a Fire, consider it no longer as the passion, but speak of it under the notion of a real fire, and, as the turn of wit requires, make the same word in the same sentence stand for either of the ideas that is annexed to it. When Ovid's Apollo falls in love, he burns with a new flame; when the Sea-nymphs languish with this passion, they kindle in the water: the Greek Epigrammatist fell in love with one that stung a snow-ball at him, and therefore takes occasion to admire how fire could be thus concealed in snow. In short whenever the poet feels any thing in his love that resembles something in fire, he carries on this agreement into a kind of allegory: but if, as in the preceding instances, he finds any circumstances in his love contrary to the nature of fire, he call his love a fire, and by joining this circumstance to it, surprizes his reader with a seeming contradiction.'

Mr Addison tells us elsewhere (49), that this sort of wit abounds in *Cowley*, more than in any other author that ever wrote; and he gives us some examples of it, all borrowed from our Poet's *Mistress*. He remarks, that 'Cowley, observing the cold regard of his mistress's eyes, and at the same time their power of producing love in him, considers them as burning-glasses made of ice; and finding himself able to live in the greatest extremities of love, concludes the torrid zone to be habitable. When his mistress has read his letter written in juice of lemon, by holding it to the fire, he desires her to read it over a second time by love's flames. When she weeps, he wishes it were inward heat that distilled those drops from the Limbeck. When she is absent, he is beyond eighty, that is, thirty degrees nearer the pole, than when she is with him. His ambitious love is a fire, that naturally mounts upwards; his happy love is the beams of heaven, and his unhappy love flames of hell. When it does not let him sleep, it is a flame, that sends up no smoke: when it is opposed by counsel and advice, it is a fire, that rages the more by the wind's blowing upon it. Upon the dying of a tree, in which he had cut his loves, he observes, that his written flames had burnt up and withered the tree. When he resolves to give over his passion, he tell us, that one burnt like him for ever dreads the fire. His heart is an *Ætna*, that instead of Vulcan's shop incloses Cupid's forge in it. His endeavouring to

drown his love in wine, is throwing oil upon the fire. He would insinuate to his mistress, that the fire of love, like that of the sun (which produces so many living creatures) should not only warm, but beget. Love, in another place, cooks pleasure at his fire. Sometimes the poet's heart is frozen in every breast, and sometimes scorched in every eye. Sometimes he is drowned in tears, and burnt in love, like a ship set on fire in the middle of the sea.' The reader may observe, concludes Mr Addison, in every one of these instances, that the poet mixes the qualities of fire with those of love; and in the same sentence speaking of it both as a passion and as a real fire, surprizes the reader with these seeming resemblances or contradictions, that make up all the wit in this kind of writing. He acknowledges however, that the poet, out of whom he had taken these examples of mixed wit, had as much true wit as any author that ever writ, and indeed all other talents of an extraordinary genius.

[II] Sir John Denham's verses on Mr Cowley's death and burial among the antient poets.] They contain the following Elegy on our bard (50):

(50) Denham's Poems, p. 90.

Old mother wit, and nature gave  
Shakefpear and Fletcher all they have;  
In Spenser and in Johnson, Art  
Of slower nature got the start.  
But both in him so equal are,  
None knows which bears the happiest share.  
To him no author was unknown,  
Yet what he wrote was all his own:  
He melted not the antient gold,  
Nor, with Ben Johnson, did make bold  
To plunder all the Roman stores  
Of Poets and of Orators.  
Horace's wit, and Virgil's state  
He did not steal, but emulate;  
And when he wou'd like them appear,  
Their garb, but not their cloaths, did wear.  
He not from Rome alone, but Greece,  
Like Jason, brought the Golden Fleece.  
On a stiff gale (as Flaccus sings)  
The Theban Swan extends his wings,  
When thro' th' ætherial clouds he flies:  
To the same pitch our Swan doth rise;  
Old Pindar's flights by him new reach'd,  
When on that gale his wings are stretch'd.

[KK] Mr Pope has paid the tribute of verse to his memory, in his *Windfor-Forest*.] The lines are these (51):

Here his first Lays majestic Denham sung;  
There the last numbers flow'd from Cowley's  
tongue (||).  
O early lost! what tears the river shed,  
When the sad pomp along his banks was led!  
His drooping swans on ev'ry note expire,  
And on his willows hung each Muse's lyre.  
Since fate relentless stopp'd their heav'nly voice,  
No more the forests ring, or groves rejoice.  
Who now shall charm the shades, where Cowley strung  
His living harp, and lofty Denham sung?

(51) Pope's Works, 12mo edit. 1736, Vol. I. p. 78.

(||) Mr Cowley died at Chertsey on the borders of the forest.

T

COX (RICHARD) a learned Bishop in the XVth century, was born at Whaddon in Buckinghamshire, of mean parentage (a), in the year 1499 (b). He had, probably, his first education in the small priory of Snellshall in the parish of Whaddon: But being afterwards sent to Eaton-school, he was thence elected into a scholarship at King's-college in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow in the year 1519 (c). Having the same year taken his Bachelor of Arts degree, and being eminent for his piety and learning, he was one of those bright Scholars, who were invited to Oxford by Cardinal Wolfey, to fill up his new foundation (d). He was accordingly preferred to be one of the Junior Canons of

(a) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Lond. 1730, Vol. II. p. 359. among the Bishops of Ely.

(b) List of Bishop Cox, by S. Downes; prefixed to Sparrow's Rationale, p. cxv. Buckinghamsh.

(c) Willis, as above; and Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 203. He was admitted in King's-college in 1518. Fuller's Worthies, in p. 151.

(d) Downes, ubi supra; and Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 40.

(e) Wood, Athen. ubi supra; now swallowed up into Christ-church.

(f) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 40.

(g) Idem, Ath. col. 203.

(b) Downes, as above, p. cxv. cxvi.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(l) Willis, as above, p. 374.

(m) Ibid. p. 376.

(n) Ibid. p. 248.

(o) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 68, 70.

(p) Willis, ubi supra, p. 403.

(q) Wood, Ath. col. 203; & Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 253. He was made Dean of Christ-Church, Nov. 4.

(r) Downes, ubi supra, p. cxvi.

(s) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 71. He held it till the year 1552.

(t) Idem, Athen. col. 203.

(u) Idem, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 269, 270, &c.

(w) Downes, ubi supra, p. cxvii.

(x) Downes, ibid.

Cardinal-college (e); and on the 7th of December, 1525, incorporated Bachelor of Arts at Oxford, as he stood at Cambridge (f). Soon after, performing his exercises, he was, on the 8th of February following, licensed to proceed in Arts, in which he took the degree of Master, July 2, 1526 (g). He was reputed one of the greatest scholars of his age; and his poetical compositions were in great esteem among the best judges. His piety and virtue were not inferior to his learning, and commanded the respect of all impartial persons. But shewing himself averse to many of the Popish superstitions, and declaring freely for some of Luther's opinions, he incurred the displeasure of the Governors of the university, who stripped him of his preferment, and threw him into prison on suspicion of heresy (b). When he was released from his confinement, he left Oxford; and, some time after, was chosen Master of Eaton-school, which was observed remarkably to flourish under his vigilant and industrious care (i). In 1537, he commenced Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge (k). And on the 4th of December, 1540, was made Archdeacon of Ely (l): as he was also appointed in 1541, the first Prebendary in the first stall of the same cathedral, upon the new founding of it by King Henry VIII, on the 10th of September 1541 (m). He was likewise, the 3d of June 1542, presented by the same King to the prebend of Sutton with Buckingham in the church of Lincoln, and installed the 11th of that month. But this he surrendered up in 1547 (n). In the year 1543, he supplicated the university of Oxford, that he might take place among the Doctors of Divinity there, which was unusual, because he was not then incorporated into that university, as Doctor in Divinity; nor was he so till June 1545 (o). When a design was formed, of converting the collegiate church of Southwell into a bishoprick [A], Dr Cox was nominated Bishop of it (p). On the 8th of January 1543-4, he was made the second Dean of the new-erected cathedral of Osney near Oxford; and in 1546, when that See was translated to Christ-Church, he was also made Dean there (q). These promotions he obtained by the interest of Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Goodrich, to the last of whom he had been Chaplain: And, by their recommendation, he was chosen Tutor to the young Prince Edward, whom he instructed with great care in the true principles of religion, and formed his tender mind to an early sense of his duty, both as a Christian and a King (r). On that Prince's accession to the throne, he became a great favourite at Court, and was made a Privy-Counsellor, and the King's Almoner [B]. The 21st of May 1547, he was elected Chancellor of the university of Oxford (s); installed July 16, 1548, Canon of Windsor; and, the next year, made Dean of Westminster (t). About the same time he was appointed one of the Commissioners to visit the university of Oxon (u), in which he is accused of having much abused his commission [C]. In 1550, he was ordered to go down into Suffex, and endeavour, by his learned and affecting sermons, to quiet the minds of the people, who had been disturbed by the factious preaching of Day Bishop of Chichester, a violent Papist (w). And when the noble design of reforming the Canon Law was in agitation, he was appointed one of the Commissioners. Both in this and the former reign, when an act passed for giving all chantries, colleges, &c. to the King, through Dr Cox's powerful intercession, the colleges in both universities were excepted out of that act (x). Soon after Queen Mary's accession to the Crown, he was stripped of his preferments; and on the 15th of August 1553, committed to the Marshalsea. He was indeed soon discharged from this confinement (y); but foreseeing the inhuman persecution likely to ensue, he resolved to quit the realm, and withdraw to some place, where he might enjoy the free exercise of his religion, according to the form established in the reign of King Edward (z). He went first to Straßburgh in Germany, where he heard with great concern of the rash proceedings of some of the English exiles at Franckfort (a), who had thrown aside the English Liturgy, and set up a form of their own, framed after the French and Geneva models [D]. On the 13th of March 1555, he came to Franckford in order

(y) Wood, Ath. ubi supra. He says, the Dr was discharged 19 Aug. 1559, instead of 1553 or 1554.

(z) Downes, as above, p. cxvii.

(a) A brief Discourse of the troubles begonne at Franckford, Anno Domini 1554. Printed in 1575, 4to, p. vi, vii.

[A] When a design was formed, of converting the Collegiate Church of Southwell into a Bishoprick, &c.] For, after the dissolution of the Monasteries, besides the six new erected Bishopricks of Oxford, Peterburgh, Gloucester, Bristol, Chester, and Westminster, the King intended to have erected new Bishopricks; at Dunstable in Bedfordshire, with 1140 l. 5 d. yearly revenue; Colchester in Essex with 1003 l. 5 d; Shrewsbury in the County of Salop; Bodmin with Launceston in Cornwall; and Southwell in Nottinghamshire. But, either the King's luxury and extravagance, or the greediness of his courtiers, swallowed up the revenues wherewith they were to be endowed (1).

[B] And the King's Almoner] This office was granted him *durante beneplacito*, during the King's pleasure: And he had afterwards a further grant made him, of all the Goods and Chattels of Felons, as well within liberties as without, for the augmentation of the King's alms. *In augmentationem Eleemosynæ suæ, omnia Bona & Catalla Felonum de se tam infra Libertates quam extra, infra Regnum Angliæ habend. quamdiu in Officio prædicit. steterit* (2).

[C] In which he is accused of having much abused his commission] For he, and the rest of the commissioners, made a dreadful havock among the Libraries; destroying, burning, or selling for the vilest uses, all the illuminated books, such as had in them mathematical figures or other diagrams, under pretence that they tended to Popery or Conjuraton: And also books of School-Divinity; and, in general, sparing very few that had been composed by Roman-Catholic authors (3).

[D] Set up a form of their own, framed after the French and Geneva models]. Of which we have this account, 'After having perused the English Liturgy, it was concluded amongst them, That the answering aloud after the Minister should not be used; the litany, surplice, and many other things also omitted, because in the reformed Churches abroad such things would seem more than strange. It was farther agreed upon, that the Minister, in the room of the English Confession, should use another, both of more effect, and also framed according to the state and time. And the same ended, the people to sing a psalm

(3). See Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 271, 272, and l. ii. p. 50; and Catalogue of MSS. in England and Ireland, fol. 1697.

(1) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. II. p. 402, 403, in Oxford.

(2) Dyer's Reports, fol. 77.

(b) *Ib.* p. xxxvii. to oppose this innovation, and to have the Common-Prayer-Book settled among the English congregation there (b), which he had the satisfaction to accomplish [E]. Then he returned to Straßburgh for the sake of conversing with Peter Martyr, with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship at Oxford, and whom he loved and honoured for his great learning and moderation (c). After the death of Queen Mary he returned to England; and was one of those Divines who were appointed to revise the Liturgy (d). And when a disputation was to be held at Westminster between eight Papists and eight of the Reformed Clergy, he was the chief champion on the Protestants side (e). He preached often before Queen Elizabeth in Lent; and, in his sermon at the opening of her first Parliament (f), exhorted them in most affecting terms, to restore religion to its primitive purity, and banish all the Popish innovations and corruptions. These excellent discourses, and the great zeal he had shewn in support of the English Liturgy at Franck-

(c) Fox's Act. and Monuments, in beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, P. ii. 2d edit. p. 388. Strype's Ann. of the Reformat. Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 87, &c. See COLE (HENRY).

(f) Stow's Annals, edit. 1631, p. 636.

\* psalm in metre in a plain tune, as was and is accustomed in the French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Scottish Churches: that done, the Minister to pray for the assistance of God's holy Spirit, and so to proceed to the Sermon. After the sermon, a general prayer for all estates, and for England, was also devised: at the end of which prayer was joined the Lord's prayer, and a rehearsal of the Articles of the belief; which ended, the people to sing another psalm as afore. Then the Minister pronouncing this blessing, 'The peace of God &c. or some other of like effect, the people to depart. And as touching the ministrations of the Sacraments, sundry things were also by common consent omitted, as superstitious and superfluous (4).'

[E] Which he had the satisfaction to accomplish.] The particulars of these remarkable transactions, were as follow. After the settling of the Form and Discipline mentioned in the last note, the Exiles advertised their dispersed countrymen at Straßburgh, Zurich, Weisfel, Emden, &c. of the singular benefit they enjoyed, of having a Church granted them, and endeavoured to persuade them, to come and joyn with them. Those at Straßburgh answered, That they had considered the contents of their letter, and perceiv'd the effect of it was, to have one or two take the chief government of the congregation. And in case they could get Dr Poinet, Mr Scory, Dr Bale, or Dr Cox, or two of them, they should be well provided; if not, they would appoint one at Straßburgh, and another should come from Zurich. Accordingly Mr Grindall writ to Mr Scory at Emden, to desire him to accept of the office; but before his answer came, the congregation had chosen Mr Knox, Haddon, and Lever, for their Ministers: not liking to have any Superintendent, as those at Straßburgh propos'd, but to be governed by two or three Ministers of equal authority (5). In the mean

time, several members of the congregation were for retaining the English Liturgy, and did not approve of the Form set down in the last Note. This occasioning very great contention, it was at length agreed, on the 6th of February 1557, That another Form should be drawn up out of the English Liturgy with some additions, to be used till the last day of April following. But Dr Cox, and some others coming to Franckford on the 13th of March, resolv'd to stand up for the English Liturgy. Accordingly, they answered aloud after the Minister; for which being reprov'd by the Seniors of the Congregation, they made answer, That they would do as they had done in England, and would have the face of an English Church. And, the Sunday following, one of Dr Cox's company going up into the pulpit without the consent of the congregation, read the Litany, whilst Dr Cox and his company made the responses aloud. The same Sunday in the afternoon, Knox preaching, and reflecting upon those proceedings, was by Dr Cox sharply rebuked for it. The Tuesday following was appointed to talk of those things more at large. When they were assembled, request was made, that Dr Cox and his company should be admitted to have votes in the congregation. The others answered, That matters still in dispute amongst them ought first to be determined; and Dr Cox and his friends subscribe to the Discipline, as the rest had done, before they were admitted into the congregation (6). Knox at last began to make intreaty, that they might have votes among the rest: to which some yielding, the majority came thereby to be on their side, and they were accordingly admitted. But im-

mediately after, Dr Cox forbid Mr Knox to meddle any more in that congregation (7). The next day, complaint of this being made to one of the Magistrates, he ordered, That two on each side should consult and agree upon some good order for divine service, and make report of it to him. For that purpose, Dr Cox and Mr Lever were chosen on one side, and Mr Knox and Whittingham on the other. But, when they came to a Conference, before they had gone through the Morning service (Dr Cox being very earnest for restoring the Liturgy, and the others as violent against it) they parted without coming to an agreement. The Puritans thereupon addressed the Senate, highly complaining of the others for endeavouring to force the English Liturgy upon them; and so far prevailed, that the Magistrates ordered the Congregation to agree with the French Church both in Doctrine and Ceremonies. Dr Cox not being able to withstand the torrent, said, 'He had read the French order, and thought it to be both good and godly in all points, and therefore desired the congregation to obey the Magistrates commandment.' Requesting the magistrate at the same time, to shew unto him and his friends, his accustomed favour and goodness, notwithstanding their ill behaviour. Nevertheless, these did not rest here; but seeing that Knox was in great credit with many of the congregation, they accused him to the Senate of high treason against the Emperor, his Son, and Queen Mary, on account of some virulent expressions of his against those Princes, in a book intituled *An Admonition to Christians*. Whereupon, the Senators commanded he should preach no more till their pleasure were farther known; and soon after ordered him to depart the city of Franckford (8). The 26th of March, Dr Cox and his friends presented a petition to the Magistrates, subscribed by three Doctors, thirteen Bachelors of Divinity, and others, for the full use of the English Liturgy; which accordingly was established. When Whittingham was acquainted with it, he said, he did not doubt, but it might be lawful for him and others to join themselves to some other church. But Dr Cox desired that it might not be suffered. Whereunto Whittingham answered, that it would be too great cruelty to force men, contrary to their consciences, to obey all their disorderly proceedings; offering, if the magistrate would be pleased to give them the hearing, to dispute the matter against all the contrary party, and prove, that the order which they sought to establish, ought not to take place in any reformed Church: But herein they were not indulged. The 28th of March, Dr Cox assembled all the English Clergy to his lodgings, and having declared to them, how the Magistrates had granted them the use of the English Liturgy, he said, That he thought it requisite they should consult together, whom they thought fittest to be Bishop, Superintendent, or Pastor, with the rest of the officers, as Seniors, Ministers, and Deacons (9). When that was settled, Dr Cox proceeded to form a kind of University, and appointed a Greek, and a Hebrew Lecturer, a Divinity-Professor, and a Treasurer for the contributions remitted from England (10). The Puritans offered, as their last refuge, to refer the whole matter to four arbitrators, two chosen on each side; that it might appear where the fault lay, and they might have an opportunity of vindicating themselves from the guilt of Schism. But that proposal being rejected, they departed in a rage, and withdrew, some to Basil, and others to Geneva (11).

(7) Page xl.

(8) Page xlv. xlv.

(9) Page xlvi, xlvii.

(10) Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 396.

(11) Troubles at Franckford, as above, p. 17-18.

[F] Hi

(c) Downes, ubi supra.

(d) Collier's Eccles. History, Vol. II. p. 430.

(4) Brief Discourse of the troubles begonne at Franckford, &c. p. vi. vii.

(5) *Ib.* p. xlii. xlii.

(6) *Ib.* p. xxxvii. xxxvii. xxxix.

(g) Downes, as above.

(b) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 689.

(i) Godwin, de Praeful. edit. 1616, 4to, p. 334.

(k) Convent. Foedera, &c. published by Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 537.

(l) Strype, ubi supra, p. 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

(m) Life of Whitgift, &c. by J. Strype, fol. 1718, p. 7. The Bishop gave Whitgift that Prebend, Dec. 5. 1568, *ibid*.

(n) Downes, ubi supra; from Mr Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker.

(o) *Ibid*.

(p) Willis, Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. II. p. 360, among the Bishops of Ely.

(12) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 175.

(13) Appendix to Vol. I. No. xxii. p. 59, 60, 61.

ford, so effectually recommended him to the Queen's esteem (g), that in June 1559, she nominated him to the bishoprick of Norwich (b), but her mind altering, she preferred him to the See of Ely, in the room of Dr Thirlby, who was deprived (i). His *congé d'eslire* bore date July 15, 1559. He was elected the 28th day of the said month, had the royal assent December the 18th, was confirmed in the church of St Mary le Bow the 20th of the same month, consecrated at Lambeth the next day, and received the temporalities the 23d of March following (k). Before his consecration, he joined with Dr Parker elect Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops elect of London, Chichester, and Hereford, in a petition to the Queen, against an Act lately passed, for the alienating and exchanging the lands and revenues of the Bishops: And sent her several arguments from Scripture and reason against the lawfulness of it; observing withal, the many evils and inconveniences both to Church and State that would thence arise (l). He enjoyed the episcopal dignity about twenty-one years and seven months, reckoning from the time of his consecration; and was, all that time, one of the chief pillars and ornaments of the Church of England. Both to Archbishop Parker, and his successor Grindal, he was very serviceable; and, by his prudence and industry, contributed to the restitution of our Church in the same beauty and good order, it had enjoyed in King Edward's reign. He was indeed no great favourite of the Queen; but that is to be imputed to his zealous opposition to her retaining the crucifix and lights on the altar of the Royal Chapel [F], and his strenuous defence of the lawfulness of the marriage of the Clergy, against which the Queen had contracted a most inveterate and unaccountable prejudice. He was a great patron to all learned men, whom he found well affected to the Church; and shewed a singular esteem for Dr Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he made his Chaplain, and to whom he gave the rectory of Teversham in Cambridgeshire, and a Prebend of Ely (m). He did his utmost to get a body of Ecclesiastical Laws, (which was drawn up by Archbishop Cranmer, and other learned Divines, of whom himself was one, in the latter end of King Edward's reign) established by authority of Parliament [G]; but through the unreasonable opposition of some of the chief Courtiers, this noble design miscarried a third time. As he had, in his exile at Franckford, been the chief champion against the innovations of the Puritans; so he now continued, with the same vigour and resolution, to oppose their attempts, against the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Established Church. At first he tried to reclaim, or win them over, by gentle means: But finding, that, instead of behaving themselves with due moderation, they only grew more audacious, and reviled both Church and Bishops in scurrilous libels, he thought timely severities necessary (n). Therefore he writ to Archbishop Parker, to go on vigorously in reclaiming or punishing them, and not be disheartened at the frowns of those Court-favourites who protected them; assuring him, that he might expect the blessing of God on his pious labours, to free the Church from their dangerous attempts, and to establish uniformity. And when the Privy-Council interposed in favour of the Puritans, and endeavoured to screen them from punishment, he wrote a bold letter to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh; wherein he warmly expostulated with the Council, for meddling with the affairs of the Church, which, as he said, ought to be left to the determination of the Bishops; admonished them to keep within their own sphere; and told them he would appeal to the Queen, if they continued to interpose in matters not belonging to them (o). He is blamed by some (p) for giving up several manors and other estates belonging to his See [H], but he rather, in some respects, deserves commendation, for his great firmness in

[F] *His zealous opposition to the Queen's retaining the Crucifix and Lights on the altar of the Royal Chapel.* He scrupled for a great while to officiate there upon that account; and when he did it, 'twas with a trembling conscience, as he said. To excuse himself, and to give his humble advice to the Queen, he writ to her a most submissive Letter (12); wherein he sets down 'certain considerations, why he could not yield to 'have Images set up in Churches.' And concludes in these words, 'yet my meaning is not hereby to enter into consideration of such as are otherwise minded, 'much less of your Majesty (God forbid) who I believe 'meaneth not to use the thing to any evil end.— 'Bear with me, most gracious sovereign; for the 'tender mercy of God, force not my conscience so 'fore (13).'

[G] *He did his utmost to get a body of Ecclesiastical Laws — — — established by authority of Parliament.* That was, the famous book intitled *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, compiled, by order of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. out of the Canon and Civil Law. Thirty two persons were commission'd for that work, but the person who had the chief hand in it, was Archbishop Cranmer: and it was put into proper and elegant Latin, by Sir John Cheke, and Dr Haddon Regius Professor of the Civil Law in the university of Cambridge. For a further account of that work, see Dr Burnet's History of the Reformation, 2d Edition, Part I. p. 330. Part II. p. 141, 196. and Part III. p. 208. and Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. II. p. 303. and Life of Cranmer, book I. ch. 30. It was

first published, in 1571, by Archbishop Parker, or John Fox, with a preface; and again in 1640, 4to. The most probable reason why those Laws were never suffered to be confirmed by Parliament, is that assigned by Dr Burnet (14), because it was found more for the greatness of the Prerogative and the Authority of the Civil Courts, to keep those points undetermined.

[H] *Giving up several manors and other estates belonging to his see.* In 1562, he alienated to Queen Elizabeth, the manors of Hatfield, Little Hadham, and Kelfhall. Moreover, he gave up East Dereham, Pulham, Bridgeham, the Hundred and manor of Mitford, the manors of Terrington, Walpole, West-Walton, Brandon, Westeringate, Battlefsden, Hecham, Harthurst, Berking, and Totteridge, in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertford, and Bedford, of the yearly value of 695 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.* in lieu of which, the Queen granted him, the tenths of his Diocese amounting to 384 *l.* 14 *s.* 9 *d.* per Annum, and the Improvements of Gildon-Morden, Swaffham-Bulbeck, Stokequi, Waterbeck, St Giles Cambridge, Comberton, Hinxton, Harleston, Swavefey, and Drayton, of the value of 207 *l.* 10 *s.* So that, as Browne Willis, Esq; observes, he parted with about 700 *l.* a year of the old Demesnes, being a third part of the Revenues of the Bishoprick (15). Before, whilst he was Dean of Christ-Church, he had alienated the Parsonage-glebe, and a manor, at Harrow on the hill; and the Rectory and Advowson of Preston on Stour in Gloucestershire, and Priory of Clatercote in Oxfordshire (16).

(14) Hist. of the Reformat. P. i. p. 330.

(15) Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. edit. 1730, p. 243, 333, in Ely.

(16) *Ibid*. p. 429; 550.

in resolving to part with no more, and for being proof against the strongest solicitations, and most violent attacks. Several he had to encounter, even from those which were most in favour at Court, and were backed by royal command and authority. In the years 1574 and 1575, Sir Christopher Hatton, a noted favourite of the Queen, endeavoured to wrest Ely-House in Holbourn from him (q); so that, in order to preserve it to his See, he was forced to have a long and chargeable suit in Chancery, which was not determined in 1579 (r). The Lord North also attempted, in 1575, to oblige him to part with the manor of Somersham, in Huntingdonshire, one of the best belonging to his bishoprick; and with Downham Park (s): which he refusing to yield, that Lord endeavoured to stir up the Queen's indignation against him, and do his utmost to have him deprived. For that purpose, North, and some others of the Courtiers, examined and ransacked his whole conduct since his first coming to his See, and drew up a large body of articles against him, which he was to give answers to before the Privy-Council (t). But the Bishop, in his replies, so fully vindicated himself from all aspersions, and so clearly confuted the groundless and malicious calumnies of his enemies, that the Queen was forced to acknowledge his innocence (u); though the Lord North boasted, he had found five *Præmunire's* against him (w). However, vexed and wearied with the implacable malice of the Lord North, and other his adversaries, he desired, in 1577, leave to resign his bishoprick (x), but the Queen put him off (y). North, though disappointed in his former attempt, yet not discouraged thereby, brings three actions against the poor old Bishop for felling of wood (z); whereupon the Bishop offered again, in 1579, to resign; provided he had a yearly pension of two hundred pounds out of his See, and Donnington, (the least of five country houses belonging to Ely-bishoprick) for his residence during life (a). The Lord Treasurer Burleigh, at the Bishop's earnest desire, obtained leave of the Queen for him to resign; and in February 1579-80, upon the Bishop's repeated desires, forms of resignation were actually drawn up (b). But the Court could not find any Divine of note, who would take that bishoprick on their terms, of surrendering up the best manors belonging thereto. The first offer of it was made to Freak Bishop of Norwich; and, on his refusal, it was proffered to several others: But the conditions were so ignominious and base, that they all rejected it: By which means Bishop Cox enjoyed it till his death, which happened on the 22d (c) of July 1581, in the 82d year of his age (d). By his will he left several legacies, amounting in all to the sum of nine hundred and forty-five pounds; and died worth, in good debts, two thousand three hundred and twenty-two pounds (e). He had several children [I]. His body was interred in Ely-cathedral, near Bishop Goodrich's monument, under a marble-stone, with an inscription; which having been defaced, there are only four verses of it [K] now legible (f). Divers things, of which he was author, have been published chiefly since his decease [L]. As to his character; He was a man of a sound judgment, and clear apprehension, and attained to great perfection in all polite and useful learning. He wanted no advantages of education, and improved them with such diligence and industry, that he soon became an excellent proficient both in divine and human literature.

(q) Strype's Annals, as above, Vol. II. p. 337, 338, 360; and Appendix to B. I. No. xlv. p. 84.  
 (r) Strype, in the same Volume, p. 579.  
 (s) Ibid. p. 361. The Queen sent a letter to the Bishop, to request him to make a demerit of Somersham, to North. Ibid.  
 (t) Ibid. p. 361—370.  
 (u) Ibid. and Appendix to B. I. No. xlviii. xlix. l. l.  
 (w) Ibid. p. 364.  
 (x) Ibid. p. 488, 489.  
 (y) With a *Nondum beneficium*, i. e. Not yet; as he expresses it himself. Appendix to B. II. of Annals, &c. as above, No. x.v. p. 117.  
 (z) Strype, Vol. II. p. 580.  
 (a) Ibid. p. 581, 582, 583.  
 (b) Ibid. p. 583.  
 (c) Willis, ubi supra, p. 360. Wood, Athenæ col. 204. Stow says, it was July 13. Annales, edit. 1631, p. 694.  
 (d) This appears from the time of his birth mentioned above.  
 (e) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. edit. 1728, p. 26, 27.  
 (f) Willis, ubi supra.

(g) Strype's Annals, as above, Vol. II. p. 337, 338, 360; and Appendix to B. I. No. xlv. p. 84.  
 (h) Strype, in the same Volume, p. 579.  
 (i) Ibid. p. 361. The Queen sent a letter to the Bishop, to request him to make a demerit of Somersham, to North. Ibid.  
 (j) Ibid. p. 361—370.  
 (k) Ibid. and Appendix to B. I. No. xlviii. xlix. l. l.  
 (l) Ibid. p. 364.  
 (m) Ibid. p. 488, 489.  
 (n) With a *Nondum beneficium*, i. e. Not yet; as he expresses it himself. Appendix to B. II. of Annals, &c. as above, No. x.v. p. 117.  
 (o) Strype, Vol. II. p. 580.

[I] He had several children.] Namely, *John*, whom he made his executor. *Richard*, who was knighted, and a Justice of Peace for Ely: After his father's decease, he had a Grant from the Crown of Dodington manor and palace. The Bishop had also two daughters, married, to *John Parker*, and *John Duport*, Prebendaries of Ely: Besides other children, whose names are not mentioned (17).

[K] Which having been defaced, there are only four verses of it legible.] Being these;

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*Vita caduca vale, salveto vita perennis;*  
*Corpora terra tegit, Spiritus alta petit.*  
*In terra Christi Gallus Christum resonabam;*  
*Da, Christe, in coelis te sine fine sonem.*

i. e. 'Farewel, frail life, hail, life eternal; The earth covers my body, but my soul ascends to heaven. I, who was Christ's Cock', made Christ's name sound on earth. Grant, O Christ, that I may without end make thy praises resound in heaven (18).' His monument was defaced in twenty years after his death; which some (19) look upon as a sign of his being little beloved.

[L] Divers things, of which he was author, have been published chiefly since his decease.] They are, I. 'An Oration at the beginning of the Disputation of Dr Tresham and others with Peter Martyr.' II. 'An Oration at the conclusion of the same.' These two Orations, which are in Latin, were printed in 1549, 4to. and afterwards among Peter Martyr's works. The second is also printed in the Appendix to the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, by J. Strype

(20). III. He had a great hand in compiling the first *Liturgy of the Church of England*: and was one of the chief persons employed in the review of it in 1559 (21). IV. He turned into verse the Lord's prayer, commonly printed at the end of Sternhold and Hopkins's psalms. V. When a new Translation of the *Bible* was made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, now commonly known by the name of *the Bishops Bible*, the *Four Gospels*, the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the *Epistle to the Romans*, were allotted to him, for his portion (22). VI. He writ 'Resolutions of some Questions concerning the Sacraments;' in the collection of Records at the end of Dr Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation (23). VII. He had a hand, in the 'Declaration concerning the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests (24):' And in the Answers, to the 'Queries concerning some abuses of the Mass (25).' VIII. Several Letters, and small pieces of his, have been published by the industrious Mr Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation: namely, 1. A Letter to Wolfgang Weidner at Wormes, 20 May 1559 (26). 2. To the Queen, wherein, he excuses himself for refusing to minister in the Royal Chapel, on account of the Crucifix there (27). 3. To Bullinger, on occasion of his answer to the Pope's Bull against the Queen (28). 4. To the Queen, upon her requiring his house in Holbourn for Mr Hatton (29). 5. To the same, upon her desiring him to surrender Somersham (30). 6. Reasons sent to the Lord Burghley to tender the state of God's Ministers (31). 7. Answers to the accusations of the Lord North, and others against him (32). 8. To the Lord Burghley, upon the Queen's having ordered Archbishop Grindall to be suspended (33). 9. Letter congratulatory to the Queen in her progress, and to excuse himself for not waiting upon her (34). 10. To

(20) Edit. 1694, fol. No. [xliv.] p. 119.  
 (21) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 204.  
 (22) Ibid.  
 (23) Appendix to P. i. 2d edit. p. 201, No. xxi. of Book iii.  
 (24) Ibid. among the Addenda, p. 321.  
 (25) Appendix to B. I. of P. ii. No. 25, p. 133, &c.  
 (26) Appendix to Vol. I. B. i. No. xxi. p. 54.  
 (27) Ibid. p. 59.  
 (28) Ib. p. 100.  
 (29) Appendix to Vol. II. p. 84.  
 (30) Ib. p. 85.  
 (31) Ib. p. 87.  
 (32) Ibid. p. 87—100.  
 (33) Ib. p. 111.  
 (34) Ib. p. 117.

(17) Willis, ubi supra, p. 360.  
 (18) Alluding to his name of Cocks or Cox.  
 (19) Willis, ibid. & Godwin, de Præsul. p. 335.  
 (20) Briefe View of the State of the Church of England, by Sir J. Harrington, 8vo, Lond. 1653, p. 77.

The Holy Scriptures were his chief study; and he was perfectly well versed in the original language of the New Testament. He was extremely zealous for the true interest of our Reformed Church, and a constant and vigorous defender of it against all the open assaults of its Popish adversaries, and the no less dangerous designs of the Puritans (g). He is accused by some (b) of having been a worldly and covetous person; and is said to have made a great havock and spoil of his woods and parks, feeding his family with powdered venison to save expences. Several complaints, and long accusations, were exhibited against him and his wife, in 1579, to Qu. Elizabeth, upon those accounts, by some false and evil disposed persons; but the Bishop fully vindicated himself, and showed, that all those complaints were nothing but malicious calumnies, and groundless imputations (i). It is likewise said, that he appears to have been of a vindictive spirit, by reason of his prosecution of, and severity to, the deprived Catholics in his custody; and especially by his complaints against Dr Feckenham the last Abbot of Westminster (k). But the Bishop alledges in his own excuse, that the Doctor was a very troublesome guest, and good for nothing (l): and that his endeavours to convert him, were by order of the Court (m). It must be remembered of this Bishop, that he was the first who brought a wife to live in a college (n). And that he procured a new body of Statutes for St John's college in Cambridge, of which, as Bishop of Ely, he was visitor (o).

(g) Willis, as above, p. 359, 360; and Sir J. Harrington, p. 77.

(b) Downes, ubi supra, p. cxxx.

(i) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. Appendix, p. 87—100.

(k) Willis, ubi supra, p. 360. See Strype's Annals, Vol. I. Appendix, p. 73; and Vol. II. p. 658.

(l) Ibid. p. 638.

(m) Ibid. p. 525, 526.

(n) Willis, p. 359.

(o) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 372, 373, 664; and Appendix, p. 156.

(35) Ib. p. 131.

(36) Ib. p. 139.

(37) Ib. p. 142.

the Lord Burghley, upon the Queen's granting him leave to resign his Bishoprick (35). 11. To the same, informing him he had received intelligence, that twelve thousand Spaniards were to be sent by the Pope and Spaniard against the realm, 1580 (36). 12. Account of his conference with Dr Fecknam (37). 13. To the

Lord Burghley, of the ill state of St. John's college Cambridge, for want of Statutes (38). 14. Proofs and Evidences from ancient Grants, to show, that his Manor and House in Holbourn is exempt from the jurisdiction of the city of London (39). He also had a hand in Lily's grammar.

(38) Ib. p. 156.

(39) Appendix to Vol. III. B. i. No. 57. p. 124.

CRANMER (THOMAS) the most eminent Archbishop that ever sat in the See of Canterbury, was the son of Thomas Cranmer, Esq [A]; and Agnes daughter of Laurence Hatfield of Willoughby in Nottinghamshire (a). He was born (\*) Aflacton in that county July 2, 1489 (b), and educated in Grammar-learning under a rude and severe Parish-Clerk, of whom he learned little, and endured much (c). In 1503, at the age of fourteen, he was admitted into Jesus College in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow (d). Here, he studied the Sophistry, and useles learning of those times, till the age of twenty two: For the next four or five years he applied himself to polite Literature: And for three years more, to the study of the Scriptures (e). After he was Master of Arts, he married a gentleman's daughter, named Joan (f), living at the Dolphin, opposite to Jesus-Lane (g). Losing by that his Fellowship, he went and lived with her at the Dolphin, and became Reader of the common Lecture in Buckingham, now Magdalen, College (h). But his wife dying in child-bed within a year, he was again admitted Fellow of Jesus College (i). Upon Cardinal Wolsey's foundation of his new college at Oxford, Cranmer was nominated to be one of the Fellows; but he refused the offer (k). In 1523, and the 34th year of his age, he was made Doctor of Divinity, Reader of the Theological Lecture in his own college, and one of the Examiners of those that took the degrees in Divinity (l). The most immediate cause of his advancement to the greatest favour with King Henry VIII. and, in consequence of that, to the highest dignity in the Church of England, was the Opinion he gave in the matter of that King's Divorce. For having, on account of the plague at Cambridge, retired to Waltham-Abbey in Essex, at the house of one Mr Cressy, whose wife he was related to, and whose sons were his pupils at the university; Edward Fox the King's Almoner, and Stephen Gardiner the Secretary, happened accidentally to come to that house (m). Here, the conversation turning upon what then mostly employed the Nation's thoughts, namely, the King's Divorce; Cranmer, who was well known to the two others, being desir'd by them to speak upon that point, deliver'd it as his opinion, that 'it would be much better, to have this question, *Whether a man may marry his brother's wife, or no?* decided and discussed by the Divines, and by the authority of the word of God, than thus from year to year to prolong the time by having recourse to the Pope. That there was but one truth in it, which the Scripture would soon declare and manifest, being handled by learned men; and that might be done as well in England in the Universities here, as at Rome, or elsewhere (n). This opinion being communicated by Dr Fox to the King, his Majesty approved of it much; saying, 'that that man (meaning Cranmer) had the sow by the right ear (o). Whereupon Cranmer was sent for to Court, made the King's Chaplain, ordered to write upon the subject of the Divorce, furnish'd with books for that purpose, and plac'd in the family of Thomas Boleyn Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond (p). When he had finish'd his book [B], he went

(a) Memorials of T. Cranmer, &c. by J. Strype, fol. Lond. 1694, p. 1, 2, 419.

(\*) Or Arselacton.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid. p. 2.

(d) Ibid. and Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 1860, edit. 1583.

(e) Memorials, &c. by Strype, p. 2.

(f) Ibid. p. 2, 417.

(g) Ibid. and Fox, ubi supra, p. 1860, 1877. She was related to the mistress of the inn. Fox, p. 1860. and Antiquitat. Britannicæ, edit. Hanov. p. 331.

(h) Strype, ubi supra, p. 3.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Strype, ubi supra, p. 3. Fox, p. 1860. The author of *Antiquitat. Britannicæ*, says, he was upon the road to Oxford, but was persuaded to return back to Cambridge, p. 331.

(l) Strype and Fox, ibid.

(m) Godwin, de Præful. edit. 1616, p. 196. Fox, ubi supra, p. 1860.

(n) Fox, ubi supra, p. 1860.

(o) Ibid. p. 1861. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 79.

(p) Fox, ibid. and Strype's Mem. of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 4, 5.

[A] Son of Thomas Cranmer, Esq;] That Family is said to have come in with William the Conqueror, and to have been fixed for many generations in Nottinghamshire, and in Lincolnshire where there is a House still called Cranmer-hall. There were still in France some of his name and family in King Henry the VIIIth's time; one whereof came in company with

the French Embassador: To whom, for name, or relation, sake, our Bishop gave a noble Entertainment. The Family's Arms, were, Three Cranes; but King Henry the VIIIth altered them to Three Pelicans (1). [B] When he had finish'd his book.] In that book, he showed, by the authorities of the Scriptures, of general Councils, and ancient writers, that the Bishop

(1) Fox, Acts and Monum. p. 1859. Strype's Memorials, &c. p. 1, 126. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 336.

(*q*) *Styve*, *ibid.* to Cambridge to dispute upon that point, and brought several over to his opinion (*q*).  
 P. 5, 6. About this time he was presented to a Living, and made Archdeacon of Taunton (*r*).  
 In 1530 he was sent, with some others, into France, Italy, and Germany, to discuss  
 the affair of the King's Marriage (*s*). At Rome he got his book presented to the Pope,  
 and offered to dispute openly against the validity of King Henry's Marriage; but no one  
 chose to engage him (*t*). While he was at Rome, the Pope constituted him his Penitentiary  
 throughout England, Ireland, and Wales (*u*). In Germany he was sole Ambassador upon  
 the forementio'd affair: And in 1532 concluded a Treaty of Commerce between England  
 and the Low-Countries (*w*). He was also employ'd on an Embassy to the Duke of Saxony,  
 and other Protestant Princes (*x*). During his residence in Germany, he married, at Norim-  
 berg, a second wife, named Anne, niece of Osiander's wife (*y*). Upon the death of Arch-  
 bishop Warham in August 1532, Cranmer was nominated for his successor; but he refus'd  
 to accept of that Dignity, unless he was to receive it immediately from the King without the  
 Pope's intervention (*z*). Before his consecration, the King so far engaged him in the business  
 of his Divorce, that he made him a party and an actor almost in every step he took in that  
 affair (*a*). It was he that pronounc'd the sentence of Divorce between King Henry and Queen  
 Catharine at Dunstable May the 23d, 1533; and he likewise it was who married him to Anne  
 Boleyn [*C*], and confirm'd her marriage on the 28th following. March the 30th, 1533, he  
 was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury (*b*), by the Bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St  
 Asaph, when he made an unusual Protestation [*D*]. The Temporalities of the Archbishoprick  
 were restored to him the 29th of April following (*c*). Soon after he forbad all preaching  
 throughout his Diocese, and visited it this year in December (*d*). The Pope threatening him  
 with excommunication, on account of his sentence against Queen Catharine, he appeal'd from  
 his Holiness to a general Council; And, in the ensuing Parliaments, strenuously disputed  
 against the Pope's supremacy (*e*). All along he show'd himself a zealous promoter of the Re-  
 formation: And, as the first step towards it, procur'd the Convocation to petition the King  
 that the Bible might be translated into English. When that was obtain'd, he diligently en-  
 courag'd the printing and publication of it, and caused it to be recommended by Royal  
 Authority, and to be dispers'd as much as he possibly could (*f*). Next, he forwarded the  
 dissolution of the Monasteries [*E*], which were one of the greatest obstacles to a reformation  
 (*g*). And, in every point, endeavour'd by all gentle and human means to restore the Church of  
 England to its true and original purity. In 1535 he perform'd a Provincial Visitation, in  
 order to recommend the King's Supremacy (*h*); and preach'd upon that subject in several  
 parts of his Diocese [*F*]. In 1536, he divorced King Henry from Anne Boleyn (*i*). In 1537  
 he visited his Diocese, and endeavoured to abolish the superstitious observation of Holidays  
 (*k*). In 1538, he was in a commission against the Anabaptists, and visited the Diocese  
 of Hereford (*l*). The next year, he and some of the Bishops fell under the King's dis-  
 pleasure, because they could not be brought to give their consent in Parliament, that the  
 Monasteries should be suppress'd for the King's sole use (*m*). He also strenuously oppos'd  
 the Act for the six Articles, in the House of Lords, speaking three days against it (*n*); and  
 upon the passing of that Statute sent away his wife into Germany (*o*). In 1540 he was one  
 of the Commissioners for inspecting into matters of Religion, and explaining some of its  
 chief Doctrines (*p*). The result of their commission was, the book intituled 'A necessary  
 Erudition of any christian man.' After Lord Cromwell's death, (in whose behalf he had  
 written to the King,) he retired, and lived in great privacy, meddling not at all with State-  
 affairs (*q*). In 1541, he gave orders, pursuant to the King's directions, for taking away  
 superstitious Shrines: And exchanging Bishopsbourn for Bekefbourn, united the latter  
 to his Diocese (*r*). In 1542, he procured the 'Act for the advancement of true Religion,  
 and the abolishment of the contrary;' which moderated the rigour of the Six Articles (*s*).  
 But, the year following, some enemies preferring accusations against him [*G*], he had like

(*r*) *Styve*, *ibid.* p. 5, 6.  
 (*s*) *Ibid.* p. 14.  
 (*t*) *Ibid.* p. 11.  
 (*u*) *Ibid.* p. 9.  
 Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1861.  
 (*v*) Godwin, *de* Præsul. Lond. 1616, 4to, p. 197.  
 Burnet, *ubi supra*, p. 95.  
 (*w*) *Styve*, *ubi supra*, p. 11.  
 (*x*) *Ibid.* p. 13.  
 (*y*) *Ibid.* p. 417.  
 Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1870.  
 (*z*) *Styve*, *ubi supra*, p. 16.  
 Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 128.  
 (*a*) *Styve*, *ubi supra*, p. 17.  
 Burnet, *ubi supra*, p. 131; and Collect. of Records, p. 120, 121.  
 (*b*) Burnet, *ubi supra*, p. 128, 129.  
 Styve's Memorials, &c. p. 18.  
 Fuller's Church Hist. D. v. p. (185).  
 (*c*) Rymer's Fed. Vol. XIV. p. 456.  
 (*d*) *Styve*, *ibid.* p. 21.  
 (*e*) *Ibid.* p. 22, 23.  
 and Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1862.  
 (*f*) *Styve*, *ibid.* p. 24, 57, &c.  
 Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 171, &c. 249, &c.  
 (*g*) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1861.  
 Styve, *ubi supra*, p. 394.  
 (*h*) Edit. Hanov. p. 129.  
 See *Styve's* Mem. of Cranmer, p. 18.  
 (*i*) Hist. of King Henry VIII.  
 (*j*) Collier, Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 74.  
 (*k*) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1861.  
 Styve, *ubi supra*, p. 394.  
 (*l*) Edit. Hanov. p. 129.  
 See *Styve's* Mem. of Cranmer, p. 18.  
 (*m*) Hist. of King Henry VIII.  
 (*n*) Collier, Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 74.  
 (*o*) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1861.  
 Styve, *ubi supra*, p. 394.  
 (*p*) *Ibid.* p. 22, 23.  
 and Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1862.  
 (*q*) *Styve*, *ibid.* p. 24, 57, &c.  
 Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 171, &c. 249, &c.  
 (*r*) *Ibid.* p. 21.  
 (*s*) *Ibid.* p. 22, 23.  
 and Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1862.  
 (*t*) *Ibid.* p. 24, 57, &c.  
 Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 171, &c. 249, &c.  
 (*u*) *Ibid.* p. 9.  
 Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1861.  
 (*v*) Godwin, *de* Præsul. Lond. 1616, 4to, p. 197.  
 Burnet, *ubi supra*, p. 95.  
 (*w*) *Styve*, *ubi supra*, p. 11.  
 (*x*) *Ibid.* p. 13.  
 (*y*) *Ibid.* p. 417.  
 Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1870.  
 (*z*) *Styve*, *ubi supra*, p. 16.  
 Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 128.  
 (*a*) *Styve*, *ubi supra*, p. 17.  
 Burnet, *ubi supra*, p. 131; and Collect. of Records, p. 120, 121.  
 (*b*) Burnet, *ubi supra*, p. 128, 129.  
 Styve's Memorials, &c. p. 18.  
 Fuller's Church Hist. D. v. p. (185).  
 (*c*) Rymer's Fed. Vol. XIV. p. 456.  
 (*d*) *Styve*, *ibid.* p. 21.  
 (*e*) *Ibid.* p. 22, 23.  
 and Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1862.  
 (*f*) *Styve*, *ibid.* p. 24, 57, &c.  
 Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 171, &c. 249, &c.  
 (*g*) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1861.  
 Styve, *ubi supra*, p. 394.  
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 (*n*) Collier, Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 74.  
 (*o*) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1861.  
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 (*o*) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1861.  
 Styve, *ubi supra*, p. 394.  
 (*p*) *Ibid.*

(t) Fox, ubi supr. p. 1866, &c. This whole affair is related at full length in Antiq. Britannic. p. 335—337.

(u) Antiq. Britan. p. 334, 336. Strype, ubi supra, p. 109—126. Burnet, ibid. p. 327, &c. 342.

(w) Strype, ibid. p. 132.

(x) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XV. p. 110.

(y) Strype, p. 142.

(z) Id. p. 141.

(a) Ibid. p. 149, 150, &c.

(b) Idem, p. 146, 157, &c. 182. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 25, 72, &c.

(c) Strype's Memorials of T. Cranmer, p. 162, &c.

(\*) Rymer, Fœd. Vol. XV. p. 191.

(d) Strype, p. 185, &c.

(e) Ibid. p. 193, 210, 289. Burnet, ubi supr. Vol. II. p. 71, 72, &c. —79, 155, 169.

(f) Strype, ubi supra, p. 272, 293.

(g) Ibid. p. 234.

(h) Ibid. p. 247.

(i) Page 26—28.

(k) Ibid. p. 289.

(l) Fox, ubi supra, p. 1870. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 224. Strype, ubi supra, p. 454.

(m) Ibid.

to have been ruin'd, had not the King interpos'd in his behalf (t). Nay, he was complain'd of in the House of Commons [H], and in the Privy-Council [I], and was very near being sent to the Tower; but the King again protected him, and gave him his Ring, as a token that he took the affair into his own hands (u). In the year 1545, he undertook to reform the Canon-Law; but the book he compil'd upon that subject was, through Bishop Gardiner's artifices, never confirm'd by the King. He likewise corrected some Service or Prayer-books (w). Upon King Henry's decease, he was one of the Executors of his Will, and one of the Regents of the Kingdom (x). February the 20th, 1545-6, he crowned King Edward VI. to whom he had been godfather; as he was also to the Lady Elizabeth (y): Soon after, he took out a Commission for executing his office of Archbishop (z); and caused the Homilies to be compos'd, being himself the author of some of them; and likewise encourag'd the translation of Erasmus's paraphrase on the New Testament (a). He also labour'd earnestly in the Reformation of Religion: And, for that purpose, procur'd the repeal of the Six Articles; the establishment of the Communion in both kinds; and a new office for that Sacrament; the revisal and amendment of the rest of the Offices of the Church; frequent preaching; a Royal visitation to inspect into the manners and abilities of the Clergy; and visited his own Diocese himself for the same purpose (b). He likewise show'd himself a patron to the Universities, in defending their Rights, securing their Revenues, and encouraging the Learning there profess'd and taught (c). In 1549, he was one of the Commissioners for examining Bishop Bonner, with a power to imprison or deprive him of his Bishoprick (\*). Upon the insurrection in Devonshire, he expressed his zeal for Religion and his Prince, by giving an excellent and full answer to the Rebels articles, and ordered Sermons to be compos'd and preach'd upon that occasion (d). The same year he ordain'd several Priests and Deacons according to the new form of Ordination in the Common-Prayer-Book; which, thro' the Archbishop's care, was now finish'd and settled by Act of Parliament [K]. A review was made of this book towards the end of the next year, and several things changed or amended that were thought to favour too much of superstition (e). In 1552, it was printed again with amendments and alterations, by the Archbishop's care, and authorized by Parliament [L]. This same year, he and some others compiled the Articles of Religion, and caused them to be enjoy'd by the King's authority (f). He confin'd not his care to the Church of England, but extended it also to those Protestant Foreigners who fled to England [M], by obtaining Churches for them, and recommending them to the favour and protection of the Crown (g). Another point that much employed his thoughts, was, to preserve the Revenues of the Church, which the greedy Courtiers were swallowing up without mercy, and parcelling out among themselves (h). As the Archbishop had in 1534 endeavour'd to save the lives of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More (i); so now, when Tonstal Bishop of Durham came into trouble, and a bill was brought into the House of Lords for attainting him for misprison of Treason, Cranmer spoke freely, nay protested, against it, tho' they two were of different persuasions (k). In 1553, he oppos'd the new settlement of the Crown upon Jane Gray, and would no way be concern'd in that affair, (tho' at last, through many importunities, he was prevail'd upon to set his hand to it,) neither would he join in any of Dudley's ambitious projects (l). However, upon King Edward the VIth's decease, he appeared for Jane Gray. Soon after, it being reported that he had offer'd to sing mass at the funeral of the late King, he vindicated himself in a Declaration (m). But now his Troubles came upon him apace, after Queen Mary's accession to the throne. He was, first, ordered to appear before the Council, and bring an inventory of his Goods; which he did August the 27th, when he was commanded to keep his house, and be

Gardiner, John Milles, all Canons of Canterbury. And Robert Serles, and Edmund Shether, two of the six Preachers there: with Dr Willoughby, the King's Chaplain. The sum of their Accusations against the Archbishop and his Chaplains were, That they oppos'd the six Articles, and other parts of Popery. See Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer (10).

(10) P. 109, &c.

[H] He was complain'd of in the House of Commons. By Sir John Gostwick, one of the Knights for Bedfordshire; for preaching hereby against the Sacrament of the altar. But the King severely rebuk'd Gostwick for his impertinence (11).

(11) Ib. p. 123, &c.

[I] And in the Privy-Council. The substance of his Accusation there, was, 'That he, with his learned men, had so infected the whole Realm with their unfavoury Doctrine, that three parts of the land were become abominable hereticks. And that it might prove dangerous to the King, being like to produce such commotions and uproars, as were sprung up in Germany. And therefore they desired, that the Archbishop might be committed to the Tower, till he could be examined.' The whole was a contrivance of Gardiner's (12).

(12) Ibid. p. 124. Antiquit. Britan. p. 334.

[K] The Common-prayer-book — — — was now finish'd and settled by Act of Parliament. The persons

by whom it was compos'd, were Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Nicolas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, afterward of London; Tho. Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; Henry Holbech Bishop of Lincoln; John Skip Bishop of Hereford; Tho. Thirlby Bishop of Westminster, afterwards of Ely; Geo. Day Bishop of Chichester; Dr John Taylor Dean, afterwards Bishop, of Lincoln; Dr Richard Cox Chancellor of Oxford, and Dean of Christ Church and Westminster, afterwards Bishop of Ely; Dr William May Dean of St Paul's; Dr Tho. Robertson, Archdeacon of Leicester, afterwards Dean of Durham; Dr Simon Heines Dean of Exeter; and Dr John Redmayne, Master of Trinity college in Cambridge (13).

[L] Authorized by Parliament] And it was enacted, That it should begin to be used every where by All-Saints-day next following (14).

[M] He extended his care to those Protestant Foreigners, &c.] They were, Martin Bucer, made professor of Divinity, and Paulus Fagius, professor of the Hebrew tongue, at Cambridge: Peter Martyr, professor of Divinity at Oxford: John a Lasco, the first minister of the Dutch Church at London: Peter Alexander, Bernardine Ochinus, Matthew Negelinus, Immanuel Tremellius, Valerand, &c. (15)

(13) Appendix, containing an historical Account of the compiling of the Liturgy, in Sam. Downes's edition of Bishop Sparrow's Rationale, &c. edit. 1722, p. cxlviii. cxlix.

(14) Statut. 5 & 6 Edw. VI.

(15) Strype, ubi supra, p. 195, &c. and Godwin, ubi supra.

[N] Some

be forth-coming. September the 13th, he was again summoned before the Council, and enjoined to be at the Star-Chamber the next day, when he was committed to the Tower (n); partly, for setting his hand to the instrument of the Lady Jane's succession; and, partly, for the public offer he had made a little before, of justifying openly the religious Proceedings of the late King (o). Some of his friends, foreseeing the storm that was like to fall upon him, advised him to fly, but he absolutely refus'd [N]. In the ensuing Parliament, on November the 3d, he was attainted, and at Guild-hall found guilty of High Treason; whereupon the fruits of his Archbishoprick were sequestred. However, upon his humble and repeated application, he was pardoned the Treason, but 'twas resolv'd he should be proceeded against for heresy (p). In April 1554, he, and Ridley and Latimer, were remov'd to Oxford, in order for a public disputation with the Papists (q); which was accordingly held there towards the middle of the month, with great noise, triumph, and impudent confidence on the Papists side, and with as much gravity, learning, modesty, and convincing sufficiency on the side of the Protestant Bishops [O]. The 20th of April, two days after the end of these disputations, Cranmer and the two others were brought before the Commissioners, and asked, whether they would subscribe (to Popery)? which they unanimously refusing, were condemned as hereticks (r). From this sentence the Archbishop appealed to the just judgment of the Almighty; And writ to the Council, giving them an account of the disputation, and desiring the Queen's pardon for his treason, which it seems was not yet remitted (s). By the Convocation, which met this year, his 'Defence of the true and Catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ,' was ordered to be burnt (t). Some of his friends petition'd the Queen in his behalf; putting her in mind, how he had once preserv'd her in her father's time, by his earnest intercessions with him for her [P]: So that she had reason to believe he loved her, and would speak the truth to her, more than all the rest of the Clergy. But all his friends endeavours were ineffectual (u). The Sentence pronounc'd against him by Weston at Oxford being void in Law, because the Pope's authority was not yet re-establish'd in England, a new Commission was sent from Rome for his tryal and conviction. Accordingly, on September the 12th, 1555, he appeared before the Commissioners [Q] at St Mary's Church Oxon, where he was accused of blasphemy, perjury, incontinency, and heresy [R], against all which he vindicated himself (w). At last, he was cited to appear at Rome within eighty days, to answer in person; which he said he would do, if the King and Queen would send him, but no care was taken to send him. Therefore, the Pope dispatched, on December the 14th, his Letters executory to the King and Queen, and to Bonner and Thirlby Bishops of London and Ely, to degrade and deprive him (x). In those Letters, Cranmer was declared contumacious, for not appearing at Rome within eighty days, according to his citation: which was a most shameless and infamous allegation; for, how could he possibly appear at Rome, when he was all the while kept a prisoner? However, upon the coming of the letters, Bonner and Thirlby, with Dr Martin and Dr Story the King's and Queen's Proctors, went to Oxford to degrade him. They dressed him in all the garments and ornaments of an Archbishop, only in mockery every thing was of canvas, and old clouts: And then he was, piece by piece, stript of all again. When they came to take the Crosier out of his hand, he refused to part with it, and pulled out an Appeal, whereby he appealed to the next general Council (y). After he was degraded, they put him on a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, thread-bare, and a towns-man's cap, and remanded him to prison (z). From thence he writ Letters to the Queen, to give her a true and impartial account of what had passed at his degradation, to prevent mis-reports, and to justify himself in what he had said and done (a). Hitherto the Archbishop had manifested a great deal of courage, wisdom, and fortitude in his sufferings, but at last human frailty made him commit such a fault, as was the greatest blemish of his life. For, through flatteries, promises, importunity, threats, and the fear of death, he was prevailed upon to sign a Recantation [S], wherein he renounced the Protestant Religion, and embraced

(n) Burnet's Hist. ubi supra, p. 250.

(o) Strype, p. 307, 314. See Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. Collect. p. 249.

(p) Strype, p. 320, 321. Burnet, ubi supra, p. 257.

(q) Strype, ubi supra, p. 334, &c. Burnet, p. 280, &c.

(r) F. x, ubi supra, p. 1871, &c.

(s) Strype, p. 341.

(t) Ibid. p. 348.

(u) Ibid. p. 368. Burnet, ubi supra, Vol. II. p. 241.

(w) Strype, p. 372. Fox, ubi supra, p. 1871, &c. Burnet, ubi supra, Vol. II. p. 331.

(x) Strype, ubi supra, p. 375.

Feb. 14, 1555-6.

(y) Fox, ubi supra, p. 1332, 1883.

(z) Ibid.

(a) Strype, ubi supra, p. 377, &c.

[N] Some of his friends — — — advised him to fly, but he absolutely refused.] Saying, 'It would be no ways fitting for him to go away, considering the post he was in; and to shew, that he was not afraid to own all the Changes that were by his means made in Religion, in the last reign (17).'

[O] He, and Ridley, and Latimer, were remov'd to Oxford in order for a public Disputation, &c.] The Questions there disputed upon, were these, 1. In the Sacrament of the Altar, the natural body of Christ conceived of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood, are really present, under the species of bread and wine, by virtue of the divine word pronounced by the Priest. 2. After the consecration, there doth not remain the substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man. 3. In the mass, there is a lively propitiatory sacrifice of the Church, for the sins as well of the living as of the dead (\*).

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[P] How he had preserv'd her in her father's time, &c.] Namely, when the King was resolv'd to send her to the Tower, and to make her suffer as a subject: because she would not obey the Laws of the Realm, in renouncing the Pope's Authority and Religion (18).

[Q] He appeared before the Commissioners.] Brooks Bishop of Gloucester was appointed upon this occasion Subdelegate to Cardinal Puteo, to whom the Pope had committed this process; and Martin, and Story, Doctors of the Civil Law, were the Queen's Commissioners (19).

[R] Where he was accused of blasphemy, perjury, incontinency, and heresy.] He was accused of blasphemy and heresy for his writings against Popery; of perjury, for breaking his oath to the Pope; and of incontinency, or adultery, on account of his being married (20).

[S] He was prevailed upon to sign a Recantation.] We are inform'd by the industrious Mr Strype (21), That Archbishop Cranmer was subtilly draw in by the Papists

(18) Strype, p. 368, 431.

(19) Ibid. p. 371.

(20) Ibid. p. 372.

(21) Eccles. Mem. Vol. III. p. 252 — 253.

(17) Strype, ubi supra, p. 314.

(\*) Strype, p. 334.

(b) Fox, ubi *supr.*  
p. 1884.

(c) Strype, ubi  
*supra*, p. 383.  
Burnet's Hist. of  
the Reformation,  
Vol. II. p. 334.

(d) Rymer's *Fœd.*  
Vol. XV. p. 432.  
Burnet, ubi *supr.*  
and Collection of  
Records, p. 300.

(e) Fox, ubi *supr.*  
p. 1886.

(f) Fox, ubi *supr.*  
p. 1887.

(g) *Ibid.*  
Strype, ubi *supr.*  
p. 388.

(h) Burnet's Hist.  
of the Reformat.  
Vol. II. p. 334,  
&c.

(i) Strype, ubi  
*supra*, p. 389.  
Fox, ubi *supra*,  
p. 1889.

(k) Strype, ubi  
*supra*, p. 389.

(l) Fox, *ibid.*  
Strype, *ibid.*

brac'd again all the Errors of Popery; which Recantation was immediately printed and dispers'd about by his enemies (b). Notwithstanding that, the merciless Queen, not satisfied with this conquest, resolv'd to glut her revenge, by committing Cranmer to the flames. Accordingly, she sent for Dr Cole Provost of Eaton, and gave him instructions to prepare a Sermon for that mournful occasion (c). And on the 24th of February a Writ was signed for the burning of Cranmer (d). The 21st day of March, which was the fatal day, he was brought to St Mary's Church, and placed on a kind of stage over against the pulpit, where Dr Cole was to preach. While Cole was haranguing, the unfortunate Cranmer expressed great inward confusion; often lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven; and frequently pouring out floods of tears (e). At the end of the Sermon, when Cole desired him to make an open profession of his Faith, as he had promis'd him he would; he, first, prayed in the most fervent manner: Then made an exhortation to the people present, Not to set their minds upon the world; to obey the King and Queen; to love each other; and to be charitable. After which he made a Confession of his Faith, beginning with the Creed, and concluding with these words, 'And I believe every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his Apostles and Prophets, in the Old and New Testament.— And now, added he, I come to the great thing, that so much troubleth my conscience more than any thing I ever did or said in my whole life; and that is the setting abroad a writing contrary to the truth, which I here now renounce as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if it might be; that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned. As for the Pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine. And as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester (f).' Thunderstruck as it were with this unexpected Declaration, the enraged Popish croud admonished him not to dissemble: 'Ah, replied he with tears, since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falshood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled (g).' Whereupon, they pulled him off the stage with the utmost fury, and hurried him to the place of his martyrdom, over-against Baliol-College (h); where he put off his clothes in haste, and standing in his shirt, and without shoes, was fastned with a chain to the stake (i). Some pressing him to agree to his former recantation, he answer'd, showing his hand, 'This is the hand that wrote it, and therefore it shall first suffer punishment (k).' Fire being applied to him, he stretch'd out his right hand into the flame, and held it there unmov'd (except that once with it he wiped his face) till it was consum'd, crying with a loud voice, 'This hand hath offended;' and often repeating, 'This unworthy right hand (l).' At last, the fire getting up, he soon expir'd, never stirring or crying out all the while, only keeping his eyes fix'd to heaven, and repeating more than once, 'Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.' Such was the end of the renowned Thomas Cranmer, in the 67th year of his age. As to his Character: He is represented as a man of an open and generous Mind, of great Sincerity and Candor, a lover of Truth, and a declar'd enemy to Falshood and Superstition. Humble and affable; and

Papists to subscribe six different Papers; the first being expressed in ambiguous words, capable of a favourable construction, the five following were added as explanations of it. That *first* Recantation was in these words, 'For as much as the King's and Queen's Majesties, by consent of their Parliament, have received the Pope's Authority within this Realm, I am content to submit myself to their Laws herein, and to take the Pope for chief Head of this Church of England, so far as God's Laws, and the Laws and Customs of this Realm, will permit.' In the *next*, he submitted himself to the Catholic Church of Christ, and unto the Pope, supreme Head of the same Church. In the *third*, he submitted to the King and Queen, and to all their Laws, as well concerning the Pope's supremacy, as others: and promis'd, that he would stir and move all others to live in quietness and obedience to their Majesties. As for his Book, he was content to submit to the Judgment of the Catholic Church, and the next General Council. This was followed by a *fourth*, wherein he profess'd firmly, stedfastly, and assuredly to believe in all Articles and Points of the Christian Religion and Catholick Faith, as the Catholic Church doth believe. Moreover, as concerning the Sacraments, he declared he believed unfeignedly in all points as the said Catholic Church did. In the *fifth* Paper, which is that in Fox (22), and has been thought to be his only Recantation, they required of him, to renounce and anathematize all Lutheran and Zuinglian heresies and errors; to acknowledge the one only Catholic Church, to be that whereof the Pope is the

Head; and to declare him Christ's Vicar. Then followed an express acknowledgment of Transubstantiation, the seven Sacraments, and of all the Doctrines of the Church of Rome in general. A *sixth* was still required of him, which was drawn up in so strong terms, that nothing was capable of being added to it. For it contained a large acknowledgment of all the Popish errors and corruptions, and a most grievous accusation of himself as a blasphemous, enemy of Christ, and murderer of Souls, on account of his being the author of King Henry's divorce, and of all the calamities, schisms, and heresies of which that was the fountain. This was subscribed on the 18th of March. These six Papers were, soon after his death, sent to the press by Bonner, and published with the addition of another, which they had prepared for him to speak at St Mary's, before his Execution: And tho' he then spoke to a quite contrary effect, and revoked his former Recantations, Bonner had the confidence to publish this to the world, as if it had been approv'd and made use of by the Archbishop.— In 1736, William Whiston M. A. published a little book entitled, 'An Enquiry into the Evidence of Archbishop Cranmer's Recantation: or Reasons for a suspicion that the pretended Copy of it is not genuine.' In that book he supposes, that what Cranmer signed, was only the first part of the Recantation printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments, as far as the words ——— 'without which there is no Salvation.' — that the rest was added by the Papists, but that Cranmer never set his hand thereto.

(22) Page 1884.

and in every condition the same. Gentle and mild in his Temper; always ready to forgive, and be reconciled: Not soon heated, nor apt to give his opinion rashly of persons, or things. And tho' his Gentleness often expos'd him to his Enemies, who from it took an advantage to use him ill, yet it did not lead him into such a weakness of Spirit, as to consent to every thing that was uppermost: But, in general, he never dissembled his opinion, nor disowned his friend. His Charity and Munificence to the indigent was extensive, and his Hospitality well regulated, not bestowed upon the Rich and the Powerful, but on his honest and poor Neighbours. He had a good Judgment, but no great quickness of Apprehension, nor closeness of stile, which was diffused (m). However, he was a man of great Learning in Divinity, and in the Civil and Canon Laws (n). He generally spent about three parts of the day in study (o); and being of a most wonderful Diligence, he drew out of all the Authors he read, every thing that was remarkable, digesting those quotations into Common-place. He published, and left behind him in manuscript, several works [T]. As he was a lover of Learning, so was he also an encourager of it; allowing yearly Salaries to many Scholars in Germany, and other places (p). With regard to some of his Opinions: He had the same notions as Calvin about Predestination and Grace. He also was zealous at first for the real presence, but afterwards altered his mind (q). And he seemed to make Ecclesiastical Functions and Offices wholly dependant on the Magistrate, as much as the Civil were (r). What was most blameable in his Conduct (besides his Recantation) was the part he had in Lambert's death (s), and in Joan Bocher's and Van Pare's (t). But, notwithstanding these blemishes, he must be allowed to have been the Glory of England, and one of the chief Founders and Ornaments of the Reformation.

(m) Burnet, II. 1. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 33.

(n) Strype, ubi supra, p. 439.

(o) Ibid. p. 431.

(p) Ibid. p. 285. Fox, p. 1864.

(q) Strype, ubi supra, p. 65, 66.

(r) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 172.

(s) Burnet, ubi supra, Vol. I. p. 253.

(t) Idem, Vol. II. p. 111, 112.

[T] He published, and left behind him in manuscript, several Works] His printed works, are I. An account of Mr Pole's book, concerning K. Henry VIIIth's marriage (23). II. Several Letters, to divers persons—To K. Henry VIII—To Secretary Cromwel.—To Sir William. Cecil.—To foreign Divines (24). III. Three Discourses, upon his review of the King's book, intituled, *The Erudition of a Christian man* (25). IV. Other discourses of his (26). V. The Bishops Book, in which he had a part. VI. Answers to the fifteen Articles of the Rebels in Devon. in 1549 (27). VII. The examination of most points of Religion (28). VIII. A Form for the alteration of the Mass into a Communion (29). IX. Some of the Homilies. X. A Catechism, intituled, *A short Instruction to Christian Religion, for the singular profit of Children and young People* (30). XI. Against Unwritten Verities (31). XII. A Defence of the true and catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ; with a Confutation of sundry Errors concerning the same: Grounded and established upon God's holy word, and approved by the consent of the most ancient Doctors of the Church. This was translated into Latin by John Young. In opposition to it, Gardiner published, 'An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholic Faith touching the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, with the Confutation of a book writ against the same.' XIII. Cranmer replied in the following book, 'An Answer by the reverend Father in God, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, unto a crafty and sophistical Cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of Law, late Bishop of Winchester, against the true and godly Doctrine of the most Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ. Wherein is also, as occasion serveth, answered such Places of the Book of Dr Richard Smith, as may seem any thing worthy the answering. Also a true Copy of the book written, and in open Court delivered by Dr Stephen Gardiner, not one word added or diminished, but faithfully in all Points agreeing with the original.' Lond. 1551. reprinted 1580. 'Twas translated into Latin by Sir John Cheke. An Answer was also made to this book by St. Gardiner, under the

feigned name of *Marcus Antonius Constantinus*, and intituled, *Confutatio cavillationum, quibus sacrosanctum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum ab impiis Capernaitis impeti solet.* Paris 1552. XIV. Cranmer began an Answer to this, and finished three parts of it, but lived not to compleat the whole (32). XV. Preface to the English translation of the Bible. XVI. A Speech in the House of Lords, concerning a general Council (33). XVII. Letter to K Henry VIII. in justification of Anne Boleyn, May 3, 1535 (34). XVIII. The Reasons that led him to oppose the Six Articles (35). For this he had like to come into great trouble, as may be seen in Fox (36). XIX. Resolution of some Questions concerning the Sacrament (37). XX. Injunctions given at his visitation within the Diocese of Hereford (38). XXI. A collection of passages out of the Canon-Law, to show the necessity of reforming it (39). XXII. Some Queries in order to the correcting of several abuses (40). XXIII. Concerning a further reformation, and against sacrilege (41). XXIV. Answers to some Queries concerning Confirmation (42). XXV. Some considerations offered to K. Edward VI to induce him to proceed to a further reformation (43). XXVI. Answer to the Lords of the Privy-Council (44). XXVII. Manifesto against the Mass (45).

(32) Ibid. p. 254, 255, 256, 259, 260, 261, 262, 370. Fox, p. 1870.

(33) Burnet, Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 174.

(34) Ibid. p. 200.

(35) Ib. p. 265.

(36) Page 1185.

(37) Burnet, ubi supra.

Coll. of Records, p. 201.

(38) Ib. p. 182.

(39) Ib. p. 257.

(40) Addenda to Vol. I. p. 317.

(41) Burnet, Vol. II.

Collect. p. 236.

(42) Ib. p. 319.

(43) Ibid. p. 320.

(44) Ibid. Collect. p. 187.

(45) Ibid. p. 249.

(46) Royal Library, 7 B. xi. xli. See Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 171.

(47) Casley's Catal. of the Royal Library, p. 124, 125.

(48) Burnet, ubi supra.

(49) Ibid.

(50) Cleopatra, E. & F. 20.

Those Works of his which still remain in manuscript, are I. Two large Volumes of Collections out of Holy scripture, and the ancient Fathers, and later Doctors and Schoolmen. The first Volume contains 545 pages, and the second above 559. They are chiefly upon the points controverted between us and the Church of Rome; namely, about their seven Sacraments, Invocation of Saints, Images, Relicks, of true Religion and Superstition, the Mass, Prayer, the Virgin Mary, &c. These two Volumes are in the King's Library (46). When they were offered to sale, they were valued at 100*l.* but Bishop Beveridge, and Dr Jane, appraisers for the King, brought down the price to 50*l.* (47). II. The Lord Burghley had six or seven Volumes more of his writing (48). III. And Dr Burnet mentions two Volumes besides, that he saw, but they are suppos'd to be now lost (49). IV. There are also several Letters of his in the Collections of Sir Robert Cotton. (50)

C R E E C H (T H O M A S), famous for his Translations of *Lucretius* [A], *Horace*,

[A] His Translation of *Lucretius*.] It is intituled; *T. Lucretius Carus, Of the Nature of Things. Translated into English verse by Thomas Creech, A. M. and fellow of Wadham College in Oxford.* It was printed at Oxford in 1682, in 8vo, and recommended by a Latin Distich of Dr Edward Barnard, Savilian Professor of Astronomy in that university, and by a copy of English verses of Mr Thomas Brown of Christ-

Church. It was re-printed the year following, with Commendatory verses by several eminent hands (1): among which, those, which pass under the names of Mr Dryden and Mr Waller, we are assured from undoubted authority, were not theirs. However Mr Dryden, who himself translated some parts of *Lucretius*, has given the highest character of Mr Creech's performance, in the following words. 'This puts me in mind

(1) Wood, Ath. Ox. n. Vol. II. col. 1104, 1105.

(23) Memorials of T. Cranmer, by J. Strype, p. 6. and Append. p. 3.  
(24) In several parts of the same book.  
(25) Append. ubi supra, p. 57.  
(26) Ibid.  
(27) Ibid. p. 86.  
(28) Ib. p. 77; and Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. Coll:ct. No. 21, p. 201.  
(29) Strype, ubi supra, p. 139.  
(30) Ibid. p. 159.  
(31) Page 160.

*Horace* [B], and from other antient authors, both in prose and verse [C], was son of Thomas Creech, Gent. and born, in 1659, at Blandford in Dorsetshire. He was educated in Grammar learning under Mr Thomas Curganven, master of the Free-school at Sherburne; and admitted a Commoner of Wadham College in Oxford [D], in Lent-Term 1675, under the tuition of Mr Robert Pit, and afterwards of Mr Robert Balch, fellows of that College. The 28th of September the year following, he was admitted a scholar of that house, and acquired the reputation of a good Philosopher, Poet, and a severe Student (a). October the 27th 1680, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (b). In 1680, he was appointed by his tutor Mr Balch, then one of the Proctors of the University, his Quadragesimal Collector of the Bachelors that were to determine the latter end of that year (c). June the 13th 1683, he took the degree of Master of Arts (d); and about the beginning of November following was elected a Probationer-Fellow of All-Souls College, having given singular proofs of his Classical learning and Philosophy before his Examiners (e). In 1701, having taken Holy Orders, he was presented by his College to the Living of Welling in Hertfordshire: but, before he had taken possession of it,

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1104.

(b) Id. Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 212.

(c) Id. Ath. ib.

(d) Id. Fasti, ib. col. 221.

(e) Id. Ath. ib.

‘mind of what I owe to the ingenious and learned translator of *Lucretius*. I have not here designed to rob him of any part of that commendation, which he has so justly acquired by the whole author, whose fragments only fall to my portion. The ways of our translations are very different: he follows him more closely than I have done; which became an interpreter of the whole Poem. I take more liberty, because it best suited with my design, which was to make him as pleasing as I could. He had been too voluminous, had he used my method in so long a work, and I had certainly taken his, had I made it my business to translate the whole. The preference then is justly his, and I join with Mr Evelyn (\*) in the confession of it, with this additional advantage to him; that his reputation is already established in this poet, mine is to make it's fortune in the world. If I have been any where obscure, in following our common author, or if *Lucretius* himself is to be condemned, I refer myself to his excellent Annotations, which I have often read, and always with some new pleasure (2).’ Mr Creech published an Edition of *Lucretius* in Latin, intitled; *Titi Lucretii Cari de Rerum Natura libri sex, quibus Interpretationem et Notas addidit Thomas Creech. Oxon. 1695, 8vo.* The Annotations on this Latin Edition were afterwards printed at the end of the English Translation, and all together by themselves. In the Edition of Mr Creech's *Lucretius*, London 1714, in Two Volumes Octavo, all the verses of the Text, which Mr Creech had left untranslated, are supplied: particularly those that were omitted towards the end of the 4th book, where the poet treats of the nature of love, are taken from Mr Dryden's translation of that part of the author. The Translator's Notes are disposed in the body of the Book, under the several places, to which they properly belong; intermixed with several Annotations by another hand; and all together forming a compleat System of the Epicurean Philosophy (3). And here impartiality obliges us not to suppress the severe censure passed on Mr Creech by a certain writer, who, having observed, that *the only book now in being, which from one end to the other is an open defence of Atheism, is that of Lucretius*, tells us (4), that ‘this most impious book in Charles II's reign was with infinite pains turned into English verse, that the smoothness and sweetness of the metre might supply what was wanting in the argument; that the elegance of the expression, the melodious harmony of numbers, and all those other bewitching beauties, which attend good poetry, might insensibly instil the poison into the minds of unthinking people, especially of the youth, whose imagination is generally too strong for their reason, and their fancy too powerful for their judgment. And this celebrated Translation was not only made by an Oxford Scholar (who was thereupon preferred) but it was licensed by the University of Oxford, where he was looked on as a raw lad, that had not read the *Lucretius* of Creech, who died, as he lived, like a true Atheist; but being a High-Church Priest, his murdering himself was not made to pass for a judgment.’ His calumny is sufficiently answered in the Preface to the two volumes.

[B] *His Translation of Horace.* It is intitled; *The Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles of Horace. Done into English by Mr Creech.* It is dedicated *To the very*

*much esteemed* John Dryden, Esq; In the Preface, having observed, that Quintilian was of opinion, that *all Horace's Odes* ought not to be interpreted, he adds: ‘what he means by *Interpretation* is evident to every one that understands the extent of the word, and the Ancients method of instructing: and why this caution is restrained to the *Odes*, and not applied to the *Satyrs* as well, since the reason upon which he fixes it seems common to both, must be taken from the design and subject-matter of the Poems. To describe and reform a vicious man necessarily requires some expressions, which an *Ode* can never want. The paint, which an Artist uses, must be agreeable to the piece which he designs. *Satyr* is to instruct, and that supposeth a knowledge and discovery of the Crime; while *Odes* are made only to delight and please, and therefore ev'ry thing in them that justly offends is unpardonable.’ These principles, he says, made him cautious of some *Odes*, tho' he omitted to translate three more upon a different Account. The *Odes*, not translated by Mr Creech, are; the 6th, 9th, 21st, 25th, and 27th of the *Third Book*; the 4th of the *Fourth Book*; and the 12th Epode. As to the *Satires* of Horace, he was advised, he tells us, *to turn them to our own time, since Rome was now rival'd in her vices, and Parallels for Hypocrisy, Profaneness, Avarice, and the like, were easy to be found.* But those crimes, he declares, ‘were much out of his acquaintance, and since the character is the same whoever the person is, he was not so fond of being hated, as to make any disobliging application.’ *Such pains, says he, would look like an impertinent labour to find a dunghill, only that I might satisfy an unaccountable humour of dirtying one man's face, and bespattering another.* He concludes his Preface with acknowledging himself indebted to other writers, particularly my Lord Roscommon, to whose admirable version he owed the sense, and the best lines in the *Art of Poetry*.

[C] *His translations from other antient authors, both in prose and verse.* They are: I. *A Translation of the Idylliums of Theocritus, with Rapin's Discourse of Pastorals*, Oxford, 1684, 8vo, dedicated to Mr Arthur Charlet of Trinity College in Oxford. II. *The 2d Elegy of Ovid's First Book of Elegies; and the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 12th of Ovid's Second Book of Elegies; and the Story of Lucretia, out of Ovid de Fastis.* III. *The 2d and 3d of Virgil's Eclogues; and part of Virgil's Fourth Georgic.* IV. *The Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, with Notes.* V. *A Translation into English of the verses prefixed to Mr Quintinie's Compleat Gardiner.* VI. *The Lives of Solon, Pelopidas, and Cleomenes, from Plutarch.* VII. *The Life of Pelopidas from Cornelius Nepos.* VIII. *Laconic Apophthegms, or Remarkable Sayings of the Spartans, from Plutarch.* IX. *A Discourse concerning Socrates his Dæmon, and The two first Books of the Symposiacs, from Plutarch.* X. *A Translation of Manilius's Astronomicon.*

[D] *Admitted a Commoner of Wadham College in Oxford.* The Author of the *Poetical Register* (5) tells us, that his parents circumstances not being sufficient to support him in a liberal Education, his disposition and capacity for learning raised him a Patron in Colonel Strangeways, whose generosity supplied that defect; and that this gentleman sent him to Wadham-College, where he was admitted a scholar on the foundation.

(\*) Mr Evelyn translated the first Book of *Lucretius*.

(2) Preface to the First Part of Miscellany Poems, &c. edit. 1727, p. 21.

(3) See the Preface to Creech's *Lucretius*, Lond. 1714.

(4) The nation vindicated from the aspersions cast on it in a late Pamphlet, intitled, *A Representation of the present State of Religion, &c.* P. ii. p. 38, Lond. 1712, 8vo.

(f) Jacob's Poetical Register, &c. Vol. 1. p. 39.

it, he unfortunately put an end to his own life [E], at Oxford (f). He has the character of having been a man of excellent parts and sound judgment; a perfect master of the Greek and Latin Languages; but naturally of a morose temper, and too apt to despise the understandings and performances of others (g).

(g) Id. ibid.

(6) For September 1701.

[E] *He put an end to his own life.* Neither the motives to, nor the circumstances of, this affair are certainly known. The author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (6), informs us, that, in the year 1700, Mr Creech fell in love with a woman, who treated him with great neglect, tho' she was complaisant enough to several others. This affront he could not bear, and resolved not to survive it. Whereupon he shut himself up in his study, where he hanged him-

self about the end of June 1700, and was found in that circumstance three days after. The *Poetical Register* says nothing of the particular manner of his death, but only that he unfortunately made away with himself in the year 1701; and ascribes (7) this fatal catastrophe of Mr Creech's life to the moroseness of his temper, which made him less esteemed than his great merit deserved, and engaged him in frequent animosities and disputes upon that account.

(7) *Idi supra*

T

CRESSEY or CRESSY (HUGH-PAULIN, or SERENUS) a celebrated writer, in behalf of the Papists, and one of their Ecclesiastical Historians, who flourished in the seventeenth Century. He derived his descent from an ancient and honourable family, seated formerly in Nottinghamshire, but before his time had removed into Yorkshire, of which county he was himself a native, being born at Wakefield in the year 1605 (a). His father was Hugh Cressley, Esq; Barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, his mother's name was Margery the daughter of Dr Thomas Doylie, an eminent Physician in London (b). He was educated at a Grammar-school in the place of his nativity, till such time as he had attained the age of fourteen or thereabout, and then in Lent-term 1619 he was removed to Oxford where he studied with great vigour and diligence, and in the year 1626 was admitted Fellow of Merton-college in that university (c). After taking the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts he entered into Holy Orders, and became Chaplain to Thomas Lord Wentworth; then Lord President of the North, with whom he had the honour to live some years (d). About the year 1638 he went over to Ireland with that wife and worthy nobleman Lucius Carey, Lord Viscount Falkland, to whom he was likewise Chaplain, and by him much countenanced and esteemed (e). By the favour of this noble person, when Secretary of State, he was in the year 1642 promoted to a Canonry in the collegiate church of Windsor, and to the dignity of Dean of Laughlin in the kingdom of Ireland, but through the disturbances of the times he never attained the possession of either of these preferments (f). After the unfortunate death of his patron, who was killed in the battle of Newbury, he found himself in a manner destitute of subsistence, and therefore readily accepted a proposal that was made him of travelling with Charles Bertie, Esq; (g) afterwards created Earl of Falmouth, a great favourite of King Charles II. unhappily slain in a battle at sea in the first Dutch war after the Restoration (h). He quitted England in the year 1644, and making the tour of Italy with his pupil, moved by the declining state of the Church of England, he began to listen to the persuasion of the Romish Divines, and in the year 1646 made a publick profession at Rome of his being reconciled to that Church (i). He went from thence to Paris, where he thought fit to publish what he was pleased to stile the motives of his conversion, which work of his, as might be reasonably expected, was highly applauded by the Romanists, and is still considered by them as a very extraordinary performance [A]. After taking this step he was much inclined to become a Monk of the Carthusian Order, and had thoughts of entering into the Monastery of English Carthusians at Newport in Flanders, but from this he was dissuaded by some of his zealous countrymen, who were desirous that he should continue to employ his pen in defence of their religion, for which the severe discipline of that Order would have allowed him but little time; and therefore by their advice he laid aside that design, and being recommended to Henrietta Maria, Queen Dowager of England, he was taken under her protection, and being invited by the Benedictine College of English Monks at Douay in Flanders, he at length resolved to retire thither, and for the expence of his journey received one hundred Crowns as a bounty from that Princess, who could but ill spare even so small a sum at that time. Some time after his arrival at Douay he entered into the Benedictine Order,

(a) Thoresby's Topography of Leeds, p. 134.

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 320. Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 394.

(c) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. 11. col. 528.

(d) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 356.

(e) Epistle apologetical to a person of Honour, sect. vii.

(f) Fasti, Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 230. Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 356.

(g) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. 11. col. 528.

(h) Historian's Guide, p. 52.

(i) See the Preface to his Exomologesis. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 11. col. 529.

[A] *As a very extraordinary performance.* The author was pleased to entitle this work, EXOMOLOGESIS: or a faithful narration of the occasions and motives of his Conversion to Catholic Unity. Paris 1647 and 1653, in 8vo. To the last edition is an appendix, in which are cleared certain misconstructions of his Exomologesis, published by J. P. author of the Preface to the Lord Falkland's discourse of Infallibility. As soon as this was finished, he sent it over to his dear friend Dr Henry Hammond, as to one whose sincerity he had experienced, and for whose judgment he had a high esteem. That learned person wrote him a very kind letter in answer; in which he thanked him for his book, but at the same time, told him there was a vein of fallacy ran through the whole contexture of it; adding, we are friends, and I do not propose to be

your antagonist; at the close of this epistle, he invited him into England, assuring him that he should be provided with a convenient place to dwell in, and a sufficient subsistence to live comfortably, without being molested by any, about his religion and conscience. This offer, tho' our author did not accept, yet he returned, as became him, an answer full of respect and gratitude to the kind friend who had made it (1). Few books are more admired than this by the Papists, who flatter themselves, that he has fully answered the judicious Mr Chillingworth, and his own kind patron the learned Lord Falkland; but we know that they are so apt to magnify the performances of all their converts, that there is no laying any great stress upon such commendations (2).

(1) This circumstance is taken from his Apologetical Epistle to a person of Honour, p. 47.

(2) The Christian Moderator, by John Austin, to which an Answer was written under the title of *Legenda Ignita*, in the 36th chapter of which our author is very harshly treated.

Order, and upon that occasion changed the name he received at his baptism of Hugh-Paulin, for that of Serenus de Cressy, by which he was afterwards known to the learned world (k). He remained about seven years or more in that college, and during his residence there published a large work, of which the reader will find some notice taken at the bottom of the page [B]. After the Restoration and the marriage of King Charles II. Queen Catherine appointed our author, who was then become one of the Mission in England, her Chaplain, and thence forward he resided in Somersset-house in the Strand (l). The great regularity of his life, his sincere and unaffected piety, his modest and mild behaviour, his respectful deportment to persons of distinction, with whom he was formerly acquainted when a Protestant, and the care he took to avoid all concern in political affairs or intrigues of State, preserved him in quiet and safety, even in the most troublesome times. He was, however, a very zealous champion in the cause of the Church of Rome, and was continually writing in defence of her doctrines, or in answer to the books of controversy, written by Protestants of distinguished learning or figure, and as this engaged him in a variety of disputes, he quickly gained a great reputation with both parties, the Papists looking upon him to be one of their ablest advocates, and the Protestants allowing that he was a grave, a sensible, and a candid writer (m) [C]. But that which of all his performances contributed to make him most known, was his large and copious Ecclesiastical History, which was indeed a work of great pains and labour, and executed with much accuracy and diligence. He had observed that nothing made a greater impression upon the people in general of his communion, than the reputation of the great antiquity of their Church, and the fame of the old saints of both sexes, that had flourished in this island; and therefore he judged that nothing could be more serviceable, to that which he stiled the Catholick Interest, than composing such a History as might set these points in the fairest and fullest light possible. He had before him the example of a famous Jesuit, Michael Alford, alias Griffith, who had adjusted the same History under the years in which the principal events happened, in four large volumes, collected from our ancient Historians, but as this was written in Latin, he judged that it was less suited to the design which he had in view, of bringing it into the hands of common readers, and therefore he set himself this painful task of putting it into English, with such helps and improvements as he thought necessary (n). His History was very much approved by the most learned of his countrymen, of the same religion, as appears by the testimonies prefixed to it. To speak impartially, the order, regularity, and coherence of the facts contained therein, deserve to be commended, and the gravity, or rather solemnity, of the language is very agreeable to the author's aim and intention, as is likewise the care and punctuality shewn in citing his authorities (o). But, on the other hand, he is justly, tho' modestly, censured by a learned prelate, for giving in to the superstitious notions of many of our old writers, and transcribing from them such fabulous passages as have been long ago exploded by the inquisitive and impartial criticks of his own faith (p). Anthony Wood thinks this however excusable, because he tells us from whence he had them, and perhaps we may render this excuse rather better, by observing that he meant to excite his readers to a zealous imitation of their pious ancestors, rather than afford them historical instruction, from a nice and critical examination of what the authors, from whom he collected his materials, had delivered. The book however still maintains it's credit amongst the Romanists, is reputed a most authentick ecclesiastical chronicle, and is frequently cited by their most considerable authors, as a performance of established reputation (q) [D]. He proposed to have published another

(k) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 356.

(l) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 530.

(m) See Dr Whitby's Preface to his Reply to S. C's Answer to Dr Pierce's Court-Sermon. The Christian Moderator, Lond. 1652, p. 97.

(n) This account of his undertaking is collected out of his copious Preface to his Ch. Hist. of Brittany.

(o) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 530.

(p) Nicholson's English Library, p. 3, 11.

(q) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 531.

[B] *At the bottom of the page.* This was a treatise of the mystical theology, entituled, SANCTA SOPHIA; or, Directions for the prayers of contemplation, &c. extracted out of more than XL treatises, written by the late Reverend Father Aug. Baker, a Monk of the English congregation of the holy order of St Benedict. Doway 1657, in 2 vol. in a large 8vo. To which are added, Certain patterns of devout exercises of immediate acts and affections of the will. Of this Father Augustine Baker, whose true name was David Baker, who had studied the Law in the Middle-Temple, and who from being little better than an Atheist, became a convert to Popery, and a very zealous devotionist, the Oxford Historian has given us a very large account (3). He had once it seems some intention of writing the Ecclesiastical History of England, for which he had made very copious collections, that were of great service to our author, when he entered upon the execution of the same project.

(3) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 8.

[C] *That he was a grave, a sensible, and a candid writer.* The first work, that he published after his return to England, bore this title *A non est inventus returned to Mr Edward Baghaw's enquiry and vainly boasted discovery of weakness in the Grounds of the Church's infallibility.* 1662. 8vo.

He wrote next, *A letter to an English gentleman dated July 6th 1662, wherein Bishop Morley is concerned,*

and therefore we find it printed amongst some of the treatises of that reverend Prelate.

He published after this, *Roman Catholic Doctrines no Novelities; or, an answer to Dr Pierce's Court-Sermon, miscalled, The primitive rule of Reformation.* 1663, 8vo. answered by Dr Daniel Whitby.

[D] *As a performance of established reputation.* The reader will form a very just and clear notion of the author's real intentions in composing this work, by perusing the title of it, which, for this reason, I shall insert at large. *The Church History of Brittany, from the beginning of Christianity to the Norman Conquest; under Roman Governors, British Kings, the English Saxon Heptarchy, the English Saxon and Danish Monarchy. Containing, I. The Lives of all our Saints, assigned to the proper ages wherein they lived. II. The erections of Episcopal Sees, and Succession of Bishops. III. The celebration of Synods, National, Provincial, and Diocesan. IV. The foundations of Monasteries, Nunneries, and Churches. V. And a sufficient account of the Successions of our Kings, and of the civil affairs of this Kingdom; from all which is evidently demonstrated, that the present Roman Catholick Religion hath from the beginning, without interruption, or change, been professed in this our holy Island, &c. By the reverend Father Serenus Cressy, of the Holy Order of St Benedict,* 1668 fol. (4) He very fairly acknowledges that the

(4) There is no name of the place in the title page of most of the copies, but it was actually printed at Roan.

bulk

another volume of this History, which was to have carried it as low as the dissolution of monasteries by King Henry VIII. but before he had proceeded full three hundred years lower than the Norman conquest, his life and labours were together suspended (r). We are not however to suppose from hence, that his whole time was devoted to this large work, on the contrary we find him very warmly engaged in all the controversies of the times, and yet that he had some leisure to bestow upon works of another nature [L]. His last dispute was in reference to a book written by the learned Dr Stillingfleet, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, to which, tho' several answers were given by the ablest of the Popish writers, there was none that seemed to merit reply, except that penned by Father Cressy, and this procured him the honour of a very illustrious antagonist, his old friend and acquaintance at Oxford, Edward Earl of Clarendon (s), who, notwithstanding, treated him upon this occasion somewhat severely, which induced our author to pen and publish that letter which is mentioned in the notes. Being now grown far in years and having no very promising scene before his eyes, from the warm spirit that appeared against Popery amongst all ranks of people, and the many excellent books written to confute it by the most learned of the Clergy, he was the more willing to seek for peace in the silence of a country retirement, and accordingly withdrew for some time to the house of Richard Caryll, Esq; a gentleman of an ancient family and affluent fortune, at East Grinstead in the county of Sussex, and dying upon the 10th of August 1674, being then near the seventieth year of his age, was buried in the parish church there (t). His loss was much regretted by those of his communion, as being one of their ablest champions ready to draw his pen in their defence on every occasion, and sure of having his pieces read with singular favour and attention (u). His memory also was revered by the Protestants, as well on account of the purity of his manners, and his mild and humble deportment, as for the plainness, candour, and decency, with which he had managed all the controversies that he had been engaged in, and

(r) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. III. p. 350.

(s) His Work was called Animadversions on a book intitled, *Fanaticism sanatically imputed*, &c.

(t) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 531.

(u) See the Character of our author by Edward Sheldon, Esq; .

and

bulk and substance of his work, is taken from the three first volumes of the *Ecclesiastical Annals*, written in Latin by Father Griffith, and that for the additions and improvements he has made, he stands chiefly indebted to the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, published by Sir William Dugdale, the *Decem Scriptores*, the *Flores Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, by Dr Smith, whom the Papiſts stiled Bishop of Chalcedon, and the large collection of manuscripts chiefly made by Father Augustine Baker, of whom some account has been given in the former note. He offers some apologies, for the fabulous relations inserted in his History; which however amounts to no more than this; that he did not think himself obliged to believe all that he had taken the pains to collect, and consequently he leaves the same liberty to his reader, who without doubt is not at all bound to have a larger measure of faith than the author. There is one thing very singular in his preface. His education at Oxford had taught him civility, his living at Court had improved it, and the obligations he lay under to several eminent and worthy persons of our religion, compelled him to shew it in the manner of his treating such prelates of our Church, as he had occasion to mention, in reference to the matters recorded in his History. But for this however, he thought himself obliged to make an apology to those of his own communion, which is so very remarkable as to deserve the reader's particular notice.

But for my excuse, or defence, I must take leave to say, I. That herein I follow not only the example of the ancient best Fathers in their disputes, even against Arians, Photinians, Novatians, &c. but of the most learned author of the Protestants Apology.

II. I am assured, that if my accusers were personally to converse with these Protestant prelates, they would not after such a manner change their titles. Now I see no reason, why an obligation should be imposed on any, to be uncivil with his pen, and not with his tongue. I do not find, that ever any Protestants esteemed such civility an advantage to them in the debate concerning their ordinations; for to instance in a case in just reason, far less disputable than that, yet not long ago actually and terribly disputed: If during the late rebellion, a faithful subject of the King should have petitioned for a pass to go through the rebels quarters, no man would have suspected him of disloyalty, because in his petition to Fairfax, Cromwell, or Waller, he stiled them Lords Generals. Has not the King himself, in addresses to the unlawful Parliament, done the like? yet all this surely without engagement to acknowledge their authority to be legitimate, particularly as touching the

forementioned writers, it cannot be denied but that we are much obliged to their diligence in the search of publick records, and their sincerity in delivering what they found; true it is, that B. Parker, according to the impulse of a Calvinistical spirit, often inserts malicious invectives against the Catholick Church, as being indeed the patriarch of Calvinistical prelacy. B. Godwin is less choleric, and may be excused, if now and then he seeks some advantage, particularly upon the account of married prelates. But as for B. Usher, his admirable abilities in Chronological and Historical Erudition, as also his faithfulness and ingenuous sincerity in delivering without any provoking reflections, what with great labour he has observed, ought certainly at least to exempt him from being treated by any one rudely and contemptuously, especially by me, who am moreover always obliged to preserve a just resentment of very many kind effects of friendship, which I received from him.

[E] Some leisure to bestow upon works of another nature.] We have already taken notice of this inclination to the Mystick Divinity, which lead him to take so much pains about the works of Father Baker, and from the same disposition he also published *Sixteen revelations of divine love, shewed to a devout servant of our Lord, called Mother Juliana, an Anchorete of Norwich, who lived in the days of King Edward III.* printed 1670. 8vo. and dedicated to the Lady Blount, of Sodingdon, widow of Sir George Blount, and likewise changed from old into modern English more compendiously. A book written before the change of Religion, entitled, *An abridgment of the book called The cloud of unknowing, and of the counsel referring to the same.* This is not printed, but in MS. and was shewn to Anthony Wood, by Father W. R. a Benedictine Monk (5).

The next performance of his was upon occasion of a famous treatise, written by Dr Stillingfleet, against the Church of Rome, which made a very great noise in those days, and put for some time a stop to the encroachments their Missionaries were daily making, which highly provoked those of the Roman communion. This was entitled,

*Answer to part of Dr Stillingfleet's Book, entitled Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome, 1672. 8vo.* He published also,

*Fanaticism sanatically imputed to the Catholick Church by Dr Stillingfleet, and the imputation refuted and retorted, &c. 1672. 8vo.*

*Question, Why are you a Catholick? Question, Why are you a Protestant? 1673. 8vo.*

(5) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 531.

(w) See Dr Daniel Whitby's Preface to his Reply to our author's Answer to Dr Pierce's Court Sermon.

and which had procured him in return, much more of kindness and respect, than almost any other of his party had met with, or indeed deserved (w).

In support of Dr Stillingfleet, the Earl of Clarendon wrote *Animadversions* upon our author's answer; in which he very plainly tells him and the world, that it was not devotion, but necessity and want of a subsistence, which drove him first out of the Church of England, and then into a Monastery; as this noble peer knew him well at Oxford, it may be very easily imagined that what he said made a very strong impression, and it was to efface this, that our author thought fit to send abroad an answer under the title of

*Epistle apologetical to a Person of Honour, touching his vindication of Dr Stillingfleet, 1674. 8vo.* In this work he gives a large relation of the state and condition of his affairs, at the time of what he styles his conversion, in order to remove the imputation of quitting his faith to obtain bread. The last work that he published was entitled,

*Remarks upon the Oath of Supremacy.*

E

C R E W (NATHANAEL) Bishop of Durham in the end of the seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth, century, was the fifth son of John Lord Crew of Stene in the county of Northampton [A], by Jemima, daughter and coheir of Edward Walgrave of Lawford in Essex, Esq (a); He was born at Stene, the 31st of January 1633 (b): and in 1652 admitted Commoner of Lincoln-college in Oxford (c), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts the 1st of February 1655-6 (d); soon after which he was chosen Fellow of that college (e). The 29th of June 1658, he took the degree of Master of Arts (f). At the Restoration, he declared heartily in favour of the Crown and Hierarchy (g); and in 1663 was one of the Proctors of the University (h). The year following, on the 2d of July, he took the degree of Doctor of Law (i): and soon after went into holy Orders. August the 12th 1668 he was elected Rector of Lincoln-college, upon the decease of Dr Paul Hood. On the 29th of April 1669, he was installed Dean Chichester, and held with that dignity the Præcentorship, in which he had been install'd the day before. He was also appointed Clerk of the Closet to King Charles II (k). In 1671, upon the translation of Dr Blandford to the See of Worcester, he was elected Bishop of Oxford in his room on the 16th of June, confirm'd June the 18th, consecrated July the 2d, and enthroniz'd the 5th of the same month; being allowed to hold with it in commendam the Living of Whitney, and the Rectorship of Lincoln-college (l): But this last he resign'd the 18th of October 1672 (m). In 1673 he perform'd the ceremony of the marriage of James Duke of York with Maria of Este (n). Through that Prince's interest, with whose measures he seems to have been very compliant, he was translated, the 22d of October 1674, to the rich Bishoprick of Durham; which had been kept vacant ever since the death of Bishop Cosin, January 15, 1671-2 (o). In the beginning of the year 1675, he baptized Katherina-Laura, the new-born daughter of James Duke of York (p). The 26th of April 1676, he was sworn of the Privy Council to King Charles II (q). Upon the accession of King James II. to the Crown, he was in great favour with that Prince, who thought him most obsequious to his will: Accordingly, on the 29th of December 1685, he was made Dean of his Majesty's Royal Chapel in the room of Henry Bishop of London who had been remov'd; and within a few days after, namely January 8, was admitted into the Privy Council (r). In 1686 he was appointed one of the Commissioners in the new Ecclesiastical Commission erected by King James (s), and seem'd to be proud of that honour [B]. By virtue of that Commission, he appear'd, on the 9th of August, at the Proceedings against Henry Bishop of London, and was for suspending him during the King's pleasure; tho' the Earl, and Bishop, of Rochester, and Chief Justice Herbert, were against it (t). Immediately after that Bishop's suspension, Commissioners were appointed to exercise all manner of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the diocese of London, of which Bishop Crew was one (u). The 20th of November following, he was present at, and consenting to, the degradation of Mr Samuel Johnson (w); previous to the most severe punishment that was inflicted on that eminent Divine. In the fore-mention'd quality of an Ecclesiastical Commissioner, he countenanc'd with his presence a prosecution carried on, in May 1687, against Dr Peachey Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, for refusing to admit one Alban Francis, a Benedictine Monk, to the degree of Master of Arts in that University, without taking the oaths (x). And, in July the same year,

(o) Willis, *ibid.* p. 251.

(p) *Life of King James II.* p. 19.

(q) Wood, *Athen. as above*, col. 1177.

(r) *Compl. Hist. of England*, by Bishop Kennet, edit. 1719, Vol. III. p. 442. Wood, *ubi supra*, col. 1178.

(s) See that Commission, published in 1688, 4to. It is also inserted in the *Compl. Hist.* as above, p. 452, &c. and in *The Life of King James II.* p. 146. &c. It bore date Aug. 3.

(t) *Burnet's Hist. of his own Time*, Vol. I. edit. 1724, p. 677.

(u) *Compl. Hist.* as above, p. 483.

(w) *Ibid.* p. 450.

(x) *Ibid.* p. 501, 502.

he

[A] Was the fifth son of John Lord Crew of Stene &c.] This John Lord Crew was son and heir to Sir Thomas Crew, Kt. one of the Serjeants at Law to King Charles I. Speaker of the House of Commons 21 Jacob. & 1 Caro. and descended from the ancient family of *Crew* in the County Palatine of Chester. Having been instrumental in the Restoration of K. Charles II, he was advanced by that King, in the 13th year of his reign, April 20. 1661, to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Crew of Stene, and to the heirs male of his body (1).———The elder brother of Sir Thomas Crew above-mentioned, was Sir Randolph Crew Kt. who on the 1st of July 1614, was made Serjeant at Law; and the 26th of January 1624<sup>z</sup> constituted chief Justice of the King's bench, but deprived of the same again

on the 9th of November 1626, for openly manifesting his dislike at King Charles the 1st's raising money by way of Loan: On his being displac'd, we are inform'd, he discovered no more discontent, than the weary traveller is offended, when told that he is arriv'd at his journey's end. He is said, to have first brought the model of excellent building into Cheshire (2).

[B] And seem'd to be proud of that honour] Bishop Burnet tells us (3), 'that he was lifted up with it, and said, now his name would be recorded in history: And when some of his friends represented to him, the danger of acting in a court so illegally constituted, he said, he could not live, if he should lose the King's gracious smiles: so low and so sawnyng (adds the Bishop) was he.'

(2) Fuller's *Worthies*, in Cheshire, p. 178; and Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales*, in the Lists.

(3) *Hist. of his own Time*, Vol. I. edit. 1724, p. 676.

[C] And

(a) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 482.

(b) From his epitaph.

(c) Wood, *Ath.* edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 1177.

(d) *Ibid.* *Fasti*, col. 108.

(e) *Athen. ubi supra*.

(f) *Fasti*, col. 122.

(g) Wood tells us, that he turned about. But there is no evidence of his having been otherwise.

(h) *Athen. ubi supra*; & *Fasti*, col. 150.

(i) *Fasti*, col. 159; and Catalogue of Graduates.

(k) Wood, *Ath. ubi supra*; and J. LeNeve's *Fast.* edit. 1716, p. 491, 61, 62.

(l) Wood, *Ath. ibid.* and *Survey of the Cathedrals, &c.* by Br Willis, Esq; Vol. II. p. 434.

(m) J. Le Neve, as above, p. 491.

(n) See Appendix to the *Life of King James II.* 8vo, edit. 1703, p. 41.

(1) Dugdale, *ubi supra*.

he offer'd to attend the Pope's Nuncio at his publick Entry into London; but his coachman refus'd to drive him that way (y). His name was put again in a new Ecclesiastical Commission issued out this year, in October (z): In which he acted, during the severe proceedings against Magdalen-college in Oxford, for refusing to elect one Anthony Farmer their President, pursuant to the King's mandate (a). The Bishop continued acting as an Ecclesiastical Commissioner till October 1688; when that Commission was abolished. Towards the end of the year 1687, he was employed, with the Bishops of Rochester and Peterborough (b), to draw up a Form of Thanksgiving for the Queen's being with child (c). Thus he complied with the King's designs, till he found that the Prince of Orange's party was likely to prevail. But, then, he absented himself from the Council-board, and told the Archbishop of Canterbury, that he was sorry for having so long concurr'd with the Court; and desir'd now to be reconcil'd to his Grace, and the other Bishops (d). Moreover, in the Convention that met January the 22d, 1688-9, to consider of filling the Throne, he was one of those who voted, on the 6th of February, that King James II. had abdicated the Kingdom (e). Notwithstanding all this, his thorough compliance with the late Court's arbitrary designs, had rendered him so obnoxious to the Nation, that he was excepted by name out of the Pardon granted by King William and Queen Mary, May the 23d, 1690 (f), which so terrified him, that he absconded for a time, and was ready to go, or actually went, beyond Sea [C]: and offered to compound, by resigning his Bishoprick (g). However he found means afterwards to make his peace, and to preserve his Bishoprick: But, in order to secure to himself the possession of that dignity, he was forced to permit the Crown to dispose of, or at least to nominate to, his Prebends of Durham, as they should become vacant (h). By the death of his two elder brothers, he became in 1691, Baron Crew of Stene; and, about the 21st of December the same year, he married, but left no issue (i). During the rest of King William's reign, he remain'd quiet and unmolested, tho' not much considered. In the year 1710, he was one of the Lords that opposed the prosecution then carried on against Dr Sacheverell, and declared him Not Guilty; and likewise protested against several steps taken in that affair (k). He applied himself chiefly, in the latter part of his life, to works of Munificence and Charity. Particularly, he was a very great benefactor to Lincoln-college, of which he had been Fellow, and Rector [D]; And laid out large sums in beautifying the Bishop's palace at Durham (l); besides many other instances of generosity and munificence of a more private nature. At length, his Lordship departed this life on Monday September 18, 1722, aged eighty eight: and was buried in his chapel at Stene, the 30th of the same month (m), with an inscription on his monument [E]. He held the See of Durham forty seven years, as he had done that of Oxford three, continuing a Bishop fifty years, three months, and two days; which was a longer time than any Englishman ever enjoy'd that honour, except Thomas Bouchier Archbishop of Canterbury, who held the Sees of Worcester, Ely, and Canterbury, fifty one years and twenty one days. His Lordship dying without issue, the title of Baron Crew of Stene became extinct with him.

(y) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 494; and N. Salmon's Lives of the English Bishops, &c. edit. 1731. p. 397.  
 (z) See Hist. of the Eccles. Commission, ed. 1711. Seco, p. 27.  
 (a) See a full account of that whole affair, in Complete Hist. as above, p. 502, &c.  
 (b) Tho. Sprat, and Tho. White.  
 (c) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 496.  
 (d) Ibid. p. 327.  
 (e) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.  
 (f) See Statut. 2 Will. & Mary, Sess. 1. c. 10.

(g) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 597, note (d); and Burnet, ubi supra. p. 822.  
 (h) From private information.  
 (i) Wood, ubi supra, col. 1178, and Willis, as above, p. 252.  
 (k) See Annals of Queen Anne, ann. 1710; and History of Queen Anne, by A. Boyer, edit. folio, 1735, p. 428, 429, 444, 445.  
 (l) Magna Britan. &c. edit. 1718, 4to, Vol. 1. p. 639.  
 (m) Willis, as above p. 251.

(4) Kennet, in Compl. Hist. as above, p. 597, note (k).  
 (5) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. edit. 1724, p. 822.

[C] And was ready to go, or actually went, beyond Sea] This particular is variously related by two of our Historians. One of them (4) writes thus; 'The Bishop of Durham had paid so much court to the King, and to the very Nuncio of the Pope, that he despair'd of any favour at the Revolution; and he was once got beyond Sea in a fright: but being brought back by the importunity of a domestick servant, he made a new interest in the new Court and Parliament, and bought off the complaints of Mr Samuel Johnson, and others, who had suffer'd by him.' The other Historian's words are as follows (5) 'The poor bishop of Durham, who had absconded for some time, and was waiting for a Ship to get beyond Sea, fearing publick affronts, and had offered to compound by resigning his bishoprick, was now prevailed on to come, and by voting the new settlement to merit at least a pardon for all that he had done: which, all things considered, was thought very indecent in him, yet not unbecoming the rest of his life and character.' He did not attempt to go beyond sea till after he was excepted out of the Act of Indemnity: so that the last inaccurate writer is mistaken in that particular.

[D] He was a very great Benefactor to Lincoln-College, of which he had been Fellow, and Rector.] He added Twenty pounds per annum, to the Headship, or Rectorry; and Ten pounds per annum to each of the twelve Fellowships, for ever. He made up the Bible clerk's place, and eight Scholarships belonging to that college, Ten pounds a year each, for ever, which before were very mean. He made an augmentation of

Ten pounds per annum a-piece for ever, to the Curates of four Churches belonging to the said College, viz. All-Saints and St Michael in Oxford, Twyford in Buckinghamshire, and Comb in Oxfordshire. All these were to take place from Michaelmas 1717. He likewise settled Twenty pounds a year a-piece on twelve Exhibitioners, which took place at Lady-day 1718. His Lordship intended also to have rebuilt that College or at least the best part of it; but the Fellows having disobliged him, in refusing to chuse for their Rector, a Gentleman whom he recommended to them, upon the death of Dr Fitzherbert Adams; his Lordship thought fit to alter his design.

[E] With an inscription on his monument.] Which is as follows.

Near this Place lyeth the Body  
 Of the Right Reverend and Right Honourable  
 NATHANIEL LORD CREW  
 Lord Bishop of DURHAM, and Baron of STENE,  
 Fifth Son of John Lord CREW.  
 He was born Jan. 31. 1633.  
 Was consecrated Bishop of OXFORD 1671.  
 Translated to DURHAM in 1674.  
 Was Clerk of the Closet and Privy Counsellor  
 In the Reigns of King CHARLES II. and  
 King JAMES II.  
 And died Sept. 18. 1722.  
 Aged 88.

CRISPE (Sir NICHOLAS) an eminent and loyal citizen in the reigns of King Charles the First and King Charles the Second, he was the son of a very eminent merchant, and grandson of an Alderman of London (a), born in the year 1598, and bred according to the custom of those times, in a thorough knowledge of business, tho' heir to a great estate (b). He made a considerable addition to this by marriage, and being a man of an enterprising genius, ever active and solicitous about new inventions and discoveries, and, which very rarely happens, wonderfully industrious and diligent about things he had brought to bear, he was soon taken notice of at Court, knighted and became one of the Farmers of the King's Customs (c). When the trade to Guinea was under great difficulties and discouragements, he framed a project for retrieving it, which required a very large sum of money to bring it about, but his reputation was so great, that many rich Merchants willingly engaged with him in the prosecution of the design (d); and to give a good example, as well as to shew that he meant to adhere to the work that he had once taken in hand, he caused the castle of Cormantyn upon the gold coast, to be erected at his own expence (e). By this judicious precaution, and by his wise and wary management afterwards, himself and his associates carried their trade to such a height, as to divide amongst them fifty thousand pounds a year (f). When the times grew dark and cloudy, and the King's affairs were in such distress he knew not how to turn himself for want of money, Sir Nicholas Crispe and his partners in the farming of the customs, upon very short warning, and when their refusing it, would have been esteemed a merit with the Parliament, raised him so large a sum as one hundred thousand pounds at once (g), and that with such circumstances of cheerfulness as might be truly said to double the value of this service [A]. After the war broke out, and in the midst of all the distractions with which it was attended, he continued to carry on a trade to Holland, France, Spain, Italy, Norway, Moscow, and Turkey, which produced to the King near one hundred thousand pounds a year, besides keeping most of the ports open and ships in them constantly ready for his service; all the correspondence and supplies of arms which were procured by the Queen in Holland, and by the King's agents in Denmark, were consigned to his care, and by his prudence and vigilance safely landed in the North, and put into the hands of those for whom they were intended (h). In the management of so many nice and difficult affairs, he was obliged to keep up a very extensive correspondence, in doing of which he discovered a most surprising dexterity, for he hardly ever made use of cypher, but penned his letters in such a peculiar stile, as removed entirely his intentions from the apprehension of his enemies, and yet left them very intelligible unto those with whom he transacted (i). He had also an incomparable address in bringing any thing to bear that he had once contrived, to which it contributed not a little, that in matters of secrecy and danger he seldom trusted to any hands but his own, and to facilitate this, he made use of all kind of disguises, sometimes when he was believed to be in one place he was actually at another; letters of consequence he carried in the disguise of a porter; when he wanted intelligence he would be at the water side with a basket of flounders upon his head, and often passed between London and Oxford in the dress of a butter-woman on horseback between a pair of panniers (k). He was the principal author of that well-laid design for publishing the King's Commission of Array at London, which was defeated by another design that Mr Waller through fear betrayed, for which Tomkins and Chaloner suffered (l), and of which we have but a very obscure account in a very celebrated history (m) [B]. It is however very certain that there was nothing dishonourable

(a) Stow's Survey of London, published by Strype, Vol. I. C. iii. p. 203.

(b) Characters of eminent Citizens of London, p. 97. Monumental inscription in the chapel at Hammer-smith.

(c) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

(d) Historical Account of the English Trade to Guinea, p. 31.

(e) See the monumental inscription in Hammer-smith chapel.

(f) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627. Hist. of the English Trade to Guinea, p. 103.

(g) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

(h) Characters of eminent Citizens in London, p. 97.

(i) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

(k) Characters of eminent Citizens in London, p. 97. Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

(l) Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 359.

(m) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 317, 318, 319.

[A] *As might be truly said to double the value of this service.*] It was but a short time before the King was obliged to leave London, that he found himself under the necessity of applying to those four eminent citizens, who were then farmers of the customs, for no less a sum than one hundred thousand pounds, and that to be advanced immediately (1). These farmers of the customs, were Sir Nicholas Crispe, Sir Abraham Dawes, Sir John Jacob, and Sir John Wolfenholme. When the matter was proposed to Sir Nicholas, he said, 'it was a large sum and short warning, but that providence had made him able, and his duty made him willing to lay down his proportion, whenever his Majesty called for it.' Sir Abraham Dawes had some relations, whose affections leaned the other way, and who besides had great expectations from him; they magnified the sum that was desired, the uncertainty of it's being repaid, and the danger that it would be taken ill by Parliament, who might insist upon the like sum. 'Well, said Sir Abraham, this then is the worst that can happen, and I bless God, who has made me able to pay my allegiance, and to pay for it (2).' Something of the same kind was insinuated to Sir John Jacob, who was not only very sincerely loyal, but which generally go together, a man of a warm temper and a tender heart, 'What, said he in reply, shall I keep my estate, and see the King want wherewithal, to protect me in it? If it please God

to bless the King, tho' I give him all I have, I shall be no loser, if not tho' I keep all I have, I shall be no savor (3).' Sir John Wolfenholme, a stout and plain man, advanced his proportion, as he afterwards did larger sums, without any speeches (4). He and Sir Nicholas Crispe lived to see the Restoration, and to be farmers of the Customs again under King Charles the second, after they and the rest had paid deeply for this proof of their loyalty.

[B] *And of which we have but a very obscure account, in a very celebrated History.*] We have in the Earl of Clarendon's Work, a very large account of Mr Waller's design, and the methods employed by him to bring it to bear, and of the manner in which it was discovered. His Lordship then takes occasion to tell us, that the parliament, to magnify their danger, blended this with another design that was formed in the King's quarters, and as this relates expressly to the person of whom we are speaking, it is necessary the reader should see it (5). From the King's coming to Oxford, many citizens of good quality, who were prosecuted or jealously looked upon, in London, had resorted to the King, and hoping if the winter produced not a peace, that the summer would carry the King before that city with an army, they had entertained some discourse of raising upon their own stocks of money and credit, some regiments of foot and horse, and joining with some gentlemen of Kent, who were likewise

(3) English Barrenage, Vol. IV. P. 450.

(4) From the information of the family.

(5) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 318.

(1) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

(2) From a MS. formerly belonging to Peter Le Neve, Esq;

honourable in the design itself, so far as Sir Nicholas Crispe was concerned, or any just grounds of throwing reproach, or so much as suspicion upon him, for the discovery of it; but it seems the noble author was not entirely possessed of the facts relating to it, and either willingly or inadvertently confounds Sir Nicholas Crispe's design of executing the King's Commission of Array in London (n), which might have been done as legally as any where else, with another design superinduced by Mr Waller of surprizing the Parliament, in bringing which to bear he proceeded very vigorously at first, till finding that he had engaged in a matter too big for his management, he suddenly lost his spirits, and some of the chief men in the House of Commons gaining intelligence that something was in agitation to their prejudice, May 31st, 1643 (o), they presently seized Mr Waller and drew from him a compleat discovery, which, from the account they published, plainly distinguished these two projects [C]. By the discovery of this business, Sir Nicholas Crispe found himself obliged

(n) May's Hist. of the Parliament of England, l. iii. p. 45.

(o) Rushworth's Collections, P. iii. Vol. II. p. 324.

to

likewise inclined to such an undertaking: among these was Sir Nicholas Crisp, a citizen of good wealth, great trade, and an active spirited man; who had been lately prosecuted with great severity by the House of Commons, and had thereupon fled from London for appearing too great a stickler in a petition for peace in the city. This gentleman industriously preserved a correspondence still therein, by which he gave the King often very useful intelligence, and assured him of a very considerable party which would appear there for him, when ever his own power should be so near as to give them any countenance. In the end, whether invited by his correspondents there, or trusting his own sprightly inclinations and resolutions too much, and concluding that all who were equally honest, would be equally bold, he desired his Majesty 'to grant a commission to such persons whom he would nominate of the city of London, under the great seal of England, in the nature of a Commission of Array, by virtue whereof, when the season should come, his party there would appear in discipline and order, and that this was desired by those who best knew what countenance and authority was requisite, and being trusted to them, would not be executed at all, or else at such a time, as his Majesty should receive ample fruits by it, provided it were done with secrecy equal to the hazard they should run, who were employ'd in it.' The King had this exception to it. 'The improbability that it could do good, and that the failing might do hurt to the undertakers.' But the promoter was a very popular man in the city, where he had been a commander of the Trained-bands, till the ordinance of the Militia remov'd him, which rather improv'd than lessened his credit, and he was very confident it would produce a notable advantage to the King. However they desired it, who were there, and would not appear without it, and therefore the King consenting to it, referring the nomination of all persons in the commission to him, who he verily believed had proceeded by the instruction and advice of those that were nearest the concernment, and for the secrecy of it, the King referred the preparing and dispatch of the commission to Sir Nicholas Crispe himself, who should acquaint no more with it than he found requisite; so without the privity or advice, of any counsellor, or Minister of state, then most trusted by his Majesty, he procured such a commission as he desired, (being no other than the commission of array in English,) to be signed by the King, and seal'd with the great seal. This being done and remaining still in his custody, the Lady Aubigny, by a pass, and with the consent of the Houses, came to Oxford to transact the affairs of her own fortune with the King, upon the death of her husband, who was killed at Edghill, and she having in few days dispatched her business there, and being ready to return, Sir Nicholas Crispe came to the King, and besought him 'to desire that Lady, who had a pass, and so could promise her self safety in her journey, to carry a small box (in which that commission should be) with her, and to keep it in her own custody, until a gentleman should call to her Ladyship for it, by such a token,' that token he said 'he could send to one of the persons trusted who should keep it by him, till the opportunity came in which it might be executed.' The King accordingly wished the Lady Aubigny to carry it with great care, and secrecy, telling her 'it much concerned his own service,' and to deliver it in such manner, and upon such assurance, as is before mentioned, which she did,

and within few days after her return to London, delivered it to a person who was appointed to call for it. How this commission was discovered, I could never learn, for tho' Mr Waller had the honour to be admitted often to that Lady, and was believed by her to be a gentleman of most entire affections to the King's service, and consequently might be fitly trusted with what she knew, yet her Ladyship herself not knowing what it was she carried, could not inform any body else. It is very evident from this account, that the noble Historian was not much in the secret himself, and this perhaps might incline him not to entertain a better opinion of it, for it is very apparent, that he looked upon Sir Nicholas Crispe's zeal as pushing him a little too far in this business, that he very much doubted whether that commission, however managed, could turn to the King's advantage, because of the want of spirit in those concerned; and that after all, he could never find out how the original commissions came into the Parliaments hands; because the Lady Aubigny delivered it, as she was directed, so that it was out of her hands before it was discovered, and while it was in her hands, she could say nothing about it to Mr Waller, because she herself did not know what it was.

[C] Which from the account they published, plainly distinguished these two projects.] We have at the close of the last note, pointed out the difficulties under which, from his own account, it is very plain that the noble Historian laboured; it is true, that he remarks it as a point of insincerity in the Parliament, that they kneaded these two projects together, which remark of his is very well founded; but then it is very evident, that he does not himself distinguish them sufficiently, but imputes the failing of Sir Nicholas Crispe's design, to the want of spirit, in those who were to manage it. To say the truth, there is no one point of so great importance, in the History of those times, that is so darkly, so imperfectly, and so confusedly related by all our general historians. Mr Archdeacon Echard (6) takes all that he says about it, from the Earl of Clarendon, and blames the Parliament for blending these two designs, at the same time that he justifies them, by not shewing how they ought to be distinguished. This afforded occasion to another writer (7) to attack the sincerity, or at least the consistency, both of the noble Peer and of the reverend writer; and he thinks that he has fully proved his point, and justified the Parliament, by producing some passages from the dying speeches of Mr Tomkins and Mr Challoner. A little attention to facts and dates will clear up this whole affair, and enable us to set it in it's proper light, which is certainly one of the most useful purposes to which this kind of writing can be applied. Sir Nicholas Crispe remained at London, as long as he could remain there with safety, or had any hopes of doing his Majesty service, but being removed from his command in the Trained-Bands, censured for promoting a petition for peace, and seeing Sir Richard Gurney then Lord Mayor of London, imprisoned, deposed, and punished for doing what he took to be his duty, in publishing the King's proclamation, which tended to the execution of the Commission of Array, he retired to Oxford (8). As he had the King's ear, it is no wonder that he informed his Majesty, that there was a strong party for him in the city of London; who were desirous of acting for his service, and of levying regiments of horse and foot, at their own expences, which they were the rather induced to do, because

(6) Hist. of England, p. 570.

(7) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 222.

(8) Echard's Hist. of Engl. p. 570.

while

to declare openly and plainly the course he meant to take, and having at his own expence raised a regiment of horse for the King's service, he put himself at the head of it, and distinguished himself as remarkably in his military as he had ever done in his civil capacity. When the siege of Gloucester was resolved on, Sir Nicholas Crispe was charged with his regiment of horse to escort the King's train of artillery from Oxford, which important service he very gallantly performed (p). In the month of September following a very unlucky accident befel him, in which he was no way to blame, and tho' the circumstances attending it clearly justified his conduct to the world, yet the concern it gave him was such as he could not shake off so long as he lived. He happened to be quartered at Roullidge in Gloucestershire, where one Sir James Ennyon, Baronet, of Northamptonshire, and some friends of his took up a great part of the house, tho' none of them had any commands in the army, which however Sir Nicholas bore with the utmost patience, notwithstanding he was much incommoded by it. It fell out some time after, that certain horses belonging to those gentlemen were missing, upon which Sir James Ennyon, tho' he had lost none himself, came to Sir Nicholas Crispe on their behalf, insinuating that some of his troopers must have taken them, and after a long expostulation conceived in pretty rough terms, insisted that he should immediately draw out his regiment, that search might be made for them. Sir Nicholas answered him with all the mildness imaginable, offered him as full satisfaction as it was in his power to give, but excused himself from drawing out his regiment, as a thing improper and inconvenient at that juncture, for reasons which he assigned him (q). This however was so far from contenting Sir James, that he left him abruptly, and presently after sent him a challenge, accompanied with a message to this effect, that if he did not comply with it he would pistol him against the wall. Upon this Sir Nicholas Crispe taking a friend of his with him, went to the place appointed, where he found Sir James Ennyon and the person who brought him the challenge. Upon their meeting, Sir Nicholas began to use his utmost endeavours to pacify him, but to no purpose, he was determined to receive no satisfaction but by the sword (r), and they accordingly engaged, and in this duel Sir James having received a wound in the rim of the belly,

(p) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627. Heath's Chron. p. 52.

(q) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 75. Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627. Heath's Chron. p. 52.

(r) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 96.

while they remained under the power of the Parliament, they were obliged to contribute both arms and money, against the dictates of their consciences, and to act in some measure against the side to which they wished well. But to enable them to carry their intentions into execution, and to have what they took to be a legal authority to warrant their proceedings, it was necessary they should have the King's commission, empowering them to do what they inclined to do, as well as to appoint a General, and to grant commissions, which was the purport of the commission under the King's broad seal, dated at Oxford, March 16th in the eighteenth year of his Majesty's reign (9). The person, they had in view, to command the men they were to raise, was Sir Hugh Pollard, a member of Parliament but at that time a prisoner in the Compter, and a body of the King's forces were to advance within fifteen miles of London, to countenance their proceedings, to support them, if that was found practicable, or to join them in case they were forced to retreat (10). This commission was directed to Sir Nicholas Crispe, Sir George Stroud, Knights; to Sir Thomas Gardiner, Knight, Recorder of London; Sir George Binion, Knight, Richard Edes, and Marmaduke Royden, Esquires; Thomas Brown, Peter Passon, Charles Gennings, Edward Carleton, Roger Abbot, Andrew King, William White, Stephen Bolton, Robert Alden, Edmund Foster, Thomas Blinkhorne, of London Gentlemen, and to all such other persons, as according to the true intent and purport of that commission should be nominated and appointed to be Generals, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Serjeant-Majors, or other officers of that council of war. It is very evident, from hence, that this commission was not at all intended to countenance a secret conspiracy, or to cover a dark and private plot against the Parliament, but to enable those who, in this dispute between the King and Parliament, were for the former, to declare themselves; this business was carried with so much secrecy, that it was entirely ripe for execution, and the day fixed for the rising was the last of May (11). But amongst the persons trusted in this affair was one Mr Tomkins, an old and faithful servant of the King's, who was brother-in-law to Mr Waller, and to him that gentleman communicated his designs, which were of another nature, and by his assistance Mr Waller had likewise a considerable party in the city, whom he encouraged by assuring them that most of the Lords, and many members of the House of Commons, wished well to, and would

(9) Rushworth's Historical Collections, P. iii. Vol. II. p. 324—327.

(10) Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 359.

(11) See the Original Commission in Rushworth.

at a proper season join with, them. Tomkins depending upon this, got his other friends to postpone their insurrection, and that very day on which it was to have been made, Mr Waller's schemes were discovered (12). How that happened, is not material to be discussed here, but it was this that gave occasion to the seizing Mr Tomkins, Mr Challoner, Mr Blinkhorne, and several others. As to the finding the Commission, tho' the noble Historian was ignorant of it, it was nevertheless a thing very publickly known; for Mr Tomkins was the person sent for it to the Lady Aubigny, and for his own security buried it in his cellar, as he confessed upon his examination; upon which it was immediately dug up, and thus it came into the Parliaments hands (13); yet it does not appear that any great discoveries were made of the persons originally embarked in that design, tho' it was, as has been already observed, ripe for execution, when Mr Waller's plot was but in embryo. On the 30th of June, a council of war sat at Guildhall, of which the Earl of Manchester was President, before whom Mr Tomkins, Mr Challoner, Mr Blinkhorne, Mr Abbot, and Mr White, were tried; of whom the four first received sentence of death, Mr Tomkins was executed over against his own house, and at his death he called the matter for which he suffered a *foolish business*, and said he was drawn into it by affection for his brother-in-law; which plainly shews, that by *foolish business*, he meant Mr Waller's scheme. As to Mr Challoner, he was assisted by Mr Peters, and appears to have been a zealot in the Puritan way. He does indeed say, that he died justly, but then he was acquainted only with Mr Waller's design. He was executed the same day, before the Royal Exchange, in his dying speech he observes, that he had been wrongfully charged, with respect to the Commission; he said, he knew nothing of the procuring it, nor of the Commission itself, till the Friday before the discovery (14). The day before these men suffered, Mr Waller received sentence of death, at the court-martial, tho' a member of the House of Commons; was reprieved by the Earl of Essex, as General, and afterwards pardoned for his discoveries (15). Upon the whole it appears, that Sir Nicholas's design was open and honourable, and was conducted with great secrecy and success, and that it was disappointed by the breaking out of a thing quite different from it in its nature, of which Sir Nicholas Crispe had no knowledge, and in the credit or event of which therefore he could have no concern.

(12) May's Hist. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 43—45.

(13) Rushworth's Collections, P. iii. Vol. II. p. 324—327.

(14) See these Dying Speeches at large in Rushworth.

(15) May's Hist. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 46.

belly, languished for near two days and then expired, but first of all sent for Sir Nicholas Crispe, and in a manner becoming a Gentleman and a Christian, was sincerely reconciled to him (s). Upon the 2d of October following Sir Nicholas was brought to a Court Martial for this unfortunate affair, and upon a full examination of every thing relating to it, was most honourably acquitted [D]. He continued to serve with the same zeal and fidelity during the year 1644, and in the spring following, when a treaty was set on foot at Uxbridge, the Parliament thought fit to mark him as they afterwards did in the Isle of Wight Treaty, by insisting that he should be removed from his Majesty's presence (t). A few months after, they proceeded to an act of greater severity, for April 16th, 1645, they ordered his large house in Bread-street to be sold (u), which had been for many years belonging to his family; neither was this stroke of their vengeance judged a sufficient punishment for his offences, since having resolved to grant the Elector Palatine a pension of eight thousand pounds a year, they directed that two thousand should be applied out of the King's revenue, and the remainder made up out of the estates of Lord Culpeper and Sir Nicholas Crispe (w), which shews how considerable a fortune he had left at their mercy. The King's affairs were now grown desperate, when Sir Nicholas finding himself no longer in a capacity to render him any service, thought it expedient to preserve himself, with which view, in the beginning of the month of April 1646, he embarked with Lord Culpeper and Colonel Monk, and a few days after was safely landed in France (x). As he had many rich relations who had a great interest with those in power, they interposed in his favour, and as Sir Nicholas knew very well that he could be of no service to the Royal Cause abroad, he did not look upon it as any deviation from his duty to return and live quietly at home (y). Accordingly having submitted to a composition, he came back to London and took all the pains he could to retrieve his shattered fortunes. He was indeed a person of so clear a head, had such thorough and extensive notions of trade, and withal of so quick an invention, that he very soon engaged again in business, with the same spirit and success as before (z). In this season of prosperity he was not unmindful of the wants of his Royal Master then in exile, but contributed cheerfully to his relief, when his affairs seemed to be in the most desperate condition (a). Upon the great change that happened after the death of Oliver Cromwell, he was instrumental in reconciling many to their duty, and so well were his principles known, and so much his influence was apprehended, that when it was proposed the Royalists in and about London should sign an instrument signifying their inclination to preserve the publick tranquillity, he was called upon and very readily subscribed it (b). He was also principally concerned in bringing the city of London in her corporate capacity, to give the encouragement that was requisite to leave General Monk without any difficulties or suspicion (c), as to the sincerity and unanimity of their inclinations. It was therefore very natural after reading the King's letter and declaration in Common-Council May 3d, 1660, to think of sending some members of their own body to present their duty to his Majesty; accordingly, having appointed nine loyal aldermen and their recorder, the next person they thought of was Sir Nicholas Crispe (d), who with several other worthy persons they added to that committee, from an assurance that the King would receive a double satisfaction from the nature of their message, and from it's being brought by several of those who had suffered deeply in his own and in his father's cause. His Majesty received these gentlemen very graciously in their publick capacities, and afterwards testified to them separately the sense he had of their past services. Upon the King's return Sir Nicholas Crispe and Sir John Wolstenholme, tho' the latter was then near fourscore, were re-instated as Farmers of the Customs, which they put into very good order (e). As Sir Nicholas was now in years and somewhat infirm, he spent a great part of his time at his noble country seat near Hammersmith, where he was in some measure the founder of the chapel (f). He had now an opportunity of returning the obligation he had received from some of his relations, nor did he neglect it, but procured for them that indemnity from the King gratis, for which he had so dearly paid during the late confusion (g). The last testimony he received of his royal master's favour, was his being created a Baronet,

April

[D] *Was most honourably acquitted* ] The best justification of what has been said in the text, is to give the reader the sentence of the court-martial, by which he was tried, and which was conceived in the following terms (16). 'In the cause depending against Sir Nicholas Crispe, Knight, concerning the death of Sir James Enyon, Knight, slain by him in a Dael, in September last; the court being inform'd that an affixer was duly set up upon the court-house door, according to their order, of the 28th of September last, and the affixer afterwards taken down, and brought into the court, and proclamation being made, and no man appearing against him, yet upon examination of all the matter, and difference between them, and that the friends of the slain taking notice thereof, the court proceeds to sentence. That although the court doth condemn all manner of Duels, and utterly disallow them; yet in this particuler case of Sir Nicholas

'Crispe, in consideration of the great injury he received, in his own quarters, and how much he was provoked, and challenged, the court have thought fit to acquit him of any punishment in this court, and doth leave, and recommend him to his Majesty's mercy, for his gracious pardon; the 2d of October, 1643.'

Signed Forth Lord Lieutenant General and President. Dorset, Bristol, Northampton, Andover, Dunsmore, Jacob Astley, Arthur Ashton, William Blumchard, and John Byron.

By whom the whole matter was reported to the King, and Sir Nicholas brought to kiss his hand, from whom he received a gracious pardon, under the great seal of England, and was afterwards intrusted in high commands for his Majesty, both by land and sea.

(s) Heath's Chronicle, p. 52. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 98.

(t) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 81.

(u) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 142.

(w) See Votes and Ordinances of Parliament. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 145.

(x) Hist. of the Civil War, p. 395. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 200.

(y) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 26.

(z) Characters of eminent Citizens of London, p. 97.

(a) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

(b) Kennet's Chr. p. 121.

(c) Skinner's Hist. of the Restauration, p. 44, 45.

(d) Kennet's Historical Register, p. 133.

(e) English Baronetage, Vol. IV. p. 446.

(f) Antiquities of Middlesex, P. ii. p. 2.

(g) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

(16) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 97.

(b) English Baro-  
nnetage, Vol. V.  
p. 279.

(i) As appears  
from the inscrip-  
tion mentioned in  
the text.

(k) Characters of  
eminent Citizens,  
p. 99.

(l) Lloyd's Loyal  
Sufferers, p. 628.

(m) Antiquities of  
Middlesex, P. ii.  
p. 42.

April 16th, 1665 (b), nor did he long survive it, dying February 26th the same year (i), in the sixty-seventh year of his age (k), leaving a very large estate to his grandson Sir Nicholas Crispe; his corps was interred with his ancestors in the parish church of St Mildred in Bread-street, and his funeral sermon preached by his reverend and learned kinsman Mr Crispe of Christ-church, Oxford (l), but his heart was sent to the chapel at Hammersmith, where there is a short and plain inscription upon a cenotaph erected to his memory (m); or rather upon that monument which himself erected in grateful commemoration of that glorious martyr King Charles I, of blessed memory, as the inscription placed there in Sir Nicholas's life-time tells us, under which, after his decease, was placed a small white marble urn, upon a black pedestal, containing his heart. As to the character of this active, generous, and loyal person, who lived universally admired, and died generally lamented, it has been already represented from his actions, and if any thing be still wanting to the reader's entire satisfaction, it will be found in that exquisite Eulogy of so true a patriot, and so loyal a subject inserted in the notes [E].

[E] *Inserted in the notes.* We have taken all possible care, to prevent his character from appearing a repetition of what is said, either in the text or notes, by avoiding, as much as we could, the mention of most of the particulars that are contained therein (17). Amongst the worthy citizens of those times, who, in the midst of most epidemick corruption, escaped the smallest stain of infection, was Sir Nicholas Crispe; a gentleman descended both by father and mother, from the richest families in the city, in which they had borne the highest offices, to which, however, Sir Nicholas did not aspire. He came very young into business, and with a fortune larger than most men carry out of it. He had excellent notions of commerce, and he knew how to reduce them to practice, and to bring whatever he engaged in up to them. He was the most general trader of his time, but was principally concerned in the commerce to Guinea, which was immensely profitable to him and his associates. He was very remarkable for interesting himself in all domestick arts and manufactures, for any improvements, in which he gave extraordinary gratuities. All new inventions he also encouraged, and the art of Brickmaking, as since practised, was his own, conducted with incredible patience, through innumerable trials, and perfected at a very large expence. His principles were equally found, in religion and politics, and as he derived these from a good education, so their effects not only appeared early, but were conspicuous through the course of his whole life. In 1630, he gave in money and materials, towards building the new Chapel at Hammersmith, seven hundred pounds; besides being at the expence of adorning the roof, with the arms of the crown, and sprinkling it with roses, thistles, and flower de luces all effaced, in the troublesome times that ensued. Himself with his partners in the customs, having advanced one hundred thousand pounds to the King, were fined one hundred and fifty thousand to the Parliament, which was levied to the last farthing upon their estates. He loved exercise, and was remarkable for the pains he took to render his company in the London trained-bands, as well disciplin'd as any troops could be; and this natural inclination to military af-

fairs, proved very serviceable to him, when he became a commander of horse in the royal army. He was basely betrayed at Cirencester, to the Earl of Essex, who surprized him with the small force he commanded, and gained thereby an advantage fatal to the King's design upon Gloucester, and which, to say the truth, had a very unhappy influence on the general state of his affairs. When Sir Nicholas was obliged to quit the kingdom, and fly into parts beyond the seas, he made his private misfortunes turn publick benefits; by making such nice inquiries into agriculture, manufactures, and mechanick arts, as enabled him, upon his return, to make vast improvements in England of every kind. By his instructions, and through his encouragement, the farmers and gardeners in Middlesex, changed their old system for a better. At his expence, the banks of the river were secured, and the channel cleansed; by his communication, new inventions, as to water-mills, paper-mills, and powder-mills, came into use. After the Restauration, he caused to be erected at his own expence, in the south-east corner of the chapel at Hammersmith, near the pulpit, a very neat and beautiful monument of black and white marble, eight feet in length, and near two in breadth, upon which he placed a brass busto of his beloved master, with this short and plain inscription underneath. *This Effigies was erected by the especial appointment of Sir Nicholas Crispe, Knight and Baronet, as a grateful Commemoration of that glorious Martyr King Charles I. of blessed Memory.* He also directed that after his decease, his own heart, in token of undying affection to his royal master, should be here in a white urn entombed. He spent twenty five thousand pounds, in building his noble seat, which attracts all eyes from the river. This house was purchased by Prince Rupert, for Mrs Margaret Hughs, and was not long since sold to Mr Lannoy, a scarlet Dyer. It was there he spent the calm evening of his day, in honour and repose, loved by the great, prayed for by the poor, universally esteemed by all ranks of people; and being full of years and glory, with much patience and piety, resigned his soul to the mercy of his Creator, in the sixty-seventh year of his life. E

CROFT (HERBERT) an eminent and worthy Divine, as well as venerable prelate of the Church of England, in the seventeenth century. He was descended, tho' not from a noble, yet of an ancient and honourable family, which had flourished in great wealth and credit in the county of Hereford (a) from before the Norman Conquest, and amongst his ancestors there were many highly distinguished by their personal reputation and merit, as well in respect to arms as arts, whose names we find recorded with honour, by authors of unquestionable veracity [A]. He was the third son of Sir Herbert Croft, of Croft-Castle, by

(a) Camd. Britan.  
Lond. 1594, 4<sup>to</sup>,  
p. 477.  
Pedigree of the  
Croft family.

[A] *By authors of unquestionable veracity.* We have no distinct account of the original of this family; only the tradition of the country refers the building of Croft-Castle, which has always been the seat of it, to the Saxon times, which is the more probable, since, from the earliest accounts we have, at least with any tolerable degree of certainty, this appears to have been a family of eminence in Herefordshire, and to have been even then, reputed of great antiquity (1). Thus it occurs in the famous inquisition taken in the reign of

King Henry VI (2). In the reign of his successor Edward IV, Sir Richard Croft, of Croft-Castle, was High-Sheriff of the county; and at the battle of Tewksbury, took Prince Edward, eldest son to Henry VI. prisoner; whom, upon proclamation, and promise of safety for his person, he produced, but had no hand whatever in the barbarous murder of that young Prince, which was committed by the King's two brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester (3). From this Sir Richard Croft, in a direct line, descended Sir James Croft, Knight, who

(1) Fuller's Wor-  
thies, in Here-  
fordshire.

(2) See that Life  
as published in  
Fuller.

(3) English Baro-  
nnetage, Vol. IV.  
p. 535.

by Mary, daughter and coheirefs of Anthony Browne, of Holt-Castle in Worcestershire (b), and was born October 18th, 1603, at Great Milton near Thame in Oxfordshire, in the house of Sir William Green, his mother being then on a journey to London (c). He was very carefully educated in his junior years in Herefordshire, and having pregnant parts, joined to great steadiness of mind and unwearied application, he very early qualified himself for academical studies, and in order to his improvement in these, he was in the year 1616 sent to Oxford, and entered as is supposed of Christ-church college (d). But he had not been long there before his father unhappily joined himself with the Church of Rome, and became a Lay Brother in the Benedictine Monastery at Douay, and a most zealous advocate for the Romish religion (e) [B]. Upon his father's command he went over to him, and after some short stay at Douay was sent to the English college of Jesuits at St Omer's, where by the persuasion of Father Lloyd he was reconciled to the Church of Rome, and by the insinuations of the same person and some others, contrary to his father's advice in that particular, was wrought upon to enter into the order (f). Some time before his father's death, which happened about five years after his going abroad, he was by him sent back again to England, in order to manage some family affairs, and becoming happily acquainted with Dr Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham, he was by his arguments brought back to the Church of England, and soon after, at the desire of Dr William Laud, he went a second time to Oxford, was admitted a Student of Christ-church (g); and having supplicated the university November 21st, 1635, that the time he had spent in his studies in foreign nations might be reckoned as if he had continued there, and that on performing the exercise requisite by the statutes for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, he might have his grace proposed in congregation, which was granted; and having performed his exercise with applause, he was admitted to the said degree, and entering into holy Orders became Minister of a Church in Gloucestershire, and Rector of Harding in Oxfordshire (h). In the spring of the year 1639, he attended the Earl of Northumberland, as his Chaplain, in his expedition into Scotland (i); and on the 1st of August following was collated to a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, vacant by the resignation of Mr William Townson (k). In the year 1640, being then the King's Chaplain in Ordinary, he was admitted to his degree of Doctor of Divinity (l). He was employed by his Majesty upon various occasions, in those dangerous and difficult times, and always discharged his duty with fidelity and credit, tho' some times at the hazard of his life. The same year he became a Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Worcester, on the death of Dr Charlet (m). July 10th, 1641, he was installed Canon of Windfor in the place of Dr John Pocklington, who was deprived of all his ecclesiastical preferments by Parliament (n). In the year 1644, upon the death of Dr Jonathan Brown, he was nominated Dean of Hereford, where he married Mrs Ann Brown, the daughter of his predecessor. He resided chiefly in this city, and discharged his duty with great punctuality and freedom, even in the worst of times, at the constant peril of his then small fortune, and sometimes to the imminent endangering of his life (o) [C]. His circumstances were but very narrow for some years, notwithstanding he had so good preferments, for the dissolution of Cathedrals following so close upon his coming to have any relation to them, he had very little if any benefit from his several promotions, but at length in the year 1659, by the successive deaths of his elder brothers,

Sir

who suffered severely in the reign of Queen Mary, upon a suspicion of his having some intercourse with Sir Thomas Wiatt, for which however he had ample amends made him by Queen Elizabeth, to whom he was Comptroller of the household, and a member of the Privy-Council (4). This Sir James Croft married Alice, daughter of Richard Warwick, Esq; by whom he had issue Edward Croft, Esq; who espoused Mrs Anne Brown, and dying in the life-time of his father, left behind him a son Herbert (5), afterwards Sir Herbert Croft, Knight, who was the father of our prelate.

[B] And a most zealous advocate for the Romish religion.] This gentleman, Sir Herbert Croft, received the honour of knighthood from King James I, at Theobalds, in the year 1603 (6). And about fourteen years afterwards, turned Papist, and went over to Douay, where he died (7). He had four sons, and two daughters. His eldest son William, was knighted by King Charles I. in the beginning of his reign, and adhering firmly to the interests of that prince, became a colonel in his service, and was killed gallantly fighting against the rebels at Stone-Castle, near Ludlow in Shropshire, June the 9th 1645 (8). His loyalty was the more extraordinary, since he had been very ill treated by the Court, on account of his opposition to the great favourite Buckingham; and therefore the king took particular notice of his fidelity, when he saw him putting himself at the head of his regiment at the battle of Edge-Hill (9). James, the second son, was also a knight, and a Colonel in the King's service, and died, as Wood assures us, in the

year 1659, after suffering deeply for his loyalty (10). Robert, the fourth son, was a Colonel likewise (11). But of him we have no farther account. Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Sir Herbert Croft, married Sir Thomas Cave, of Stamford in the county of Northampton (12). But whether Mary, the other daughter, was married or not, does no where appear; only this we know of her, that she was a zealous Protestant, and wrote an answer to her father's letter, persuading her to change her religion, to which Sir Herbert Croft, made a warm reply (13).

[C] And sometimes to the imminent endangering his life.] He shewed upon all occasions, as far as fell within the compass of his power, or the sphere of his employment, not only the same loyalty, but the same courageous spirit that animated the rest of his brethren. After Hereford fell into the hands of the rebels, he not only continued to preach, but to preach that kind of doctrine, which how much soever they needed to learn, was nevertheless what they could hardly bear to hear. Once particularly in the Cathedral, he undertook to shew them the wickedness and impiety of sacrilege, which he painted in such lively colours, as provoked them to return the argument in their own way; for they printed and presented their pieces, and asked their governor, Colonel Birch, whether they should fire upon him in the pulpit; but being restrained by him they forbore (14), and Dr Croft soon after very wisely quitted a place, where he was every moment in danger of suffering evil, and was thoroughly satisfied it was no longer in his power to do any good.

[D] Where

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 364.

(c) English Barometage, Vol. IV. p. 537.

(d) English Spanish Pilgrim, by James Walford, Lond. 1630, 4to. c. 117.

(e) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 469.

(f) English Baronetage, Vol. IV. p. 538.

(g) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 864.

(h) English Baronetage, Vol. IV. p. 539.

(i) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 865.

(k) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 529.

(l) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 284.

(m) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 676.

(n) Antiquities of Berkshire, Vol. III. p. 273.

(o) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. II. p. 34.

(10) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 368.

(11) Id. ibid.

(12) English Baronetage, Vol. IV. p. 537.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 469.

(14) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. II. p. 34.

(4) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 567.

(5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 469.

(6) List of Knights made by King James.

(7) Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 269.

(8) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(9) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 673.

Sir William and Sir James Croft, he became possessed of the estate of the family. The provocation he had given to the persons who were then vested with power was so great, that he did not conceive it safe, even after he was possessed of the estate, to live in his own county; and therefore chose for the place of his retreat the house of his good friend Sir Rowland Berkeley, at Cotheridge in Worcestershire, where he patiently expected the restoration of Church and State, by the restitution of his just rights to his Royal Master, which happening in May 1660, Dr Croft, as well as other loyal subjects, came again into possession of his livings and spiritual preferments (*p*). Upon the death of Dr Nicholas Monk, Lord Bishop of Hereford, he was promoted to that See December 27th, 1661, and consecrated on the 9th of February following at the Archbishop's chapel in his palace at Lambeth, Dr Jasper Maine preaching the consecration sermon (*q*). He officiated likewise in his spiritual function frequently in the King's Chapel, and being very remarkable for his plain and practical preaching, and for the corresponding sanctity of his manners and purity of his life, King Charles II offered him more than once a better See, that which he then possessed being scarce of the value of eight hundred pounds a year, but he very conscientiously refused it. He became afterwards about the year 1667 Dean of the Chapel Royal, which he held to 1669 (*r*) and then resigned it, being weary of a court life and finding but little good effects from his pious endeavours. He then retired to his Bishoprick where he was exceedingly beloved for his constant preaching, edifying conversation, hospitable manner of living, and most extensive charity. He gave weekly alms to sixty poor people at his palace gate in Hereford, whether resident there or not, and besides this he augmented several small livings, supported many decayed families, and did various other Christian acts of the same nature with such privacy that they were never known till after his decease. His country house being conveniently situated in the very centre of his Diocese, he spent a considerable part of his time there, where he was no less charitable in relieving the poor and visiting the sick in all the neighbouring parishes. He was very strict in his manner of admitting persons to holy Orders, and more especially to that of the priesthood, which gained him some ill will, yet but little in comparison of what arose from another method in which however he was inflexible, and that was his refusing to admit any Prebendaries into his Cathedral Church, except such as live within his diocese, that the duty of the Church might not be neglected, and that the addition of a Prebend might be a comfortable augmentation to a small living (*s*). He expressed a great desire to be able to accomplish this design of his, so as to see all the dignities of his church bestowed in this manner, and God was pleased to grant him his desire, which he hoped might prove a precedent to his successors. He was very modest and charitable in his opinions, and tho' a true son and a worthy father of the Church of England, yet he had a great abhorrence of whatever carried the aspect of persecution, desiring that his zeal should appear in the soundness of his doctrines and the holiness of his life, as the surest and most effectual means of supporting his authority and drawing reverence to the Episcopal character in which no man was more successful (*t*). His sermons preached at court, had given the world a specimen of the fervency of his spirit, and at the same time of his charity and forbearance, but when the controversy with the Nonconformists came to it's greatest height, and the quarrel was so artificially widened that the Papists entertained hopes of entering through the breach, our wise and tender conscientious prelate thought it his duty to interpose, and to offer his assistance for healing these wounds in the Protestant Church. Accordingly in the year 1675 he published his truly famous work, which tho' no more than a small pamphlet of four or five sheets, made a prodigious noise in the world, and was read and studied by all people of sense and learning in the kingdom (*u*). It is indeed a most extraordinary performance as it was then thought, and has kept it's character to this day, for tho' often reprinted it has never been common, and notwithstanding the numberless volumes written on the same subject since, is yet looked upon as inimitable in it's kind and worthy of all the praises that have been bestowed upon it. As to the title and the circumstances attending this piece, the reader will find them at the bottom of the page, where we mention his Lordship's works [*D*]. We there likewise mention the answers that were given

(*p*) Ath. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 865.

(*q*) Godwin. de  
Præful, Lond. fol.  
1743, p. 457.  
Regist. Juxon.  
f. 283.

(*r*) Ath. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 865.

(*s*) Willis's Sur-  
vey, Vol. II. p.  
529.  
Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col.  
865, 866.

(*t*) English Baro-  
nnetage, Vol. IV.  
p. 541.

(*u*) Ath. Oxon.  
Vol. I. col. 866.

[*D*] *Where we mention his Lordship's works.* While his Lordship continued about the Court, and was generally applauded for his pathetick manner in the pulpit, he was prevailed upon to print two of his sermons.

I. *Sermon on Isaiah Chap. XXVII. the last verse, preached before the Lords assembled in Parliament upon the Fast-day, February 4th 1673. London 1674. 4to.*

II. *Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall, April 12. 1674. on Philipians I. and the 21st. London 1675. 4to.*

III. *The naked truth; or, the true state of the Primitive Church. London 1675. 4to; again in 1680. fol. and many times since.* This is that extraordinary work mentioned in the text, and the press being at that time under a licence, he found himself under the necessity of causing it to be printed privately, tho' he intended it for the most publick use; and for that reason, ad-

ressed it to the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. After having observed, that notwithstanding all the laws made for establishing Uniformity in religion, Protestants remain still more divided than ever, to the great scandal as well as danger of the Church, he proceeds thus. 'Many, who were formerly very zealous for our Church, seeing these our sad divisions, and not seeing those of the Roman Church, nor their gross superstitions, which their priests conceal till they have got men fast, are easily seduced by their pretended Unity, and daily fall from us. This makes my heart to bleed, and my soul with anguish ready to expire, rather than live to see that dismal day of relapse into their manifold idolatries. Wherefore I humbled my soul before God, in fasting and prayer, begging daily the assistance of his holy Spirit, to direct me to some healing salve for these our bleeding wounds; and therefore I have some reason

given to it, and the long and warm controversy which it occasioned, tho' it was certain that

OUR

reason to believe that what is contained in these following papers, comes from the great goodness, who never fails those who seek him in humility and sincerity, both which I am confident I have done; and this I am sure of, that no worldly designs have moved me to this, but have often tempted me to give it over. I am also sure that there is nothing contained therein, which is contrary to the laws of the land; in this only I confess I have transgressed in putting it forth without a licence; and for this I beg of God, and you, as Naaman did of Elisha, *In this thing the Lord and you pardon your servant*; and I hope you will say unto me, as Elisha did unto Naaman, *Go in peace*. And I farther hope, this shall not cast such a prejudice upon it, as to make you call it by, or read it with disgust. In this work he begins with articles of faith, and having shewn the danger of imposing more than are necessary, more especially as terms of communion, he proceeds next through all the great points, in dispute between the Church of England, and those that dissent from her; labouring throughout to prove, that Protestants differ about nothing, that can be truly stiled essential to religion, and that for the sake of Union compliances would be more becoming, as well as more effectual, than enforcing Uniformity by penalties and persecution. The whole is written with great plainness and piety, as well as with much force of argument and learning. If we consider however the temper of those times, and the warm disposition of most of the divines in the established Church, we need not at all wonder at the fate this piece met with, which was immediately written against with much heat and zeal, not to use the harsher terms of fury and resentment. 'Twas first attacked by Dr Francis Turner, Master of St John's College in Cambridge, in a piece intituled.

*Animadversions on a Pamphlet, called the Naked Truth, &c.* Lond. 1676. 4to. printed twice the same year. This was penned like all the rest of the writings of the same author, in a very elegant and flowing stile, which however could hardly atone for that severity, and bitterness that is expressed in it. But even this fell very far short of the vivacity with which it was replied to, by the famous Andrew Marvel, who entitled his piece, *Mr Smirke, or the Divine in mode*, and in which he ridicules the Animadvertiser with all that life and spirit, of which he was so much master. In this reply he gives the following character of the original work. 'It is a treatise, which if not for it's opposer, needs no commendation, being writ with that evidence and demonstration of truth; that all sober men cannot but give their assent and consent to it unasked. It is a book of that kind, that no Christian scarce can peruse it, without wishing himself to have been the author, and almost imagining that he is so: the conceptions therein being of so eternal idea, that every man finds it to be but a copy of the original of his own mind.' Another answer came out with this title:

*Lex Talionis; or, the author of the Naked Truth stripped naked*, Lond. 1676. 4to. This was at first ascribed to Dr Peter Gunning, bishop of Chichester, afterwards of Ely; who upon the first coming out of the Naked Truth, had preached a warm Sermon at Court against it. It was afterwards attributed to Dr William Lloyd, Dean of Bangor, a very learned and pious Divine. But upon better Grounds ascribed to the Reverend Mr Philip Fell, one of the fellows of Eaton College. There was yet a third answer published to this work of our author's, which was entitled,

*A modest survey of the most considerable things in a discourse lately published, entitled the Naked Truth*, Lond. 1676. 4to. This Anthony Wood affirms (15) was written by Dr Gilbert Burnet afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, upon the credit, as he says, of a Bookseller's Catalogue, at the end of another book, in which this treatise is ascribed to that Prelate.

It was indeed afterwards owned by his Lordship, and that upon the following occasion. The famous Dr Hicker, in a bitter invective he wrote against Bishop Burnet (16), charged him with stealing the materials of this answer from Bishop Gunning, who intended to answer it, as has been before observed, and who

upon his communicating the method he intended to pursue in his answer, was supplanted by the appearance of this of which we are speaking. In his Defence Bishop Burnet declares that the fact was absolutely false (17). That Bishop Gunning had indeed great learning, and true piety, but his ideas were so confused, and so over subtle, that he could never learn any thing from him, in all the time that he conversed with him. Thus much may serve for the answers written to this work, we will next say somewhat of the imitations and copies that it produced, and these were what follow, viz.

There was a *second part of Naked Truth* published in 1681, in *fol.* which was written by Edmund Hickeringhill, Rector of All-Saints in Colchester, who likewise wrote a *Vindication* of it. There also appeared the same year a treatise called the *third part of Naked Truth*, which was said to be a posthumous work, written by one Dr Benjamin Woistey. The year following appeared the *fourth part of Naked Truth; or, the complaint of the Church to some of her sons for breach of their Articles, &c.* The reader may from hence see the credit of this work of Bishop Croft, when so many different authors placed the hopes of procuring a reading for their performances, by giving them a likeness in their titles to his. This was still farther pursued by persons of quite different principles, as appears from the following book.

*The Catholick Naked Truth; or, the Puritans Convert to Christianity.* 1676. 4to. The author sets the initial letters of his name to his work, viz. W. H. which stand for William Hubert, alias Berry, who being a Minister of the Church of England, went over to the Papists, and wrote this and several other treatises for the support of that cause. To this we may add,

*Naked Truth, or Truth manifesting it self in several particulars, &c. by way of question and answer*, 1677. 8vo. This piece was written in support of the Quakers, for which reason Mr Wood gave it the title of *the Quakers Naked Truth*.

As for our author, Bishop Croft, we have observed, in the text, that he wrote no reply to any of his adversaries, or vindication of his own performance, the design of which was to try, whether the legislature could be prevailed upon to take any measures for reconciling the differences subsisting among Protestants for the common benefit of all, and for securing and strengthening the Church against the endeavours of the Papists, whether by force or fraud, to subvert or undermine it. His view was unquestionably truly pious, tho' perhaps his scheme might not be very practicable, of which he left the determination to the proper judges, fully satisfied in his own mind, with having discharged what he took to be his duty, and not in the least affected with the warm things that were said by his adversaries, who treated his performance as if it had been intended to overturn what he seemed to maintain, by giving up the cause of the Church to those who differed from her, without reason. There was however no grounds at all for these suspicions, since our right reverend author, had upon all occasions shewn an exact and punctual conformity to her canons, and even in this work, professes himself fully satisfied with her doctrine and discipline, tho' he could not prevail upon himself, to be absolutely unconcerned for those who did not see the reasons for being satisfied so clearly as he did. Therefore it is exceedingly unjust, to cast any aspersions upon this prelate, for publishing in the sincerity of his heart, what his real sentiments, were about things indifferent, more especially as it never was pretended, that he had any other view, than that of promoting a real Union, and unfeigned harmony amongst Protestants, and this at a time, when he apprehended no other method could be effectually taken for their preservation, since the measure of tolerating, which has been since found very practicable, was held to be not so, and perhaps might not be so at that time. Thus much seemed to be necessary in respect to a work, which however small in it's bulk was then, and will be ever, esteemed of very great importance, in regard to it's matter, and which, considering the station and circumstances of it's author, was by judicious persons in those times allowed to be the highest mark

(17) Reflections upon a pamphlet intituled, Some Discourses, &c. p. 93.

(15) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 356.

(16) Some Discourses upon Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotson, recited by the Funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter, p. 23.

our prelate meant nothing less than not to enter into a debate, and therefore very prudently declined making any reply to his opponents. What he wrote was with a view to promote charity and peace, and when he saw this was not to be done by any kind of writing whatever, he took care to add no new fuel to the fire by labouring to support principles which he had stated in such a manner as he thought must have rendered them self evident (w). We have another pregnant instance of his sincerity and disinterestedness, in the resolution he took of resigning his bishoprick, the motives to which he expressed in a long letter to the learned Dr Stillingfleet (x), and they are such as shew him to have been a truly primitive and pious prelate. He thought the receiving the income of his See, as it rose in a great measure out of impropriate tythes which were withheld from parochial ministers, was hardly justifiable. He was troubled at the power of Lay Chancellors who under pretence of the Bishop's authority did wrong things, and likewise often hindered Bishops from redressing many disorders. It grieved him to ordain men poorly qualified, tho' it was but to poor livings, which men of better capacities would hardly accept. The law-suits to which Bishops became liable, for the sake of defending the right of their Sees, was very troublesome to him, and he was very much dissatisfied with being obliged to attend the service of Parliament, when scarce any thing fit for a Bishop to meddle with was treated there. His scruples taking air, as well as his settled resolution of resigning, the Papists and Nonconformists made advantage of it to serve their respective purposes, and this gave him infinite disquiet; more especially when he found that some churchmen also reflected deeply upon him for inclining to retire from his bishoprick in so dangerous a season, and when his zeal and labours might be as useful, as such a deserting of his charge might give scandal to it's members and advantage to it's enemies. The answer given by Dr Stillingfleet satisfied his conscience, and disposed him to continue his labours with the same earnestness and vigour. He saw that various attempts were making to the prejudice of the Church from different quarters, which served only to inspire him with stronger sentiments of the necessity there was, that such as had her cause at heart, and were more immediately called upon to espouse it, should do it with cheerfulness and diligence, and shew at once their courage and constancy by defending it in their words and writings, and adorning it by their lives. Full of these laudable and generous notions he resumed his former spirit, and let no opportunity slip of signaling his attention to and affection for the Protestant cause. He contented himself therefore with doing all the good that was in his power, within that sphere of action which providence had allotted to him, and was more especially attentive to the preservation of his Diocese from the attempts of Popish missionaries, in order to which he was very assiduous in the pulpit, where with great clearness he discovered, and with much solidity refuted, the errors of that religion; but as he grew in years, and yet had no prospect of less danger from that quarter in succeeding times, he thought fit to leave these discourses which had been delivered to a numerous audience, and received with very uncommon marks of satisfaction and attention, under a very endearing title to those for whose use they had been composed (y) [E]. He continued the same pious cares upon particular occasions, and never failed to supply proper antidotes to every kind of spiritual poisons that were spread by the different enemies of the Protestant religion. In the reign of King James, when the famous Declaration that was ordered to be read in churches was transmitted to him,

(w) See the Account of this matter at large in the notes.

(x) Miscellaneous Discourses by Dr Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester. Lond. 1735, 8vo. p. 1—36.

(y) Legacy to his Diocese, London, 1679, 4to.

of candour and unaffected piety that could be given, as well as of the most disinterested temper and unfeigned humility, virtues highly capable of adorning the episcopal character, and of recommending it to the veneration of all, who have a real attachment to the Doctrines of the Reformation, as they are professed and taught by the Church of England, as it is by law established.

[E] For whose use they had been composed.] We shall here give the reader the title of the second edition, of this work, that we may speak of it, and of the Supplement his Lordship thought fit to make at once. It runs thus:

IV. *The Legacy of the right reverend father in God, Herbert Lord bishop of Hereford, to his Diocese; or a short determination of all controversies we have with the Papists by God's holy word. The second impression corrected, with additions, by the author.* Lond. 1679. 4to. This piece contains an epistle to all the people within his diocese, especially those of the city of Hereford; then comes the Preface, afterwards, three sermons upon this text, JOHN V. 39, *Seek ye the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life.* Lastly, a supplement to the preceding sermons, together with a tract concerning the holy Sacrament of the Lords-Supper promised in the Preface. If we take the whole together, we may certainly pronounce it as plain, as clear, and as convincing a defence of the Protestant religion, as is to be met with in our own, or any other language. There is one passage in the Preface, that is very remarkable; which for that reason

we will insert, as it tends to shew how difficult a thing it is to decide, who was the author of a certain excellent treatise; or of the other treatises that were said to be written by the same author. The passage referred to follows: 'I have this one thing more only to trouble the reader with, the first of my three sermons on that text, Search the scriptures, was preached in September 1677, and in June 1678 comes out a little Book to the same intent with that sermon, and expressing several things in it, and in the very same manner, by what means I know not, but this I and many others know, that my sermon was preached almost a year before that book came forth, and therefore I could not have them from that author, called the same author that wrote *The whole Duty of Man*, who it seems must countenance books to the world's end. However I thought it fit, to print that sermon with the other two, first because it contains several things not in that book; and secondly, the other two would be very defective without it.'

V. *A second call to a farther humiliation, being a Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church in Hereford, the 24th of November. Lond. 1678. 4to.*

VI. *A Letter written to a friend concerning Popish Idolatry, Lond. 1679. 4to.*

VII. *Some Animadversions on a book entitled, the Theory of the Earth, Lond. 1685. 8vo.*

VIII. *A short discourse concerning the reading his Majesty's late Declaration in Churches. Lond. 1688. 4to.*

[F] As

him, he thought fit to digest in writing his thoughts upon that subject, in which as he clearly expressed his willingness to give a sanction to whatever might tend to the indulgence of tender consciences; so he shewed with equal plainness the danger the Church of England would be in, in case of the repeal which was then endeavoured of the penal laws and of the test. This, which was the last employment of his pen, was shewn by a certain courtier to King James, who directed that so much of the discourse as concerned the reading of the Declaration should be published to the world, but ordered the rest to be suppressed, as being directly contrary to the views with which that Declaration had been set forth (z). At length, full of years and in the highest reputation, this venerable prelate ended his days in his palace at Hereford, on the 18th of May 1691 (a), and as he lived so he died, a true member and a zealous defender of the Protestant Church, as appears from a very remarkable clause in the preamble to his will (b) [F]. He had for some years before his death paid the sum of fourteen pounds a year by way of augmentation to the small living of Yarpoll, and the sum of twelve pounds by way of addition to the living of his own parish church at Croft, both which charities were settled and secured by his will, and lands assigned for the payment of them (c). He likewise gave the remainder of the produce of twelve hundred pounds, after these augmentations were deducted, to the relief of indigent persons, and other such purposes (d). He was buried in his Cathedral Church, where there remains a short and modest memorial of him (e) [G]. He sat almost thirty years in the Bishoprick of Hereford, and in that space of time established thoroughly the regulations that he had very wisely contrived, as well for the particular benefit of the Chapter, as the general advantage of his Diocese; the people of which regarded him with the utmost veneration, and the Clergy, as they had a particular relation to them, so in the latter part of his time more especially, they loved and respected him for that diligence and care with which he promoted their welfare, by preserving all the dignities of his Church to the Clergy benefited in his diocese, the consequences of which at first some of them did not so fully comprehend (f). He married the daughter of his predecessor in the Deanery, Dr Jonathan Brown, as we before observed, and by her had his only son Herbert, who was educated as a Commoner in Magdalen-college in Oxford, and becoming a person of great worth and honour, a true patriot, and a warm friend of the Protestant religion, he was by his Majesty King Charles the II, created a Baronet November 18th, 1671, and was twice Knight of the shire in the reign of King William (g). He married Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Archer of Umberlade in the county of Warwick, Esq; (h) by whom he had the present Baronet and several other children.

(z) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(a) Godwin, de Preful. p. 497.

(b) See that clause in the note.

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 868.

(d) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals. Vol. II. p. 529.

(e) See this inscription in the note.

(f) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals. Vol. II. p. 529. English Baronetage, Vol. IV. p. 544.

(g) Dugdale's List of Baronets, p. 113. Parliamentary Regist. p. 1, 11.

(h) English Baronetage, Vol. IV. p. 542.

[F] As appears from a very remarkable clause, in the preamble to his Will.] The passage referred to in the text, is conceived in the following terms (18). 'I do in all humble manner most heartily thank God, that he hath been most graciously pleased, by the light of his most holy Gospel, to recal me from the darkness of Popish Errors and gross superstitions, into which I was seduced in my younger days, and to settle me again in the true antient Catholic and Apostolic Faith professed by our Church of England, in which I was born and baptized, and in which I joyfully die, with full assurance, by the merits of my most blessed Saviour Jesus, to enjoy eternal happiness.'

[G] Where there remains a short and modest memorial of him.] The inscription upon his grave-stone,

which is within the communion rails runs thus (19). *Depositu[m] Herberti Croft de Croft Episcopi Herefordensis obiit 18 die Maii A. D. 1691 ætatis suæ 88, in vita conjuncti*; that is, *Here are deposited the remains of Herbert Croft, of Croft, Bishop of Hereford, who died May 18th. 1691, in the 88th year of his age, in life united.* The last words allude to his lying next Dean Benson, at the bottom of whose grave-stone is this, *In morte non divisi, i. e. in death not divided.* The two grave-stones having hands engraven on them, conjoined, reaching from one to the other, to signify the lasting and uninterrupted friendship, which had subsisted between those truly pious and venerable persons in their life-times. Dr Croft was succeeded in his bishoprick by Dr Gilbert Iron side. E

(19) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 529.

(18) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 368.

CROMWELL, or CRUMWELL (THOMAS), an eminent Statesman in the sixteenth century, and created by King Henry VIII. Earl of Essex, was the son of ——— Cromwell, a black-smith, at Putney near London, and in his latter days a brewer; after whose decease, his mother was married to a Sheerman in London (a). His honest parents gave him a good and strong constitution; which, accompanied with excellent endowments of mind, and an uncommon industry, raised him to that high pitch of honour he afterwards arriv'd to. What education he had, was in a private school (b): and all the learning he attain'd to, was, (according to the standard of those times,) only reading, and writing, and a little Latin. When he grew up, having a very great inclination for Travelling, he went into foreign countries; tho' at whose expence is not known; and, by that means, he had an opportunity of seeing the world, of gaining experience, and of learning several languages, which proved of great service to him afterwards. Coming to Antwerp, where was then a very considerable English Factory he was by them retained to be their Clerk, or Secretary. But that office being too great a confinement to his roving and aspiring mind, he embraced an opportunity, that offered, in 1510 (c), of taking a journey to Rome [A]. Whilst he remained in Italy, he served for some time as a Soldier under the Duke

(a) J. Fox's Acts and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, p. 1177; and Stow's Annals, edit. 1631, p. 580.

(b) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1678, p. 58.

(c) Fox, ubi sup. p. 1178.

[A] He embraced an opportunity that offered ——— of taking a journey to Rome.] That opportunity was as follows. There being at that time a famous Guild of our Lady in the Church of St Botolph's at Boston in

Lincolnshire, to which several Popes had granted very large Indulgences, or Pardons, which were then highly valued, and held in the utmost veneration, and very much resorted to; the brethren and sisters of that Guild were

were

of Bourbon, and was at the sacking of Rome: And at Bologna, he assisted John Russell, Esq; afterwards Earl of Bedford, in making his escape, when he had like to be betray'd into the hands of the French: being secretly in those parts about our King's affairs (d). An instance we have, moreover, at this time of Cromwell's great industry, and of his improving every moment; namely, that, in his journey to and from Rome, he learn'd by heart the New Testament, of Erasmus's translation (e). After his return from his travels, he was taken into the family and service of the famous Cardinal Wolsey; who observing his great parts and diligence, made him his Solicitor, and often employed him in business of great importance (f). Among other things, he had the chief hand, in the foundation of the two Colleges begun at Oxford and Ipswich by that magnificent Prelate, and in suppressing, in 1525, small Monasteries for the endowment of them (g). Upon his master, the Cardinal's disgrace, in 1529, he used his utmost endeavours and interest to have him restor'd to the King's favour (h): And when Articles of High-treason against him were sent down to the House of Commons, of which Cromwell was then a Member, he defended his master with so much wit and eloquence, that no treason could be laid to his charge: which honest beginning procur'd Cromwell great reputation, and made his parts and abilities to be much taken notice of (i). After the Cardinal's household came to be dissolv'd, Cromwell was taken into the King's service, upon the recommendation of Sir Christopher Hales, afterwards Master of the Rolls, and Sir John Russell, Knt. above mention'd; as the fittest person to manage the disputes the King then had with the Pope: tho' some endeavoured to hinder his promotion, and to prejudice his Majesty against him, on account of his rude behaviour in defacing the small Monasteries that were dissolv'd for endowing Wolsey's Colleges. But he discovering to the King some particulars that were very acceptable to him [B], he took him into the highest degree of favour (k). Soon after, he was sent to the Convocation, then sitting, to acquaint the Clergy, that they were all fallen into a præmunire (l) [C]. In 1531 he was knighted; made Master of the King's Jewel-house, with a salary of fifty pounds *per annum*; and constituted a Privy-Counsellor (m). The next year, he was made Clerk of the Hanaper, an office of good profit and repute in Chancery; and, before the end of the same year, Chancellor of the Exchequer (n). As also, in 1534, Principal Secretary of State; and Master of the Rolls (o). About the same time, he was chosen Chancellor of the University of Cambridge: Soon after which followed a general visitation of that university; whereupon the several Colleges delivered up their Charters, and other instruments, to Sir Thomas Cromwell (p). The year before, he assessed the fines laid upon those, who having forty pounds *per ann.* estate, refused to take the order of Knighthood (q). In 1535 he was appointed Visitor-general of the Monasteries throughout England, in order for their suppression (r): and in that office, is accused of having committed some illegal acts of violence [D]. However, having behaved in that affair, generally

were very desirous of having those Indulgences renewed, and confirmed, by the then Pope Julius II. They dispatch'd therefore two persons to Rome, with a considerable sum of money, to obtain the desired confirmation: Which persons taking Antwerp in their way, became acquainted there with Thomas Cromwell: And observing that he was as perfectly qualified for procuring easily what they wanted from the Court of Rome, as they were themselves unqualified for it, they persuaded him to go along with them. Accordingly he was of very great service to them. For, being informed, that Pope Julius was a great lover of delicacies, and dainty dishes, he presented him with fine dishes of Jelly, made after the English fashion, then unknown at Rome; wherewith the Pope was so delighted, that he very readily granted Cromwell and his companions what they came about. See this whole matter related at full length, in J. Fox's Acts and Monuments (1).

[B] But he discovering to the King some particulars that were very acceptable to him.] He acquainted the King, that his princely authority was abused within his own realm, by the Pope and his Clergy, who being sworn to him, were afterwards dispensed from the same, and sworn a-new unto the Pope, so that he was but a half-King, and they but half his subjects in his own Land; which, said he, was derogatory to his crown, and utterly prejudicial to the common Laws of his realm: Declaring thereupon, how his Majesty might accumulate to himself great riches, nay as much as all the Clergy in his Realm was worth, if he pleased to take the occasion now offered. The King giving ear to this, and liking right well his advice, asked, if he could avouch that which he spake. All this he could (he said) avouch to be certain: And thereupon shewed the King the Oath which the Bishops took to the Pope at their consecration; wherein they swore 'To help, retain, and defend against all men, the Popedom of Rome, the rules of the holy Fathers, and the regalities of St Peter, &c. (2).'

[C] He was sent to the Convocation then sitting, to acquaint the clergy, that they were all fallen into a præmunire.] When he discovered to the King what is mentioned in the last note, his Majesty taking his ring, or signet, off his finger, sent Cromwell with it to the Convocation: who placing himself among the Bishops, began to declare to them the authority of a King, and the office of subjects, and especially the obedience of Bishops and Churchmen under public Laws; which Laws notwithstanding they had all transgress'd, and highly offended in derogation of the King's royal estate, falling in the Law of Præmunire; in that, they had not only consented to the power Legatine of Cardinal Wolsey, but also because they had all sworn to the Pope, contrary to the fealty of their sovereign Lord the King, and therefore had forfeited to the King all their goods, chattles, lands, possessions, and whatsoever livings they had. The Bishops hearing this, were not a little amazed, and first began to excuse and deny the fact. But after Cromwell had shewed them the very copy of the Oath they took to the Pope at their consecration, the matter was so plain, they could not deny it. And to be quit of that Præmunire by Act of Parliament, the two Provinces of Canterbury and York were forced to make the King a present of 118,840 pounds (3).

[D] Is accus'd of having committed some illegal acts of violence.] For, he and his under-agents are charged, with having forced several Abbies, by threats and other instances of violence into a surrender: some indeed they allured thereunto, by promises, and large pensions: but most they frighted into a compliance, by encouraging the Monks, not only to accuse their Governors of the most horrid and unnatural crimes, but also to inform against each other. In particular, we are told, that the Commissioners threat'ned the Canons of Leicester, 'That they would charge them with adultery and buggery, unless they would submit.' And Dr London, one of the visitors, told the Nuns of Godstow, 'That

(d) Ibid. p. 1179.

(e) Ibid. p. 1178, 1179.

(f) Ib. p. 1179; and Stow's Annals, ubi supra.

(g) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 370; and Fox, as above, p. 1179; and also Stow, p. 553. After the Cardinal's fall, he had the care of the new College, now Christ-Ch. Oxon. Stow, ibid. Strype's Eccles. Memor. Vol. I. p. 117.

(h) Life and Reign of King Henry VIII, by Edw. Lord Herbert, in Compl. Hist. of England, edit. 1706, Vol. II. p. 125.

(i) Herbert, as above, p. 129; and Fuller's Hist. edit. 1655, B. v. p. (177).

(k) Fox, as above, p. 1179.

(l) Ibid. See also Dr Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, 2d edit. P. i. p. 106 - 112.

(m) Pat. 23 Hen. VIII, p. 2. See Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 370.

(n) Pat. 24 Hen. VIII, p. 1, 2.

(o) Pat. 26 Hen. VIII, p. 2.

(p) Fuller's Hist. of the Univ. of Cambr. ed. 1655, p. 108, &amp;c.

(q) Holinshed's Chron. edit. 1587, Vol. II. p. 929.

(r) Herbert, as above, p. 186.

(1) Edit. 1583, p. 1178.

(2) J. Fox, Acts and Monuments, edit. 1583, p. 1179, 1053.

(3) Ib. p. 1179.

generally to the satisfaction of the King and his Courtiers, he was, on the 2d of July 1536, constituted Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, when he resign'd his Mastership of the Rolls (s). On the 9th of the same month he was advanc'd to the dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the title of Lord Cromwell of Okeham in Rutlandshire; and, six days after, took his place in the House of Lords (t). The Pope's Supremacy being now abolish'd in England, the Lord Cromwell was made, on the 18th of July, Vicar-general, and Vicegerent, over all the Spirituality, under the King [E], who was declar'd supreme Head of the Church (u): In that quality, his Lordship sat in the Convocation holden this year, above the Archbishops, as the King's representative (w). Being invested with such extensive Power, he made use of it for destroying Popery as far as he possibly could, and for promoting a Reformation in this Kingdom. For that purpose, he caused certain Articles to be set forth and enjoyned by the King's Authority (x), differing in many essential points from the established system of the Roman-Catholic Religion [F]. Next, in September this same year, he put out some Injunctions to all Deans, Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, wherein they were ordered, to preach up the King's Supremacy; not to lay out their rhetoric in extolling Images, Relicks, Miracles, or Pilgrimages, but rather exhort their people to serve God, and make provision for their families: to put parents and other directors of youth in mind, to teach their children the Lord's-prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in their mother-tongue: to provide a Bible in Latin and English, to be laid in the Churches, for every one to read at their pleasure; and the like (y). He likewise encourag'd the translation of the Bible into English [G]; and, when it was finish'd, injoin'd,

(u) See Burnet's History of the Reformat. p. i. 2d edit. p. 213; and Collier's Ecclesiast. History, Vol. II. ed. 1714, p. 104.

(x) Idem, p. 122, &c. and Fuller's Church, History, Book v. p. 213, &c.

(y) Fox, p. 1094. Collier, as above, p. 129, 130; and Lord Herbert, 2d above, p. 204.

that

' That because he found them obstinate, he would dissolve the House by virtue of the King's Commission, in spite of their teeth.' The Monks of the Charter-house near London, being refractory, were committed to Newgate, where, with hard and barbarous usage, five of them dyed, and five more lay at the point of death, as the Commissioners signified (4). We are futher informed, that there were some agents employed to practise on the chastity of the Nuns, and afterwards to accuse them for being guilty of incontinence (5). Several Monasteries granted Thomas Cromwell large Pensions to save them from ruin; but all in vain (6).

[E] *The Lord Cromwell was made* ——— *Vicar-general, and Vicegerent over all the Spirituality under the King.* What the design and extent of this Commission was, we best learn from the following Clause of the Act for regulating Precedency — namely, That for the good exercise of the said most Royal Dignity and Office (the Supremacy) his Highness hath made Thomas Lord Cromwell and Lord Privy-Seal, his Vicegerent for a good and due ministration of Justice, to be had in all Causes and Cases touching the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and for the godly reformation and redress of all Heresies and abuses in the said Church (7). — Or, as it is elsewhere express'd to the same purpose ——— *ad exercendum, expediendum, & exerendum omnem & omnimodam Jurisdictionem, Auctoritatem, sive Potestatem Ecclesiasticam, quæ nobis tanquam Supremo Capiti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ competit* (8).

[F] *Differing in many essential points from the established system of the Roman-Catholic Religion.* For, instead of the seven Sacraments commonly receiv'd in the Church of Rome, these Articles mention only three; namely, the Sacrament of Baptisme, the Sacrament of Penance, and the Sacrament of the Altar. Then, they enjoyn all Bishops and Preachers, to teach the people committed to their charge, to believe and defend all those things to be true which are comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible; and in the three Creeds, that of the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian; without the least mention of Tradition. And, to prevent superstition and idolatry, that they should restrain the people, from censuring, kneeling to, and worshipping Images; and teach them to do it only to God, and in his honour, though it be done before Images. Finally, Purgatory is therein declared uncertain by Scripture (9).

[G] *He likewise encourag'd the translation of the Bible into English.* As it will be no small satisfaction to the Reader, to know, what translation of the Bible is hereby meant, we shall endeavour to give an exact account of it; and likewise of such translations as were made about this time. The first translation of any part of the Holy Scriptures into English, that was committed to the press, was, *The New Testament*, translated from the Greek, by William Tyndale, with the

assistance of John Fry and William Roye, and printed first in 1526, in octavo. Tyndale published afterwards, in 1530, a translation of the *Five Books of Moses*; and of *Jonas* in 1531, in octavo — (10). An English translation of the *Psalter*, done from the Latin of Martin Bucer, was also published at Argentine in 1530, by Francis Foye, 8vo. And the same book, together with *Jeremiah*, and the *Song of Moses*, were likewise published in 1534, 12mo, by George Joye, some time Fellow of Peterhouse in Cambridge. But the first time the whole Bible appear'd in English, was in the year 1535, fol. The translator and publisher was Miles Coverdale, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, who revised Tyndal's version, compar'd it with the originals, and supplied what had been left untranslated by Tyndal. It was printed at Zurich, and dedicated by Coverdale to King Henry VIII. And this was *the Bible*, which by Cromwell's injunctions of September 1536, was ordered to be laid in Churches. — The next year, 1537, whether it was that Archbishop Cranmer had a mind to have Tyndal's Prologues and Notes re-printed, which had been left out in Coverdale's edition, or that the Printers thought such an edition would sell well, the Bible was printed at Paris in folio, with this title, 'The Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture, in which are contain'd the Olde and Newe Testament, trueley and pureley translated into English. By Thomas Matthewe.' This name of *Matthewe* is fictitious, the real author being John Rogers. In this Edition, from Genesis to the end of the Chronicles is Tyndal's translation: from thence to the end of the Apocrypha is Coverdale's; except the book of Jonas, which is Tyndal's: as is also the whole New Testament. In 1538, a resolution was taken to revise this edition of Matthewe's, and to print it again without the Prologues or annotations, at which great offence was pretended to be taken, as containing matters heretical, and very scandalous and defamatory. For this purpose Grafton and Whitchurch were employed, who, because there were at that time in France better Printers and Paper than could be had here in England, procured the King's Letters to the French King for liberty to print it at Paris. Accordingly they had the Royal Licence for so doing, and had almost finished their design, when by an order of the Inquisition dated December 17, 1538, the Printers were forbidden under canonical pains to print the said English Bible, and being carried before the Inquisition, were charged with heresy. The English who were there to correct the press, and take care of the impression, were all forced to fly, and the impression, consisting of two thousand five hundred books, was seized and confiscated. But by the encouragement of the Lord Cromwell, some of the English returned to Paris, and got the presses, Letters, and printing servants, and brought them over to London, where they resum'd the work; which was finish'd, and publish'd in 1539, with this title, 'The Byble in Englyshe, that is to say the content of all

(10) Hall says he translated also, *Jesua, Judicum, Ruth*, the books of *Paralipomenon*, and *Nehemiah*, or the first of *Esdra*s; but, if he translated these, it does not appear they were ever printed. Hall's Chronicle, in Henry VIII. fol. 227.

that one, of the largest volume, should be provided for every parish-church, at the joint charge of the Parson and Parishioners (z). These several alterations, made by Cromwell's contrivance in the establish'd Religion of those times; together with the dissolution of the Monasteries; and, (notwithstanding the immense riches gotten from thence,) his demanding at the same time for the King Subsidies, both from the Clergy and Laity, occasioned very great murmurs against him (a). No wonder, therefore, that the rebels of Yorkshire demanded among other things, that the Lord Cromwell should be brought to condigne ponyment, as one of the subverters of the good laws of the Realm (b).<sup>2</sup> However, so far was the popular clamour from prejudicing, that it rather served to establish him in the King's esteem. For, in the year 1537, his Majesty constituted him chief Justice itinerant of all the Forests beyond Trent (c): And on the 26th of August, the same year, he was elected Knight of the Garter (d); as also Dean of the Cathedral Church of Wells (e). The year following, he obtain'd a grant of the castle and Lordship of Okeham in the county of Rutland; and was also made Constable of Carebrook-castle in the Isle of Wight (f). In September, he put forth new Injunctions, directed to all Bishops and Curates (g), wherein he ordered, that a Bible of the largest volume in English, should be set up in some convenient place in every Church, where the parishioners might most commodiously resort to read the same: That the Clergy should, every Sunday and holiday, openly and plainly recite to their parishioners, twice or thrice together, one article of the Lord's Prayer, or Creed, in English, that they might learn the same by heart: That they should make, or cause to be made, in their Churches, one Sermon every quarter of a year at least, wherein they should purely and sincerely declare the very Gospel of Christ, and exhort their hearers to the works of charity, mercy, and faith; not to pilgrimages, kissing or licking of Images, &c. That they should forthwith take down all Images, to which pilgrimages or offerings were wont to be made: That in all such Benefices whereupon they were not themselves resident, they should appoint able Curates: That they, and every Parson, Vicar, or Curate, should for every Church keep one book of Register, wherein they should write the day and year of every Wedding, Christening, and Burying, or buried, &c. [H]. Having been thus highly instrumental in promoting a Reformation, and in pulling down, for the three years past, the Monasteries in this Kingdom; he was amply rewarded by the King, in 1539, with many noble Manors and large Estates [I] that had belonged to those dissolv'd Houses (b). On the 17th of April, the same year, he was advanc'd to the dignity of Earl of Essex (i); and soon after constituted Lord High Chamberlain of England [K]. The same day he was created Earl of Essex, he procured Gregory his son to be made Baron Cromwell of Okeham (k). On the 12th of March 1540, he was put in commission with others, to sell the Abbey-Lands, at twenty years

\* the holy Scripture, bothe of the olde and newe Testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes by the dylygent studye of dyverse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges.' Printed by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. fol.— This was *the Bible of the largest Volume*, which was ordered to be set up in every Church. The Psalms in our Liturgy, are of this translation, with some few alterations (11).

(11) This account is taken from Mr J. Lewis's Hist. of the English translations of the Bible, prefixed to his edit. of J. Wickliff's translation of the New Testament, fol. Lond. 1731, p. 15—31.

[H] Every person's name that shall be so wedded, christened, or buried.] There are among them two other Injunctions, that deserve to be taken notice of. One is, 'Item, yee shall discourage no man, prively nor apertly, from the reading or hearing of the Bible, but shal expressly provoke, stirre, and exhort every person to reade the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Christen person is bounden to embrace, beleve, and follow, if he looke to be saved.'—The other is as follows, 'Item, forasmuch as by a lawe established, every man is bound to pay his tithes, no man shall, by colour of duty omitted by their Curates, deteine their Tithes, and so redub one wrong with another, or be his owne judge, but shall truly pay the same as hath ben accustomed to their parsons and curates, without any restraint or diminution (12).'

(12) J. Fox, p. 1096, 1097.

[I] He was rewarded by the King, in 1539, with many noble Manors, and large Estates.] For, on the 10th of April, he obtained a grant from the King, in fee, of the dissolv'd Monastery of St Osythes in Essex, with all the houses, buildings, Church, and other appurtenances thereunto belonging: as also of the manors and Lordship of Chich St Osythes, Barnton, Coketwyke, Wigburgh, Erles-hall, Westwyke, Howyke, Lewyke, Wyershall alias Withston-hall; Cannon, alias Can, hall; Abbots-hall, Cost, or Costed, hall; Mileend-hall, Broke-hall, and Birch-hall; with Horsfey, and all and singular their members, parcel of the possessions of the same monastery of St Osythes.

Likewise, of the manor or Lordship of Chalwedon in Essex, parcel of the possessions of the hospital of our Lady, without Bishopsgate in London: as also of the manors and Lordships of Tollebury, High-hall, Abbesse-hall, and Hockley, in the said County of Essex, parcel of the possessions of the monastery of Berkyng. And of the manor of Gorewells in Tolesbury, parcel of the possessions of the monastery of Bileigh near Maldon in Essex. Likewise of the manors of Wileghe, Brykelsey, Pichesfaye, Mondone, and Grynstede in the same County, parcel of the possessions of the monastery of St John in Colchester. Also of the manors of Dedham, and Langham in the same county, with the manor and Lordship of Stratford in Suffolk. And also of the whole scite of the Grey Friars in Yarmouth in Norfolk, with all the houses and buildings thereunto belonging; together with a multitude of other Lands, and advowsons of Churches, which did belong to some one or other of the then suppressed Religious Houses (13).

[K] He was advanc'd to the dignity of Earl of Essex, and soon after constituted Lord High-Chamberlain of England.] Henry Bouchier, the last Earl of Essex of that surname, broke his neck, March the 12th 1539, by a fall from a young unruly horse; leaving only one daughter: And the 19th of the same month, died John de Vere Earl of Oxford Lord Chamberlain (14). But Cromwell's aspiring after, or even accepting of, these two great Honours, procured him a great deal of envy and ill-will. For there were several branches of the noble family of Bouchier then in being, who might think they had a right to the Dignity of Earl of Essex. And, the office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England had been for many years hereditary in the ancient and honourable Family of the De Veres Earls of Oxford; so that the heirs of it could not but be highly incens'd against the Lord Cromwell, for robbing them of what their Ancestors had so long enjoyed.

[L] During

(13) Pat. 31 Hen VIII, p. 5. See Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. 372.

(14) Stow's Annals, p. 579.

(1) *Fœdera, Conventio- nes, &c.* published by T. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 653.

(m) See Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.* P. i. 2d edit. p. 222.

(n) Burnet, as above, p. 271.

(o) He extorted it from them, *extorçit ab ordinibus*, says Sannes, *de Subymate Angli- cana*, as above, p. 183. He says in the same place, that it was one Tenth and four Fifteenth; but the *Rolls of Parli- ament* are more to be credited than such a prejudiced writer.

years purchase (!): which was a thing he had advised the King to do, in order to stop the clamours of the people; to attach them to his interest; and to bring them to a liking of the dissolution of the Monasteries (m). Hitherto the Lord Cromwell had sail'd with a prosperous gale, and was arrived to a very high degree of Honour. But an unhappy precaution he took, to secure (as he imagin'd) his greatness, prov'd his ruin; and the higher he was rais'd, the more sudden and dangerous was his fall. Observing that some of his most inveterate enemies, particularly Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, began to be more in favour at Court than himself, he used his utmost endeavours to procure a marriage between King Henry and Anne of Cleves: For he expected a great support from a Queen of his own making; and as her friends were all Lutherans, it tended very much, as he imagined, to bring down the Popish party at Court, and again to recover the ground, he and Cranmer had now lost (n): But, see the shortness of human policy! this very thing wherein he plac'd his safety, was his certain destruction. For the King, who was very nice in love-affairs, not liking the Queen, he took an invincible aversion to Cromwell the great promoter of the marriage; and soon found an opportunity to sacrifice him to his own resentment, and to the malice and revenge of his enemies. Many circumstances concurr'd to his ruin. He was odious to all the Nobility by reason of his low birth: hated particularly by Stephen Gardiner, and the Roman Catholics, for having been so busy in the dissolution of the Abbies: the Reformers themselves found he could not protect them from burning: and the nation in general was highly incens'd against him, for his having lately demanded and obtained (o) a subsidy of four shillings in the pound from the Clergy, and one Tenth and one Fifteenth from the Laity; notwithstanding the immense sums that had lately flow'd into the Treasury out of the Monasteries. King Henry considering this, and having besides divers Articles brought against him, resolv'd to give him up, judging him no longer necessary. Therefore he gave way to all his enemies accusations, which could not but be material; it being impossible, that any man who meddled so much in great and public affairs, should not in several instances so mistake, forget, and err, as to lay himself open to the law, when severe inquisition was made against him. The King having gotten sufficient proof against Cromwell, caus'd him to be arrested at the Council-table, by the Duke of Norfolk, on the 10th of June, when he least suspected it. However, he obey'd, and was committed to the Tower, though judging his ruin the more certain, because the Duke was uncle to the Lady Catharine Howard, whom the King began now to be in love with (p). During his imprisonment he writ a Letter to the King [L], to vindicate himself of the guilt of treason, whereof he was accus'd (q); and another to the same (r), concerning his marriage with Anne of Cleves [M]. But all his entreaties, and endeavours for pardon,

(p) Lord Herbert, as above, p. 222, 223. Stow's *Annales* p. 680. This last author says, he was arrested the 9th of July. And Fox place it under the year 1541, p. 1189. But they are both mistaken.

(q) The original is in Cotton Libr. Titus B. 1; and thence printed in Dugdale's *Baron.* Vol. II. p. 372, 373.

(r) From the original in Cotton Libr. O. 10 C. 10. 'tis printed in Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.* P. i. *Collect. of Rec.* to B. ii. p. 193, 2d edit.

were

[L] *During his imprisonment he writ a Letter to the King*] Wherein he strenuously vindicates himself of the Crimes laid to his charge, in the following words.——— 'Wher I have bene accusyd to your Majesty of Treason. To that I say, I never in alle my lyfe thought wyllingly to do that thyng that myght or sholde displease your Majesty; and much less to do or say that thyng, which of itself is so high and abhominable offence; as God knowyth, who I doubt not shall reveale the trewth to your Highnes. Myne accusers your Grace knowyth, God forgive them: For, as I ever have had love to your honor, person, lyfe, prosperytye, helthe, welthe, joy, and comfort; and also your most dere and most entyerly beloved sone, the Prynce his Grace, and your proceedyngs; God so helpe me in this myne adversitie, and confound me yf ever I thought the contrary. What labours, paynes, and travailes I have taken, according to my most bounden deuty, God also knowyth. For, yf it were in my power, (as it is Godds) to make your Majesty to live ever young, and prosperous, God knowyth I wolde. If it hadde bene, or were in my power to make yow so ryche, as ye myght enrych alle men, God helpe me, as I wolde do hit. If it had bene, or were in my power to make your Majesty so puyssant, as alle the world sholde be compellyd to obey yow, Christ he knowyth I wo'de; for so am I of alle othyr most bounde: for your Majesty hath bene the most bountiful Prynce to me, that ever was Kyng to his Subject: ye, and more like a dere Father (your Majesty not offendyd) than a Master. Such hath bene your most grave and godly counsaile towards me, at sundry tymes. In that I have offendid I ax yow mercy. Should I now, for such exceeding goodnes, benygnyte, liberalitye and bourty be your Traytor, nay then the greatest paynes were too little for me. Should any faccyon, or any affectyon to any point make me a Traytor to your Majesty, then all the Devylls in Hell confound me, and the Vengeance of God light upon me, yf

' I sholde once have thought yt, most gracious Soverayn Lord.———

——— 'Sir, as to your Common welthe, I have afyr my wytte, power, and knowledge, trayled therein, havynge had no respect to persons (your Majesty only except) and my dewtye to the same: but that I have don any Injustice, or Wrong, wyllfully, I trust God shall bere my wytnes, and the world not able justly to accuse me.———

——— 'Nevertheless, Sir, I have medelyd in so many matyers, under your Highnes, that I am not able to answer them all. But one thyng I am well assured of; that willingly and wyttlyngly I have not had wille to offend your Highnes: but hard it is for me, or any other, medelyng, as I have done, to live under your Grace, and your Laws, but we must daylie offend.'———After which, he proceeds to clear himself of some particular matters laid to his charge.— And concludes the whole in these words.—

'Wryten with the quaking hand, and most sorrowful heart of your most sorrowful Subject, and most humble servant and prysoner, this Saturday at your Tower of London.' (15). The King caus'd this Letter to be thrice read, and seemed touched with it. But the charms of Catherine Howard, and the endeavours of the Duke of Norfolk, and of the Bishop of Winchester, prevailed (16).

[M] *He writ another Letter to the King, concerning his marriage with Anne of Cleves*] This he writ by the King's exprefs order, on purpose to declare, what he knew of that marriage. Among other things, he says, That after the King had seen her at Rochester, he told him [Cromwell] 'That if he had known so much before as he then knew, she should not have come within this realm.' Saying by way of lamentation, 'what remedy?' And, the day after the marriage, his Majesty told him, 'I liked her before not well, but now I like her much worse; for, I have felt her belly, and her breasts, and thereby, as I can judge, she should be no maid; which struck me so to the heart when I felt them, that I had neither

(15) *Cot. Libr.* Titus B. i. See *Dugd. Baron.* Vol. II. p. 372, 373.

(16) Burnet's *H. of the Ref.* P. i. p. 254.

' will

were ineffectual. And, as he had himself fervently complied with the King's pleasure, in procuring some to be attainted without being admitted to answer for themselves, so he now fell under the same unjustifiable severity. For, whether it was that his enemies knew, if he were brought to the Bar, he would so justify himself, by producing the King's orders and warrants for what he had done (*s*), that it would be very difficult to condemn him: or that they blindly resolved to follow that most vile precedent (*t*), of condemning a person unheard; the bill of Attainder was brought into the House of Lords the 17th of June, and read the first time, and on the 19th was read the second and third times, and sent down to the Commons. Here it did not pass with the same rapidity as it had done in the Upper House, but stuck ten days. At last, a new Bill of Attainder was sent up to the Lords, framed in the House of Commons: And they sent back at the same time the Bill, the Lords had sent to them (*u*). What were the grounds of his condemnation, as expressed in the Bill of Attainder, may be seen in the Note [N]. Like other falling favourites, he was deserted by most of his friends, except the worthy Archbishop Cranmer, who writ to the King very warmly in his behalf (*w*) [O]. But the Duke of Norfolk, and the rest of the Popish party, prevailed; and, accordingly, in pursuance of his attainder, the Lord Cromwell was brought to a Scaffold erected on Tower-hill, where, after having made a Speech [P], and prayed, he was beheaded, July the 28th 1540 (*x*). Thus fell Thomas Lord Cromwell,

(*s*) Sanderus de Schismate Anglic. as above, p. 187.

(*t*) A precedent set them by Cromwell himself, in the attainders of the Marchioness of Exeter, the Countess of Salisbury, Elizabeth Barton, &c. Burnet, as above, P. i. p. 359, 360.

(*u*) Burnet, Hist. of the Reformat. P. i. p. 277, of the 2d edit.

(*w*) June 14, Lord Herbert, as above, p. 223.

(*x*) J. Fox, as above, p. 1190.

' will nor courage to proceed any farther in other matters; saying, I have left her as good a maid as I found her.' This Letter concludes with these words, '----- beseeching most humbly your Grace to pardon this my rude writing, and to consider that I a most woful prisoner, ready to take the death, when it shall please God and your Majesty; and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your Grace for mercy and grace for mine offences; and thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you.'

' Written at the Tower this Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy heart, and trembling hand, of your Highness's most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave. T. C. Most gracious Prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy (17).'

[N] *The grounds of his condemnation are expressed in the bill of Attainder.*] And are as follows. 1. That his Majesty having received Thomas Cromwell, a man of very base and low degree, into his service, advanced him to the estate of an Earl, and very much enriched him, yet the said Tho. Cromwell had proved the most false and corrupt Traitor and Deceiver that had been known in that reign. 2. That he had set at liberty, without the King's command or assent, several persons convicted and attainted of misprision of Treason, and others that were imprisoned for suspicion of treason. 3. That he had, for money, granted great numbers of Licences or passports, for carrying money, corn, horses, tallow, metals, &c. out of the kingdom, without any search. 4. That he had appointed, and deputed, Commissioners, in many great, urgent, and weighty affairs, without the King's knowledge or consent. 5. That he pretended to have so great a stroke about the King, as that he did not scruple boasting, 'That he was sure of him.' 6. That being a detestable Heretic, he had secretly set forth and dispersed throughout the Kingdom, great numbers of false erroneous Books, written against the Sacrament of the altar. 7. That being the King's Vicegerent, he had, without his Majesty's assent and knowledge, licensed under the Seal of his office, several persons detected and suspected of heresies, to preach openly within this realm. 8. That he had caused Sheriffs, and other persons, to set at large many Hereticks, some of whome were indicted, and others apprehended, and in custody: and being a maintainer and supporter of Hereticks, had divers times terribly rebuked their accusers, and persecuted and imprisoned some of those accusers. 9. That he had great numbers of Retainers, which he had infected with Heresies. 10. That when Robert Barnes, and others of the new Preachers, were prosecuted and imprisoned, he the said Thomas Cromwell, hearing of it, said, on the last day of March 1539, 'If the King would turn from it\*, yet I would not turn; And if the King did turn, and all his people, I would fight in the field in mine own person, with my sword in my hand against him and all others.' And then pulling out his dagger, and holding it up, he added, 'Or else this Dagger thrust me to the heart, if I would not die in that quarrel against them all: And I trust, if I live one year or two, it should not lie in the King's

' power, to resist or let it, if he would.' And then swearing a great oath, he said, 'I will do so indeed.' 11. That on the last day of January, 1539, being put in mind, how others guilty of the same treason as himself (*t*), had been served by the Parliament, he declared, 'That if the Lords would handle him so, he would give them such a Breakfast as never was made in England, and *That* the proudest of them should know.' 12. Finally, That he had acquired innumerable sums of Money and Treasure, by oppression, bribery, and extortion, which made him despise the rest of the Nobility (18).

[O] *Archbishop Cranmer writ very warmly to the King in his behalf.*] In his Letter he hath these expressions----- 'Who cannot but be sorrowful and amaz'd that he should be a Traitor against your Majesty? He that was so advanced by your Majesty; he whose surety was only by your Majesty; he *who lov'd your Majesty* (as I ever thought) *no less than God*; he who studied always to set forward whatsoever was your Majesty's will and pleasure; he that car'd for no man's displeasure to serve your Majesty; he that was such a servant, in my judgment, in Wisdom, Diligence, Faithfulness, and Experience, as no Prince in this realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all Treasons, that few could be so secretly conceiv'd, but he detected the same in the beginning? If the noble Princes of happy memory, K. John, Henry II. and Richard II had had such a Counsellor about them, I suppose they should never have been so traiterously abandoned, and overthrown, as those good Princes were (19).'

[P] *After having made a Speech.*] Which was as follows. 'I am come hether to dye, & not to purge myself, as maie happen some thynke that I will, for if I should so do, I wer a very wretche & miser: I am by the Law condempned to die, & thanke my Lord God that hath appoynted me this deathe, for myne offence: For sithence the tyme that I had yeres of discretion, I have lived a sinner, & offended my Lorde God, for the whiche I aske hym hartely forgiveness. And it is not unknowne to many of you, that I have been a greate traveler in this worlde, and beyng but of a base degree, was called to high estate, and sithens the tyme I came thereunto, I have offended my prince, for the which I aske hym hartely forgiveness, & beseeche you all to praie to God with me, that he will forgive me. O father forgive me. O sonne forgive me. O holy ghost forgive me. O thre persons in one God forgive me. And now I praie you that be here, to beare me record, I die in the Catholike faith, not doubtyng in any article of my faith, no nor doubtyng in any Sacrament of the Church. Many hath sclaundered me, & reported, that I have been a bearer of such as have mainteigned evill opinions, whiche is untrue, but I confesse, that like as God by his holy spirite doth instruct us in the truthe, so the devill is redy to seduce us, and I have been seduced: but beare me witness that I dye in the Catholicke faith of the holy Church. And I hartely desire you to praie for

(*t*) Cardinal Wolfey, &c.

(18) Parliament Rolls, 32 Hen. VIII. Act 60. See Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Collect. of Rec. at the end of P. i. p. 187, 2d edit.

(19) Lord Herbert, as above, P. 223.

(17) Cot. Libr. Otho C. 10, and Burnet's Collect. of Rec. to Hist. of the Ref. P. i. B. iii. No. 17, p. 193. Besides these two letters there are others printed in the same Collect. of Records: and in Strype's Eccl. Mem. Vol. I.

(\*) *i. e.* The new preaching, or the Doctrine of Protestants.

Cromwell, under the weight of his sickle and cruel Master's displeasure, King Henry VIII; after he had serv'd him, with great faithfulness, courage, and resolution, in the most hazardous, difficult, and important Undertakings. But, it was that Prince's method, to take Favourites from the meanest of people, who being less scrupulous than others, and wholly intent upon their own advancement, obey'd his will without reserve; and then, to content his subjects, he would readily sacrifice them to their resentment. As for the Lord Cromwell's character, 'tis no wonder, that, between Papists and Protestants, it should be so various. The first represent him, as a crafty, cruel, ambitious, and covetous man; and a heretic (y). The latter assure us, that he was a person of great wit, and excellent parts, joined to extraordinary diligence and industry (z): That his apprehension was quick and clear; his judgment methodical and solid; his memory strong and rational; his tongue fluent and pertinent; his presence stately and obliging; his heart large and noble; his temper patient and cautious; his correspondence well laid and constant; his conversation insinuating and close: None more dexterous in finding out the designs of men and courts; and none more reserved in keeping a secret (a). Tho' he was raised from the meanest condition to a high pitch of honour, he carry'd his greatness with wonderful temper (b); being noted in the exercise of his places of judicature, to have us'd much moderation, and in his greatest pomp to have taken notice of, and been thankful to mean persons of his old acquaintance (c) [Q]. In his whole behaviour, he was courteous and affable to all; a favourer in particular of the poor in their suits; and ready to relieve such as were in danger of being oppress'd by their mighty adversaries (d); and so very hospitable and bountiful, that above two hundred persons were serv'd, at the gate of his house in Throgmorton-street London, twice every day, with bread, meat, and drink sufficient (e). He was one of the chief instruments in the Reformation of Religion; and tho' he could not prevent the promulgation, he stopp'd the execution as far as he could, of the bloody Act of the Six Articles (f). But when the King's command press'd him close, he was not firm enough to hazard his own interest, or person; as was manifest, from his concurring in the condemnation and cruel burning of John Lambert (g). As he was good abroad, so was he also at home; calling upon his servants yearly, to give him an account of what they had got under him, and what they desired of him; warning them to improve their opportunities; because he said, he was too great to stand long; providing for them as carefully, as for his own son, by his purse and credit, that they might live as handsomely when he was dead, as they did when he was alive (h). In a word, we are assur'd, that for piety towards God, fidelity to his King, prudence in the management of affairs, gratitude to his benefactors, dutifulness, charity, and benevolence, there was not any one then superior to him England (i).

' for the Kynges grace, that he maie long live with  
' you, in healtie and prosperitie. And after him that  
' his sonne Prince Edward, that goodly ympe maie  
' long reigne over you. And once again I desire you  
' to pray for me, that so long as I fe remaineth in  
' this fleshe, I waver nothyng in my faith (20).'

[Q] *And been thankful to mean persons of his old acquaintance.*] This is represented in a very agreeable and advantageous light by Shakespear, under the character of Goodman Seely, and his wife Joan (21): But more truly by J. Fox, in the account he gives of a poor woman that kept a victualling house at Hounslow; to whom Cromwell owing forty shillings before he arriv'd to his greatness, he not only repay'd her that sum, but also gave a yearly pension of four pounds, and a livery every year while she lived. He likewise takes notice, of his generosity to the son of a poor man, who had given him many a meal's meat in his youth (22). His *Gratitude* was also very remarkable, in the case of Francis Frescobald (or Friskibal, as Shakespear calls him). This Frescobald was an eminent Florentine merchant, who handsomely reliev'd Cromwell in Italy, when he was reduc'd to the utmost distress and poverty, after the defeat of the French

Army at Castiglione: He not only furnish'd him with clothes, and a horse, but also with sixteen ducats of gold, to carry him back to England. Frescobald being afterwards reduc'd to poverty; Or, as Shakespear expresses it (23),———

Fortune that turns her too unconstant wheel,  
Having turn'd his wealth and riches in the sea,

he came over to England, where he had had considerable dealings, to endeavour to recover fifteen thousand ducats, that were due to him from several persons. The Lord Cromwell finding him out, assist'd him in recovering his dues, and not only repaid him the sixteen ducats above-mentioned, but also made him a present of sixteen hundred more (24). However, I cannot conclude the Lord Cromwell's character, without observing, That J. Stow the famous historian complains (25), He took a piece of ground from his father, to enlarge his own garden in Throgmorton-street, without making him any satisfaction. Whereupon he makes this pertinent remark, That the sudden rising of some men, causeth them to forget themselves.

C

CROMWELL (OLIVER), who raised himself to the possession of the supreme power, under the title of Protector of the Commonwealth of England, was equally remarkable for his great military skill, by which he obtained so many victories in the field, and by his amazing abilities in the cabinet, which enabled him to overcome all opposition at home, and to strike even the most powerful nations abroad with terror. He was very honourably descended, both by his father and his mother, from families of great antiquity; and which had produced persons of distinguished reputation, both for arms and arts, as may be sufficiently proved by indisputable evidence (a) [A]. It is the more necessary to

[A] *By indisputable evidence*] It has been so generally said, and authors have so frequently transcribed it one from another, that, if no check be given to it

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in time, it will pass for an unquestionable truth with posterity, not only that the name of this family was originally Williams, but that Sir Richard Cromwell, who

(y) Fox: *Thomas Cromwellus homo equus, crudelis, ambitiosus & avarus, heresi etiam didicit.* Sanders, as above, p. 91.

(z) Stow's *Annals*, p. 580, 581.

(a) D. Lloyd, *&c.* as above, p. 59. from the notes of T. Cromwell, Esq; one of his posterity.

(b) Burnet, *Hist. of the Reform.* P. i. p. 284.

(c) Lord Herbert, p. 225.

(d) Holinshed, *Chr. n.* p. 952.

(e) Stow's *Survey of London*, with Strype's addit. Lond. 1720, Vol. I B. i. p. 245, and B. ii. p. 117.

(f) Burnet, as above, P. i. p. 265, 266. Strype's *Eccles. Memor.* Vol. I, p. 353.

(g) Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 180; and Fox, as above, p. 1123.

(h) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 64, 65.

(i) *Quo non fuit aut religione erga Deum, aut fidelitate in regem, aut prudentia in Republica, aut in benemeritis gratitudine, aut in omnes pietate, ebaritate, ac benevolentia majore tunc in Anglia quisquam.* De Antiq. Britan. *Eccles. Hanoviae*, 1605, p. 334, 335.

(20) Hall's *Chr. edit.* 1550, in Hen. VIII. fol. cxxli. and J. Fox, as above, p. 1190.

(21) *Life and Death of Tho. Lord Cromwell*, by W. Shakespear.

(22) *Acts and Monuments*, ut supra, p. 1186, 1187.

(23) *Ubi supra*.

(24) Fox, p. 1186, 1187.

(25) In his *Survey of London*.

(a) May's *Hist. of the Parliament of England*. B. III. p. 70. Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* Vol. II, col. 83.

(b) History and Policy reviewed, in the heroick transactions of his most Serene Highness Oliver late Lord Protector, by Mr Dawbeny.

deliver the less known points of his history copiously and clearly, because, through envy on one side, flattery on the other, and strong prejudices upon both, it may be truly said, that more of falsehood and fable is to be met with in the accounts given of him in our own (b), as well as foreign languages (c), than of almost any other person living so near our own times [B]. He was the son of Mr Robert Cromwell, who was the second

(c) La vie d'Olivier Cromwell, par l'Abbe Raguenet. Vie d'Olivier Cromwell, par Gregorie Leti.

son to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, Prime-Minister and favourite to Henry VIII; and that this Knight owed all his fortunes to the interest of that potent nobleman (1). The story commonly told is this, that Morgan Williams, of an ancient family in Wales, married the sister of Thomas Lord Cromwell, by whom he had a son, Richard, who took his uncle's name of Cromwell, who was afterwards knighted by King Henry, from whom he received large grants of Abbeylands in Huntingdonshire; that this Sir Richard Williams, or Cromwell, married Frances the daughter of Sir Thomas Murfyn, by whom he had a son Henry, knighted by Queen Elizabeth, in the sixth year of her reign; which Sir Henry, marrying Joan, daughter and heiress of Sir Ralph Warren, became the father of six sons, the second of which was the father of Oliver, of whom we are speaking (2). There is no doubt that this notion prevailed in the life-time of the Protector; for we find it mentioned in that history of him, which was published but a year after his death. Some points in this genealogy have been filed and brightened up by that eminent Antiquary Sir William Dugdale (3); yet he seems to be not at all clear as to the very beginning of the tale: for he takes notice that some said, the Lord Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex, married a Williams, but he rejecting this, without citing authority, supposes, that one Mr Williams married Lord Cromwell's sister, and so goes on with the story, which has been already told. Dr Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, who turned Papist, and was very desirous of making his court to the Protector, dedicated a book to him (4); and besides, presented him with a printed paper, by which he pretended to scrape kindred with him, as being himself some way allied to Thomas, Earl of Essex; but the Protector, with some passion, told him, that Lord was not related to his family in any degree (5). If therefore he knew any thing of his own family, this story, though so very well told, cannot be true. It is much more probable, that the father of Sir Richard Cromwell, supposed to be the nephew of the Earl of Essex, was Thomas Cromwell, Esq; who was Sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in the 28th of Henry VIII (6); and, indeed, four years afterwards we find this Sir Richard, Sheriff of the same counties (7), and from him there is no doubt at all that the genealogy runs right. It must be confessed, that this Gentleman had very large grants of Abbeylands in Huntingdonshire, to the amount, as they were then rated, of at least three thousand pounds (8) a year; but it does not follow from thence, that he must be related to the Lord Cromwell. Some of these grants are as early, in point of time, as the high favour of that great Minister, but none of them so early as the year in which Thomas Cromwell, Esq; was Sheriff, which makes it probable he was his father, and that, upon his demise, Richard came to have an estate in the county (9). Another reason, which inclines me to think that Sir Richard Cromwell was no near relation or dependant upon the Earl of Essex, in King Henry the VIIIth's time, is this, that he received the honour of Knighthood, and several large grants, precisely at the time of that famous Minister's fall, and others in so constant and regular a succession, that there is no appearance he was ever out of King Henry's favour (10). If it be asked, how any account can be given of the tradition, that Cromwell was some way related to the Earls of Essex, by the females, and how his family came by the name of Williams, which is unquestionably matter of record; my answer is, that a probable account may be given of both; at least, a more probable account than hitherto has been given of either. It is not at all unlikely, that in Cromwell's family, more especially after he became Protector, there might be frequent mention made, of a descent from the Earls of Essex by the females: but this must be understood not of himself, but of his wife, who was really descended from the Bouchiers, Earls of Essex (11).

In reference to the surname of Williams, it might possibly arise from the marriage of a Gentleman of that name with the heiress of Thomas Cromwell of Huntingdonshire; and Sir William Dugdale renders this more probable than his own story; for, in speaking of John Lord Williams, of Thame in Oxfordshire, he tells us, that he was of the same family with that Sir Richard Williams, who took the surname of Cromwell, and both of them the sons of John Williams, of Burfield in the county of Berks (12): now this has nothing to do with Morgan Williams the Welshman, whom he supposes to have married Lord Cromwell's sister, or with the Lady of the same country, whom Brooke (13), and other writers, assert was married to Cromwell Earl of Essex. Neither will it be any answer to say, that this is only the mistake of a Berkshire family for a family of Wales, since there is direct evidence to prove, that Cromwell was so far from being any way allied to Williams of Berkshire, that he was an enemy to, and an oppressor of, that family (14). Upon the whole, therefore, I should rather incline to think, that this family descended by the females from Ralph Lord Cromwell, of Tattershall in Lincolnshire, the last heir-male of which was Lord High-Treasurer in the reign of King Henry the VIth; and one of his coheiresses married Sir William Williams (15), whose descendants might afterwards take the surname of Cromwell, in hopes of obtaining that title which Humphry Bouchier, a younger son of the then Earl of Essex, who married the eldest of the coheiresses, actually had, and was killed at Barnet field, fighting on the side of King Edward the IVth (16). However, if we consider only those ancestors of Oliver Cromwell, of whom there is no dispute, we may support all that has been said in the text; for Sir Richard Cromwell was a great favourite with Henry the VIIIth, and an eminent Commander in his wars (17). His son Sir Henry was four times Sheriff of his county, and universally esteemed: as for Sir Oliver Cromwell, he gave King James the First the greatest feast that had been given to a King by a subject (18), when his Majesty passed by his house in his way to London; and, in return, King James made him a Knight of the Bath at his coronation (19). He had a very large estate, and was a very loyal worthy Gentleman; lived high, and spent a great part of his fortune, dying in the year 1654 (20), without receiving any favours from his nephew.

[B] So near our own times ] It is no great wonder, that, in the life-time of the Protector, or immediately after his decease, those, who had suffered by his power, should endeavour to avenge themselves upon his character, and even a little at the expence of truth; in this the Cavaliers, if we abate the story of Colonel Lindsey, who was eye and ear-witness to Oliver's contract with the Devil (21), were by far the most modest; for the republican party, whom he had likewise humbled, kept no measures, but vented their spleen in all the malicious and groundless fictions they could invent. On the other hand, the courtiers of those times, as in most other times, were egregious flatterers, ready to magnify him to the skies, and to say whatever they thought might please, though it lay ever so much out of the reach of truth. Amongst others, one Mr Dawbeny undertook, in a book (22) which he dedicated to the most Serene Highness of Richard, by the Grace of God Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to draw a parallel, in thirty different steps, between Moses the Man of God, and Oliver late Protector. This Gentleman, foreseeing that some might object to this the profaneness of the design, apologizes for it thus, in his preface. 'Certainly, says he, this piece is not the first that has gone that way; we have very sufficient precedents, and authority too, to warrant us. Have we not seen a compleat parallel between Elias and Dr Luther, even to the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof? and another between his successor Elisha and Mr Calvin, to the double portion of his spirit? and many of our modern

(12) Idem, *ibid.* p. 393.

(13) Catalogue of the Nobility, by R. B. p. 83.

(14) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 132.

(15) Idem, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 46.

(16) Discovery of errors in Brooke's Catalogue, by Vincent, p. 184.

(17) Stowe's Survey, p. 494.

(18) Fuller's Worthies in Huntingdonshire, p. 54.

(19) Stowe's Annals continued, by Edmund Howfe, p. 827.

(20) Fuller's Worthies, Huntingdonshire, p. 54.

(21) Echard's History of England, p. 691.

(22) The title of this book at large runs thus: *History and Policy reviewed, in the heroic transactions of his most Serene Highness Oliver, late Lord Protector, from his cradle to his tomb, declaring his steps to princely perfection, as they are drawn in lively parallels to the ascents of the great Patriarch Moses, in thirty degrees, to the height of honour, by H. D.* Lond. 1659. 12mo.

(1) Carrington's History of the Life and Death of Oliver, Lord Protector, Lond. 1659, 12mo. p. 3.

(2) See the Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 2, 3.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 374.

(4) The title of this book is, *The two great mysteries of Christian Religion, the ineffable Trinity, and wonderful Incarnation, explicated*, Lond. 1653.

(5) Fuller's Worthies in Cambridgeshire, p. 169.

(6) See the list of these Sheriffs in Fuller.

(7) See the same list in Fuller.

(8) Tanner's Notitia Monastica, p. 190, 191, 192, 193.

(9) By comparing the dates in the two authors last mentioned, this fact is ascertained.

(10) Rymer's Federa, Tom. XV. p. 22.

(11) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 132.

son of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrooke in the county of Huntingdon, Knight, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Stewart, of the isle of Ely, Knight (d), both of them persons of great worth, and no way inclined to disaffection, either in their civil or religious principles; but remarkable for living upon a small fortune, with much decency, and maintaining a large family handsomely by their frugal circumspection [C]. He was born

(d) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88.

Doctors put in scale with some of the Apostles themselves. Nor has this way of comparison been taken up only by Divines, in honour of their own function, but many parallels we find in print, between some of our late Kings, how well deserving I say not, and some of those holy Princes and Prophets of God's own people, as David, Solomon, Josiah, Hezekiah, &c. And one very express parallel between Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, and that great Princess and Prophetess Deborah. Then why should not our late incomparable Prince and Protector stand as well placed in line parallel with that glorious Patriarch Moses? The first step in this parallel, or, as the author calls it, the first ascent, is, as to nobility of birth; and, upon this subject, he is very clear as to Moses, and sets forth his pedigree at large from the Scriptures; one would have imagined from hence, that this writer should have taken care to have been perfectly master of Cromwell's pedigree: but, to shew the reader how little help is to be expected from such writers, we will transcribe what he says upon this subject. 'I cannot say his late Highness was extracted from so priestly a family, but altogether as princely, being lineally descended from the loins of our most antient British Princes, and tied in near alliances to the blood of our later Kings, as by that thrice noble family of the Barringtons, and divers others, which, to make a pedigree of, would take up more paper than we intend for our volume, and make me appear more a Herald than an Historian. Nay, indeed, should I but go about to prove his Highness's most illustrious house noble, I should commit a sacrilege in the temple of honour, and only violate his most glorious family with a more solemn infamy.' I will trespass so far on the reader's patience, as to give him another instance, from an author (23) who attempted to make court to the Protector upon this subject, in his lifetime, but in the same vague incoherent style, promising mighty things, but performing nothing. 'He is well born, and of a noble and ancient extract; and hath so much piety of his own, such virtues and honours of his own acquisition and getting, so much splendor and glory, as might illustrate and dignify not only his progenitors, had they been never so mean and inferior, but also his posterity for all ages to come, should they be never so low and degenerated. He hath deserved highly, and merited for all that can lay claim to his blood, or any ways derive from the stock and lineage of his house, and will leave them all very great legacies, and patrimonies of glory.'

On all other topics these authors write just at the same rate, so that it is not easy to discern their sense, and hardly possible to collect any facts from them, that are worth preserving; yet their conduct, bad as it is, deserves commendation rather than censure, when compared with the books that some foreigners have published. The Abbe Ragueneau (24) has written a history full of faults and mistakes, in reference to the dates and circumstances of events, and more erroneous still in the remarks and the reflections, which are very often precisely the reverse of what they ought to be, and what it is very apparent they would have been, had the author had a competent knowledge of the subject upon which he was writing. This history, however, is equally authentic and exact, in comparison of that of Gregorio Leti (25), which is a master-piece in it's kind; for whereas in other works there is a greater or a less mixture of error, there is in this scarce a sprinkling of truth; and one would really conceive it an impossibility for any man, capable of putting a book so well together, to contrive that there should be so very little in it, I will not say of veracity, but of probability. He makes Oliver a prodigy of learning at the university, exceedingly admired by the Bishops, a great favourite with King James; he then sends him over to France upon his travels, gives us a particular account of his galantries, introduces him to an audience of the French King, and an intimacy with Cardinal Richieu. Upon

his return he assures us, that Cromwell was highly in the good graces of Dr Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, to whom, he says, he was nearly related, whereas, in fact, no man saw so early into Cromwell's bad designs as that Prelate, though he had no more than a general acquaintance with him. But, what is still more extraordinary than all this, Mr Leti lets us into the secret, that the Bishop had an amour with Cromwell's wife; though an author of the highest character has assured us, that Dr Williams was altogether incapable of any criminal act of that kind; and in the same style, and with the like attention to truth, he perseveres through the whole work, assuring us, that he wrote it during his stay in England; and that he took care to be perfectly well informed as to every thing which he relates; nor does he scruple to name the Earl of Anglesey, the Earl of Aylesbury, and several other persons of distinction, for the authors of those notorious falsehoods, which no man of common understanding would venture to repeat in public company, with any shew of giving them credit; yet weak and silly as it is, this book is in some esteem abroad, writers very frequently borrow from it, and sometimes we see it cited, which shews how necessary it is to set this article in a proper light, more especially as we have not hitherto had any distinct or clear account of Cromwell's government, notwithstanding there has been so much controversy about it; for as to what we find in satires, panegyrics, or declamations, we should be careful of mistaking that for history, which ought to be composed of unquestionable facts, related with simplicity rather than ornament.

[C] *By their frugal circumspection.* The father of the Protector, Robert Cromwell, Esq; lived mostly at Huntingdon; and though a man of very good sense, and of competent learning, yet so fond of a private life, that it does not appear he ever sought or affected farther than being a justice of peace, a public station (26). As to the Lady he married, she has been said, and not without some degree of truth, to have been descended from the royal house of Stuart. Her great uncle Robert Stuart, the last Prior of the Monastery, and the first Dean of the Cathedral Church of Ely, left behind him a very full account of his family, which is still preserved (27); and from thence it appears, that Sir James Stuart, being one of the retinue of James, Prince of Scotland, was detained with him in the year 1406, and afterwards chose to settle in England; and was preferred and taken into the service of Henry IV. His son Sir John Stuart was created a Knight of the Bath at the marriage of Henry V. His son Thomas Stuart addicted himself to the sea, and, by the daughter of Sir John Hamerton, Knight, had Richard Stuart, Esq; who married the daughter of John Burleigh, Esq; by whom he had Nicholas Stuart, a very learned Lawyer of the Middle-Temple, who was the father of Dr Robert Stuart before-mentioned, as also of Simeon Stuart, Esq; (28) who married Joan, daughter and heiress of Edward Beltency, of Soham in the county of Cambridge, by whom he had eight sons, and amongst these Thomas, who was the father of Sir Richard Stuart, Knight, whose daughter Elizabeth married Robert Cromwell (29), of whom we have been speaking. It was commonly said by the Cavaliers, in the life-time of the Protector, that he was a Brewer, or the son of a Brewer; nor was this altogether without foundation; for his mother, finding it hard to breed up so large a family, out of the narrow income of Mr Cromwell's small estate, and being too well acquainted with his temper, to expect that he should take any measures for augmenting it, thought proper to engage in the brewing trade herself, which she managed with great skill and prudence (30), and without the least assistance, either from the father or the son. Out of the profits of this trade, and her own small jointure of sixty pounds a year, she provided fortunes for her daughters, sufficient to marry them into good families. The eldest was the wife of Mr John Desborough, afterwards one of the Protector's Major-

(26) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 459. Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 11.

(27) Wharton's Anglia sacra, Vol. I. p. 686.

(28) Fuller's Worthies in Cambridgeshire, p. 169, 170.

(29) Vincent's Collections, and their continuation, by R. W.

(30) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 459. Flagellum, p. 15.

(23) Unparalleled Monarch, p. 69.

(24) Histoire d'Olivier Cromwell, jusqu'à sa mort in 1658, avec quelques piéces pour servir de preuves. Paris 1691. 4to.

(25) La vie d'Olivier Cromwell, par Gregorio Leti. Amsterdam 1708. 2 Vol. 12mo.

born in the parish of St John, in the ancient borough of Huntingdon, April 24th (e), or, as most writers say, April 25th, 1599 (f), in the forty-first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; so that what a foreign writer says, in reference to his birth upon the same day that Queen Elizabeth died (g), is like many other facts in his book, absolutely false and groundless. He was christened in the parish church, on the 29th of the same month, when his uncle Sir Oliver Cromwell, a very worthy Gentleman, gave him his name (h). It is said, that he received the first tincture of learning from the Rev. Mr Long (i); but it is very certain, that his father, who was highly attentive to his education, put him, as soon as he was fit to go to school, under the care of Dr Thomas Beard (k), a very learned and sensible man, who was, at that time, master of the free school at Huntingdon. We have very different accounts of his behaviour, while he remained in the hands of this Gentleman; some say that he shewed very little propensity to learning, and others that he made a great proficiency in it (l). It is highly likely, that both are in the wrong; and that he was not either incorrigibly dull, or wonderfully bright, which might also be owing to the levity or fickleness of his temper; for that he was an unlucky boy, and of an uneasy and turbulent temper, is reported by authors of unsuspected veracity (m). It would be tedious, and beside the design of this work, to mention the several stories that have been told of him, even in this early part of life, as to the proofs he gave of a very singular and extraordinary disposition; but there are two, of which the reader might justly blame us in case of omission. The first respects a kind of a vision he saw, or fancied he saw, for which, at the desire of his relations, Dr Beard corrected him severely (n) [D]. As to the other, it relates to a part he acted in the comedy of LINGUA, when performed by himself, and the rest of the boys at Huntingdon school (o), which, it is pretended, filled his mind with the desire of obtaining the crown, and affording him also what he always understood to be an omen of future success [E]. He was from thence removed

(k) Flagellum, or the life and death, &c. of Cromwell, p. 12.

(l) Dawbeny's life of Cromwell, p. 25. Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 13.

(m) Perfect Politician, or, Full view of the life of Cromwell, p. 2, 3. Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88.

(n) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(o) Winstanley's lives of English Poets, p. 115.

Major-Generals; another married first Roger Whetstone, Esq; and afterwards Colonel John Jones, who was executed for being one of the King's Judges; the third espoused Colonel Valentine Walton, who died in exile; the fourth Mrs Robina Cromwell, married first Dr Peter French, and afterwards Dr John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, a famous Preacher, and a celebrated Mathematician. It may not be amiss to add, that an aunt of Cromwell's married Francis Barrington, Esq; another aunt John Hampden, Esq; of Buckinghamshire, by whom she was mother to the famous John Hampden; a third aunt was the wife of Mr Whaley, and the mother of Colonel Whaley, in whose custody the King was while he remained at Hampton Court. He had two other aunts, but of their marriages we have no account (31).

[D] Dr Beard corrected him very severely.] There is reason to believe, that Oliver was not a little unlucky in his youth; for one of his panegyrists says, that he had several escapes in his infancy from fire, little less wonderful than the deliverance of Moses out of the water: but of these, as we can say nothing with certainty, we shall be silent (32). In reference to his vision, it happened, while he was a boy, in the day-time, when lying melancholy upon his bed, he thought he saw a spectre, and that it told him, that he should be the greatest man in this kingdom; which having related to his father, he was very angry, and desired his master to correct him severely; which, however, had no great effect, for he was still persuaded of the thing, and would sometimes mention it, notwithstanding his uncle Stuart told him, *it was traitorous to repeat it* (33). Sir Philip Warwick tells us, that he was well acquainted with one Dr Simcot, who was Cromwell's Physician, in the earlier part of his life, and who assured him, that he was a very fanciful man, that he had been often called to him at unseasonable hours, when he imagined himself to be dying; and that, in these black fits of the vapours, he had many whimsical notions about the crosses that stood in the town of Huntingdon (34). Nor was he altogether free from these fits during the whole course of his life, not even in the highest of his prosperity; of which many instances might be given, if the bounds prescribed to this article would permit.

[E] To be an omen of future success.] We have different reports concerning the author of this play from Winstanley and Langbaine, with which it does not seem requisite to trouble the reader; it is sufficient to observe, that it was originally printed in 1607, and afterwards with this title, LINGUA, or, *The combat of the tongue and the five senses for superiority, a pleasant comedy, first acted at Trinity-College in Cambridge, after at the free-school at Huntingdon* (35). Winstan-

ley says that it was at Cambridge (36), but it is more likely that it was at Huntingdon, that Cromwell performed the part of *Tactus*, which affected him strangely. The scheme of the play is, that *Lingua* gives a crown and a robe to be contested for by the senses; the two following scenes will shew what gave rise to this notion of Cromwell's being so much struck by his playing this part (37).

(36) Lives of the English Poets, p. 114.

(37) The reader must be content with the citation of the act, and scene, for this comedy is printed without pages.

ACT I. SCENE V.  
MENDACIO. TACTUS.

MEND. Now, chaste *Diana*, grant my nets to hold.

TACT. The blasting childhood of the cheerful morn  
Is almost grown a youth, and overclimbs  
Yonder gilt eastern hills, about which time

*Gustus* most earnestly importuned me  
To meet him hereabouts; what cause I know not.

MEN. You shall do shortly, to your cost, I hope.

TACT. Sure, by the Sun, it should be nine o'clock!

MEN. What a Stargazer, will you ne'er look down?

TACT. Clear is the Sun, and blue the firmament:  
Methinks the heavens do smile

— MEN. At thy mishap,

To look so high, and stumble in a trap.

[TACTUS stumbles at the Robe and Crown.

TACT. High thoughts have slippery feet, I had well  
nigh fall'n.

MEN. Well doth he fall, that riseth with a fall.

TACT. What's this?

MEN. O! are you taken? 'tis in vain to strive.

TACT. How now!

MEN. You'll be so entangled straight.

TACT. A Crown!

MEN. That it will be heard.

TACT. And a Robe!

MEN. To lose yourself.

TACT. A Crown and Robe!

MEN. It had been fitter for you to have found a fool's  
coat, and a bauble, hey, hey.

TACT. Jupiter! Jupiter! how came this here?

MEN. O! Sir, Jupiter is making thunder, he hears you  
not; here's one knows better.

TACT. 'Tis wond'rous rich: ha! but sure it is not  
so: ho!

Do I not sleep, and dream of this good luck, ha?

No, I am awake, and feel it now.

Whose should it be? [He takes it up.

MEN. Set up a *fi quis* for it.

TACT. *Mercury!* all's mine own; here's none to cry  
half's mine.

MEN. When I am gone.

SCENE

(e) Collection of Nativities, by Sir Richard Napier, M.S.

(f) Carrington's life of Cromwell, p. 3. Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88. Dugdale, Fuller, &c.

(g) Vie de Cromwell, par Leti, Vol. I. p. 145.

(h) Life of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, Lond. 1741, 8vo. p. 3. From the information of the late Mr Thomas Baker, of St John's College in Cambridge.

(i) Collections relating to the family of Cromwell, by John Vincent, M.S.

(31) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 90.

(32) Dawbeny's life of Cromwell, p. 20.

(33) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 13.

(34) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(35) Lond. 1657. 24mo.

removed to Sidney-College in Cambridge, where he was admitted, April 23d, 1616, under the tuition of Mr Richard Howlett (*p*), who, by a very strict attention to his pupil's disposition, very quickly discovered, that he was less addicted to speculation than to action. We have very different accounts of the progress he made in his studies while a member of the university. As for those wild stories that a foreign writer tells us, of his amazing proficiency, and which he loads with so many false authorities (*q*) and contradictory circumstances, they are not only unworthy of belief, but of notice; and, on the other hand, it is not easy to give credit to what some report, of his being scarce master of the Latin tongue, because it is certain that he was well read in the Greek and Roman history (*r*); but whether he acquired this knowledge at Cambridge, is a point that may be doubted. His father dying he returned home, where his conduct was far enough from being regular, insomuch that it gave his mother, who was a notable and prudent woman, much uneasiness. She was advised by some near relations to send him up to London, and to place him in Lincoln's-Inn (*s*); which she accordingly did, but without any extraordinary effects, since it served only to bring him acquainted with the vices of the town, by way of addition to those to which he had been addicted in the country. It does not at all appear, that he applied himself to the study of the Laws, which was what his friends aimed at; on the contrary; he continued to pursue his pleasures, and gave himself up to wine, women, and play, in which last, though he was sometimes fortunate, yet, taking all his expences together, they so much exceeded his income, that he quickly dissipated all that his father left him (*t*); but, after a few years spent in this manner, he saw plainly the consequences of his follies, renounced them suddenly, and began to lead a very grave and sober life (*u*) [*F*]. This, however, ought not to be imputed to his falling in with the Puritans, since it is very certain, that he remained then, and for some time after, a zealous member of the Church of England, and entered into a close friendship with several eminent Divines, who looked upon his reformation as very extraordinary, and spoke of him as a man of strong sense and great abilities (*w*). As he was nearly related to Mr Hampden, of Buckinghamshire, to the Barringtons of Essex, and other considerable families, they interested themselves in his favour, and were very desirous of seeing him settled in the world; in order to which a marriage was proposed, which soon after took effect (*x*). The Lady he married was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, of Essex, Knight, a woman of spirit and parts, and, being descended from an

(*p*) Peck's D-  
derata Comola,  
Vol. II. Lib. vii.  
num. 22.

(*q*) Vie d'Crom-  
well, par Leti,  
Vol. I. p. 149,  
150, 151.

(*r*) Rapin's Hist.  
of England, 8vo.  
Vol. XIII. p.  
147.

(*s*) Flagellum, or  
the life and death  
of O. Cromwell,  
p. 16.

(*t*) Dugdale's  
Short view of  
the late troubles,  
p. 439.

(*u*) Perfect Poli-  
tician, p. 2, 3.

(*w*) See the life  
Oliver Lord Pro-  
tector, p. 3.

(*x*) Flagellum, or  
the life and death  
of O. Cromwell,  
p. 20.  
Wood's Fasti  
Oxon. Vol. II.  
col. 89.

## SCENE VI. A SOLILOQUY.

TACT. *Taurus*, thy sneezing somewhat did portend,  
Was ever man so fortunate as I?  
To break his limbs at such a stumbling-block.  
Roses and bays pack hence: this *Crown* and *Robe*  
My brows and body circles and invests,  
How gallantly it fits me; sure the slave  
Measur'd my head that wrought this *Coronet*.  
They lye that say complexions cannot change;  
My blood's *ennobled*, and I am *transform'd*  
Unto the *sacred temper* of a KING.  
Methinks I hear my noble parasites  
Stiling me *Cæsar*, or great *Alexander*,  
Licking my feet, and wond'ring where I got  
This precious ointment; how my pace is mended,  
How princely do I speak, how sharp I threaten:  
*Peasants*, I'll curb your headstrong impudence,  
And make you tremble when the lion roars:  
Yea earth-bred worms: O for a looking-glass!  
Poets will write whole volumes of *this change*:  
Where's my attendants? Come hither, Sirrah, quickly,  
Or by the wings of *Hermes* —

[*F*] *And began to lead a very grave and sober life.*]

We are informed by some writers, that while he was at the university, he spent much of his time at football, cricket, and other robust exercises, for his skill and expertness in which he was very famous (38). In all probability, it might be this that led him into ill company, and drew him into extravagancies of another kind; and this will, in some measure, account for his mother's being so desirous to remove him out of the country, in hopes that, when he was at a distance from his old companions, he might lose the ill habits they had taught him. His stay at Lincoln's-Inn could not be long, nor was this season of wildness and dissipation of much continuance. It appears, by the entry in the register of Sidney-College, that he came thither when he was but two days short of seventeen (39); and it is very certain, that he was married by that time he was one-and-twenty; so that if he staid but two years at the university, and it is very probable that he did not stay there longer, there was not above two years more for his going to Lincoln's-Inn, and running through the whole circle of his follies (40). It is very

likely that, after he married and settled at Huntingdon, he fell into those fits of melancholy in which Dr Simcot attended him; and this is the more probable, if what many writers tell us be true, that he shewed a very deep concern for the idleness of his former conduct, and readily offered to make satisfaction to every person whom he had wronged during the time that he lived so freely (41). These circumstances, and the noise made by his conversion, recommended him to the notice of the Nonconformists, who, by degrees, drew him over to their interest, so that he frequently attended Dr Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, and was very importunate with him to dispense with the severity of the law, when these ecclesiastical friends of his came into any trouble for their conduct (42). This gave that Prelate an opportunity of judging of him so early; and, as he was a man of very extraordinary sagacity, and singular penetration, so, at that time, he saw clearly into Mr Cromwell's spirit, which he found to be hasty, and yet obstinate, very quick in resenting, but very slow in forgiving injuries. It does not appear on what account he differed with his uncle Sir Thomas Stuart, or at what time; but it seems he made a complaint against him at court, in which he had not the success that he expected; and this gave him the first distaste to the King; which, however, upon certain occasions, he might dissemble, as upon some he certainly did, even before things came to extremities, of which we shall have occasion to take notice; but he never forgot this supposed injury, notwithstanding he afterwards, by his mother's interest, compromised matters with that uncle. We have likewise an account of an odd exploit of his at Sir Oliver Cromwell's, which drew upon him very rough usage, and which, with other things, so thoroughly disoblighd that old Knight (43), as to deprive him entirely of his good opinion. These are matters that might perhaps be better cleared up, if any one should take the trouble of writing his history at large, with that industry and care that it deserves; but, considering the nature of our design, it may probably be thought, that we have bestowed too much notice upon particulars of so trivial a nature already, and therefore we will forbear them for the future.

(41) Perfect Po-  
litician, or life of  
Cromwell, p. 2.

(42) Bishop  
Hacker's life of  
Archbishop Wil-  
liams, P. ii.  
p. 212.

(43) Flagellum,  
or the life and  
death of Crom-  
well, p. 18, 19.

(38) Flagellum,  
or the life of  
Cromwell, p. 15.

(39) That entry  
is in these words,  
*Oliverus Crom-  
well, Huntingdon-  
iensis, admissus  
ad commensam  
sociorum Coll.  
Sidon. Aprilis 23,  
1616, Tutor  
M. Ricardo  
Howlett.*

(40) This appears  
from the parish  
register of St  
John in Hunt-  
ingdon, in which  
we find, that his  
eldest son Robert  
who died a child,  
was born October  
13th, 1621.

ancient family, did not want a considerable portion of pride (*y*). Mr Cromwell soon after returned to his own country, and settled at Huntingdon till the death of his uncle Sir Thomas Stuart, who left him an estate of between four and five hundred pounds a year, induced him to remove into the isle of Ely (*z*). It was about this time that he began to fall off from the Church, to converse mostly with those who were then stiled Puritans, and by degrees to affect their notions, as indeed he did every thing which he affected at all, with great warmth and vehemence. He was elected a member of the third parliament in the reign of Charles I, which met January 20th, 1628 (*a*), and was of the committee for religion, where he distinguished himself by his zeal against Popery, and by complaining of Dr Neile, then Bishop of Winchester's licensing books, which had a very dangerous tendency (*b*). After the dissolution of that parliament, he returned again into the country, where he continued to express much concern for religion, to frequent silenced ministers, and to invite them often to lectures and sermons at his house; by which he again brought his affairs into a very indifferent situation (*c*); so that he judged it requisite to try what industry might do towards repairing these breaches, which led him to take a farm at St Ives, and this he kept about five years; though, instead of repairing, it helped to run out the rest of his fortune; and had totally undone him, if he had not thrown it up (*d*). Some have charged this upon his enthusiasm, and being religious over-much, which induced him to have long prayers with his family in a morning, and again in the afternoon, at which his ploughmen, and all his country servants, always attended (*e*). But granting this to be true, it was a proof of his sincerity, of which indeed he gave many; amongst others, he gave publick notice, that he was ready to make restitution to any from whom he had won money at play; and he actually did return thirty pounds to Mr Calton, from whom he won it several years before (*f*). His disappointments being such as allowed him very little reason to hope he should either make any great figure in his country, or secure a reasonable provision for his children, great part of his uncle's estate being now gone, he revived, in his own mind, a scheme, which his bad circumstances first put into his head while at Lincoln's-Inn, of going over to New England (*g*). This was in 1637, and this design, it is thought, he would certainly have executed, if he had not been hindered by the issuing out a proclamation for restraining such embarkations (*b*). The next year he had less time upon his hands; for the Earl of Bedford, and some other persons of high rank, who had large estates in the fen country, were very desirous of seeing it better drained; and though one project of this sort had failed, they thought it expedient nevertheless to set on foot another, countenanced by the royal authority, and which, without doubt, was intended for the publick benefit; but for all that it was violently opposed, under pretence, that it was injurious to private property, though in reality it gave much more to private people than it took away, and made those rents safe and secure, which before were very precarious (*i*). At the head of this opposition Mr Oliver Cromwell placed himself, and pushed things with great spirit and vigour, as he did every thing in which he once embarked, so that he gave the great men concerned in this affair abundance of trouble (*k*) [G]. It was the vigour and vigilance which he shewed upon this occasion, that first rendered him conspicuous and considerable, and gave occasion to his friend and relation Mr Hampden to recommend him afterwards to his friends in parliament, as a person capable of contriving and conducting great things (*l*). But for all this, he was not very successful in the matter of which we have been speaking; and, as his private affairs were still declining, he was in a very necessitous condition at the approach of the long parliament (*m*). In these circumstances one might wonder how he should form a design, at a time when elections were considered as things of the utmost consequence, of getting himself chosen, more especially for the town of Cambridge, where he was so far from having any interest, that in reality he was not so much as known, and if

[G] So that he gave the great men concerned in this affair abundance of trouble.] The Earl of Bedford living at that time, was one of the wealthiest, and also one of the wisest, men in England; he had a very large estate in the fen country (44), and a very great influence over most of those who had great estates in that neighbourhood; it was no wonder therefore that he patronized a scheme for improving the great work of draining, which, in a country where there are millions of acres depending upon it, must be always a point of very high importance. He found himself however, after great pains taken, and much money laid out, obliged to abandon one very probable and profitable project, for want of the power requisite to carry it into execution (45). It was this which induced that noble Peer, and those who concurred with him, in so great and good a design, to apply themselves to the Crown for that assistance, which was requisite to perfect the great scheme they had formed, and for the carrying on of which they desired, that such commissions of sewers might from time to time be issued, as might prove necessary: they likewise, for the honour of the

business, thought fit to stile it a royal undertaking, and, as was highly reasonable, settled a share of the profits upon the Crown (46). But, as it was impossible to manage an affair of this nature, without levying a kind of land-tax upon those who were to have the benefit of it, and providing that no man's private property should impede the carrying on the works that were requisite, this furnished a subject for clamour, not only against the undertakers, but against the King; which, however groundless and unreasonable, was carried to a very great height; and, in a meeting held at Huntingdon in 1638, Mr Cromwell, who had a considerable interest in those parts, was very active, and by his vigilance, and plausible speeches, created a very formidable opposition (47); which, though it did not absolutely subvert, it greatly hindered and retarded the progress of the works; for which these obstinate people were severely punished in 1657, when, upon the melting of the snows, the banks gave way, and a considerable quantity of land was, at least for the present, lost, and a large number of cattle destroyed (48).

[H] And

(y) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 3.

(z) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 20. May's History of the Parliament, B. III. p. 79.

(a) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 12.

(b) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 3.

(c) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 460.

(d) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 21.

(e) History and Policy reviewed, p. 32, 33. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(f) Perfect Politician, p. 2, 3.

(g) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4. Neal's History of New England.

(h) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XIX. p. 646. Rushworth, Part ii. p. 298.

(i) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 250.

(k) Echard's Hist. of Engl. p. 579.

(l) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 23.

(m) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 89. Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4, 5. Flagellum, &c. p. 22.

(44) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 60.

(45) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 250.

(46) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 380.

(47) Coke's Delectation, p. 106.

(48) Camden's Britannia, Vol. I. p. 479.

he had been known, would never have been elected. The whole of that affair was owing to an accidental intrigue, in which himself had at first no hand; but, from the time he meddled with it, he conducted every thing with such sagacity and dexterity, that, by the help of the party, who first thought of him as a proper instrument for carrying on the cause, he was, to the wonder of others, and perhaps, in some measure, of his own, chosen by a great majority (n). This, which was the beginning of all his greatness, ought to be considered as a point of consequence, and therefore we have taken some pains to set it in a proper light [H]. When he came into parliament he shewed himself very active, was very constant in his attendance, and a frequent speaker; though he did not, at that time, discover any of the great qualities which afterwards appeared in him, and which seem'd to be called out as occasion required; for had he at first been esteem'd so considerable a person in point of abilities as he was afterwards found, those of his own party would have probably been jealous of him, and sought his destruction; but he had an art of concealing his faculties, so that he seem'd always fit for the station in which he was, and for that only (o). He affect'd not only plainness but carelessness in dress, was very uniform in his conduct, spoke warmly and roundly, but without either art or elocution. He was very forward in censuring what were call'd grievances, both in Church and State, though he had not fram'd to himself any plan of reformation. This he frankly acknowledged with respect to ecclesiastical affairs, when press'd by Sir Thomas Chicheley and Mr Warwick to declare his sentiments upon that subject; *I can tell*, said Mr Cromwell, *what I would not have, though I cannot tell what I would have* (p). He was very zealous in promoting the Remonstrance which was carried on the 14th of November 1641, and which in reality laid the basis of the civil war; he shewed himself more sanguine in his expectations upon that head, than the rest of his party; for he thought they were so strong, so steady, and so well connected; and that those who were for the King were some of them so timorous, others so careless, and not a few so indolent, that it would have been carried almost without a debate; nor had he any regard to the Lord Falkland's opinion, who thought the quite contrary. But when, after a debate which lasted all day and all night, it was at length carried by so small a majority as nine, and that rather by discipline than argument, for weariness and fatigue were really the parents of that dear bought victory; he could not forbear speaking his mind freely (q). In short, he told Lord Falkland, that he would take his word another time; and, that if the Remonstrance had not been carried, he was resolv'd to have converted the small remains of his estate into ready money the next day, and to have taken the first occasion of quitting the kingdom; and this he affirm'd was the sentiment also of some of the most considerable men of the party (r). The noble Historian had reason therefore to say, upon this occasion, *that this poor nation was very near it's deliverance*; near it indeed! for if zeal for the Church, or duty to the King, could have kept ten more of those, who made such strong professions of both, from their suppers and their beds for a few hours, all the consequences

(n) Winstanley's English Worthies, p. 528. Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 89. Flagellum, &c. p. 24, 27. Coke's Detection, p. 160.

(o) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 245. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 579.

(p) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 5.

(q) Echard's History of England, p. 514, 515.

(r) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 102, 103.

of

[H] *And therefore we have taken some pains to set it in a proper light.* One reason why Mr Cromwell quitted Huntingdon was, a dispute he had with Mr Bernard, upon his becoming Recorder, about precedence, a point in which he was very nice (49). After he came to Ely, he resort'd entirely to Nonconformist meetings, where he quickly distinguish'd himself by his gifts, as they stiled them in those days, in preaching, praying, and expounding (50). At one of these meetings he met with Richard Tims, a tradesman at Cambridge, who rode every Sunday to Ely for the sake of pure doctrine, and captivated his heart entirely. This man hearing that a parliament was to be call'd, and being himself one of the common-council, took it into his head, that there could not be a sifter man to be their Burgesses than Mr Cromwell; and, with this notion in his brain, he went to Mr Wildbore, a draper in the town, who was Cromwell's relation, who agreed with him exactly as to the fitness of the person, but told him the thing was impossible, as he was not a freeman (51). Tims, not satisfied with that, address'd himself next to Mr Evett, a tallow-chandler, who was also a Puritan. He too liked the thought, but, as he was not a freeman, pronounc'd the design impracticable: however, Tims was hardly got out of his house before he sent for him back, to give him a whisper, that the Mayor had a freedom to bestow; and that one Kitchingman, an Attorney, who had married his wife's sister, and was of their party, had a great influence over him; and therefore he advis'd him to move Mr Kitchingman in it, who was to use his interest with the Mayor, under colour that Mr Cromwell was a Gentleman of fortune, and had a mind to come and live in the town, then but in a poor condition, but with a strict charge to hide the true design, Alderman

French, who was then Mayor, being a declared royalist. When they came to make this application to him, Mr French said he was sorry, but that in reality they came too late, for he had promis'd his freedom to the King's fisherman. Mr Kitchingman easily remov'd this objection, by undertaking that the town should confer a freedom upon the person he mention'd; and so, at the next court-day, the Mayor declar'd his intention to bestow his freedom upon a very worthy Gentleman of the isle of Ely, one Mr Cromwell, who, being apprized of his friend's industry, came to town over night, and took up his lodgings at Mr Almond's, a grocer (52). Thither the mace was sent for him, and he came into court dress'd in scarlet richly laced with gold, and, having provided a pretty parcel of strong claret and sweetmeats, they were so well circulated amongst the corporation, that they unanimously declar'd, Mr Mayor's freeman was a very civil worthy Gentleman. When the election came on, the Mayor discover'd his mistake, but it was then too late, for the party amongst the Burgesses was strong enough to chuse him (53), and, at the next election in the ensuing year, he threw out Mr Meawtis, who had serv'd the corporation in every parliament in that reign (54). After the corporation act pass'd in King Charles the Second's time, this transaction being call'd to mind, occasion'd the displacing Alderman French, who was then Mayor also, which affect'd him so strongly, that he was taken sick upon it, and died in three days through downright grief; and Mr Richard Tims, who, by this time, was become an Alderman, was degrad'd, for the pains he took in this transaction; which circumstances occasion'd the preserving so particular an account of it to posterity (55).

(52) Coke's Detection, p. 160.

(53) Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I. p. 164.

(54) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4, 5. Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I. p. 164.

(55) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 27. Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 89.

[I] *And*

(49) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 23.

(50) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 59.

(51) Flagellum, &c. p. 24, 25.

of that fatal night had been prevented. This success in the senate so much strengthened the courage of the victors, gave so much reputation to their cause, drew over so many that were wavering; and dispirited such as adhered to the King, so strangely, that, from this time, all things went to their wish in the House of Commons; and Mr Cromwell's firmness recommended him so effectually to Mr Hampden, Mr Pym, and the rest of the leading men on that side, that they took him into all their councils; which gave him, in a very short space, so clear an insight into things, and so perfect a knowledge of men, that he was not only able to manage when they were removed, but even to contrive the removal of several, who, at this juncture, looked upon themselves, and that justly too, as very much his superiors (s). For to say the truth, the circumstances of his fortune, interests, and connections, compared with many who were then members, and of the same party, would have made it very improbable, in the sense of the most competent judges, that he should ever have opened a passage to such greatness, as afterwards, in spite of these very men, he obtained (t). As soon as the parliament formed any schemes of raising forces for their service, which was in the very beginning of the year 1642, Mr Cromwell shewed his activity, by going immediately to Cambridge, where, in a short space of time, and with very little trouble, he raised a very good troop of horse, which he commanded by virtue of a commission from the Earl of Essex; acting, in other respects, under the Lord Grey of Wark, who had the power of a Major-General in the associated counties for some time (u). However, Capt. Cromwell, being a member, and at the head of the committee, knowing very well the sense of the House, and being thoroughly assured, that what he performed for their service would be well accepted, did not wait for orders, but took upon him, when his men were once in readiness, to act as he thought proper (w). He fixed his head quarters in Cambridge, where he acted with great severity, towards the university more especially, after he missed of seizing the plate contributed by St John's, and other loyal colleges, for the King's service (x), which many writers affirm he actually did seize, but that is a mistake; though it is very certain, that he did all that in him lay, and was as near seizing it as could be (y) [I]. He was more successful in his next enterprise; for being informed, that the King had appointed Sir Thomas Coningsby, Sheriff of Hertfordshire, and had sent him a writ, requiring him to proclaim the Earl of Essex and his adherents traitors, Capt. Cromwell marched with his troop directly to St Alban's, where he seized Sir Thomas Coningsby for that action, and carried him prisoner to London, with which the parliament was highly pleased; committed Sir Thomas to the Tower, where he lay several years, and seized his estate (z). Capt. Cromwell having received the thanks of the House for this, which passed in the month of November, was encouraged to perform a more important service; for being informed that Sir Thomas Barker, Sir John Pettus, and other Gentlemen of great families and fortunes, were met at Lowestoft in Suffolk, for the King's service, he marched thither early in the succeeding spring, where he not only surprized, and made most of those Gentlemen prisoners, but took also a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and military stores, which they had provided (a). This enabled him to increase his forces, so that we find him soon after at the head of a thousand horse, with the title of Colonel Cromwell; and it deserves particular notice, that, entering so late in life, for he was in his forty-third year before he had thoughts of appearing in a military character, he should notwithstanding, in the space of a few months, not only raise the reputation of an officer, but really become a very good one (b); and, which is still stranger, should, by mere dint of discipline, make his new raised men excellent soldiers, and lay the foundation of that invincible strength which was afterwards exerted on the behalf of the parliament. That all this is strictly true, we have

[I] *And was as near seizing it as could be.* The King wrote a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Richard Holdsworth, Master of Emanuel College, dated June 29th, 1642, signifying the extrem want he was then in, so as not to have wherewithal to subsist his private family; upon which the university resolved to send his Majesty a small supply, which, though no way adequate to his occasions, or to their zeal for his service, was, however, as much as lay in their power; what the sum might be appears not, only it is certain, that the loyal College of St John's sent one hundred and fifty pounds in money, and two thousand sixty-five ounces of plate. It was for the share they had in this transaction that Dr Beale, Master of St John's, Dr Martin, Provost of Queen's, and Dr Sterne, Master of Jesus College, were by Cromwell carried up prisoners to London, where they suffered a long imprisonment in the Tower (56). Many members of the university were much worse treated, being kept prisoners for a long time in the hold of a ship in the river, and that too in very severe weather; and the three heads before-mentioned shared in process of time the same fate, and were in danger of suffering still worse, one Rigby, a Lawyer, having twice moved, that they should be

fold as slaves at Algiers, or sent as transports to the plantations, because he had contracted with two merchants for the purchase of them (57). The person intrusted with this small treasure was Mr Barnaby Oley, President of Clare Hall, who, being very well acquainted with the bye-ways, set out with a small party of horse the very night in which Cromwell took post upon the common road, and had the good fortune to bring it safe to his Royal Master, at the very time he set up his standard at Nottingham (58). It was, very probably, not long after this that Mr Cromwell had a very remarkable interview with his uncle, which Sir Philip Warwick had from the good old Gentleman's mouth, and therefore we shall give it in his own words. 'Visiting old Sir Oliver Cromwell, his uncle and god-father, at his house at Ramsay, he told me this story of his successful nephew and godson, that he visited him with a good strong party of horse; and that he asked him his blessing; and that the few hours he was there, he would not keep on his hat in his presence; but at the same time he not only disarmed but plundered him, for he took away all his plate (59).'

(s) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 131.  
Heath's Chronicle, p. 60.  
Rapin's Hist. of England, 8vo. Vol. XIII. p. 145.

(57) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 577.

(58) Life of Dr Barwick, p. 26, 27.

(59) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 257

[K] *Who*

(s) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hol-  
lis, p. 3.  
Warwick's Me-  
moirs, p. 251.  
Winstanley's  
Engl. Worthies,  
p. 528.

(t) Coke's De-  
tection, p. 161.

(u) May's Hist.  
of the Parlia-  
ment, B. iii.  
p. 79.  
Winstanley's  
English Wor-  
thies, p. 529.  
Perfect Politi-  
cian, p. 3, 4.

(w) Flagellum, or  
the life and death  
of O. Cromwell,  
p. 32.

(x) Life of Dr  
Barwick, p. 25.

(y) Winstanley's  
English Wor-  
thies, p. 529.  
Perfect Politi-  
cian, p. 4.

(z) Chauncey's  
Historical Anti-  
quities of Hert-  
fordshire, p. 462.  
May's Hist. of  
the Parliament,  
B. iii. p. 79.

(a) Flagellum, or  
the life and death  
of O. Cromwell,  
p. 34.

Winstanley's  
English Wor-  
thies, p. 529.  
Heath's Chro-  
nicle, p. 59.

(56) May's Hist.  
of the Parliament  
of England,  
B. iii. p. 79.  
Querrela Canta-  
brigienfis, p. 2,  
3, 4.  
Life of Dr Bar-  
wick, p. 41.

have not only the authority of his own assertion to prove, and he was not a vain man, but that likewise of the best writers on all sides, who agree perfectly well in this point, and in the principal circumstances relating to it (c) [K]. In the spring of the year 1643, having settled all things in the six associated counties, viz. Essex, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, he advanced into Lincolnshire, which was now added to the number, having disarmed in his passage such as he took to be disaffected in Huntingdonshire, and increased his forces to about two thousand men (d). Here he did very great service by restraining the King's garrison of Newark, gave a check to the Earl of Newcastle's troops at Horncastle, and performed many other things, of which mention is made by those who have wrote the history of this fatal war; which gained him still farther credit with the parliament, and more especially with that party, which meant to prosecute things to extremity, and till they should be terminated by compleat victory on their side (e). It was to accomplish these views that new armies, under the Earl of Manchester and Sir William Waller, were set on foot, and in the former, though the Earl had the title, yet the power was chiefly in Cromwell; for things were so dextrously managed between him and his friends at Westminster, that, as they knew they might depend upon all in his power, so they took care to put as much in his power as they could (f) [L].

(d) Winstanley's English Worthies, p. 529. Perfect Politician, p. 5.

(e) Flaggellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 35. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 131. Lord Hollis's Memoirs, p. 5.

(f) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 59. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 245. Flaggellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 45.

[K] Who agree perfectly well in this point, and in the circumstances relating to it] When he first raised his troop of horse, he gave a very singular specimen of his skill in purging; for, not doubting that some of them might prove cowards, he devised a most effectual method of discovering which they were, by posting twelve men in ambuscade, who rushed out upon them at their first muster. Upon this twenty of them rode out of the field as fast as their horses could carry them; and these Mr Cromwell dismissed, and listed bolder fellows in their places (60). We are told, by a writer of great credit, that Cromwell's brave regiment of horse were his countrymen, most of them freeholders, or freeholders sons, men who had something to lose besides their lives, and who, upon all occasions, gave the strongest testimonies of steadiness and resolution (61). A learned person, who knew him well, and loved him little, accounts for this clearly, by giving us a sketch of his method of managing them (62). 'He used them, says he, daily to look after, feed, and dress their horses, and, when it was necessary, to lie together on the ground, and besides, taught them to clean and keep their arms bright, and have them ready for service; to chuse the best armour, and to arm themselves to the best advantage. Trained up in this kind of military exercise, they excelled all their fellow-soldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over the enemy. These were afterwards preferred to be commanders and officers in the army, and their places filled up with lusty strong fellows, whom he brought up in the same strictness of discipline.' But Cromwell's own account is far clearer, and more satisfactory, than any, and cannot therefore but be welcome to the judicious reader (63). 'I was, said he, in one of his speeches, 'a person that, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred, and lifted up, from lesser trusts to greater. From my first being captain of a troop of horse, I did labour, as well as I could, to discharge my trust, and God blessed me, as it pleased him. I had a very worthy friend then, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all; Mr John Hampden was the person. At my first going out into this engagement, I saw our men were beaten on every hand. I did indeed, and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord of Essex's army, of some new regiments. And I told him, it would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit, that would do something in the work. Your troops, said I, are most of them old decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops are Gentlemen's younger sons, and persons of good quality. And do you think, that the mean spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter Gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and resolution, in them? You must get men of a spirit, and, take it not ill what I say, of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as Gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still: I told him so. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. I told him I could do somewhat in it: and I accordingly raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and

and made some conscience of what they did. And, from that day forward, they were never beaten, but, wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually.' We are told by Echard (64), that the very first time he mustered his troops, he dealt with them very plainly; that he would not cozen them by the perplexed expression in his commission, to fight for King and Parliament, but that if the King chanced to be in the body of the enemy, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him, as any private person; and if their consciences would not permit them to do the like, he advised them not to list themselves under him. This, as the Archdeacon observes, was thought very bold at that time; and yet, whoever considers it attentively will see, that it was very politickly spoken; for, in the first place, it let his soldiers into the true notion of what was required from them before they came to action, and, consequently, before it was expected from them; so that this commander and his men were never at a loss about each other's meaning: and, secondly, it gave the heads of the party a just hint of his resolution; from whence they saw, that he was a man determined, whom they might rely upon in going all lengths, and whom no propositions, how high or extraordinary so ever, could astonish; agreeable to Mr Hampden's notions of him at the beginning of the troubles (65), and his own behaviour during the continuance and to the very end of the war.

(64) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 579.

(65) Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 193.

[L]. So they took care to put as much in his power as they could.] It must be confessed, that how deficient soever we are in respect to good histories of other periods of time, yet, in reference to this of the civil war, we have as many, and those too as considerable lights, as can well be desired, either in regard to general regular compositions, or in reference to private memoirs, and on both sides of the question; so that if any judicious and impartial person will carefully read, and give himself time cautiously to compare, what all these authors have advanced on any point, he will not find it extremely difficult to fix his judgment about it. The matter we will endeavour to explain in this note is, the subdivision of the views with which the leading members in the Parliament at Westminster began the war; for though themselves, and their Historian Mr May, would turn this upon the King (66), yet, from the dates of the commissions, and from many other unanswerable reasons alledged by Mr Coke (67), who was no very zealous Royalist, it is incontestibly proved, that the Parliament began the war; and the business is to know why they began it; for, though numbers of men may concur in one joint resolution, yet it cannot be inferred from thence, that they are all governed by the same reasons, or all aim to bring about the same end. Yet it must be allowed, that concurring in one resolution may ground a presumption, that such persons are of the same opinion; and the contrary of this can only be made appear from their subsequent behaviour: for if, after going a certain space together, these people divide, and take separate roads, it is plain they had from the beginning different intentions, which remained so long concealed as all parties remained, under the persuasion that they might travel with advantage together, and be, at the same time, advancing towards that point which each of them desired to reach (68).

(66) May's Hist. of the Parliament, B. ii. p. 47.

(67) Coke's Detection, p. 149—155.

(68) Remarks on the conduct of the long Parliament, p. 75.

(c) Conference on the Parliament's desiring him to take on him the title of King. Lond. 1680. Svo. p. 33, 39. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 233, 239. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 72.

(60) Flaggellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 33.

(61) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 72.

(62) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 239.

(63) Conference on the Parliament's desiring him to take the title of King, p. 33, 39.

The Scots having been invited into England by that party to whom Cromwell adhered, it was judged highly requisite that the army under the Earl of Manchester, and Cromwell, who was now declared Lieutenant-General of the horse, should join them, the better to enable them to reduce York, which they had closely besieged: this service, very important in itself, was executed with great vigour and diligence, more especially by Cromwell, who, with all his horse, made a swift and surprizing march, so as to join the Scots unexpectedly (g). In the battle of Marston-Moor, July 3d, 1644, it is unanimously agreed, that Cromwell's cavalry, who were commonly stiled Ironsides, changed the fortune of the day, as that did of the war; for the King's affairs declined, and the Parliament's flourished, ever after (b). It is, I say, agreed, that all the success here was attributed to Cromwell's forces, and, by many good writers, to him who headed and animated them, whereas others give the honour entirely to his men; and would have us believe, that his behaviour was far from being extraordinary (i) [M]. However this matter might

(g) Heath's Chronicle, p. 60. Winstanley's English Worthies, p. 530. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 93.

(b) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 402. Echard's Hist. England, p. 597. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 94.

(i) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 16, 17, 18. Sir Roger Manley's Hist. of Rebellions, p. 71.

This then was the case of the members who remained at Westminster; they all of them judged, that taking up arms was a thing expedient; and, from the measures they afterwards pursued, we may, with great probability at least, if not with certainty, discover, what the motives were that lead them to concur in this first step. Now, not to perplex ourselves, or the reader, with too great nicety, or more than necessary distinctions, we shall be content to observe, that, from their future conduct, it clearly appears, there were three great parties in this Parliament. The first was composed of such as meant to reduce the Prerogative within narrower bounds, to secure the liberties of the people, and to prevent Ministers from misleading the King, or his successors, into acts of arbitrary power with impunity. Without doubt these Gentlemen were right in their intentions; but, whether they pursued a method consistent with the Constitution, is another question; which, however determined, will still leave it certain, that they did not aim to overturn the Constitution. The heads of this party were Mr Hollis, Mr Hampden, Mr Pym, Sir John Maynard, Sir Philip Stapylton, &c. and, at the beginning of the war, this party had the majority in the House of Commons (69). The second were, from the beginning, bent upon changing the Constitution, overturning the Monarchy, and settling a Republick; the chief heads of this faction were Mr Oliver St John, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Ludlow, and, after his decease, his son, Mr Lisle, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr Corbet, &c. (70). The third party might be said to be without any settled principles, as being chiefly bent upon getting what they could for themselves, and steering in such a manner, in this dangerous storm of their own raising, as might contribute to their own safety and prosperity, with no regard whatever, either to the King or Kingdom. Amongst these Mr Cromwell, Mr Henry Martin, Mr Thomas Chaloner, Sir Thomas Widdrington, and many others, might be reckoned (71). The division that is commonly made in respect to religion, making the first *Presbyterians*, and the two last parties *Independants*, is not very clear in itself, and, at the same time, far from being consistent with truth. Some of the first party were very well inclined to the established religion, and, notwithstanding they disliked some Bishops, had no aversion at all to Episcopacy (72). On the other hand, many of the other two parties were well enough satisfied with the the Presbyterian discipline, if it could have been moulded so as to serve their civil purposes (73). If indeed it be necessary to assign a religion to each of these parties, the title of Presbyterians may well enough become the first, that of Independents will fit better upon the second, but, truly, as to the religion of the third, it wants a name: some of them indeed professed they had no religion, such as Chaloner and Martin, and, without breach of charity, one may say, there might be others of this sect in their heart, though they professed a great deal. It is requisite to observe, that there were in reality but two parties among the Lords, that is, such as meant well to the publick, such as the Earls of Bedford, Essex, Manchester, &c. and such as meant well to themselves, as the Earls of Salisbury, Warwick, the Lord Grey, and a few others (74). This brief account of parties is the true key to the understanding the history of those times; and, as it may be very useful towards forming a right notion of other articles, so this would be absolutely unintelligible without it.

(69) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 3, 4, 5.

(70) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 183.

(71) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 4, 5, 6, 7.

(72) See Clarendon, Echard, Bates, Dugdale, Warwick, &c.

(73) As appears by their conforming during all the time that Presbytery was established.

(74) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 155, 156. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 233.

[M] That his behaviour was far from being extraordinary.] In order to justify what is said in the text, we must produce a very famous passage from the work of a noble author, who was himself very deeply engaged in these affairs, and who wrote this account when the person he reflects on was living (75). 'However, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, says he, had the impudence and boldness to assume much of the honour of it to himself, or rather, Herod like, to suffer others to magnify him and adore him for it; for I can scarce believe he should be so impudent to give it out himself, so conscious as he must be of his own base cowardliness; those who did the principal service that day were Major-General Lesley, who commanded the Scots horse, Major-General Crawford, who was Major-General to the Earl of Manchester's Brigade, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, under his father, commanded the Northern Brigade. But my friend Cromwell had neither part nor lot in the business, for I have several times heard it from Crawford's own mouth; and I think I shall not be mistaken, if I say Cromwell himself has heard it from him; for he once said it aloud in Westminster-Hall, when Cromwell passed by him, with a design he might hear him; that when the whole army at Marston-Moor was in a fair possibility to be utterly routed, and a great part of it running, he saw the body of horse of that Brigade standing still, and, to his seeming, doubtful which way to charge, backward or forward, when he came up to them, in a great passion reviling them with the name of poltroons and cowards, and asked them if they would stand still and see the day lost? Whereupon Cromwell shewed himself, and, in a pitiful voice, said, *Major-General, what shall I do?* he begging pardon for what he said, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his distance, as to his superior officer, told him, *Sir, if you charge not all is lost*; Cromwell answered, *He was wounded, and was not able to charge*; his great wound being a little burn in the neck, by the accidental going off behind him of one of his soldier's pistols; then Crawford desired him to go off the field, and, sending one away with him, who very readily followed wholesome advice; led them on himself, which was not the duty of his place, and as little for Cromwell's honour, as it proved to be much for the advancement of his and his parties pernicious designs. This I have but by relation, yet I easily believe it upon the credit of the reporter, who was a man of honour, that was not ashamed nor afraid to publish it in all places. Besides, I have heard a parallel story of his valour from another person, Colonel Dalbiere, not inferior either in quality or reputation to Major-General Crawford, who told me, that, when Basing-house was stormed, Cromwell, instead of leading on his men, stood a good distance off, out of gun-shot, behind a hedge. And something I can deliver of him upon my knowledge, which makes passage for the easier belief of both these, and assures me, that that man is as errant a coward as he is notoriously perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical. This was, his base keeping out of the field at Keinton battle, where he, with his troop of horse, came not in, impudently and ridiculously affirming the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the army, and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, when the ordnance was heard, as I have been credibly informed, twenty or thirty miles off; so that certainly he is far from the man he is taken for.

(75) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 15, 16, 17.

might be, it is very certain, that, on the 19th, Cromwell stormed the Earl of Exeter's fine house at Burleigh; and the courage and conduct of the Lieutenant-General was the theme of every tongue, and no man's fortune or services so much valued at London (k). He was also in the second battle at Newbury, September 17th, in the same year; and is said to have made so bold a charge with his horse upon the guards, that his Majesty's person had been in the utmost danger, if the old Earl of Cleveland had not come in to his relief, and preserved his master's liberty at the expence of his own (l). In the winter the disputes in Parliament ran higher than ever, nothing but Cromwell's merit and good fortune were talked of by his party, some of whom blasphemously stiled him, *the Saviour of the Nation* (m). Yet, notwithstanding this, the wisest men, and the best patriots, saw very clearly to what these excessive praises tended; and, that the nation might be made as sensible in this respect as themselves, the Earl of Manchester exhibited a charge against him in the House of Lords, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell, not to be in his debt, brought in another charge against the noble Peer in the House of Commons (n). It is true, that neither of these charges were prosecuted; but it is nevertheless true, that General Cromwell and his friends absolutely carried their point, by bringing in what was called the *self-denying ordinance* (o), that excluded the members of either House from having any commands in the army; from which however, on the score of his extraordinary merit, that set him above all ordinances, Lieutenant-General Cromwell was at first occasionally, at length absolutely, exempted. This victory in Parliament was still of greater consequence than that of Marston-Moor; for, as that turned the *fortune* of the war, so this determined the *fate* of the King and Kingdom (p) [N]. Upon the introduction of the

(k) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 65.

(l) Heath's Chronicle, p. 65. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 149.

(m) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 122.

(n) Heath's Chronicle, p. 66.

(o) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 283.

(p) Hollis's Memoirs, p. 35, 36.

for. His keeping out of the field at the battle of Keinton has been taken notice of by Sir Roger Manley, who says, that Cromwell went to the top of a steeple, from whence perceiving part of the Earl of Essex's army routed, he was in such haste to get down, that, instead of descending the stairs, he swung himself to the bottom by the bell-rope (76). This we find confirmed likewise by Sir William Dugdale; yet neither of these writers mention this to the prejudice of Cromwell's character for courage; on the contrary, they regard it as an instance how much the human temper and disposition may be changed from the effects of boundless ambition, and the force of a long continued habit (77). It is also to be remembered, that Colonel Dalbiere, one of Lord Hollis's witnesses, was, at the beginning of the war, a great favourite of Cromwell's, who made use of his advice to keep his troops in better order (78); but, as he differed with him afterwards, it is not at all impossible that there might be a strong mixture of resentment in what Dalbiere delivered upon this subject (79). Major General Crawford was likewise a competitor with Cromwell, and besides, a great friend to the Earl of Manchester (80), to whom Cromwell was a professed enemy. The accounts we have of the battle of Marston-Moor from the Royalists, unanimously attribute the loss of that day in a manner solely to Cromwell.

[N] So this determined the fate of the King and Kingdom. As we have, in a former note, given the reader an account of the several parties in the Parliament at the breaking out of the civil war, there will be no great difficulty in making him clearly comprehend how this great change was brought about, by which that assembly manifested an intention at least, inconsistent with, if not directly repugnant to, that which they had shown at the beginning. While the first of the three parties had the majority, they were very desirous, that as much of the executive power of the government as possible might be in the hands of their friends, that they might always know whom they had to trust. Many of them being, by this means, at a distance from Westminster, left the other parties, who generally voted together, much stronger than they would otherwise have been; and this strength they made use of to fill most of the Committees with their friends, which procured them great interest in the country, drew over many to their party, and, whenever exceptions were taken to a Member's character, they had commonly strength enough to vote him out as a malignant, and to bring one of their own party in (81). Cromwell was the officer in the army in whom these people most confided, and he was obliged to make great professions of his willingness to serve them, because, through a series of untoward accidents, he was become very obnoxious to what was stiled the Presbyterian interest. He had seen enough of the Scots when in Yorkshire to be satisfied, that they by no means meant a change of government in the sense that his

friends did, and for this he hated them heartily. His aversion to the Earl of Essex was as warm as implacable; he judged that he was but half an enemy to the King, which produced that Nobleman a whole enemy in himself; besides, he was informed, that the Earl of Essex had held a private meeting with the Earl of Loudon, the Scotch Chancellor, to concert measures for seizing and impeaching him, which he could never forgive (82); add to all this, that his quarrel with the Earl of Manchester came to a very great height, as appears from what is said in the text, and therefore we shall mention but one circumstance of it here. He proposed, in discourse to that noble Lord, something of an extraordinary nature, to which his Lordship expressed a doubt, whether the Parliament might be brought to consent; to which Cromwell immediately replied, *My Lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you will find an army at your command that will give law both to King and Parliament* (83). After premising these points, we may, without fear of being misunderstood, proceed to observe, that the party to which he adhered in Parliament comprehending perfectly his intentions, and confiding in his attachment to them, resolved to make an effort to gain such a superiority, as might enable them to end the war in that manner, and with that expedition, which suited best with their design. In order to effect this they began to complain privately, of want of zeal in some of their great officers, and publickly of want of discipline in their army. To remedy both these it was proposed, that, for the future, such as had feats in either House should be disqualified from having commands in the army; whence the intended law had the title of the *SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE*, and the armies, when put under this direction, were said to be of the *new model* (84). The reader must observe, with what craft this party improved the absence of the leading men on the other side, to gain a prevalence in Parliament; and now being pretty sure of that, they made use of it to secure to their side the army. Yet it is not at all impossible, that they might have failed in this bold project, if they had not insisted upon these two popular points, of putting a short end to the war, and of providing against civil and military power resting in the same hands; for these gained to them the timorous and the weak of the other party, because the former were afraid to oppose men who talked in so high a strain, and the latter were actually imposed upon by the solemnity of their professions. By the passing of the Self-denying Ordinance, and the new modelling of the army, the Presbyterians lost their power, and the King all hopes of making a good peace, or, to say the truth, any peace at all. The first appeared by the little respect shewn to those members, both Lords and Commons, who had hazarded their lives and fortunes for the Parliament, and the severity with which those were prosecuted, who were suspected of an inclination to

(82) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 116. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. VI. col. 546.

(83) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 561, 562.

(84) Hist. Independence, P. i. p. 4. Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 422, 435, 443. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 118, 119—138, &c.

(76) Hist. of the Rebels of England, p. 47.

(77) Short view of the late troubles, p. 110.

(78) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 31.

(79) It was Cromwell's policy to find fit men for his purposes, and when they grew unfit, to discard them.

(80) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 15.

(81) The whole of this matter is thoroughly discussed in a treatise intitled, *The Myseries of the two Juntas, Presbyterian and Independent*, printed in 1649, 4to.

- the new model, as it was called, the chief command of the army was given to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and, from being Lieutenant-General of the horse, Cromwell became Lieutenant-General of the army; nor was it long before he gave a specimen of his great skill in Politicks, by procuring an address from his regiment, declaring their satisfaction (*q*) with the change; which was a precedent soon followed by the rest, and upon the heels of this, as strong an instance of his military abilities (*r*). For, attacking the Earl of Northampton with a body of the King's forces at Islip Bridge, he routed them entirely, took four hundred horse, two hundred men, and the Queen's standard (*s*). The same good fortune attended him at Radcod-Bridge, where he beat Sir William Vaughan, and took him, and a great part of his troops, prisoners (*t*). He pushed his good fortune to the utmost, and, April 24th, 1645, attacked Blechingdon-House, in which Colonel Windebank had a garrison; the place indeed was very indifferently fortified; but, as Cromwell had only horse, he knew it was impossible to take it if defended, and thereupon ordered his men, as they approached, to cry out, *fall on foot* (*u*); his very name had terrified abundance of ladies, who came to compliment the Governor upon his marriage, and this cry of *fall on foot* disconcerted the Colonel himself, who, confounded with the cries of the women, and knowing the place was not tenable against infantry, surrendered; for which he was, ten days after, shot at Oxford (*w*). But he had not the like success against Farringdon-House, where Sir George Lisle commanded, though supported by six hundred foot, and afterwards received a check from General Goring (*x*). At this time the King threatening the associated counties, which had not been attacked during the war, the Parliament ordered Cromwell into the isle of Ely, where he had the power, if not the title, of Governor (*y*). At the request of Fairfax however he had orders to return to the army, which he accordingly did; and being informed, that the King intended to march northward, advised Sir Thomas Fairfax to prevent that, by fighting his Majesty; which brought on the battle of Naseby, June 14th, 1645, in which Cromwell commanded the right wing, and his son-in-law Ireton the left; and here it was that the King lost all through the temerity of Prince Rupert (*z*), and the confessed conduct and courage of Cromwell, who, when Ireton was routed, and taken prisoner, charged the King's foot, and, with much danger to his own person, entirely broke them (*a*). He prosecuted the success of this day with the same vivacity which acquired it; in a month's time he defeated General Goring, and reduced most of the King's garrisons in Hampshire and Wiltshire, defeated and cut to pieces the poor Clubmen (*b*); and, having made himself Master of the Devises, Winchester, and Basing-House, with the person of the Marquis of Winchester, its master, he, for these services, received the thanks of both Houses (*c*). Afterwards joining Sir Thomas Fairfax, he had his share in reducing the West, till, upon the surrender of Exeter, April 13th, 1646, he found leisure to return to London, in order to receive those rewards (*d*) which the party he had so effectually served were very willing to bestow, and of which, as an earnest, they had voted him the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds a year, the greatest part of which was to be taken out of the estate of the Marquis of Winchester in Hampshire (*e*). Upon his taking his seat in the House, thanks were returned to him, in terms as strong as words could express; and the prevailing party in the House received from him such encouragement, as induced them to believe he was wholly at their devotion (*f*) [O]. But in this they were mistaken;
- (*y*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 67.  
(*r*) Winstanley's English Worthies, p. 531.  
(*s*) The Civil Wars of England, p. 154.  
(*t*) The Perfect Politician, p. 9.  
(*u*) Flagellum, or life and death of Cromwell, p. 41. Echard's Hist. England, p. 614.  
(*w*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 74, 75. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 614.  
(*x*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 74, 75.  
(*y*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 35.  
(*z*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 150. Rushworth, Vol. VI. p. 42, 44. Heath's Chronicle, p. 77. Echard's Hist. Engl. p. 615, 616.  
(*a*) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 200.  
(*b*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 163.  
(*c*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 189.  
(*d*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 46.  
(*e*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 180, 181.  
(*f*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 135. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 202.

- return again to the King's obedience; the latter, from the leaving out in the new commission of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the clause for the security of the King's person (85). In the course of the debates which arose upon this subject in the House of Commons, for it did not pass there without very high debates, Mr Cromwell spoke vehemently on the side of the bill, and, when some expressed a suspicion, that this new discipline, though it made the army better soldiers, would go near to make them worse subjects, he undertook for the contrary, more especially for his own regiment, which, he said, would fight or not fight, serve or not serve, just as the Parliament pleased, to whose orders they owed an implicit obedience, which they never had, or ever would, forfeit in any degree (86). It is thought, and not without reason, that many voted for the new model from their credulity in this respect, and from the certainty which they thought they had, that Cromwell would lose his command as well as the Earls of Essex and Manchester, Sir William Waller, and the rest. In this however they were strangely disappointed; for notwithstanding Cromwell went to make a visit to the new General, in which he declared his willingness to resign his command; yet that submissive, that well-disposed, that implicitly obedient regiment, for whom he had so roundly undertaken, mutinied upon this occasion, and refused to serve without their old Commander Cromwell at their head (87). Upon this the Parliament dispensed with the ordinance in respect to him, at first for twenty days, then for forty, and at length, Sir Thomas Fairfax being unwilling to lose so able an assistant, for good and all; and thus, when it was too late, those who had been cheated into an approbation of this scheme, saw their mistake, and repented of their delusion (88). By this refined piece of management the Independants, with the assistance of Cromwell, triumphed both in the Parliament and in the Army; we shall hereafter see how, by the assistance of the latter, he triumphed over them in their turn (89). These are the great points of history that ought to be sifted out, and set in their true light: these are those shining particulars that distinguish Biographical Memoirs; and these are those important secrets that are so seldom explained in a satisfactory manner in general histories, where the course of events is more regarded than the springs of action, from whence those events arise.
- [O] *As induced them to believe he was wholly at their devotion.*] It was a maxim with Cromwell, as we may gather from his constant practice, whenever he had any extraordinary success in the field, to return as soon as he had an opportunity, and shew himself in Parliament, that the hazards he ran in the field might contribute to his victories elsewhere. Another art he practised, as in truth what art is there he did not practise? which availed him highly; he was exceedingly constant in his correspondence with the Parliament; his letters brought them the news of every conquest, nor was any expence thought too great to facilitate the early arrival of his dispatches; his language too,
- (85) Heath's Chronicle, p. 74.  
(86) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 35.  
(87) Flagellum, or the life and death of Oliver Cromwell, p. 40. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 35.  
(88) Hist. of Independency. Hollis and Warwick's Memoirs.  
(89) See Clarendon, Heath, Echard, and all the Historians of those times.

for, while they thought the Lieutenant-General busy in doing their business, he was in reality attentive only to his own; but covered all his designs with such wondrous dexterity, that they were discerned only by a few, and of those there were scarce any that durst speak their thoughts plainly; neither did their speaking avail, since the majority were of another mind, and some extraordinary methods were practised, to procure and preserve a majority that should be of that mind always (g). That party in the Parliament which began the war for the sake of redressing grievances, and to set some bounds to the Prerogative, were now sincerely desirous of making an end of the war, to which they thought nothing could contribute so much, as having the King's person in their hands; for which reason orders were sent to Sir Thomas Fairfax to besiege Oxford (b). Others would have been better pleased with the King's escape, because it was more likely to promote the design of continuing the army. Accordingly, April 27th, the King quitted Oxford, to go and put himself into the hands of the Scots. This was precisely what the Independants wanted, because it made long treaties necessary, not with the King only, but with the Scots (i). The latter demanded vast sums of money, under the notion of arrears; but Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and his party, who did not either love or value them, opposed such a negotiation as this, as injurious to the honour of the nation, upon a supposition that this might induce the Scots to join with the King, embark their cause and his on the same bottom, and produce thereby a second war (k). It was to promote this that they pushed things so far in Parliament, as to procure an order of the House of Commons, for burning the proposals that had been made them by the Scotch Commissioners, by the hands of the common hangman. This, however, prevented the two nations agreeing with his Majesty, and produced some ill blood on both sides, yet none of those heats and tumults that were expected; for at length a bargain was made in the beginning of August, that the Scots should deliver up the King to the English for the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, to be paid them immediately, and the like sum soon after (l). The Parliament Commissioners accordingly received him with very great civility and respect; and this having set open a very wide door, persons of all ages, sexes, and ranks, were assiduous in paying, as far as they were permitted, their duty to him (m). To free the people from the burthens under which they laboured, and, at the same time, to strengthen their own authority by lessening that of the army, the Parliament inclined to disband a part of their forces. As no-body better understood the meaning of this than Lieutenant-General Cromwell, instead of openly opposing it, he contrived to turn it in a double manner to his own and his party's advantage; for, in the first place, he insinuated, by his emissaries, to the soldiers, that this was not only the highest piece of ingratitude towards those who had fought the Parliament into a power of disbanding them, but also a crying act of injustice, as it was done with no other view than to cheat them of their arrears (n). Secondly, he procured an exemption for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, or, in other words, for his own, the General having that title only and appointments, while Cromwell had the power, and the weight of the reduction fell upon Maffey's Brigade in the West, together with the troops which Colonel Poyntz commanded in Yorkshire, men of whom he had good reason to doubt, and upon whom the Parliament might have depended (o). Thus he dextrously turned to his own advantage, the means contrived for his destruction. To compleat the triumphs of this year, the Earl of Essex died suddenly, September 14th, at Essex-

(g) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. 1. p. 172. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 43.

(b) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 208. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 54.

(i) Behemoth, by Thomas Hobbs, p. 217, 218.

(k) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 62, 63.

(l) Heath's Chronicle, p. 121.

(m) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. 1. p. 187.

(n) Coke's Digestion, p. 177.

(o) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 81.

too, tho' generally wrapped up in the cant of the times, which no man used more, had in it somewhat peculiarly submissive, and irresistibly insinuating; his soldiers, as he said, were not only dutiful but devoted, and if their courage deserved to be remembered, as at the siege of Bristol, they made it their request to be forgot, they desired only to be considered as God's instruments in the righteous cause of the Parliament (90). By these methods he kept himself continually in their thoughts, and in their votes or resolutions; thus two days after the battle of Naseby, they ordered he should be Lieutenant-General of the horse under Fairfax, during the pleasure of the two Houses, which the Lords changed to three months; August 8th, 1645, he was continued for four months longer, and on the first of December, the same year, they voted him two thousand five hundred pounds a year, and that he should be made a Baron; all which he seemed to accept with much less relish for the honours, than for the good-will shewn him by Parliament, to which, upon these occasions, he professed a reverence superior to that which is paid to the most absolute Monarchs of the East (91). By these contrivances both parties enjoyed, for a time, the highest satisfaction; for Cromwell's friends in Parliament believed him unalterably addicted to their measures, and that they might direct and dispose of him how they pleased; while, on the other hand, he promoted his own interest most effectually, and such propositions as he made, purely with a view to that, were by them interpreted as tending only to the maintenance

of their authority, and securing the unlimited obedience of the army to their orders (92). Besides all this, he was likewise very attentive to the establishment of an extensive reputation, and that even among enemies; for some of his own soldiers having broken the articles upon which the city of Winchester was rendered, he caused one of them to be hanged, and sent five more of them prisoners to the Governor of Oxford, to be by him punished as he thought fit; but he very wisely sent them back again (93). At the conferences also which preceded the surrender of Exeter, he entered into a conversation with Sir John Berkeley, of such a nature, as to prove an introduction to a correspondence with that Gentleman when a proper opportunity offered, as afterwards there did. Thus at one and the same time he managed many different interests, creating in all an attention to, and confidence in, his conduct, and yet communicating his real designs to none; for at this juncture, though all the parties in the army and the nation had their eyes particularly fixed upon Lieutenant-General Cromwell's management, in order to penetrate his designs; yet it manifestly appears, from the writings on all sides, that there was not any two of them who concurred in their sentiments. Only the Presbyterians seemed to understand him best; for they judged him as little affected to the Parliament as to the King, and that, for the aggrandizing of his own power, he would make no scruple of conscience to destroy both (94).

(92) See Ludlow, Whitlocke, Hollis, Fairfax, and Warwick's Memoirs.

(93) See the Mystery of the two Junto's, a Presbyterian and Independent. Hist. of Independency, p. i. p. 4.

(94) See Whitlocke, Ludlow, Fairfax, Hollis, Berkeley, and Warwick's Memoirs.

Effex-Houfe, and was buried with great pomp, October 22d, at the publick expence (p). Mr Cromwell coming poft to town, in order to attend his funeral (q). On the 12th of November following, the army marched triumphantly through London, and, in the beginning of February following, the Scots having received their money, delivered up the King, who was carried prifoner to Holmby (r). At this time Lieutenant-General Cromwell had a very nice game to play, what wore the legal appearance of power, was evidently in the hands of the Parliament, in which the Prefbyterian party was ftill prevalent; and as the General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, was likewife in that intereft, it looked as if the real power was alfo on their fide. At the bottom, however, the army, now taught to know their own ftrength, were in reality the mafters, and they were entirely directed by Cromwell, though they knew it not themfelves (s) [P]. If the King and Parliament had immediately clofed, which was the intereft of both, the Kingdom muft have been fettled, which was the point that the army chiefs, and their friends, meant to avoid; and what gave them an opportunity of avoiding it was, the King's inflexible attachment to Epifcopacy on one fide, and the Parliament infifting as obftinately on the eftablifhment of Prefbytery on the other (t). Lieutenant-General Cromwell faw the neceffity of having a ftiong place, and getting the King's perfon into their power; and he contrived to do both, without feeming to have any hand in either. Oxford was, at that time, in a good condition, and well fupplied with artillery; upon which the army feized it with the magazines, and every thing elfe (u). And Cromwell, then at London, prevailed upon Cornet Joyce to feize the King's perfon, with a ftiong detachment of horfe, not only without the General's orders, but without any orders at all, except thofe verbal inftructions from Cromwell (w). This was executed on the 4th of June 1647, notwithstanding the Parliament's Commiffioners were then with the King, who was conducted from Holmby to Childersley (x), then the army's head quarters, where he was received not only with reverence but with kindnefs, and treated much more indulgently than while in the hands of the Parliament; chiefly through the management of Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commiffary Ireton, his fon-in-law, who, if Major Huntingdon, and others, may be believed, made high profefions for his fervice (y). It is very certain, that Sir Thomas Fairfax knew nothing of the taking away of the King; that he difliked it; that he would have fent him back again with the Commiffioners, under the guard of two regiments of horfe; but the Commiffioners refufed to act, or the King to move (z); nay, to fuch a degree was that Monarch perfwaded of the fincerity of his new friends, that he had

(p) Echard's Hift. of England, p. 630.

(q) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 225.

(r) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 193. Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 234.

(s) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 189.

(t) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 297.

(u) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 96.

(w) Behemoth, by Tho. Hobbs, p. 225, 226. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 67.

(x) Perfect Diurnal, p. 1612.

(y) Coke's Detection, p. 178. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 193. Major Huntingdon's Charge of High-Treason againft Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

(z) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 240. See the General's own letter to the Parliament in Heath's Chronicle, p. 131.

[P] *Though they knew it not themfelves.*] There are fome things in the text which ftand in need of explanation; and indeed it cannot be otherwife: but to render this article intelligible, and to make the reader perfectly mafter of the fubject of which we are treating, it is abfolutely requifite to go very deep into the hiftory of thefe times, which, in truth, is no other than the perfonal hiftory of Cromwell; for his, and his friends intrigues, either moved, or gave motion, to all the parties in the kingdom. But, to come to thofe difficulties we mention, and to refolve them; in the firft place then, it may feem ftange, that having before intimated more than once, that Cromwell's party was become the ftrongeft in the Houfe of Commons, we fhould now affert, that there was a party ftonger than theirs (95). The answer to this is, that the facts are certainly true; neither will it be hard to give a clear account of them. Thofe might be juftly called Cromwell's party who framed the new model, continued him his fon Ireton, and a few more officers, in their commands, notwithstanding the Self-denying Ordinance; for thefe tranfactions fhew that they were his party, as their being able to carry them fhews they were the prevailing party. But, when the war was at an end, a confiderable number of members, amongft whom were Mr Pierpoint, Mr Whitlocke, and feveral other eminent perfons, altered their conduct, and believing that the army had answered the ends which it was propofed they fhould answer, by entirely fubduing fuch as were in arms for the King, were now very fincerely for a peace; and therefore joined the old Prefbyterian party, that were always for it; with them came back thofe who had been deluded, and fuch as had been frightened out of their former principles; and thus, in the latter end of the year 1646, the firft party in the Houfe was again become the ftrongeft, and, for a time, were ftonger than ever (96). Another difficulty may be raifed, from confidering the conduct of Cromwell, and the great officers, who, while the army firft became mutinous, remained in the Houfe, and not only remained, but fpoke and voted with the majority; fo that nothing feems to be more unfair, than to charge them, at this juncture, with promoting thofe bad de-

figs, notwithstanding they afterwards openly concurred in them. Now to remove this difficulty, it muft be obferved, that Cromwell and Ireton went down from the Houfe to the army firft, to difpofe them to difband, but, inftead of acting fincerely in this matter, they difcouraged and brow-beat fuch officers and foldiers, as fhewed themfelves inclined to it, and gave hints to the reft how they might avoid it, by fuggelting, that they were not mercenaries but military commoners, who, in that refpect, had a right to apply to their representatives, and, amongft other things, to infift, previous to their being difbanded, upon an act of Indemnity with the royal affent, that they might not fuffer as the King's fubjects for what they had done as the Parliament's foldiers (97). This produced the erecting a new council, compofed at firft of two private men out of each company and troop in every regiment, under the title of Agitators, who were to frame and difpofe the propofitions of the army to the Parliament. After taking this ftep, which was the foundation of all that followed, Cromwell, Ireton, and the reft of the great officers, came up to attend the fervice of the Houfe, well knowing, that the fire they had kindled would burft out with violence in their abfence, as accordingly it did. Another difficulty yet remains, and that is as to their conduct in the Houfe, which, it is allowed, was not at all of a piece with their behaviour in the army (98). Now the reafon of this will quickly appear; for, by the manner of their fpeaking and voting, they fecured the confidence of the Parliament to fuch a degree, that, when the difobedience of the army became flagrant, they were fent down to reduce them to their duty, whereas had they ufed another language, or a different conduct, they had been fent to the Tower. But what followed upon their returning to the army? Why, inftead of performing what they were fent for, they joined with the mutineers (99), added a council of Officers to the council of Agitators, erecting thereby Military Houfes of Lords and Commons, and fent up their refolutions to give law to the Parliament; which clearly proves the truth and certainty of all that is advanced in the text.

(95) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 6.

(96) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 72. See alfo Clarendon, Whitlocke, and Echard.

(97) See Major Huntingdon's Charge againft Cromwell. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 55. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 77.

(98) Mystery of the two Junto's, Prefbyterian and Independant. Whitlocke's Memorials. Memoirs of Hollis and Ludlow.

(99) See Major Huntingdon's Charge againft Cromwell. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 55.

the indiscretion to tell Sir Thomas Fairfax, when he made him a tender of his duty and respect, with promises of fair treatment, that *he thought he had as good an interest in the ARMY as himself* (a). The remaining six months of this year were the most critical of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's whole life; for, in order to succeed in his schemes, it was absolutely necessary to deceive the King, the Parliament, and the Army, which, in their turns, was effected, though not without danger and difficulty. As for the King, he relied so entirely upon Cromwell and Ireton, and they, on the other hand, spoke of and acted towards him in such a manner, that they were looked upon as absolute courtiers; nor is it at all wonderful that the King gave credit to them, when they brought the army to send a letter to the Parliament, which was delivered July 9th, 1647, avowing the King's cause to be their's (b), and that no settlement could be hoped for without granting him his just rights. In reference to the Parliament, so long as they enjoyed their power, Mr Cromwell always spoke the language of a Member of the House of Commons, shewed a high regard for their privileges, and professed, that he was suspected and disliked by the Army, for his attachment to the Civil Government (c). This did not, however, hinder his being disbelieved by many, till at length he found it necessary, for his own safety, to make his escape from the House with some precipitation (d). As to the soldiers, and that mutinous spirit which they discovered against the Parliament, it was raised, fomented, and managed, by Cromwell and Ireton, the former declaring at Triploe-Heath, when the Parliament had been obliged to erase their own declaration out of their Journals, *Now they might be an Army as long as they lived* (e). It was owing to this spirit that the *eleven* Members of the House of Commons were impeached, the House of Commons purged, and their authority brought so low, that the London apprentices came into the House, and forced them to vote what they pleased (f). It is true, that, when the Earl of Manchester and Mr Lenthall, the Speakers, retired to the Army, and the Lord Grey and Mr Pelham were chosen in their places, the Lords and Commons recovered their authority; but they did not hold it for a week, Sir Thomas Fairfax marching directly to London, replacing the old Speakers, August 6th, and the next day marching in triumph through the city, so that now the Army, and not the Parliament, were the Supreme Authority (g). Soon after this a new party sprung up among the soldiers, under the title of *LEVELLERS*, who made no secret of their hating equally both King and Parliament; and it was to save himself from these people, whom, as he was informed by Cromwell, fought his life, the King, November 11th, fled from Hampton-Court to the Isle of Wight, after having rejected the Parliament's proposals by Cromwell's and Ireton's advice (h). Immediately after this transaction General Cromwell altered his behaviour towards the King entirely, as some think, out of fear of the Agitators, but, as Lord Hollis and others affirm, in consequence of his own designs (i); for, having made use of the King's presence to manage the Army, and of the power which the Army had thereby acquired, to humble and debase the Parliament, there was no farther end to be answered by keeping measures any longer towards the King (k). In order to be convinced of this we need only consider, that the same method was practised in the Isle of Wight, while the Parliament was again treating with the King, which had been before practised at Holmby, and the very same instrument employed the famous Cornet Joyce, who, upon very good grounds, is believed to be the very man that cut off the King's head (l). The Parliament, now much altered from what it was, upon the King's refusing to pass *four* bills which they sent him, fell into very warm debates, in which it is said, that Cromwell was a principal speaker, and inveighed bitterly against his Majesty; he said, the King was a very able man, but withal a great dissembler, one in whom no trust could be reposed, and with whom therefore they ought to have nothing to do for the future (m). However this might be, the Parliament, on the 5th of January, voted that no more addresses should be made to the King (n), and from that time he was more strictly imprisoned than ever; all which the best writers attribute to a new conjunction between Cromwell and the Commonwealth's Men, who, after so much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament (o) [2]. It very soon appeared, notwithstanding this agreement between the grandees

[2] *Who, after so much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament.* It is a point out of all dispute, since there is not a writer of any party but agrees in the fact, that the great inclination shewn by the Army to provide not only for the safety of the King's person, but for his restitution to his just rights, was, at first infused, and promoted all along, by Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commissary-General Ireton, who, from this merit, assumed to themselves the negotiation with the King; which they carried on so much to his satisfaction in most respects, that he thought his condition much mended, and trusted them very much; though he was not so weak to confide entirely in their promises, as some writers have asserted. What the methods were by which Cromwell imposed upon him and his old servants, and to how great a height this imposition was carried, may appear by one passage

out of many, in the work of a Gentleman of honour, and who was deeply interested in this affair; and who was both an eye-witness, and very largely concerned in every transaction that he mentions (100). After observing that the Agitators, on the King's first coming to the Army, were very sincere in his cause, and desired this Gentleman to give them notice if he saw any cause to suspect the reality of Cromwell's professions, he proceeds thus: 'In all my conferences with him, I found no man, in appearance, so zealous for a speedy blow as he, sometimes wishing that the King was more frank, and would not tie himself so strictly to narrow maxims, sometimes complaining of his son Ireton's slowness in perfecting the proposals, and his not accommodating more to his Majesty's sense, always doubting, that the Army would not preserve their good inclinations for the King. I met with

(c) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 190. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 100.

(d) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 55.

(e) Heath's Chronicle, p. 132, 133. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 230, 231. Major Huntington's Charge.

(f) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 260. Coke's Detraction, p. 162, 163.

(g) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 264. Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 253. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 233.

(h) Major Huntington's Charge. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 203, 204.

(i) Behemoth, by Tho. Hobbs, p. 234, 235. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 186, 187.

(k) Flagellum, or the life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 63.

(l) Behemoth, by Thomas Hobbs, p. 239. Heath's Chronicle, p. 157.

(m) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 190. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 229, 236. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 63.

(n) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 275.

(o) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 239, 240. Bates's Eleventh Motuum, p. 97.

(100) Memoirs of Sir John Berkeley, p. 26, 27, 28.

grantees of the Army, and the friends to a Republick, that the nation in general hated the thoughts of submitting to a Stratocracy, Aristocracy, or a Democracy, and were resolved to run any hazard, in order to recover their old Constitution (p); and this it was that created the second Civil War, in which many, who had formerly fought for the Parliament, took up arms for the King; and part of the fleet under Vice-Admiral Batten, who had been displaced to make way for Cromwell's favourite Rainsborough, revolted to Prince Charles (q). Yet this was far from being all; the Scots, who now saw that their expectations were entirely defeated, fell upon new measures, and having, without doubt, some secret encouragement from the chiefs of the Presbyterian party in England, fell upon new

(p) Heath's  
Chronicle, p. 170,  
371.

(q) Clarendon's  
Hist. of the Re-  
bellion, p. 530,  
531.

him about three days after I came to Reading, as he was coming from the King, then at Caufum: he told me, that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was, the interview between the King and his children, and wept plentifully at the remembrance of it, saying, that never man was so abused as he, in his sinister opinions of the King, who, he thought, was the uprightest and most conscientious man of his three kingdoms; that they of the Independant party, as they were called, had infinite obligations to him, for not consenting to the Scots propositions, which would have totally ruined them, and which his Majesty's interest seemed to invite him to; and concluded with me by wishing, that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards his Majesty. I immediately acquainted his Majesty with this passage, who seemed not well edified with it; and did not believe, that all proceeded out of the use Cromwell and the Army had of his Majesty, without whom he thought they could do nothing.' This passage shews at what time Cromwell endeavoured to be thought well affected to the King, and professed his having a good opinion of him. Had these been sincerely his sentiments, he would never have altered them, for the King gave him no occasion; since it is clearly proved, that his final answer to the proposals which were made him, not only spoke the sense of him and Ireton, as the King conceived it, but was altered by their hands till it satisfied themselves (101). Had he been really inclined to restore the King, he might have done it now with a high hand, a great majority of the Parliament were for him, the city of London was in their sentiments; the measures taken by the Scots, and the insurrections in several counties in his favour, shew, that this was also the sense of the nation; if therefore Lieutenant-General Cromwell had made use of his wonderful capacity, to dispose the Army not to any new design, but to have performed their own promises; he might have settled the government upon its old foundation, and have made himself a very great man (102). He resolved, however, not to do this, and, having made that resolution, it became necessary to prevent the King's being settled by others; and how he contrived to bring this about, a noble Historian has very fully informed us, after having assured us that this was Cromwell's design (103). 'The difficulty was, how to bring this about to cozen the King, so as to make him act it himself, and fly into the cage; carry him by force they durst not; it would be unhandsome; it might be dangerous: they use this stratagem; heighten, and sharpen underhand, the mad humour of their party against him, to have it break out all manner of ways in threatening speeches, pamphlets, some consultations, that, whilst his Majesty lived in England, he could not be safe; meetings to consider, and come to some resolutions, of taking him out of the way; the Army is again disquiet, the Officers not obeyed; all things tending to mutiny, and some violent eruption. Then does Mr Cromwell, and his Cabinet-Council, seem to be extremely solicitous of the safety of his Majesty's person; cause some discoveries to be given him of his danger; express great indignation and trouble in the House, in the Army, and other places, against these proceedings; act their parts so to the life, as the life of a man must go to make up the disguise; an Agitator, whom, at a Council of War, with two more they condemned, was shot to death; so as the King could not but have a great confidence in these men, to believe that they were really for his preservation. At last Cromwell writes a letter to Whalley, who commands the guards about his Majesty's person, to be shewn his Majesty; and other informations are likewise brought

(101) See Major  
Huntington's  
Charge against  
Cromwell, and  
the Memoirs of  
Hollis, Ludlow,  
and Ashburnham.

(102) Flagellum,  
or the life of O.  
Cromwell, p. 60,  
61.

(103) Memoirs of  
Denzil Lord Hol-  
lis, p. 185, 186,  
187.

him, to make him believe, that, if he escape not presently, he will be murdered; and he is advised to go to the Isle of Wight, where they had before-hand provided him a jaylor, Colonel Hammond, one for whom, they said, they could answer, that there his Majesty would be in safety, and they able to serve him. Here they have the King safe enough; and now the Army is presently quiet, the Agitators as obedient as lambs, and Councils of War are set up again to act as formerly. And Sir Thomas Fairfax, with their advice, sets out a Remonstrance, to give satisfaction to the Army; which he concludes with a protestation to adhere to, conduct, live and die with the Army, in the prosecution of some things there expressed; as namely, to obtain a present provision for constant pay, stating of accounts, security for arrears, with an effectual and speedy course to raise monies; a period to be set to this Parliament; provision for future Parliaments, the certainty of their meeting, fitting, and ending; the freedom and equality of elections, and other things, which he had the impudence and boldness to publish in print.' It is true, that Lord Hollis, being an enemy to Cromwell, and writing this book to shew the cause of his enmity, is not a witness to be believed entirely from his own assertion; but the main fact here is, the letter which had been passed over by some, denied by others, and, for any thing that I know, never proved upon Cromwell by any; till Colonel Whalley's letter to the Parliament, upon the King's withdrawing from Hampton-Court, was published; in which it is positively said, that Cromwell wrote the letter to him (104), and that he shewed it to the King: This letter Rushworth had in his power, and might have printed, if he had so pleased; but truths of all kinds are not welcome to all men. As for the Propositions that were sent to the King in the Isle of Wight, they were destructive not only of his power and honour, but of the Constitution; by them he was required to take the guilt of all the blood shed in the war upon himself, to cancel all his own acts, and to establish the independent power of the Parliament and Army; that is, in plain English, to depose himself, and, at the same time, lend his authority for the establishing a new tyrannical power over his people (105). For rejecting such terms, Cromwell declared that he ought to be treated with no more; the Parliament, now under the direction of the Army, voted this; and Sir Thomas Fairfax, without waiting for their directions, ordered the King to be made a close prisoner; and this, though done without their knowledge, was approved by Parliament (106). These indisputable facts are sufficient to let us into the motives upon which those men proceeded who did all these things, and who, in the Council of War held at Windsor, immediately after, resolved to do all that they afterwards did, though, from certain unforeseen circumstances that fell out, they were hindered from doing it so soon as they intended (107). As for the coalition between Cromwell and his creatures, and the Commonwealth party in the House of Commons, the history of it may be found in Whitlocke and in Ludlow (108), much to the honour of Cromwell's abilities, who deceived them with as much dexterity as he had done the King, and for the very same reason, because there was no other way of working his own purposes but by deceiving them; if there had, he would probably have taken it; but, as there was not, he was forced to take it; and the great wonder is, that, having dissembled and deceived so often before, he should be trusted again; to account for which we must consider, that this was not choice in the Commonwealth's men (109), but necessity; they did not trust Cromwell to do their work, but they made use of him, because he was the only instrument by which their work could be done.

(104) Peck's  
Defiderata Cu-  
riosa, Vol. II.  
B. IX. p. 38.

(105) Heath's  
Chronicle,  
p. 160, 161.  
Memoirs of Den-  
zil Lord Hollis,  
p. 190.  
Hist. of Independ-  
ency, P. i. p. 41.

(106) Flagellum,  
or the life of O.  
Cromwell,  
p. 64, 65.

(107) Berkeley's  
Memoirs, p. 71,  
72, 73, 74, 75.

(108) Memorials  
of the English  
affairs, p. 361—  
363.  
Ludlow's Me-  
moirs, Vol. I.  
p. 271—273.

(109) Life of O.  
Cromwell, p. 99.

[R] And

(r) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 278, 279.

(s) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 100.

(t) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 232.

(u) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 249, 250.

(v) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. iv. p. 1098.

new councils, determined to raise an army, and march it into England (r), in hopes of being joined by the King's friends in the field, and, upon the first advantage gained there, owned and applauded by their old acquaintance in the Parliament (s), who were true to their ancient principles, and desirous of a settlement upon a basis of their own laying, rather than a revolution, taking rise only from chance and power (t). In the mean time there were risings also in Kent and Surrey; and, though these were in a manner suppressed by that part of the Army which lay near London, yet the remains of these two bodies forcing a passage into the county of Essex, took possession of Colchester, where, under the Earl of Norwich, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, they made a very gallant defence (u). As the war was thus revived in all parts of the island, there was a necessity of dividing the Army, in consequence of which Cromwell marched into Wales against Major-General Langhorn, Colonel Poyer, and Colonel Powell (v). Sir Thomas Fairfax besieged Colchester (x), and General Lambert marched northward against the Scots (y). The military power being thus employed, the city of London and the Parliament were left, in some measure, at liberty to pursue their own sentiments, and what these were quickly appeared; for June 27th, 1648, the city petitioned for a personal treaty with the King, which was very well received, and some steps taken thereupon (z). But by the arts of Sir Henry Vane, and those of his party, many obstacles being raised, the city, on the 8th of August following, petitioned the House of Lords in still stronger and more direct terms, which was not only favourably accepted, but the petitioners had also the thanks of the House given them; an evident proof, that the scope of their petition was also the sense of that House (a). A few days after the Commons recalled their vote for non-addresses, set on foot a personal treaty with the King at the Isle of Wight, and at length voted his Majesty's concessions satisfactory (b). An attempt was also made to impeach Cromwell of high-treason upon Major Huntington's information, whom he had chiefly intrusted in his negotiation with the King; but this failed (c). The great success of the Army quickly altered the face of things; for Cromwell having reduced, and, in a great measure, destroyed those who took up arms in Wales, began his march northward in the middle of July, and, in a month after, routed Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the Scots under Duke Hamilton; the terror of which victory forced Colchester to surrender (d): and now the Army returning towards London, November 20th, sent a Remonstrance to the House of Commons, disapproving all they had done (e). This Remonstrance was carried by Colonel Ewers, who went next into the Isle of Wight, where he seized the person of the King, which was resented by the Parliament, who commanded the General to recal his orders (f). Instead of this the Army marched directly to London, and, in the first week of December, took possession of it, purged the House of Commons, that is, turned out the better part of it's Members, and then forced the remainder to do what they pleased (g). In most of these steps Cromwell was very active, and is, with good grounds, believed to have directed all the rest (h) [R]. It is not necessary

(x) Heath's

Chronicle, p. 177.  
(y) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 233.

(z) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. iv. p. 1167.

(a) Echar'd's Hist. of England, p. 647.  
Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. iv. p. 1220.

(b) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 289.  
Echar'd's Hist. of England, p. 647.

(c) Whitlocke's Memorial, p. 325, 327.

(d) Heath's Chronicle, p. 178, 179.

(e) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. II. p. iv. p. 1331.  
Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 293.

(f) Echar'd's Hist. of Engl. p. 651.  
Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 155.

(g) Heath's Chronicle, p. 192, 193.

(h) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 70, 71.

[R] *And is, with good grounds, believed to have directed all the rest.*] After Lieutenant-General Cromwell was sent to reduce those who, deserting the Parliament's service, had taken up arms in Wales, he prosecuted that expedition with such vigilance, that he did more in a month than could have been well expected from him in six; and yet what he did was most effectually done also, and without the least tincture of passion; though he is commended for his clemency by some, and as loudly condemned of cruelty by others; but as haste was all he aimed at, so he was either gentle or severe as that directed. If he could procure a surrender upon terms, no-body gave better, none kept them more strictly; but if he was obliged to make use of force, he did not spare shedding blood; not from particular resentment, or any barbarous delight in it, but to serve his purpose, which, in this case, was dispatch (110). This war quickly ended, though at a great expence of men, who had done the Parliament good service, those who fought against Cromwell having had a share in most of the battles against the King; he marched northwards to join Lambert, and came time enough to fall upon Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the English Royalists, who behaved as well as men could do, and were beat by dint of numbers; but for the Scots under Duke Hamilton, they were so ill commanded, that, though they had numbers on their side, they were rather butchered than beat, so that not a tenth part of them got home again (111). Cromwell now changed his maxim, proceeded slowly, went into Scotland, concluded a treaty with the dominant party in that kingdom, and left a body of troops with them to maintain it; by which having secured that part of the island, he was in no pain about the rest, as knowing that his victorious army must make all bend before them. At this distance, however, he signified to his

friends in Parliament, that they should adhere to their vote of making no farther addresses to the King (112), which, though they found it impossible to do, yet, as the most effectual step towards frustrating the opposite measures, they procured Sir Henry Vane the younger to be one of the Commissioners in the treaty at the Isle of Wight, where, by his arts, and in conjunction with the Lord Say, he retarded it very much, which gave Cromwell time to march up to London (113). In this march the Remonstrance was hammered out directly contrary to the declaration of the Army, in which they had bewailed their former miscarriages towards the Parliament, offering violence to the two Houses, and promised faithfully and dutifully to acquiesce in their wise resolutions. Upon the very day that Cromwell came to London, Colonel Pride turned one-and-forty Members out of the House, and made them prisoners; and the very same day Colonel Ewer seized the King in his bed-chamber, and carried him out of the Isle of Wight to Hurst-Castle (114); both which steps are suppose to have been taken by directions from Cromwell; and that this supposition was not ill founded, the reader may probably conclude from the following account of it by the General Thomas Lord Fairfax (115). 'In the Isle of Wight the Parliament treated upon propositions of peace with the King; but alas! the Envious one sowed tares, that could not be rooted out but by plucking up the corn also. The King was the golden ball cast before the two parties, the Parliament and the Army; and the contest grew so great, that it must again have involved the kingdom in blood, but the Army, having the greater power, got the King again into their hands, notwithstanding all endeavours to hinder it. The treaty was scarce ended before the King was seized on by the hands of the same persons that took him from Holmbury, soon after

(112) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 96.

(113) Sir John Bowring's Memoirs.  
Burnet's Hist. of his own times, Vol. 1. p. 44.

(114) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 355, 357.

(115) Short Memorials of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 118, 119, 120.

(110) The Perfect Politician, or life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 28, 29.

(111) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 100, 101.  
Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 67.

necessary to dwell particularly upon those circumstances that are well known, in relation to bringing the King before the High Court of Justice, and in pursuance to the sentence passed there to his death, since the share that Lieutenant-General Cromwell had therein was open and publick; he sat in the Court, he signed the Warrant, and he prosecuted the accomplishment of it by the King's bloody execution (i). It is also known, that he threatened Colonel Downs out of that tenderness which he shewed for his Sovereign, when before the Court; and Colonel Ingoldsbey always affirmed, that Cromwell guided his hand in his signing the sentence; what applications were made to him for saving the King's life may be found in a multitude of books, and some of the passages relating to them are undoubtedly worthy of notice (k) [S]. One remark however is very obvious upon this head, which is, that his power and his principles must have been very well known, both at home and abroad, otherwise such general applications could have never been made; for though

(i) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 567—569. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 370—375. Echard's Hist. England, p. 653—661.

(k) Heath's Chronicle, p. 200. Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 734.

after followed his trial. To prepare a way to this work, this agitating council did first intend to remove all out of the Parliament who were like to oppose them; and carried it on with such secrecy, as I had not the least intimation of it till it was done, as some of the Members of the House can witness, with whom I was at that very time, upon special business, when that attempt was made by Colonel Pride upon the Parliament, which I protest I never had any knowledge of till it was done. The reason why it was so secretly carried, that I should have no notice of it, was, because I always prevented those designs when I knew them. By this purging of the House, as they called it, the Parliament was brought into such a consumptive and languishing condition, that it could never again recover that healthful constitution which always kept the Kingdom in its strength, life, and vigour. When the first proposition was made in the House of Commons, for trying the King, Mr Cromwell rose up (116), and said, that 'If any man moved this upon design, he should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but since Providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their councils, though he was not provided on the sudden to give them counsel.' But not long after he was: for, being a great pretender to Enthusiastims and Revelations, he told them, that, as he was praying for a blessing from God on his undertaking to restore the King to his pristine Majesty, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not speak one word more; which he took as a return of prayer, and that God had rejected him from being King; and to others he asserted, that it was lawful to circumvent a wicked man with deceit and fraud. If the reader is inclined to pursue this matter any farther, he may meet with the clearest information in the work of a late Prelate, who has given such an account of Mr Cromwell's dispute with the Commissioners from Scotland, on the necessity of the King's being subjected to a capital prosecution, as will leave him without the least colour of doubt, that the whole of this measure was of his contriving and conducting, though supported by all the Republican party in the Parliament (117).

[S] *Are undoubtedly worthy of notice.* Of these one of the most remarkable is, the transaction between the Lieutenant-General and a cousin of his, Colonel John Cromwell, an officer in the service of the States. This Gentleman is said to have been in England while the King was in the hands of the Army; and that in a conference he had with the Lieutenant-General, the latter made use of this expression, *I think the King the most injured Prince in the world*, and then clapping his hand upon his sword, added, *But this, cousin, shall do him right* (118). The Colonel returning to Holland soon after, reported what he took to be truth, that the Lieutenant-General had a great regard and respect for the King. When, therefore, the news of the King's trial reached Holland, he was sent over with Letters Credential from the States, to which was added a blank with the King's signet, and another of the Prince's, both confirmed by the States, for Cromwell to set down his own conditions, if he would now save his Majesty's life. The Colonel went directly to his kinsman's house, who was so retired and shut up in his chamber, with an order to let none know he was at home; that it was with much difficulty he obtained admittance, after he had told who he was. Having mutually saluted each other, the Colonel desired to speak a few words with him in private; and began, with much freedom, to set before him the heinousness of the fact then about to

be committed, and with what detestation it was looked upon abroad, telling him, That of all men living he could never have imagined he would have had any hand in it, who, in his hearing, had protested so much for the King. To this Cromwell answered, It was not he but the Army, and though he did once say some such words, yet now times were altered, and Providence seemed to order things otherwise. And it is said he added, that he had prayed and fasted for the King, but no return that way was yet made to him. Upon this the Colonel stepped a little back, and suddenly shut the door, which made Cromwell apprehend he was going to be assassinated, but the other pulling out his papers, said to him, *Cousin, this is no time to trifle with words: See here, it is now in your own power not only to make yourself but your family, relations, and posterity, happy and honourable for ever; otherwise, as they changed their name before from Williams to Cromwell, so now they must be forced to change it again; for this fact will bring such an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to deface.* At this Cromwell paused a little, and then said, *Cousin, I desire you will give me till night to consider of it, and do you go to your inn, and not to bed, till you hear from me.* The Colonel did accordingly; and, about one in the morning, a messenger came to tell him, He might go to rest, and expect no other answer to carry to the Prince, for the council of officers had been seeking God, a phrase, it seems, very much in use at that time, as he also had done the same, and it was resolved by them all, that *the King must die* (119). All the circumstances of this relation agree perfectly with the most authentic diaries of those times, by which fictitious stories are easily detected. Lady Fairfax charged the whole design of seeking the King's death upon Cromwell, at his Majesty's trial (120). Sir John Bowring told the King himself, during the Hampton-Court treaty, what Cromwell's intentions were; and Sir Peter Killigrew likewise told him, at the same place, that Cromwell meant to fetch him up to London, bring him to a trial there, and put him to death (121). Some have doubted whether the last was his original intention or not, for he never loved a Commonwealth, and therefore it is supposed, that he was the author of that paper-book of proposals offered to the King the evening before he died; which would have established the being of the Army most effectually, by putting it in their power to pay themselves, and, at the same time, rendering them perpetual (122). If this be true, as indeed I think it cannot be disproved, the King shewed that his great patience did not proceed from want of spirit, for he presently rejected those terms, and resolved to die a martyr rather than live a cypher (123). But though, without Lieutenant-General Cromwell, this deed could not have been done, yet, when he had brought it so far, in order to try whether the King, who, by his last treaty, had consented to a never ending Parliament, might not be brought to change that for an everlasting Army, yet it might not be absolutely in his power to go back, nor was it, probably, ever in his will; since, how generally soever the death of the King was imputed to him, the saving of him might, and, in all appearance, would, have been attributed to others; which was so repugnant to his scheme, if we may judge from his former and future actions (124), that there appears not the least foundation to suppose he ever had a thought of consenting to it, nor is there any thing like it suggested, by any of those who either commend or condemn him.

(116) Hist. of Independency, P. ii. p. 54.

(117) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 365. Burnet's Hist. of his own times, p. 46, 47.

(118) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 53.

(119) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 658.

(120) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 375. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 991.

(121) Bowring's Memoirs, p. 151.

(122) Hist. of Independency, P. ii. p. 109. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 660. Heath's Chronicle, p. 215.

(123) See the King's speech at his death.

(124) Perinchieff's life of Charles the first, p. 93.

though it be true, that there were addressees also to the General, yet those were from such as opposed the action, as for instance, the Presbyterian Ministers, the Scots Commissioners, and some of the secluded Members; but those who were guided entirely by pity and concern, laboured only to move Cromwell, who is said, after this tragedy was acted, to have spoke his mind freely by owning, that, if he had not been a King, he might have lived longer (l). The government being now entirely changed, for in five days after the King's death the House of Lords was voted useless, it became necessary to think of some expedient for managing the executive power; and therefore it was resolved to set up a Council of State, of which John Bradshaw was President, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell a principal Member (m). Before he had well taken possession of this new dignity, he was again called to action, and that too as brisk, and at least as hazardous, as any in which he had taken any share. The persons with whom he was to engage were a part, and certainly, if they had known their own minds, the far greatest part of the very army which he commanded, and the occasion this: All the purposes for which they were necessary being answered, it was resolved the Agitators should assemble no more; the House of Commons had deprived the House of Lords of a being, by a vote; but in the Army the contrary method was pursued; the General, and his Council of Officers, would no longer vouchsafe any conference with, or even countenance to, the Agitators, which was what the greatest part of the Army could not bear, and therefore had themselves recourse to a method which their officers had taught them upon other occasions, and this was, to set forth their sentiments by way of Remonstrance, which was presented by five Agitators to the General (n). For this high offence they were seized, and tried by a Court-Martial, and sentenced to ride with their faces to their horses tails, at the head of their respective corps, with a paper, expressing their crime, fixed on their breasts, after which their swords were to be broke over their heads, and themselves cashiered; every circumstance of which was strictly executed upon the 6th of March, in Great Palace-Yard (o). This served only to raise the flame higher; for several regiments of horse, and amongst the rest Cromwell's, mutinied, put white cockades in their hats, and appointed a rendezvous at Ware; where Cromwell appeared when he was least expected, and brought with him some regiments quartered at a distance, that he could depend on. Here, without any previous expostulations, he, with two regiments of horse, surrounded one regiment of the mutineers, and calling four men by name out of their ranks, obliged them to cast dice for their lives, and those two that escaped were ordered to shoot the others, which they did, and upon this the tame spectators of the tragedy thought fit to slip their white cockades into their pockets, and to secure themselves by a submission (p). This affair did not end here; for one Lockyer being shot in St Paul's Church-Yard for the like offence, his confederates, to the number of a thousand, attended at his funeral with black and sea-green ribbons, by way of favours (q). This portended a storm, which quickly after broke out; for Scroop's regiment of horse, quartered at Salisbury, having first ejected their officers, marched to join three other regiments that were in the same disposition (r); upon which Fairfax and Cromwell, with the troops that adhered to them, moved towards the mutineers with the utmost expedition, marching as the necessity of the case required, forty miles in one day. It is, however, very doubtful, whether all this vigilance, or even the valour of their victorious troops, would have done their business against these men, bred in the same school, and not at all inferior, either in firmness or fame, to themselves. In so nice and dangerous a case, therefore, Cromwell ventured upon a specifick which he seldom administered, that is to say, he deluded them with a treaty, broke it, and destroyed them (s) with as little mercy as, in the High Court of Justice, he had shewn to the King or his friends [T]. After this great stroke he accompanied the General, first to Oxford (t), where

(l) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 74.

(m) Hist. of Independency, P. ii. p. 110.

(n) Heath's Chronicle, p. 232.

(o) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 386.

(p) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 81.

(q) Hist. of Independency, P. ii. p. 163. Heath's Chronicle, p. 233.

(r) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 82, 83.

(s) Heath's Chronicle, p. 233, 234.

(t) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 88.

[T] *And destroyed them with as little mercy, as, in the High Court of Justice, he had shewn to the King or his friends.* It is very observable, that though, in matters of difficulty and great importance, Cromwell was slow in taking his party, and yet more so in declaring it when taken, this conduct of his was entirely altered from the time he once declared; for he was then, generally speaking, not only as firm, but more forward than any, and this in matters that would have put the greatest difficulties upon another man. As for instance, he moved for a Committee to look into the proceedings at the trial of the King, in order to testify their concurrence and approbation, and actually reported this matter to the House himself (125). Upon the trial of Lord Capel, he made a speech as sensible as it was severe; he acknowledged that Lord had great courage, industry, and generosity; avowed a sincere personal esteem and respect for him; but then added, that the true question was, not Whether they should spare the life of a single man? but, Whether they should preserve the most bitter and implacable enemy they ever had (126). When he marched against the Levellers, it was not only the Parliament's, but his own

cause was at stake, and therefore he pressed Lord Fairfax not to lose a moment's time, and indeed if any time had been lost, it is very probable that a new Civil War had began; for Capt. Thompson, who had put himself at the head of these people, had drawn together near five thousand men, who, like himself, were determined, and the Manifesto they had published daily brought in more. To prevent, if possible, an action from whence Cromwell foresaw the worst consequences imaginable, Col. Reynolds was allowed to parley with them, and to give them hopes of a treaty. Under the sense of this being secure, they took the saddles off their horses, and put them into a meadow to feed; but, about twelve at night, they were attacked on all sides, and, being unable to form themselves, were easily defeated. A great many surrendered upon having quarter given them, who were the next morning spectators of the death of three of their Chiefs, one of whom was Thompson's brother; they all died with great courage and spirit. A message was then sent to the rest of the mutineers, that they should be decimated, that is, one in ten was to suffer death; but upon the heels of this came Lieutenant-General Cromwell,

(125) See the Journal of the House annexed to the King's trial.

(126) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 113. Echard's Hist. England, p. 670.

where they were made Doctors in the Civil Law, and from thence to London, where they were splendidly entertained by the city, and had presents of great value when they took leave (*u*). At this time England, if not quiet, was totally subdued, the Scots were discontented but not in arms, so that Ireland became the principal object of the Parliament's care, since, in that island, of three parties which had been for many years shedding each others blood, their own was the weakest. It was resolved to send over a compleat army of seventeen thousand men, for the soldiers were now so humbled, they might be sent any where, and to add weight to the new erected Commonwealth of England, by subduing this divided nation (*w*). One only difficulty remained, which was, to find a proper General; Fairfax was unwilling to go, Waller was talked of, then Fleetwood; but, upon naming Cromwell, a silent consent was given, a great majority approved, and the rest were afraid to oppose it (*x*). Historians seem at a loss for the motives which induced him to accept of this command, but they were, probably, these; he was willing to be relieved from the troublesome fatigue of inventing new schemes, to render himself useful to the Parliament, while, as yet, they had both credit and power; he was desirous of being at the head of an army in action, wherever it was, and he foresaw those distractions that would make, such as were now glad to be rid, no less desirous to recal him (*y*). The Parliament seemed strongly inclined to make this service as acceptable as possible, for they gave him the title of Lord Lieutenant, a most extensive commission, and he was sent out of London with the greatest pomp imaginable. He embarked for Ireland in the month of August, and arrived at Dublin soon after the siege of that city was raised, and Ormond defeated (*z*). The great industry he had used, in providing all things necessary for this expedition, made his army wear another appearance than any of those that had been yet seen in Ireland, so that many places surrendered upon his approach; but Sir Arthur Aston being in Drogheda with two thousand five hundred men, all old troops, it was believed he would have detained the conqueror some time, and have allowed Ormond leisure to have drawn together a new army. But Cromwell, better acquainted with the real strength of places, and better provided with the means of reducing them than those who had gone before him in this war, declined a regular siege, and, observing where the place was weakest, employed all his artillery to open a passage. In a very short space of time two breaches were practicable, which Cromwell immediately stormed, September 16th, 1649; and though the garrison made a gallant defence, yet, by some accident, Cromwell's forces gained admittance, and, as he had before resolved, he put all that were to be met with to the sword, so that, at the out-side, there were but thirty escaped; the strong town of Wexford had the same, or, rather, a worse fate, for there abundance of unhappy women perished (*a*). His successes here, as in England, were seasoned with very few disappointments, though some he did meet with; and sickness and action having much reduced his Army, he was once in danger of being attacked with great advantage by Ormond; but that opportunity being lost, was never recovered (*b*). He did not put his forces into winter-quarters till the month of December; and the rainy season made it impossible for him to keep the field. He was in motion again in the beginning of February, and reduced several other places; not a few also revolted to him; and at last, in the beginning of March, he came before Kilkenny, which had been the chief seat of that bloody and barbarous rebellion, which he quickly reduced, and, not long after, took Clonmell, by storm; so that by the month of June 1650, all Ireland was, in a manner, subdued, and that in so short a space as nine months (*c*). A strange concurrence of circumstances made his presence now desired in England, not only by those who wished him well, but by such also as wished him worst; constituting therefore his son-in-law Ireton his deputy, he took shipping for Bristol, where, after a dangerous passage, he safely arrived (*d*), leaving such a terror on the minds of the Irish, as made every thing easy to those who succeeded him, and compleated the conquest of that country [*U*]. Upon his return to London he

(*u*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 406.

(*w*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 237.

(*x*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 406, 407.

(*y*) See Ludlow's Memoirs, Flagellum, or Heath's life of O. Cromwell, and the Hist. of Independency.

(*z*) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 422.

(*a*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 243, 244. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 301—303.

(*b*) See Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the War in Ireland, and Carte's life of the Duke of Ormond.

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 251. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 459. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 309.

(*d*) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 83, 89.

(127) Hist. of Independency, P. ii. p. 167. Heath's Chronicle, p. 233, 234.

(128) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 84.

well, to let them know, that with much difficulty he had procured them pardon, by which he recovered the affection of the Army; neither is it at all improbable, that he brought the Lord-General with him hither, that he might have an opportunity of doing this, which happened May 15, 1649 (127). As for Thompson, the Ringleader, he escaped the slaughter made of his companions, and threw himself into a wood, where, though much wounded, he defended himself desperately so long as he had any ammunition, and then, absolutely refusing quarter, was killed upon the spot. This broke the heart of that design, which might otherwise have given the Parliament a great deal of trouble, notwithstanding they had voted them rebels, for they were a sort of people not to be frightened with words. After this Cromwell pursued his point, and prevailed upon those regiments, most inclined to join the mutineers, to wipe out the memory of past offences, by consenting to go with him to Ireland, which accordingly they did (128).

[*U*] Leaving such a terror on the minds of the Irish,

as made every thing easy to those who succeeded him, and compleated the conquest of that country.] We have seen the share that Commissary-General Ireton had in affairs of the greatest importance and difficulty, where Cromwell had occasion for advice, and his hand was chiefly used in drawing all papers; for having been bred a Lawyer, he was much more capable in things of that nature than most of his party. He was very useful to his father-in-law in the course of the Irish war, and therefore it is no wonder that Cromwell committed the extinction of it to his care. Some writers, and more especially a famous Prelate (129), have indeed suggested that he was so far from being second to Cromwell, that he governed him, and that particularly in the business of the King's death he was the principal instrument, and drove the Lieutenant-General into it whether he would or not. Ludlow does not say this, but he seems to countenance such an opinion, for he was as great an admirer of Ireton, as he was an implacable enemy to Cromwell. If one could give entire credit to this, it might be reasonably presumed, that Cromwell

(129) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, p. 44, 46, 47.

he came, as it were, in triumph, and all ranks of people contended, either from love or fear, who should shew him most respect. At his taking his seat in the House he had thanks returned him for his services, in terms as high as the Speaker's eloquence could reach (e). These ceremonies once over they proceeded to things of greater consequence; for, by this time, the Parliament had another war upon their hands, the Scots having invited home King Charles II. and preparing an army to invade England. There is no doubt that the Parliament would have been content to have trusted this war to the conduct of Lord Fairfax, a brave man, and a good officer, though no profound politician; but he had always scruples, and, having been often deceived and deluded, was now not so easily dealt with (f). Cromwell made no secret of his sentiments, which were, that they should not wait for an invasion, but prevent it by an invasion, and in this, without question, he had the better side of the argument; but Lord Fairfax's conscience could not digest this reasoning; he had taken the Covenant, and, notwithstanding all the series of transactions he had run through, he could not bring himself to think of breaking it, by attacking the Scots in their own country (g). Cromwell, who had taken measure of his capacity, and knew that, as far as that went, he was inflexibly honest, carried his dissimulation to the greatest height, pressed him to continue in his command, declared he thought it a greater honour to serve as his Lieutenant-General, than to command the finest army in the world in chief; and, strange as this declaration was, he supported it with such a shew of sincerity, that Mr Ludlow (b), who suspected him as much as any man, confesses that he was deceived, and that he thought himself obliged to interpose, and to desire that the Lieutenant-General would not suffer his complaisance to prove fatal to his country. This famous conference was held June 25th, 1650; and, though a whole month had been now spent in trying to get the better of Lord Fairfax's distaste to the expedition against the Scots, yet it was all in vain; so that June 26th an Ordinance passed for repealing his commission, and, at the same time, another for appointing Oliver Cromwell, Esq; General and Commander in Chief of all the forces of the Commonwealth (i). He had now as great power as might have satisfied the most ambitious mind; for, though he offered to resign his Lieutenantcy of Ireland, yet the Parliament would not accept it. Being sensible, however, of the necessity there was to preserve the military affairs in that kingdom from falling again into confusion, and being desirous to remove out of his way any officer the Parliament might think capable of taking a superior command, he resolved to follow that impression which he perceived his late conduct had made upon Mr Ludlow, and to procure his being sent to Ireland in quality of Lieutenant-General of the Horse; which was accordingly done (k). Experience afterwards taught Ludlow the true meaning of this; but, in all probability, he considered it, at that time, as a favour; and this the great admirers of Cromwell have justly considered as an instance of his refined policy (l) [W]. All obstructions being now removed, he began his march towards Scotland, much

(e) Heath's Chronicle, p. 267. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 313, 314.

(f) Memoirs of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 127, 128.

(g) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 273.

(b) Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 315.

(i) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 460—462.

(k) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 321—323.

(l) Modest Vindication of O. Cromwell, p. 33.

(131) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. ii. p. 67.

(132) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 321.

Cromwell left him his Deputy in Ireland, to prevent his embarrassing the measures he meant to take in England. But whoever considers attentively the characters of both these men, will not, I persuade myself, discover any real grounds for such suppositions. While Cromwell and Ireton dealt with the King, their behaviour was perfectly the same, that is to say, they dissimulated alike, or, if there was any difference, Ireton did it the best of the two, whence one would naturally infer, that his principles were the same with Cromwell's; neither is it at all improbable, that, if they had lived longer together, they would have agreed as well in the latter part of their lives as they did in the former (130). Upon the whole, therefore, the truth seems to be, that Cromwell made choice of him for Deputy, because he was at once the fittest man for that employment, and the person in the world he could best trust with it. If these were Cromwell's reasons, they were fully justified in the event; for Ireton did every thing that could be expected from him, he prosecuted the war with all the vigour and vigilance of a great officer, and settled also the civil affairs of the kingdom upon the best foundation possible. At the time of his death, there was an English army in Ireland of eight thousand horse and twenty-two thousand foot, and though the Irish had still some thousands in arms, and were possessed of several places of considerable strength, yet their councils were so broken, their forces so dispirited, and they had so few resources left, (Cromwell, from a seeming spirit of compassion, having suffered multitudes to be transported abroad for the Spanish and other services) that notwithstanding what Ludlow tells us of his own exploits in that kingdom, there was really nothing to be done of any consequence; and as the reduction of Ireland was first rendered practicable by Cromwell, so with justice one can hardly say, it was completed by any but Deputy Ireton and Lord Broghill, who were both of them, though from very diffi-

rent motives, equally attached to Cromwell and his family (131). We shall hereafter see that it was his policy to keep Ireland constantly in such hands, which, without doubt, was very necessary, since the army there would have been always formidable, if at the devotion of any but those on whom he could absolutely depend.

[W] As an instance of his refined policy. It will be very clear to such as peruse what Mr Ludlow has written, and who consider what General Cromwell had acted, that, if we except their bravery, there could not be two more different men in the world. Ludlow was sincerely and steadily a Republican. Cromwell was not wedded to any kind of government, but of all kinds liked that the least. Ludlow spoke his mind plainly, and was never taken for any other than he professed himself to be: Cromwell valued himself upon acting a part, or rather upon acting several parts, and all of them equally well; and when he had occasion to perform that of a commonwealth's-man, he performed it so admirably, that though Ludlow knew him to be a player by profession, yet he now thought he had thrown off the mask, and appeared what he really was (132). Ludlow was entirely devoted to the Parliament as now constituted, and would have implicitly obeyed their orders upon any occasion whatever: it was quite otherwise with Cromwell, who marched into Scotland to do his own business as well as theirs: from all which it may be inferred, that Cromwell sent Ludlow over to Ireland, that, in case of any accident, like that which actually happened of the King's sudden march into England, the Parliament might not have any officer at hand fit to command a new army, which new army, being also composed of troops raised under their authority, might have given a check to his own. He well knew, that two armies in a country of any thing near equal force, is the same thing with having none, in case the civil authority and the voice of the people declare on one side, for then there will be no

(130) See Sir John Berkeley's Memoirs, Huntington's Charge against Cromwell, Hist. of Independence, P. ii. p. 178.

- (m) Heath's Chronicle, p. 269.
- (n) Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 163.
- (o) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 466. Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 165.
- (p) Echard's Hist. England, p. 684. Walker's Hist. Discourses, p. 179.
- (q) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 54. Walker's Hist. Discourses, p. 180, 181.
- (r) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 54.
- (s) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 471. Walker's Hist. Discourses, p. 181. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 424.
- (t) Echard's Hist. England, p. 684. Rapin, Vol. XIII. p. 53, 54.

about the same time that King Charles appeared there in publick; the army which he commanded consisted of about twenty thousand men, which were the flour of the Parliament Army, and such as, with the change of a very few officers, General Cromwell could well depend upon (m). He used great expedition, and arrived in a month's time at Berwick, where he published a Declaration, importing, that the English had no intention to impose any form of government upon the inhabitants of Scotland, but engaged in this war purely upon a principle of self-defence. The Scots had destroyed all their own country, and withdrawn as many of their people as they could, so that from the time Cromwell entered it, his forces were much distressed; nor was the progress he made attended, for some time, with much greater success; for at Mulsborough he was attacked in the night (n) with great fury, and was in no small danger of being defeated; notwithstanding which he continued his march towards Edinburgh, and came to the very walls of that city. The Army of the Scots Presbyterians, for it could scarce be stiled the King's Army, since they would not suffer him to be in it, was commanded by old Lesley, who shewed himself a very good officer; for being sensible, that his new-raised troops were not able to contend in the field with Cromwell's seasoned old soldiers, kept them so well intrenched, that even Cromwell, who put his troops sometimes upon doing miracles, could not think of attacking him, but depended chiefly upon propagating discontents in the Scotch Army, which was easily done, and upon provoking them to fight, which he judged must, some time or other, have it's effect (o). The first, indeed, Lesley could not prevent, though it gave him a great deal of trouble and disquiet; but the latter he hindered for some time, and thereby brought Cromwell's forces into great straits. They had once retreated to Dunbar, and from thence advanced again to Mulsborough; but this having no effect, the Scots growing daily stronger, and the English Army dwindling in the same proportion, Cromwell marched again to Dunbar, with a design, as is generally believed, of shipping his foot for England, and breaking through the Scots Army with his horse (p); but while he was meditating either this retreat, or a final attempt before he made it, the Scots changed their resolution at the request of their Ministers, who promised them, with a most enthusiastick vehemence, a compleat victory; in confidence of which, against Lesley's advice, they determined to fight (q). General Cromwell who, in the night of September 2d, 1650, had also resolved, in a council of war, to attack them, observing, with a perspective glass, that they were in motion, declared, as if it had been through a spirit of prophecy, but in reality from his military skill, That God had delivered them into his hands (r). Their attack was furious; but Cromwell's foot stood so firm, that they were able to make but little impression; and the hurry of their own charge having thrown them into confusion, the English horse easily broke, routed, and cut them off with prodigious slaughter, only one highland regiment of foot remained firm, and covered with their bodies the ground upon which they were posted, no more than twenty wounded men being taken prisoners out of eight hundred of which that corps consisted (s). Such was the famous victory of Dunbar, than which Cromwell never gained any more entire, or that did him greater credit as a Commander (t) [X].

After

way left to keep the other army together, which would have been his case if Ludlow had ever had a Parliamentary army, and was actually the case of Lambert against Monk, for the latter prevailed only by his having the Parliament and the people on his side. In Ireland there was no such danger; Cromwell himself was Lord Lieutenant, Ireton was his Deputy, and therefore Ludlow could do little harm, for Ireton fooled him there as Cromwell had done in England; but when, through a change of circumstances, he might have become dangerous, we shall find that General Cromwell took notice of it in time, and sent over another person whom he could trust to take the command out of his hands, of which also Ludlow bitterly complained, though he does not seem to have apprehended fully the motives of that alteration (133). I have dwelt upon this as a proper instance of Cromwell's refined policy, of which also many others might be given, but, for the sake of brevity, these are left to the reader's own observation.

[X] Or that did him greater credit as a Commander.]

The most satisfactory account that is to be met with of this battle, seems to be that given by Cromwell himself, in his letter to the Parliament, which not being easily met with, the reader cannot but be pleased to read the most remarkable facts in it, as delivered by himself (134). Upon Monday evening, the enemy, whose numbers were very great, as we hear about six thousand horse, and sixteen thousand foot at least; ours, drawn down as to found men, about seven thousand five hundred foot, and three thousand five hundred horse. The enemy drew down to their right wing about two thirds of their left wing of horse, shogging also their foot and train much to the right,

causing their right wing of horse to edge down towards the sea. We could not well imagine but that the enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to place themselves in a more exact condition of interposition. The Major General and myself coming to the Earl of Roxborough's house, and observing his posture, I told him I thought it did give us an opportunity to advantage to attempt upon the enemy, to which he immediately replied, that he had thought to have said the same thing to me, so that it pleased the Lord to set this apprehension upon both our hearts at the same instant. We called for General Monk, and shewed him the same thing, and coming to our quarter at night, and demonstrating our apprehensions to some of the Colonels, they also cheerfully concurred. We resolved therefore to put our business into this posture, that six regiments of horse, and three regiments and a half of foot, should march in the van, and that the Major-General, the Lieutenant-General of the horse, and the Commissary-General and Col. Monk to command the brigade of foot, should lead on the business; and that Col. Pride's brigade, Col. Overton's brigade, and the remaining two regiments of horse, should bring up the cannon and rear, the time of falling on to be by break of day; but, by some delay, it proved not to be 'till six o'clock in the morning. The enemy's word was *the Covenant*, which they had used for divers days; ours *the Lord of Hosts*. The Major-General, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and Commissary-General Whalley, and Col. Twissleton, gave the onset; the enemy being in very good posture to receive them, having the advantage, their cannon and foot against our horse, and before our foot could come up the enemy made a gallant

(133) Modest Vindication of O. Cromwell.

(134) What is here cited was transcribed from Cromwell's letters in Dr Nelson's M.S. Collections.

After taking the necessary precautions, by sending away the prisoners, he returned to Edinburgh, where he met with no resistance except from the castle, which held out to Christmas-Eve, and was then surrendered, or, as some say, betrayed into his hands (u). He continued the war all the winter, and, in the beginning of the ensuing year, made dispositions for attacking the King, whom the Scots had now crowned, and provided with another army; but factions still continued amongst them, of which none knew better how to take advantage than Cromwell. In the spring he was severely attacked by an ague, and this gave the English Parliament an opportunity of shewing an equal concern for his person and their own interests, which they expressed by sending down Dr Wright and Dr Bates, two eminent Physicians, to attend him, and large supplies of men and money for reinforcing his army (w). He quickly recovered his health, and in several small actions and sieges was constantly successful; but the King continued near Stirling with his army, now in a good measure under his command, in a strong camp, where Cromwell could not force him, and out of which he was resolved not to be drawn. At length, tired with this tedious manner of making war, Cromwell attacked and reduced Perth, which threw the King into great perplexity, so that, towards the end of July 1651, he resolved to take that which seemed to be his only advantage, a retreat from Cromwell into England, to which he was nearest (x). All who were about him concurred in this advice, excepting only the Marquis of Argyle, who told him, his fate would, in that case, depend upon a battle, where if he lost it, it would be in a country where he had no resource, and where, without a miracle, his person would be also lost; that he might still retire into Argyleshire, and from thence, if any misfortune happened, into the Highlands, where, while there were men, he would never want an army (y). This moved the King, and him only, the rest were determined, and prevailed upon him to begin his march southward, as he did on the last of July (z). The news of his coming into England alarmed the Parliament at Westminster exceedingly, and put them upon augmenting their army with many thousand men. The rapidity of the King's march brought him to Worcester before Cromwell could overtake him; but in the mean time the gallant Earl of Derby, who was marching to his assistance, was routed and taken, and soon after General Cromwell blocked him up in Worcester, where, on the 3d of September, he attacked and carried the place, totally defeated the King's forces, and gained that which himself called, in his letter to the Parliament, the crowning victory (a) [Y]. He did not remain long with

(u) Heath's Chronicle, p. 280, 281.

Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 110.

(w) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 106. Heath's Chronicle, p. 289, 290.

(x) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 501. Heath's Chronicle, p. 292, 295. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 120.

(y) See the article of Campbell, Marquis of Argyle, in this work.

(z) Heath's Chronicle, p. 294. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 281.

(a) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 222. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 281, 282. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 507, 508. Echard's Hist. Engl. p. 697.

a gallant resistance. And there was a very hot dispute, at sword's point, between our horse and theirs. Our first foot, after they had discharged their first fury, being over-powered with the enemy, received some repulse, which they soon recovered; but my own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Goff and my Major White, did come seasonably in, and at push of pike did repel the stoutest regiment the enemy had there, merely with the courage which the Lord was pleased to give, which proved a great amazement to the residue of their foot, this being the first action between the foot: the horse in the mean time did, with a great deal of courage and spirit, beat back all opposition, charging through the bodies of the enemies horse and their foot, who were after the first repulse given, made, by the Lord of Hosts, as stubble to their swords. Indeed I believe I may speak it without partiality, both your chief commanders and others in their several places, and soldiers also, were acted with as much courage, as ever hath been seen in any action since this war. I know they look not to be named, and therefore I forbear particulars. The best of the enemy's horse and foot being broken through and through in less than an hour's dispute, their whole army being put into confusion, it became a total rout, our men having the chase and execution of them near eight miles. We believe that upon the place, and near about it, were three thousand slain; prisoners taken of their officers, you have this inclosed list; of private soldiers, near ten thousand; the whole baggage and train taken, in which was good store of match, powder, and bullet; all their artillery great and small; thirty guns. We are confident they have left behind them no less than fifteen thousand arms. I have already brought unto me near two hundred colours, which I herewith send you. What officers of quality of theirs are killed, we yet cannot learn, but yet surely divers are, and many men of quality are mortally wounded, as Col. Lumsdale, the Lord Liberton, and others; and that which is no small addition, I believe we have not lost twenty men; not one commissioned officer slain as I hear of, save one Cornet, and Major Rookby since dead of his wounds;

and not many mortally wounded, Col. Whalley only cut in the hand, wrist, and his horse twice shot, and killed under him, but he well recovered another horse, and went on in his chase. Thus you have the prospect of one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and his people this war.

[Y] *The crowning victory.*] In this battle of Worcester Cromwell gave very high proofs of his personal courage, and that for a generous purpose, since he exposed himself extremely to offer quarter to the Scots, who defended the Fort Royal, with a view only of preventing the unnecessary effusion of blood amongst his own troops, for his proposition being refused, and the place taken, he directed all that were in it to be put to the sword (135). He likewise shewed his impartiality in commending the courage of the King, who charged with the Scots foot, and gained some advantage even over Cromwell's guards (136); but the Scots horse, under the command of Lesley, behaved basely. There needed not much of conduct in the business, for besides that they were certainly better troops, Cromwell had also the advantage in numbers, the King's army consisting but of sixteen thousand, and that of the Parliament of twenty-eight thousand (137). It is said that Cromwell treated the militia but indifferently, though they contributed much to the victory; but in his letter to the Parliament he acknowledges their great services, in as clear and as strong terms as could be expected. There is no doubt that this was as signal and compleat a stroke of success, as even the ambitious heart of Cromwell could desire, and therefore it is no great wonder that it took him a little off his guard, as it certainly did. He would have knighted two of his principal Commanders upon the field of battle, and was with great difficulty dissuaded from it (138). His letter to the Parliament is conceived in more stiff and lofty terms than any of his former writings. Ludlow says that his behaviour was altered from that day, and that all who were about him observed it (139). Perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say, it was altered upon that day and the next, for he very soon recovered himself, and shewed as much submission and humility as ever. He treated his prisoners with great severity, and it is thought would have brought Massy and Middleton

(135) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 116.

(136) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 123.

(137) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 282. Heath's Chronicle, p. 297.

(138) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 365, 366.

(139) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 507. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 447.

with the troops; for having seen the walls of Worcester demolished, and directing some thousands of prisoners to be driven before him, he began his march, as it were, in triumph for London. He met four Commissioners from the Parliament not far from Aylebury, and, when he came to Acton, the Speaker, the House, and the Council of State, met him in form, as did soon after the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and with all this pomp he proceeded to Whitehall, where, having reposed himself a little, September the 16th, he took his place in the House, where his great achievements were again the subject of Lenthall's eloquence; and the same day he dined upon a solemn invitation in the city (b). Yet these, though great, were far from being the most considerable marks of honour that were paid him; a general thanksgiving was appointed for his victory, and the 3d of September appointed an anniversary State holiday; he had besides four thousand pounds a year voted him out of the estates of the Duke of Buckingham and Marquis of Worcester (c). When these ceremonies and acknowledgments were over, he had leisure to look about him, and to consider as well his own condition as that of the nation. He saw himself at present General and Commander in Chief of a great army in England, and, at the same time, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; but then he knew that all this was derived to him from the Parliament; and he clearly discerned that, whether Independents or Presbyterians sat there, they would endeavour to perpetuate supreme power in their own hands, which, for many reasons, he disliked; and therefore he sifted the most eminent persons, in order to find out their sentiments about the establishment of the kingdom, which was a new phrase invented to cover the design of subverting the Parliament (d). In reference to this he found, that different men had different opinions, all concurring in part, but not in the whole, with his own [Z]. As it was not yet time for him to declare himself plainly, he made it his business to entertain as fair a correspondence as possible with all parties. He behaved in publick with great decency and duty towards that body of men he was contriving to remove, but held a private correspondence with every one of the parties that were caballing against them, by which he was in all their secrets, as they probably thought they were in his, but in that they were deceived; he never

(b) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 118, 119. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 509.

(c) Echard's Hist. of Engl. p. 697.

(d) Pates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 157.

dleton to the scaffold, if they had not had the good luck to escape. He was now completely master of the Army, which expected it's continuance and the payment of all arrears from his weight and influence, which opinion he took care to encourage, and gave them frequent assurances, that they might much better depend upon him than upon their old resource of Agitators (140). All his conduct afterwards was of a piece with this, and he took all the care imaginable to make the Army sensible of their own importance, and to let them see that nothing could divide their interests from his own, which was the true foundation of his growing greatness, and of the gradual declension of the Parliament's power, which, though they clearly discerned, they knew not how to prevent.

(140) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 118.

[Z] *But not in the whole with his own* ] After the great victory of Worcester, General Cromwell took a new text, upon which he preached with wonderful eloquence upon all occasions, and this was, *the necessity of an establishment*. There had been a great deal of fighting, and now the fighting was over, he thought the conquerors ought to know what they had been fighting for (141). In a meeting among the principal persons in power, held about three months afterwards, he proposed the question fairly (142), when St John, Whitlocke, Lenthall, and Sir Thomas Widdrington, declared plainly for monarchy, Harrison, Desborough, and Whalley, as plainly for a commonwealth. Cromwell did not think fit to discover his own opinion with the like clearness, but expressed a desire of knowing, if a Monarchy was necessary, Who was to be that Monarch? Sir Thomas Widdrington answered directly, one of the late King's sons, and proposed the Duke of Gloucester then in their power. To this Whitlocke demurred, and was for inviting the two elder brothers; but this being nothing to Cromwell's design, he soon broke up that conference. Upon the 7th November 1652, meeting the Lord Commissioner Whitlocke in the Park, he entered into a long discourse with him upon this important subject, in which the part that Cromwell took was this (143): he shewed him that the Parliament was now become a faction; that they were resolved to rule all, and to rule for ever, merely for their own sakes; that they gave all employments to themselves, their relations, or friends; that they drew every thing within their own cognizance, by which the subject lost the benefit of the law, and held his property but by a precarious tenure; that, all this considered, they had fought themselves into a worse condition, and

(141) Heath's Chronicle, p. 301.

(142) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 460. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 214, 215.

(143) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 516.

that, instead of a Monarch with a prerogative royal, they had now many masters who made laws and broke them at their pleasure; that, on the other hand, the Army was very sensible of this; that they bore it with great reluctance; that they too had great disputes amongst themselves; and that it could not be long before these mischiefs broke out into a new flame. Whitlocke very readily agreed, that he had described both parties truly, but, at the same time, acknowledged, that, notwithstanding he was acquainted with the diseases of the commonwealth, he was entirely ignorant of any right method of cure. What, said Cromwell, if a man should take upon himself to be King? Whitlocke undertook to shew him, that he would get nothing by it, that he had more power already than former Kings ever had, and that by assuming the name he might run a great hazard of losing the thing. Cromwell then pressed to know, What he would have done? upon which, as before, the Lord Commissioner propounded compromising matters with Charles Stuart, the debating of which Cromwell declined, as being a matter of much difficulty. There is no doubt but he had many conversations of this sort with the most intelligent of all parties, but we shall mention only one more, and that for two reasons; first, because it shews us that he was perfectly aware of what is suggested in the text, that those who hated each other extremely, all concurred in still hating him with greater inveteracy; for as the Royalists detested his person, so the Republicans abhorred his power. Secondly, because it is reported upon good authority, having been often related by Mr Henry Nevil, a celebrated Politician, and once a Member of the Council of State. He was wont to tell it thus (144): 'That Cromwell upon this great occasion sent for some of the chief city Divines, as if he made it a matter of conscience to be determined by their advice. Among these was the leading Mr Calamy, who very boldly opposed the project of Mr Cromwell's single government, and offered to prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell answered readily upon the first head of unlawful, and appealed to the safety of the nation being the supreme law. But, says he, pray Mr Calamy why impracticable? Calamy replied, Oh 'tis against the voice of the nation, there will be nine in ten against you. Very well, says Cromwell, but what if I should disarm the nine, and put sword into the tenth man's hand, Would not that do the business?'

(144) Life of Henry Nevil, Esq; p. 35.

never had but one confident, and that confident was gone. This was his son-in-law Ireton, whom he had placed at the head of affairs in Ireland, where he died of the plague (e). It was of great importance to him to substitute another there as much devoted to his service; but the thing was difficult. The Parliament had cast their eyes upon Lambert, who was to govern with the title of Lord Deputy; but ways and means were found to change their resolution as to the title, though not as to the man; but as he rightly foresaw, the change of the one produced the change of the other; for Lambert, who would have been proud of being Deputy, disdained to go thither as a Commissioner (f). Under these circumstances the ordinance appointing Cromwell Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom determined, which he very prudently declined to renew, but instead of it got the ordinance appointing him Captain-General and Commander in Chief in England, extended by another ordinance to Ireland; and thus he had the power without the name: but as he never meant to go thither again in person, he gave his daughter, Mrs Ireton, in marriage to Colonel Fleetwood, a man entirely under his direction, whom he procured to be declared Lieutenant-General of the forces in Ireland; by which the great point he aimed at was fully attained (g). This dexterity in his management became very soon after obvious enough, though little notice was taken of it at the time; which shewed the deep reach of his politicks, and how much his abilities were in reality superior to those of the persons he had to do with, who, with all the good-will in the world to oppose him, found themselves, at every turn, the dupes of his designs, which at the bottom were just as honest as their own (h). As a proof of this we may observe, that the very person worst treated in this affair, that is, General Lambert, not only misplaced his resentment, and grew disaffected to the Parliament, but suffered himself to be so far cajoled by Cromwell, as to believe, that he thought him worthier than to be sent to Ireland upon any terms, and that if any thing should happen to himself, he sincerely wished him for his successor, how eminent soever his station might be (i). All the winter of the year 1652 was spent in cabals and contrivances on both sides, that is, by the friends of the Parliament, to support and sustain its authority, and, by their opponents, to bring things into such a situation, as might render the necessity of dissolving that assembly universally apparent. But while all this was doing, General Cromwell neglected nothing that might establish hopes of favour from him, and of benefit to their respective causes in all the parties then subsisting in the nation; which, considering the diversity of principles on which they acted, and their inveteracy against each other, must appear a thing almost incredible (k) [AA]. As the spring advanced this great affair began to ripen, the people in different parts of the nation, and the Army in general, began to murmur at the amazing stretch of power which the Parliament, though so thin of Members, assumed to themselves, which sometimes the General encouraged, and at others repressed; as for instance, when it was debated in the Council of Officers, whether they should petition the Parliament to turn their vote into a bill for their own dissolution, Cromwell sent Colonel Desborough, who had married a sister of his, to put an end to that debate, in which he declared, in express terms, against using any violence, and at the same time ran out into the highest commendations of that Assembly (l). But afterwards perceiving, that the party against them in the Army was growing daily stronger, and that, on the other hand, the Parliament having got both courage and credit from their success in the Dutch war, were contriving to set up the Fleet against the Army, and to diminish the power of the one, and to augment that of the other, had ordered part of the Army on board the Fleet, he found himself obliged to make more haste

(e) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 467.

(f) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 414.

(g) Heath's Chronicle, p. 309.

(h) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 159, 160. Flagellum, or Life of O. Cromwell, p. 125.

(i) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 414. Flagellum, or Life of O. Cromwell, p. 126, 127.

(k) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. ii. p. 159. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 449, 450.

(l) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 451, 452.

(146) Echard's Hist. England, p. 703, 704. Unparalleled Monarch, p. 114.

(147) See Maurice's Memoirs of Lord Brouncker, Winstanley's Select Lives of English Worthies, p. 525, 527.

[AA] *Must appear a thing almost incredible.*] It cannot but be satisfactory to the inquisitive reader to see this point a little more fully explained, the chief difficulty lying in this, that the inveteracy of people in those times was so great, as to render it next to impossible, to shew the least favour to any one party, without irritating all the rest. The path indeed was narrow, and precipices there were on every side; yet Cromwell had the courage to venture himself in this path, and so great conduct as to pass through it without making one false step. He never courted the Cavaliers directly, but, upon particular occasions, and under a variety of pretences, he did many of them signal services, and generally spoke of them as men of honour acting upon mistaken principles; exclaiming at the same time against the flagrant acts of injustice done to them by the Rump, who, to get at their estates, made no scruple of disputing away the force of their own acts, and breaking through the most solemn capitulations (145). This, with the heat he shewed in pushing the Act of Oblivion after the battle of Worcester, induced them to wish well to him rather than the Parliament. He complained to all sober and religious persons, of the scandalous lives, and dissolute manners of some of the Republican members; there are, said he, Tom Chaloner and Harry Martin, blessed reformers and legislators, while they are notorious

whoremasters, and have no more religion than their horses. He exposed the pride of some, the fraud of others, and the self-seeking of all; which gained him great reputation (146). To the Fifth Monarchy men he talked in their own stile, and professed his desire that the saints should reign, explaining this to men of sounder understandings, as meaning no more, than that the government ought to be in the hands of men of prudence and probity, which, the then situation of things considered, was very acceptable doctrine. His real design, however, he closely concealed; so that all who were desirous of a change expected it from him, and at the same time flattered themselves with the hopes that it would be such a change as they wished. In every thing he said and did, he had a manner that seemed to manifest the greatest sincerity; and yet there was so much of caution in all his words and actions, that he knew how to interpret the one, and to account for the other, in such a way, that no hold could be taken of them to his disadvantage. In short, he never expressed resentment against any but it was followed with destruction, so as to leave them no capacity of revenge; and wherever he conferred obligations, it was in a way so high and so generous, that as he never bestowed them on unworthy objects, so the memory of them was never lost, or himself deceived as to their effects (147).

(m) Heath's  
Chronicle, p. 324,  
325.  
Bates's Elenchus  
Motuum, p. 160.

(n) Flagellum,  
or the life of O.  
Cromwell, p. 126,  
127.

(o) Whitlocke's  
Memorials,  
p. 524.

(p) Bates's Elen-  
chus Motuum,  
p. ii. p. 160.

(q) Flagellum,  
or the life of O.  
Cromwell, p. 129.  
Life of O. Crom-  
well, Lord Pro-  
tector, p. 230.

(r) Ludlow's Me-  
moirs, Vol. II.  
p. 455, 456.

(s) Whitlocke's  
Memorials,  
p. 554.  
Dugdale's Short  
view of the  
troubles, p. 405.  
Ludlow's Me-  
moirs, Vol. II.  
p. 457.

(t) Dugdale's  
Short view of the  
troubles, p. 405.  
Bates's Elenchus  
Motuum, P. ii.  
p. 161.  
Ludlow's Me-  
moirs, Vol. II.  
p. 457.

(u) Heath's Chro-  
nicle, p. 340.

haste (m). On the 19th of April, 1653, he called a Council of Officers, once more to debate this point, in which as he had many friends, so he had also some opponents, who insinuated, that what he did proceeded from self-interest and ambition. Major-General Harrison, a zealous Fanatick, but absolutely deceived by Cromwell, assured the Assembly, in the sincerity of his heart, That the Lord General fought only to pave the way for the government of Jesus and his Saints, to which Major Streater briskly returned, That then he ought to come quickly, for if it was after Christmas, he would come too late (n). Upon this Cromwell adjourned the meeting till the next morning, when a new point was started, whether it might not be expedient for the House and the Army to appoint twenty persons of a side, to be intrusted with the supreme power. In the midst of this dispute advice came, that the House had under consideration their own dissolution, and upon this such as were Members withdrew, and went thither to promote that design. But in reality the Parliament had framed a bill, to continue themselves to the 5th of November in the next year, proposing, in the mean time, to fill up the House by new elections (o). Colonel Ingoldsbey came back to the General, and informed him what the House was upon: at which the General, who expected they should have meddled with no other business but putting an immediate period to their own sitting, without any more delay, was so enraged, that he immediately commanded some of the officers to fetch a party of soldiers, to the number of three hundred, with which marching directly to Westminster, he placed some of them at the door, some in the lobby, and others on the stairs (p). Himself going into the House, first addressed himself to his friend St John, and told him, That he then came to do that which grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears prayed to God against; nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it; but that there was a necessity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation (q). Then he sat down, and heard their debates for some time on the fore-mentioned act; after which calling to Major-General Harrison, who was on the other side of the House, to come to him, he told him, That he judged the Parliament ripe for a dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it (r). Harrison answered, Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it, before you engage in it. You say well, replied the General, and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then the question for passing the said act being put, he said again to Harrison, This is the time, I must do it: and so standing up on a sudden, he bad the Speaker leave the chair, and told the House, That they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good; that some of them were whoremasters, looking then towards Harry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth; that others of them were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, and scandalous to the profession of the gospel; and that it was not fit they should sit as a Parliament any longer, and therefore he must desire them to go away (s). He charged them with not having a heart to do any thing for the publick good, and espousing the interest of Presbytery; and the Lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression, and accused them of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power. When some of the Members began to speak, he stepped into the midst of the House, and said, Come, come, I will put an end to your prating; then walking up and down the House, he cried out, You are no Parliament, I say you are no Parliament, and, stamping with his feet, he bad them for shame begone, and give place to honest men (t). Upon this signal the soldiers entered the House, and he bad one of them take away that bauble, meaning the mace; and Harrison taking the Speaker by the arm, he came down. Then the General, addressing himself again to the Members, who were about a hundred, said, 'Tis you that have forced me to this; for I have fought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work. And then seizing on all their papers, he ordered the soldiers to see the House cleared of all Members, and, having caused the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall (u). With the same spirit he proceeded to turn out the Council of State, and to take such other measures as appeared to him the most proper, for the support of that great authority he had attained, preserving the affection of the Army, and keeping peace and quietness in the nation [BB]. He continued, for a few days, to direct all things by the advice

[BB] *And keeping peace and quietness in the nation.* When General Cromwell came back to Whitehall he found a Council of Officers still assembled, and this grand point yet in debate, upon which he told them roundly, they need trouble themselves no farther about it, for he had done it. Col. Okey, who was none of his creature, demanded immediately What he had done? and, when he had told him, expostulated the point warmly; but Cromwell talked so much louder than he, of the glory of God and the good of the nation, the removing of yokes and badges of slavery, that he very soon thought proper to be silent, and to wait for the conclusion of this affair, in order to distinguish from his actions, what were Cromwell's real intentions in so bold an action (148). In the afternoon of the same day, Cromwell, attended by the Majors-General

Lambert and Harrison, went to the Council of State, and finding them sitting, addressed them in the following terms: 'Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons you shall not be disturbed, but if as a Council of State, this is no place for you. And since you cannot but know what was done at the House this morning, so take notice, that the Parliament is dissolved.' Serjeant Bradshaw boldly answered, 'Sir, we have heard what you did at the House in the morning, and, before many hours, all England will hear it. But, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the Parliament is dissolved, for no power under Heaven can dissolve them but themselves, therefore take you notice of that.' Some others also spoke to the same purpose; but the Council finding themselves to be under the same force, they all quietly departed (149).  
The

(148) Flagellum,  
or the life of  
Cromwell, p. 127,  
128.

(149) Ludlow's  
Memoirs, Vol. II.  
p. 461.

advice of the Council of Officers, where he professed his own painful sense of the vast burthen laid upon his shoulders, and how desirous he was to remove it; but finding, by the speeches of some of them, he might probably be taken at his word, he first excited them to discover, and then so effectually exposed their different, contradictory, and irreconcilable sentiments as to government, that they were at last glad to propose a new Council of State, in which the supreme authority was vested (w); and then published a very rational and well-drawn declaration, dated April 22d, in which they gave the fairest colours possible to the late dissolution, and promised that a new representative should be called (x). This was accordingly done, by virtue of letters or warrants under the Lord General's hand. This Assembly consisted of one hundred forty-two persons, met July the 4th, in the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, where Cromwell told them, that they had a clear call to take upon them the supreme authority; which they did without ceremony, and elected Francis Rous, Esq; Provost of Eaton, their Speaker. This, from it's narrowness in point of numbers, was stiled the little, from it's manner of proceeding, the godly, and from the pragmatistical behaviour of one Praise-God Barebone, a Leatherfeller in the city, Barebone's Parliament. This Assembly sat long enough to do Cromwell's business and their own; for the majority of them being Fifth Monarchy-men, threatened total destruction to the Ministry, and the Lawyers; and took such strange steps with regard to the Dutch Ambassadors, that they were absolutely at a loss how to deal with them; so that all parties (except their own small one) being heartily tired with these Legislators, some of themselves, who were in the secret, met early on the 12th of December, and agreed to surrender up their power to Cromwell, from whom it came (y). Major-General Harrison, and about twenty more, remained in the House, and seeing the reign of the Saints at an end, placed one Mr Moyer in the Speaker's chair, and began to draw up protests; but they were soon interrupted by Colonel White, with a party of soldiers; who asking them what they did there, they told him, They were seeking the Lord: to this he replied, That, to his knowledge, the Lord had not been sought there many years, and so fairly turned them out of doors (z). The scene thus changed, the supreme power was said to be in the Council of Officers again, and they very speedily resolved, that the Lord General, with a select Council, should have the administration of publick affairs, upon the terms contained in a paper, intituled, *THE INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT*; and that his Excellency should be Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and have the title of Highness; and accordingly he was invested therewith on the 16th of December, in the Court of Chancery in Westminster-Hall, with great solemnity (a). When he had thus reduced the government into some order, he proceeded very wisely and warily; appointed a Privy-Council, in which there were several great and worthy men, who, he knew, would either not act at all, or not act very long with him; but their names giving a sanction for the present, he proceeded, with the advice of so many of this Council as attended upon him, to make several ordinances that were necessary, as also to dispose matters for the holding a new Parliament (b). Thus, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, he assumed sovereign power, and exercised it with great dignity; though he well knew, that all obedience to him rose from fear, and that his danger was nearly equal from all parties, though, by his prudent management, he left none the capacity of hurting him [CC]. He applied himself immediately to the settlement of the publick affairs,

(w) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 136.

(x) Heath's Chronicle, p. 340, 341, 342, 343.

(y) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 475. Heath's Chronicle, p. 333.

(z) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 139. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 170.

(a) Echard's Hist. of Engl. p. 707. Heath's Chronicle, p. 354.

(b) Coke's Detection, p. 49. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 265.

The true reason why General Cromwell dismissed, in that manner, this Council of State, was, because he intended to have another of his own construction, these as they derived their authority from, being men entirely devoted to the Parliament. It cannot be supposed that such a transaction as this should pass in silence, or that the persons ejected, and their friends and creatures, should not make a very great noise, as indeed they did, representing this act of Cromwell's as the most insolent violation of the supreme authority that could be practised or imagined (150). To prevent any impression that these investives might otherwise make, some were employed to tell the people, that these men had no reason to complain, that themselves had taken pains to shew the nation that there was no authority inviolable in it's nature, that they had themselves fled to the Army, and by the assistance of the Army purged their own House at their pleasure; that they had taken away the Upper House of Parliament without any other law than their will, and that in all their proceedings they have been by far more arbitrary, than any Monarch that ever filled the English throne, and this without any other colour of right than what was derived to them from their own vote. The Royalists took this advantage also to descend upon publick affairs, and without much ceremony treated the dispersed Parliament as a herd of usurpers, exhausting the wealth, and trampling upon the liberties of the people, who could only be delivered by one who had superior power in his hands, and who in this instance had made the right use of it (151).

When such discourses had been thoroughly spread, and the General afterwards proceeded to some popular acts, such as reducing the tax from one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to ninety thousand pounds a month, and had emitted the Declaration mentioned in the text. It was presently approved by addresses from the fleet and army, as well as from different parts of the kingdom, which was called the voice of the nation; and, by the way, it may not be amiss to take notice, that this was the first rise of addresses (152), which very clearly shews how great a politician Cromwell was, and how much better skilled in the art of giving a fair colour to all his proceedings than is generally imagined.

[C] *Though by his prudent management he left none the capacity of hurting him.* Immediately after his turning out the Long Parliament, when, as we before observed, all parties took the liberty of speaking, and some places that of addressing, which those who liked the contents called the sense of the people; some there were in the counties near London that talked of a King, and this hint some people had a mind to improve, for which purpose, on Tuesday the seventeenth of May in the forenoon (153), about 'Change time, a gentleman extremely well dressed came in a coach to the Royal Exchange, where, taking out of his coach the General's picture, he fixed it against one of the pillars, and after making two or three turns, took coach again and drove away. Over the head of the pourtrait stood these words, 'Tis I; and underneath were the following verses:

(152) Heath's Chronicle, p. 343.

(153) From Dr Nalson's MS. Collections, Vol. XVI. num. 174.

*Ascend*

(150) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 136. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 162.

(151) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 128.

affairs, both foreign and domestick; he concluded a peace with the the States of Holland, in which the point of the flag was carried pretty high, satisfaction was promised for the barbarous massacre at Amboyna, the restitution of Polleroon, and other things that were never complied with (c). In this treaty the King of Denmark got himself included; the Lord Commissioner Whitelocke made a firm peace with Sweden; the King of Portugal also, notwithstanding all that had passed between him and the Parliament, was obliged to accept of peace upon his terms; but matters were not so easily adjusted with France, though, from the very beginning, that crown paid the Protector great court, from an apprehension, it is said, that he meant to marry one of his daughters to the Prince of Conde, which would have engaged him on the side of the Spaniards (d); but for this, perhaps, there never was any great foundation; by degrees, however, he impressed such an opinion of the great importance of his friendship, both upon France and Spain, that the two crowns contended for it, with an earnestness that made them both ridiculous [DD]. In reference to affairs at home, he filled the courts in Westminster-Hall with very able Judges; and directed the Lawyers themselves to make such corrections in the practice of their profession, as might, in some measure, free them from publick odium; which had a good effect. The same moderation he practised in Church affairs, affecting to carry himself

(c) Heath's Chronicle, p. 357. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 487.

(d) Heath's Chronicle, p. 358, 359. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 5—12—31.

(\*) Alluding to the Protector's arms.

*Ascend three thrones, great Captain and Divine,  
By the will of God, (\*) O Lyon, for they're thine:  
Come Priest of God, bring oil, bring robes, bring gold,  
Bring crowns and sceptres; 'tis high time t' unfold  
Your cloister'd bags, ye State Cheats, lest the rod  
Of steel and iron, of this your King and God,  
Pay you in 's wrath with interest; kneel and pray,  
To Oliver, the Torch of Sion! the Star of day!  
Shout then ye Merchants, City and Gentry sing,  
And all bare-headed cry, God save the King!*

As soon as exchange time was over the Lord Mayor caused the picture to be taken down, and carried it directly to the Lord General at Whitehall. Some writers mention this as a libel upon Cromwell (154), but in those days, when the thing was most likely to be understood, it was believed that the fox was the finder, and that the Lord Mayor himself, not without the privity of the Lord General, set up this picture on the Royal Exchange by way of a political weather-cock, to see in what corner the popular wind sat (155). Indeed, why might not my Lord Mayor ask the citizens upon 'Change the same question that Cromwell did Whitlocke in St James's Park, *What if a man should take upon himself to be King?* When it was found this scheme could not be brought to bear, then the calling an assembly by way of Parliament was the next step, and for this the Lord General had three good reasons; the first was, that it might appear that he made a distinction between disliking the Rump, and discarding Parliaments: the next, that upon their sinking again into nothing, he might receive his power back from them, as it were by form of law; and, lastly, that by making the Fifth Monarchy men, who were predominant in this Parliament, both odious and ridiculous, he might have the less to fear from them, and withal the greater support from the Clergy and Lawyers, for that Parliament had fairly voted that tythes were a reliet of Judaism, that the Common-Law was a badge of slavery, and, on the other hand, that the Court of Chancery ought to be abolished; and thus, to all the thinking part of the world, it was made evident that the Saints, having no sense, were not fit to govern (156). The task he now undertook, of governing as a Monarch with a Council, was still harder than all the rest; and yet he seemed to manage it with the same ease, for he still continued to practise upon all parties by their hopes and fears. As to the Cavaliers, he intimated that he was not irreconcilable to those who should give proofs of their affection to his government; that he meant not to hurt or oppress those who were inclined to live quietly, but that if any attempted to assassinate him, he had those at his command who should immediately repay that by taking off whole families (157). He encouraged and protected the Presbyterians that submitted, and delivered up those who opposed him to be worried by the sectaries. He maintained his old language to the Fifth Monarchy men; he said things were not ripe for the Saints to take the rule of the earth, and that in the mean time he was so far from taking the sceptre, that he had only taken the Constable's staff, in order to keep the peace, and prevent

(154) Grey's Examination of Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 153.

(155) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 249.

(156) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 164, 165.

(157) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 257, 258.

the people from cutting one another's throats. As for the sensible Republicans he knew them to be irreconcilable, and therefore he signified to them, that if they would live quietly they might, but that if they disturbed his government he would make them feel the weight of his power, which he knew by experience was the only way to keep them in order (158).

[DD] *That made them both ridiculous.* In this note we shall give some account of the Protector's conduct with respect to foreign courts, at his first entering on that office. His peace with Holland has been very much magnified by some, whereas others affirm, that he was bribed by the Dutch to make it upon the terms he did (159). These facts are certain, that the Parliament stood upon higher terms, that the English fleet beat that of the States twice after the Parliament was turned out, and that the expulsion of King Charles and his followers, with the exclusion of the Prince of Orange, were points particularly insisted on by Cromwell (160). The Queen of Sweden paid great respect to the Rump, and as great to Oliver, who, to express his regard for her on the other side, hung her picture in his bed-chamber, which the laughers in those times said, made the Lady Elizabeth Cromwell; the Protector's consort, not a little jealous (161); and yet it was not long after; that one of his agents wrote the Protector a very serious account of Queen Christina's being inclined to marry Charles Stuart, but that was after her abdication, and no question one story was as true as the other (162). The Kings of Denmark and Portugal the Protector treated very haughtily, and obliged the Ambassador of the latter to come and sign the peace at Whitehall the very morning his brother was executed on Tower-hill. He refused the title of cousin from the French King, expecting that of brother; and so artfully played the Spaniard against him at a very critical conjuncture, when the French were laying the ground-work of that power which has been since so fatal to Europe, that both Ambassadors made such extraordinary advances, with so many singular acts of submission, that the Dutch struck a medal (163) with the bust of Cromwell and his titles on one side, with Britannia on the other, and Cromwell thrusting his head in her bosom, with his breeches down and his backside bare, the Spanish Ambassador stooping to kiss it, while the French Ambassador holds him by the arm with these words inscribed, *Retire toi l'honneur appartient au Roi mon maitre*, i. e. Come back, that honour belongs to the King my master. It is true this medal was not struck till two years afterwards, but as the structure of this work obliges us to place together things of a like nature, we chose to mention it here, the rather, because I find no mention of it in any of the Histories of Cromwell; but there is reason to suspect it might occasion that mistake, which appears in a private letter intercepted in those times, where it is said, that a print had been handed about beyond the sea, representing Cromwell sitting upon a close-stool, the King of France on the right-hand, and the King of Spain on the left, offering each a supply of paper for his present occasions (164). There have been many curious collections of prints made since, but I never heard of any such thing amongst them, whereas the medal is yet preserved in several Dutch cabinets.

(158) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 471—483.

(159) Echard's Hist. England, p. 709.

(160) Coke's Detection, B. iii. p. 44, 45, 46.

(161) As appears by an intercepted letter in Dr Nalson's Collection.

(162) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 468.

(163) Catalogue des Medailles qui se trouvent dans le Cabinet de Nicolas Chevalier, à Amsterdam, p. 7.

(164) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 658.

himself equally between the Presbyterians and Independants, but professing an unalterable resolution of maintaining liberty of conscience (e). He laboured by degrees to purge the Anabaptists out of the army, dismissing from their commands such officers as he could not confide in. He gave the command of all the forces in Scotland to General Monk, and sent his son Henry to govern Ireland (f). He by an ordinance, dated April 12th, 1654, united England and Scotland, fixing the number of representatives for the latter at thirty, and soon after he did the same by Ireland (g). He shewed great zeal for justice, in causing the brother of the Ambassador from Portugal to be executed for murder, occasioned by a quarrel that he had with one Colonel Gerrard. Upon pretence of a conspiracy against himself, he procured several persons to be convicted and condemned by a High Court of Justice, of which Major Lisle was president; and it is very remarkable, that the Portuguese Gentleman before-mentioned, who murdered another Gentleman by mistake, never saw his antagonist Colonel Gerrard again till they both came to lose their heads together on a scaffold at Tower-Hill, July the 10th, the former for that murder, the latter for this conspiracy, which he denied with his last breath; and shewed as much courage upon that melancholy occasion, as his fellow-sufferer did the want of it (h). The same day one Mr Vowell, a schoolmaster, was executed for the plot at Charing-Cross; which he likewise denied, dying with heroic constancy, and reproaching the guards for being instruments of tyranny and injustice, by assisting at his execution, which, he asserted, was against law, because without a crime (i). But, notwithstanding all these successes, and all the pains the Protector could take to conciliate the affections of the people, he found a great spirit stirring against him in all the three kingdoms, and his government so cramp't for want of money, that he was under an absolute necessity of calling a Parliament, according to the form which he had prescribed in the *Instrument of Government* (k); and which though it put much in his power, and left the decision of disputed elections to his council, yet, as it remained still some sort of representative of the nation, he was not without apprehensions of their not proving so tractable as he could wish; and the event proved, that his suspicions were not without grounds (l). He fixed upon the third of September for the day on which they were to assemble, esteeming it particularly fortunate to him; and to this he peremptorily adhered, though it happened to fall upon a Sunday. The Parliament was accordingly opened on that day, after hearing a sermon at Westminster-Abbey, to which the Protector went in very great state (m). He received this House of Commons in the Painted Chamber, where he made them a very long and a very sensible speech, in which he gave them a large account of the nature of that government which he had thought fit to establish, the ends he propos'd, and the means he had us'd to compass those ends; he took great pains to shew them the folly of extravagant notions about liberty, civil and religious; told them to what purpose he had called them together, and promis'd to allow them all imaginable freedom in their debates on publick affairs (n). When they came to their House, they elected Mr William Lenthall their Speaker, but did not present him; next they fell to debating, whether the supreme legislative power of the kingdom should be in a single person, or a Parliament? This alarmed the Protector, who found himself in danger of being deposed by a vote of this new Parliament; to prevent which, on the twelfth of the same month, he caus'd a guard to be set at the door, to prevent their going into the House of Commons, then sent for them into the Painted Chamber, where he gave them a very sharp reproof; nor were any permitted to go into the House afterwards, before they had taken an oath to be faithful to the Protector, and his government; and tho' this excluded a great number, yet the new courtiers were still a minority (o). While this Parliament was sitting, an odd accident happen'd to the Protector; he had received a set of Friezland horses from the Duke of Holstein as a present, and would needs drive his Secretary Thurloe in his coach, drawn by these horses, round Hyde-Park; but the horses proving as ungovernable as the Parliament, threw his Highness out of the box, and, in his fall, one of his pocket-pistols went off, notwithstanding which he escap'd without either wound or broken bones (p). By the *Instrument of Government* the Parliament was to sit five months, which the Protector took the liberty of computing by his soldiers almanack, in which months consist only of twenty-eight days; and, finding they were about to take away his power, and would give him no money, he, on the 22d of January, sent for them once more into the Painted Chamber, where, in a very long, ambiguous, and bitter speech, having told them his mind, he dissolved them (q). These were the principal events of the first year of his Protectorate, for of the principal events only we can, in this place, take notice [EE]. The opening of the year 1655 proved but

(e) Collet's Diction. P. II. p. 49. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 265.

(f) E. Hard's Hist. England, p. 724. Thurloe's State-Papers, Vol. II. p. 149.

(g) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 497. Heath's Chronicle, p. 338.

(h) E. Hard's Hist. England, 710. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. II. p. 179.

(i) Heath's Chronicle, p. 160. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 645.

(k) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. II. p. 186.

(l) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 375.

(m) Heath's Chronicle, p. 353.

(n) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. II. p. 186.

(o) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 500, 501. Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 647.

(p) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 212. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 508.

(q) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 648. Heath's Chronicle, p. 365.

[EE] We can in this place take notice.] It must appear very strange to the reader, that Cromwell and his Council having a power to levy money by virtue of their ordinances, he should, notwithstanding, be so much distressed for it, as to be under the necessity of calling a Parliament; still stranger, that with all the powers he had given himself in the instrument of government, he should not have it in his power to pack one for his purpose; and strangest of all, that he who formerly purged the Houses so effectually by his army, when it was chiefly for other men's service, should not

be able to do it as effectually for his own. We will endeavour to explain all these points. His ordinances had indeed the force of laws, and it was under colour of them that he rais'd those monthly assessments which enabled him to carry on his government; yet these were not sufficient for his expences, and almost all the casual revenue of the publick had been granted away by the Rump, or rather shared amongst themselves (165). He was unwilling to hazard raising new taxes without the consent of Parliament, because he had promis'd the contrary in his instrument of government, and he

(165) Hist. of Independency, the third and fourth parts throughout.

cloudy; the dissolution of the Parliament stirred all the ill blood in the kingdom, so that he found himself at once beset with conspiracies on all sides, and by all parties; but he had the good luck to discover them before those concerned were ready to put them in execution. His first step was to put the city in good humour, by restoring to them their militia, under the command of their old officer Major-General Skippon; then, February 13th, he went to Guild-hall, and declared the Republicans and Cavaliers had formed designs against his person (r). Of the former Major John Wildman, who had been an intimate friend of his, was seized, while penning a paper, intituled, *A Declaration of the People of England against the Tyrant Oliver Cromwell, Esq;* some other violent men of that party he imprisoned, but was afraid of doing more (s). As to the Royalists, he suffered them to go on a little; for by the help of one Manning (t), who was his spy in the court of King Charles II. he was so well acquainted with their projects, as to put themselves upon such measures as entirely defeated them; and this is a true account of that insurrection which broke out at Salisbury, where the King was proclaimed, and Cromwell's Judges seized; which act of open force left no doubt with the publick, that there were some designs against the Protector, which, otherwise, they were ready enough to disbelieve (u) [FF]. For this insurrection Colonel Penruddock, Mr Grove, and several other persons, suffered death; and from hence the Protector, who had hitherto shewn an inclination to have governed as a lawful Prince if he could, seemed to lay aside this disposition, and no longer to make any difficulty of supporting his authority in any manner, and by any means; so that from the time the first publick disturbance broke out into a civil war, the people of this kingdom in general never underwent so great oppression, either in their properties or persons; were deprived to such a degree of the benefit of the laws, or had so melancholy a prospect before them, of unrelenting and irresistible dominion, supported by an armed force (w) [GG]. In the spring of this year was carried into execution that famous expedition,

(r) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii p. 200. Flagellum, or life of Cromwell, p. 161, 162.

(s) Echar'd's Hist. England, p. 713.

(t) Heath's Chr. p. 368. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 18. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 668—671.

(u) Heath's Chronicle, p. 372, 373. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 163.

(w) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 676. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 519.

had equal reason to doubt whether the people would pay, or the army levy, such taxes; to avoid which he took very extraordinary ways of coming at money, such as seizing four hundred thousand pounds belonging to the King of Spain, though as yet there was no war declared; but the want of money was not the only reason which drove him upon this measure, he wanted to have his own power and the *Instrument of Government* confirmed by Parliament, and flattered himself with many good turns from them, which could not with any decency be done by his own power (166). In his endeavours to model the Parliament before they sat, he pushed every thing to the utmost; but an act of cunning that had been very serviceable to him before, rendered all his contrivances abortive now, for in the plan of Parliament settled by the instrument, the counties, instead of having two, had most of them five, and some more, representatives, a thing very right in itself, and therefore very wrong with respect to him, since he could introduce in that quality but very few of his creatures. Scotland and Ireland indeed, sent for the most part officers of the army, and therefore the Patriots in the Parliament treated it as a solecism, first to enslave countries, and then to enable them to send up their jailors and tyrants to sit amongst, and become a part of, the representatives of a free nation (167). What was worst of all, many of his own creatures fell off, for the free speakers in the House unmasked his policy so effectually, that they saw they were forging chains for themselves. His purges, however sharp, came a little too late, the body of this House of Commons being pretty well seasoned to them; so that many of them took the Engagement in order to get into the House, and explained it away as soon as they were got in. He was obliged to trust the management of the Parliament to Lambert, who desired to have the *Instrument of Government* confirmed, in hopes of becoming his successor; but the true secret of their hasty dissolution was, a design discovered to the Protector by Col. Pride, which many of the inferior officers of the army had formed, of seizing and delivering him prisoner to the Parliament (168). In the midst of these publick perplexities his domestick quiet was interrupted by the death of his mother, November 18, 1654, she lived with him at Whitehall, shared in the splendor of his Court, but enjoyed it not, for though she troubled him but little with her remonstrances, yet her fears were so strong, that she could not believe he was safe if she did not see him twice a day, and if by accident she heard a pistol at any time discharged, she could not help crying out, *My son is shot* (169)! The Protector, contrary to her desire, who foresaw they would never rest there in

(166) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 423. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 498.

(167) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 152, 153. See the Instrument of Government in Whitlocke and in Bates.

(168) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 500, 501—503.

(169) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

peace, caused her remains to be interred in King Henry VIIIth's chapel in Westminster abbey (170).

[FF] *They were ready enough to disbelieve.*] It is very certain that Mr Thurloe, who, from being Secretary to Oliver St John in his embassy to the States, was raised to be Secretary and Prime-Minister to Cromwell, had a great deal of the old Walsingham spirit, and knew how to manage a great number of busy intriguing spirits so dextrously, as by the help of sham plots of his own contriving, to find out and disappoint the true. Here we must observe the wise distinction made by Cromwell for the present, between the Republicans and the Royalists, who were equally enemies to the Protector, though he did not care to show himself equally an enemy to them; he contented himself therefore for the present, with displacing Major-General Harrison, Col. Rich, Col. Okey, &c. and with the seizing Major-Gen. Overton and some others, that expressed themselves in terms of dangerous resentment; nay, to such a degree was he master of his passions, though naturally no man was more passionate, that when Colonel, the same who was formerly Cornet Joyce, reproached him to his face with his services, he only bid him *Be gone* (171). But he did not think himself obliged to treat the Royalists so favourably, and therefore being quite master of their projects, he made, or rather his Secretary Thurloe made, some of his creatures give out false times for a general insurrection, by which the design was effectually defeated, and yet there were so many appeared in arms, as to shew that there really was such a design, and thereby afford a colour for putting such to death, as were unluckily involved in it; and they had the less reason to hope for mercy, since they pleaded in their own defence, that they could not be guilty of any treason, because those against whom they acted were not a legal government, and indeed the Chief Justice Rolle did not care to try them, and Mr Ludlow very frankly owns, that their defence was well founded (172).

[GG] *Supported by an armed force.*] To lay a foundation for all this violence, the Protector, with the advice of his Council, published an Ordinance, importing, that all who had borne arms for the King, or who at any time had declared themselves of his party, should be decimated, or pay a tenth part of the income of their estates for the expence of those extraordinary forces that they obliged his Highness to keep up. Commissioners were appointed in every county to receive the money arising from this new establishment, which brought in a prodigious sum of money, as the Commissioners had power to compound all demands for three years purchase (173). This ordinance

(170) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 488, 489.

(171) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 161.

(172) Heath's Chron. p. 367, 368. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 518, 519.

(173) Heath's Chron. p. 373.

expedition, by which the Protector hoped to make himself master of a great part of the Spanish West-Indies, having sent thither a powerful fleet, under the command of Admiral Penn, and the greatest body of land-forces that had been ever seen in America, commanded by General Venables; and though, in the main part of their design, these officers were utterly unsuccessful, yet they made themselves masters of the island of Jamaica, which has remained ever since part of the dominions of the British crown (x). We have different accounts of this great transaction in our general histories, and many circumstances there are which have not been hitherto fully explained [HH]. He was very desirous of bringing most of those projects to bear, that he knew had a tendency to please the people; and therefore thought he could not make a better use of his power, than to restrain some things that were thought exorbitant in the proceedings of the High Court of Chancery; upon which, however, Sir Thomas Widdrington, Mr Whitlocke, and Mr Lenthall, desired to resign their offices, who had kept them through such a variety of changes, and when most people thought the Constitution had received greater injuries than this (y). They were permitted to do this without any offence taken, as appears from the Protector's making the two former Commissioners of the Treasury, and the regard he shewed to Lenthall as long as he lived. As for the great seal, it went into such hands as had scarce been intrusted with it before, viz. Major Lisle and Colonel Fiennes (z). The new King of Sweden sent over an Ambassador, to compliment the Protector, who was most graciously received, and great pains were taken to make this instance of respect from a foreign court as publick as it was possible; but the visit that Queen Christina was inclined to have paid him he judged proper to avoid, which was certainly an argument of his great prudence (a). That alliance, which had been so long in treaty with the crown of France, was signed November 24th, 1655, and proclaimed the 28th of the same month; by which it was stipulated, that Cromwell should send over a body of English troops, to act in conjunction with the French against the Spaniards in the Low-Countries, and that, on the other hand, the French King should oblige the Royal Family to quit his dominions (b). This treaty has been much magnified by some, but certainly without any great cause, since it was entirely destructive of the balance of power, and became, in it's consequences, the real cause of most of those wars that have cost us so much blood and treasure [II]. The glorious successes of the great Admiral Blake in the

(x) Bate's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 206, 207, &c.  
Heath's Chronicle, p. 376.  
Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 306.

(y) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 321, 322.  
Echard's Hist. England, p. 716.

(z) See list of honors and offices conferred by O. Lord Protector.

(a) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 323.

(b) Bate's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 210.

Mediterranean,

dinance was so penned, that it took in all that should disturb his government, or rather be suspected of disturbing it, upon any principle whatever. At this time county troops were established, every private man having eight pounds a year given him, not for military service, but for informing; a Captain had a hundred pounds a year, and other officers in proportion. And finally to provide for all inconveniences, as well amongst the people as in the army, he divided England as it were into so many cantons, over each of which he placed one called by the name of Major-General, which Major-Generals were in the nature of Prefects, or Governors of provinces (174). These men were to have the inspection and government of the inferior Commissioners in every county, to commit to prison all such persons as they suspected, to levy all monies which were ordered by his Highness and his Council to be collected for the publick, to sequester all who did not pay their decimation, and to put in execution such farther directions as they should receive; and there was no appeal from any of their acts but to the Protector himself (175). For the management of the affairs relating to this commission they had an office at London, where recognizances were entered, and their proceedings filed, by which the Protector hoped to obtain a distinct account of the quality of every person in the Royal interest, and of the value of his estate, throughout the kingdom; for as to these Christian Bashaws, they were impowered by their commissions to take an account of all suspected persons of the King's party, and such as were actually so to receive security of them, in which they were to be bound to act nothing against the government, and to reveal all plots that should come to their knowledge; they were to suppress all horse-races, cock-matches, and other concourses of people; to secure the high-ways; to take Engagement from Cavaliers for their servants and children; and those that did not so, nor give security, to commit to prison, and to rate and receive the money arising from this decimation (176). These Major-Generals carried things with a very high hand, decimating whom they pleased, interrupting the proceedings at law upon petitions of those who thought themselves aggrieved, and threatening such as would not readily submit to their orders, with transportation to the West Indies.

[HH] Which have not been hitherto fully explained.]

It is not to be expected that in a short note, any competent account should be given of a very long expedition, the preparatives for and proceedings in which might well employ a small volume, without inserting any thing that could be esteemed tedious by the reader; all therefore that I propose, is, to offer a few hints of circumstances worthy of being thoroughly examined. The motives to this expedition were none of the most honourable, since they were plainly avarice and fear. The Protector had just tasted the Spanish treasures, and he had a mind to take a full meal; for whoever consults his instructions will find, that it was not the particular island of Hispaniola, but the Continent also that he had hopes of conquering, and yet the embarkation of the troops was from time to time deferred, so that the end of the expedition was no secret, even before the ships sailed from England (177). In the next place it was fear, for Venables, who commanded the land forces, had never been well affected to Cromwell, and before this time was reconciled to the King, of which it is not impossible the Protector might be informed; the troops too were composed of men discharged out of all the regiments in his service for disaffection, and if at last they had not been hurried on board at Portsmouth, when they least expected it, Venables had marched up to London, in order to try if it had not been possible to dethrone the Protector (178). There was a great deal of mismanagement on all sides in the setting out, a very high misunderstanding between the Commanders in Chief from the very beginning, the additional forces they took on board at Barbadoes were the most profligate and worthless people in the world; so that, upon the whole, it is much more wonderful that ever these people became masters of Jamaica, than that they were disappointed at Hispaniola, for which, however, Cromwell had no body to thank but himself; for there was such a narrowness and selfishness in his instructions as dispirited the soldiers, who found, that after all the hazards they had run, and dangers they had endured, they were to fight, not for themselves, but to fill the Protector's privy purse (179).

[II] That have cost us so much blood and treasure.] The conjuncture of those times, and the high struggle between the crowns of France and Spain, was very favourable for the Protector, who might, if he had pleased, have taken the ballance of power in Europe entirely

(177) Burchett's Naval History, p. 385—395.

(178) Life of Dr Barwick, p. 185, 186.

(179) Burchett's Naval History, p. 385.

(174) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 676.  
Heath's Chron. p. 378.

(175) Flagellum, or the Life of Cromwell, p. 164, 165.

(176) Coke's Decisions, B. iv. p. 59.

Mediterranean, and the great sums that he recovered from several powers, for depredations committed by their subjects on the English trade, did much honour to the Protector's government; and, to conclude the transactions of this year, it must be allowed, that, how much soever he might be disliked at home, his reputation, at this time, was very great abroad (c) [KK]. The loss he sustained in the discovery of Manning, whom King Charles caused to be shot for corresponding with Thurloe, was most effectually repaired by the assistance he received from a person of superior character, who was Chancellor Hyde's great correspondent, and supposed to be one of the most active and determined Royalists in England. The war with Spain, which had hitherto produced only vast expectations, began now to bear some fruit; for the gallant and fortunate Blake, falling in with the Plate Fleet, almost at the mouth of the harbour of Cadiz, attacked and destroyed it, to the irreparable damage of the Spaniards, and of the no small gain of the Protector, who received two millions in ready money out of the prizes that were taken (d). The Protector, in the midst of all that he possessed, still felt some wants, which he judged nothing could supply but a Parliament; and, having concerted more effectual methods, as he conceived, for bending them to his will, than had been practised before the last, he directed writs to issue for the meeting of that assembly September 17th, 1656, at which time they met accordingly, but with a guard posted at the door of the House, who suffered none to enter till they had swallowed the oaths that were ready prepared for them, by which about two hundred were excluded, who signed a protest against this proceeding, and against all that should be done by those who sat without them (e). The Parliament, however, chose Sir Thomas Widdrington their Speaker, passed an act for disannulling the King's title, another for the security of his Highness's person, and several money-bills; for all which the Protector gave them his most gracious thanks (f). It was apprehended, that some difference might have arisen upon a motion in the House, against the exorbitant power of the Majors-General; but, as they began to be formidable now to the Protector himself, they were fairly given up by Mr Claypole, who had married the Protector's daughter, in a speech, which set all things right again (g). About the close of the year a new plot was either discovered, or made, for which one Miles Sindercombe was condemned, and that by the ordinary forms of justice; but he disappointed the Protector, and was found dead on the morning intended for his execution, which gave birth to many conjectures (h) [LL]. However, a publick thanksgiving was appointed for the happy

(c) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 326.

(d) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 212. See the article of Blake in this Dictionary.

(e) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 651. Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 450. Heath's Chronicle, p. 382.

(f) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 653. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 213.

(g) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 338.

(h) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 654, 655. Heath's Chronicle, p. 385.

entirely into his own hands, and not only have held it during life, but have fixed it for the rest of that century at least. But after much deliberation he resolved, or rather his affairs compelled him, to break with Spain, in hopes of filling his Exchequer by that war, and this made him join with France, as well as for two other reasons; the first, that he might procure the Royal Family to be driven out of that country by treaty, as they had been before out of Holland; the second, that he might have a port upon that Continent the expediency of which was first suggested to him by the Spaniards, who, if he would have joined with them, promised to put him in possession of Calais (180). It is asserted by Dr Welwood, on the credit of Puffendorff, that in the negotiation of these treaties he carried himself very haughtily; that in the instrument he caused his own name to be put before the French King's; that he would not allow him to stile himself King of France, but of the French, though at the same time he stiled himself Protector of France as well as England. It would be very difficult to make any of these points good, for in Milton's Letters it will be found, that Cromwell, writing to Lewis XIV, gave him the title of King of France (181), not in the superscription only, but in the body of his letter; not does it any where appear that Cromwell ever took the title of Protector of France at all, but of the republick or commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and therefore this is as much to be relied on as another fact laid down as notoriously true, that Cromwell was born on the third of September, though it is notoriously otherwise (182).

(180) See Thurloe's account of the negotiations of Cromwell with France and Spain, delivered to the Earl of Clarendon, at the end of the first Vol. of his State Papers.

(181) Milton's Works, Vol. II. p. 455, 457, 469.

(182) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 113.

(183) From the MS. of the late Rev. Mr. Knight, Fellow of Christ-Church, Oxford.

[KK] Was very great abroad.] It would be a very easy thing to prove this, from what is said of him by a multitude of foreign authors, but it may be sufficient to observe, that at this time there was a print of the Protector on horseback publicly sold at Paris, with these Latin verses under it (183).

Cernimus hic omni caput admirabile mundo:  
Regibus hic frater; populis pater, hostis multum,  
Nullius ille timet quam summi numinis arma.  
Quis dubitat sacro hoc si pergat Flamine Victor,  
Quod Reges, Populi, Barbariesque stupent.

Barbariem, vera religione domat  
Non timet, at pacem cuilibet esse parat:  
Quin subita Meretrix de Babylone cadet.

Which have been rendered thus:

*We know that face, which all with wonder see,  
Brother to Kings, parent to nations, He  
Unmov'd all foes beholds; nor fears save one,  
The Lord of Hosts on his celestial throne.  
Who doubts, victorious, over all who rise,  
Where armies reach, or where his navy flies,  
Kings, States, nay barb'rous lands, shall own his sway,  
And, to his equal laws, obedience pay?  
By true religion led, he'll force his foes  
To fight for quiet, and beseech repose;  
Then, when this work by his great hand is done,  
Tremble thou scarlet Whore in Babylon.*

[LL] Which gave birth to many conjectures.] The case of this Miles Sindercombe was very extraordinary; he was drawn in to conspire against the Protector by Col. Edward Sexby, formerly a famous Adjutor, and one in great confidence with Cromwell, afterwards his most violent and bitter enemy; that Colonel again was an agent of the Spaniards, and so well supplied by them, that, as he confessed, he furnished Sindercombe at several times with five hundred pounds (184). But as in conspiracies of this sort a man cannot act without assistance, Sindercombe found out one Toope (185), who was of the Protector's guard, and withal one of Mr Thurloe's spies, to whom he communicated his design, and three different methods were contrived and attempted; one was, to shoot him in his passage through Hammersmith in his way to Hampton Court; another, to fire Whitehall; and a third, to shoot him as he was going to Westminster-abbey. These attempts having miscarried, he was seized, and brought to his trial in the Upper Bench, before the Lord Chief Justice Glynn, Feb. 19, 1656 (186): but where-as some writers say, that he was tried upon a law made by Cromwell's Parliament, that is a mistake, for he

(184) Thurloe's Letters, Vol. VI. p. 530, 553.

(185) A further narrative of the passages of these times in the Commonwealth of England, p. 210.

(186) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 372.

was

happy deliverance of his Highness's person, and the Speaker and Parliament were splendidly regaled at Whitehall (i). In the spring of the year 1657 it plainly appeared what the Protector drove at, by all the pains he had taken with his Parliament, in which a kind of legislative settlement of the government was brought upon the carpet, under the title of *The Humble Petition and Advice*, in which there was a blank for the supreme Governor's title, and a clause prepared to countenance the establishing something like Peers, under the name of the Other House (k). At length the whole came to light; for one Alderman Pack, a forward, time-serving, money-getting fellow, and deep in all the jobs of the government, moved, that the first blank might be filled up with the word King, which was violently opposed by the army members; but at length, after various debates, it was carried, as well as the clause empowering him to make something like Lords; and in this form the petition was presented to his Highness, who desired some time to consider before he gave his answer. The Parliament appointed a Committee, with their Speaker at the head of it, to confer with and satisfy the Protector; and, in this conference, they, with great learning and eloquence, proved, that, notwithstanding all the faults they had formerly found with the office of a King, yet, after all, they were now perfectly satisfied, the four letters, of which that word was composed, were as harmless and inoffensive as any in the whole alphabet (l). The Protector, who was not of a narrow way of thinking, but had as comprehensive sentiments as they upon this point, would have been content to have had the Kingship forced upon him, but that he found, that some of his best friends and nearest relations, such as his son-in-law Fleetwood, his brother-in-law Desborough, and many others, were utterly against it, and carried their opposition so far, as to promote a petition from the Army to the Parliament against this measure (m); which though, to countenance parliamentary authority, laid aside, yet chiefly determined Cromwell to refuse that honour which he had been so long seeking; and accordingly, May 8th, 1657, he told them, in the Banqueting-house, that he could not, with a good conscience, accept the government, under the title of King (n). The Parliament then thought proper to fill up the blank with his former title of Protector; and his Highness himself, that all the pains he had taken might not be absolutely thrown away, resolved upon a new inauguration; which was accordingly, with great solemnity, performed on the 26th of June, 1657, in Westminster-Hall, with all the pomp and splendor of a coronation (o). After this the House of Commons adjourned to the 20th of January following, in order to give the Protector time to regulate all things according to the new system; with a view to which he summoned his two sons, and many other persons, to take their seats in the other House (p). About this time it was, that Major-General Lambert lost his favour; which, however, does not seem to have been an act so much of the Protector's will, as a scheme of his own; for he utterly disliked the design that Oliver had formed of making himself King; and told him plainly, that, if he persisted in it, he could give him no assurance of the fidelity of the army. The necessary and immediate cause of his disgrace was, refusing to take the oath appointed by *The Humble Petition and Advice*; upon which the Protector removed him from all his commands, but, at the same time, granted him a pension of two thousand pounds a year, to keep him quiet (q). The sense of this, and some other untoward accidents, was, in some measure, qualified by the news of Admiral Blake's great successes at the Canaries, and in the Mediterranean, by which Spain felt very severely the weight of the English arms, the Protector's coffers drew considerable supplies, but the honour and interest of the nation suffered

(i) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 450.

(k) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 637.

(l) Heath's Chronicle, p. 386, 387. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 214, 215, 216.

(m) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. 11. p. 587. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 175, 176.

(n) Heath's Chronicle, p. 389. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 312.

(o) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 661, 662.

(p) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. 11. p. 594, 595, 596.

(q) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 185. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. 11. p. 593.

was tried upon the common statute of treason, the Chief Justice taking upon him to inform the jury, that by the word King the supreme magistrate was intended, whether he had that title or not (187). The jury, upon very full evidence, found him guilty; and Friday the fourteenth of the same month was appointed for his execution. He went to bed well, but when they came to call him up he was dead, and as appeared by a paper he left under his close-stool, he destroyed himself by poison (188). It was given out however at that time, and believed by many, that Cromwell caused him to be poisoned, being afraid of bringing him to a publick execution (189). The reader will understand this better from what the Noble Historian (190) says upon this subject: 'Sindercombe was a very stout man, and one who had been much in Cromwell's favour, and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected accidents, been disappointed in the minute he had made sure to kill him. And when Cromwell had caused him to be apprehended, his behaviour was so resolute in his examination and trial, as if he thought he should still be able to do it; and it was manifest that he had more associates who were undiscovered, and as resolute as himself; and though he had got him condemned to die, the fellow's carriage and words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid the judgment, which made Cromwell believe that a party in the army would attempt his re-

'cue. Whereupon he gave strict charge that he should be carefully looked to in the Tower, and three or four of the guard always with him day and night. At the day appointed for his execution, those troops Cromwell was most confident of were placed upon Tower-hill, where the gallows was erected. But when the guard called Sindercombe to rise in the morning, they found him dead in his bed, which gave trouble exceedingly to Cromwell, for besides that he hoped that at his death, to avoid the utmost rigour of it, he would have confessed many of his confederates; he now found himself under the reproach of having caused him to be poisoned, as not daring to bring him to publick justice, nor could he suppress that scandal. It appeared upon examination, that the night before, when he was going to bed, in the presence of his guard, his sister came to take her leave of him, and upon her going away he put off his cloaths, and leaped into his bed, and said, *This was the last bed he should ever go into*. His body was drawn by a horse to the gallows where he should have been hanged, and buried under it with a stake driven through him, as is usual in the case of self-murder. Yet this accident perplexed Cromwell very much, and though he was without the particular discovery he expected, he made a general discovery by it, that he himself was more odious in his army than he believed he had been.'

(187) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 654.

(188) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 375.

(189) Killing no Murder, p. 22.

(190) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 696.

(r) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 227, 228.

(s) Echar'd's Hist. England, p. 725.

(t) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 185.

(u) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 595—597.

suffered extremely (r) [MM]; that gallant seaman, no way answerable for the cause or conduct of that war, but justly famous for his generous courage, and constant zeal for his country's service, dying in his return home, within sight of his native shore, in the arms of victory; his corps, by the Protector's orders, was, with great solemnity, transported to Westminster-Abbey, and there interred with all the honours due to so great an officer, and to so good a man (s). The forces which had been sent over to Flanders, for the assistance of the French against the Spaniards, gained very great reputation, and made the French court more and more attentive to the preservation of Cromwell's friendship; but, at the same time, it induced his Catholick Majesty to afford some countenance and assistance to King Charles, then in the Low-Countries, and meditating an attempt upon England. To facilitate this great design, the Marquis of Ormond was sent over, and remained some time in London, where he very narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Protector, who received from his spies an exact information of all the measures taken by the Royalists, which, therefore, he easily disappointed. Only Captain Titus contrived to wound him deeply, not in his body indeed, but in his mind, by publishing a small treatise, under the name of William Allen, intituled; *Killing no Murder*; in which he argued so strongly, that one, who had violated all laws, could derive protection from no law, that Oliver thence forward believed himself in continual danger (t). In the beginning of the year 1658, he pleased himself with the hopes of being once at the head of an assembly, somewhat resembling the antient Parliaments of England; and accordingly, pursuant to their own adjournment, the Commons met on the 20th of January, as the other House also did, agreeable to the writs of summons issued by the Lord Protector. He sent for them by the Black Rod, and began his speech with the pompous words, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses of the House of Commons*; and, after he had done speaking, suffered them to retire to their respective Houses, where, to give the greater credit to his government, all shew of force or restraint was now withdrawn. This served only to discover, that therein lay his whole support, for the antient nobility would not resume their seats in such company as he had assigned them, several Members of the House of Commons chose to keep their writs requiring their attendance in the other House, and sit where they were; and not a few, who had been before excluded, took advantage of the doors being open, and boldly came to the House (u). In less than a fortnight the new system was in a fair way of being pulled to pieces, the House of Commons would have nothing to do with the new nobles in the other House; and they, on the other hand,

[M.M] *But the honour and interest of the nation suffered extremely.* We will take occasion in this note to set the business of the Spanish war in it's true light. The crown of Spain was very much distressed in almost every part of her dominions, and this induced her Monarch to be very ready in owning the Parliament, and very desirous, if it had been possible, to procure the good will of Cromwell, whom, as is before observed, he courted to a degree that was indecent and ridiculous (191). The true motive to this war, on the part of Cromwell, was necessity; he wanted money exceedingly, some of his troops and many of his officers he could not depend on, therefore a war was requisite, and that too such a war as he might get by (192). He endeavoured to colour this, by engaging the Merchants to complain against Spain, in which he was unsuccessful; for which he revenged himself, by suffering their effects to be seized in that kingdom (193). He next seized a large sum of money belonging to that crown, which they offered to lend him for a certain number of years without interest, and to have taken his word for the repayment; so desirous they were of maintaining peace if it were possible (194). His West India expedition was in itself a bad design, because no war declared, ill concerted, worse executed, and yet in some measure luckily concluded. Capt. Stayner's taking two galleons at Cadiz, with two millions of silver on board, and destroying twice as much more, was a dreadful blow to the Spaniards, and yet this loss was inconsiderable in respect to the burning the Plate Fleet at Santa Cruz, by which however Cromwell got nothing (195). When Capt. Richard Stayner came home with his prizes, all imaginable pains were taken to magnify the exploit in the eyes of the people; the money was carried with great parade through London, the Captain knighted and handsomely rewarded, there was a solemn thanksgiving also for this mighty success, which Mr Waller celebrated in a poem that will render it immortal, though the design with which it was written failed, for it plainly appears that the Poet meant to have recommended his hero to the regal dignity, as the only adequate return the nation could make for the benefit they had received (196). But in those times

men were more quick-sighted, and all this pomp and art could not hinder the expressions of high discontent, arising from the general knowledge that this affected triumph was a downright imposition, calculated to amuse and deceive the populace, without making the least impression upon men of sense and property. The Merchants exclaimed bitterly, and with very good reason, as fully appeared from a report made to Richard's Parliament, that fifteen hundred English ships were taken in the course of this war (197). Besides, this threw the Spanish trade first into the hands of the Dutch, to whom they were naturally averse, and could hardly have been reconciled any other way (198). We may add to this, the irreparable loss to all Europe of ten times as much silver as Cromwell gained, and of which this nation, in a fair course of trade, would have obtained much more than ever the war brought into the Protector's coffers (199). Yet must we not imagine that even he was at all the better for it upon a balance, on the contrary, the expence of the American expedition exceeded all that he acquired. This does not at all lessen the reputation of Blake and the rest of the Commanders, they obeyed orders, did what they took to be their duty, and carried the glory of the English Flag to an amazing height. Some have very improperly interested religion in this quarrel, and because Cromwell made war upon a Catholick power, and threatened the Pope with burning Civita Vecchia, which no doubt might have been easily done, would from thence magnify his zeal to the Protestant faith (200). At the bottom however this will be found but a very untoward complement to the Protestant cause, which most certainly never inclines those who espouse it to unjust proceedings, and to the avowed breach of the law of nature and nations; and therefore to wipe off this aspersions it was necessary to shew, that this war really took it's rise from Cromwell's mistaking his own interest, and preferring that mistaken interest to the welfare of the nation, which manifestly appeared, not only from his attacking the Spaniards without cause and without warning, but, that he might do this, barbarously sacrificing the British Merchants, whose effects were justly seized by way of reprisal for his injustice (201).

[NN] Con-

(191) See Mr Secretary Thurloe's account, published in the first Vol. of his State Papers.

(192) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 306.

(193) The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell.

(194) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 71. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. 111. p. 113. Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 51, 52, 53.

(195) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 323.

(196) Waller's Poems, p. 274. The proposition is contained in the four last lines,

(197) The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell, p. 16.

(198) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 51, 52, 53.

(199) Happy future State of England, p. 137.

(200) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, p. 80, 81.

(201) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 52. The World's Mistake in O. Cromwell, p. 13, 14, 15.

hand, were at a loss to know what to do by themselves; of all which the Protector being informed, he came on the 4th of February, and dissolved them with great bitterness of speech, and deep sorrow of heart; for now he saw plainly, that a regular establishment was a thing impracticable (w). Some farther designs were soon after discovered, not of the Cavaliers only, but of the Fifth Monarchy-men also; which discoveries were chiefly owing to the dexterity of Secretary Thurloe, whose implements, in the shape of Cavaliers and Fanatics, mixed in all companies, and thrust themselves into all secrets, that they might acquire a subsistence by betraying them (x). With the latter, the Protector was obliged to observe some measures, and, though he took care to secure himself, yet he durst not act with severity towards them; which, perhaps, heightened his resentment against the former, whom, contrary to Whitlocke's advice, he delivered over to a High Court of Justice (y). By the sentence of that court Dr Hewett, a Reverend Divine of the Church of England, who had married one of Cromwell's daughters to the Lord Fauconberg, suffered death for contumacy, having refused to plead, or to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, June 8th, 1658; as did also Sir Henry Slingsby by the like sentence. Several others were condemned by the ordinary forms of law, which, at length, the Protector was persuaded to use, which struck the nation with as much horror as fear (z). The gloominess of this scene was a little dispersed by the success of the English arms abroad, and the delivery of Dunkirk, taken chiefly by their valour, into the hands of Lockhart, his Ambassador; concerning which we have a very remarkable story, if it be well founded [NN]. The great satisfaction the Protector expressed at this, and at the

French

(w) Richard's Hist. England, p. 730. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 672.

(x) Flapellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 184, 185.

(y) Memoirs of the English Affairs, p. 673. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 604, 605.

(z) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 673. Ludlow's Loyal Sufferer, p. 553.

[NN] Concerning which we have a very remarkable story, if it be well founded.] This is to be met with in Welwood's Memoirs, and very well deserves the place it holds there, if it could be supported by any clear authority. His relation runs thus (202): 'There was an article in the treaty between France and the Protector, that if Dunkirk came to be taken, it should be immediately delivered up to the English, and his Ambassador Lockhart had orders to take possession of it accordingly. When the French army, being joined with the English auxiliaries, was in its march to invest the town, Cromwell sent one morning for the French Ambassador to Whitehall, and upbraided him publicly for his master's designed breach of promise, in giving secret orders to the French General to keep possession of Dunkirk in case it was taken, contrary to the treaty between them. The Ambassador protested he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begged leave to assure him there was no such thing thought of; upon which Cromwell, pulling a paper out of his pocket, *Here*, says he, *is the copy of the Cardinal's order; and I desire you to dispatch immediately an express, to let him know, that I am not to be imposed upon, and that, if he deliver not up the keys of Dunkirk to Lockhart within an hour after it shall be taken, tell him, I'll come in person, and demand them at the gates of Paris.* There were but four persons said to be privy to this order, the Queen-mother, the Cardinal, the Marshal de Turenne, and a Secretary, whose name it is not fit at this time to mention. The Cardinal for a long time blamed the Queen, as if she might possibly have blabbed it out to some of her women; whereas it was found, after the Secretary's death, that he had kept a secret correspondence with Cromwell for several years, and therefore it was not doubted but he had sent him the copy of the order beforementioned. The message had its effect, for Dunkirk was put into the possession of the English. And to palliate the matter, the Duke and Marshal Crequi was dispatched into England Ambassador Extraordinary to compliment Cromwell, attended by a numerous and splendid train of persons of quality, among whom was a Prince of the blood, and Mancini, Mazarine's nephew, who brought a letter from his uncle to the Protector, full of the highest expressions of respect, and assuring his Highness, that being within view of the English shore, nothing but the King's indisposition, (who lay then ill of the small-pox at Calais) could have hindered him to come over to England, that he might enjoy the honour of waiting upon one of the greatest men that ever was, and whom, next to his master, his greatest ambition was to serve. But being deprived of so great a happiness, he had sent the person that was nearest to him in blood, to assure him of the profound veneration he had for his person, and how much he was resolved, to the utmost of his power, to cultivate a particular amity and friendship

'betwixt his master and him.' This narrative has a very fair appearance, and has so long passed for an indisputable truth that I should not easily have inclined to question it; but thus much is certain, that, if there be any truth in it, it would be a very difficult matter to find it out, because almost every circumstance of it may be shewn to be false. It appears from Lockhart's letters, who was not only the Protector's Ambassador in France, but also Commander in Chief of his forces, that the difficulty at the opening the campaign lay in bringing the Cardinal to resolve upon besieging Dunkirk early, because the Spaniards were possessed of Hesdin, and were thereby in a condition to have made a diversion by an excursion into France, and the people clamoured that the Cardinal was leaving them at the mercy of the Spaniards, while the army of France was to be employed in taking of towns, which were to be given up to the English, their ancient and inveterate enemy (203). It appears farther, that it was impossible for the French to have broke their treaty with Cromwell in this respect, for three reasons; the first, because without the assistance of an additional assistance from him, they were not able to invest the place; secondly, because he had a pawn in his hand, which was Mardyke, and which was to be given up to France, upon putting Dunkirk into his hands; thirdly, because after taking the place, the preservation of their own conquests, and even of their army, depended absolutely upon the continuance of his friendship; so that if they had deceived him, not only the forces of France, and the fortune of the war would have been in the utmost danger, but the persons also of the King and Cardinal, who were at that time in the army (204). We may add to all this, that there is not the least notice of such a transaction in Whitlocke, or in any of the Historians of those times, and, which is the more remarkable, Whitlocke informs us, that Cromwell might have had the place betrayed to him by the Spanish Governor, which he refused (205) as less honourable than receiving it from France, a thing altogether incredible if he had entertained the least suspicion of their sincerity. Add to all this, that from several of Lockhart's letters it appears, he never had the least jealousy of the Cardinal in that point (206), and that if there had been any such transaction as this between the Protector and the French Ambassador, it could not have escaped the Minister's notice. In reference to Marshal Crequi and Mr Mancini, they came over in consequence of Cromwell's sending his son-in-law Falconbridge to compliment the King and Cardinal, who carried letters from the Protector to both, and was received with unprecedented marks of respect. Besides, the French Marshal and the Cardinal's nephew had their audience of Cromwell before Dunkirk was taken, which within one hour after it's being taken was put into the English hands. The truth of the matter was, what does infinitely more honour to Cromwell than this story, that the French durst not deceive him, nay, durst not take any step that

(202) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 107, 108, 109.

(203) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 60, 160, 169, 173.

(204) Quincy, Tom. I. p. 238. Rincourt, Tom. II. p. 119. Bussy, Tom. II. p. 129.

(205) Memorials of the English Affairs, p. 674.

(206) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 174.

French King's sending over the Duke de Crequi to compliment him upon the occasion, in return to a civility of the same kind paid by the Protector, in sending over his son-in-law Lord Fauconberg (a), lasted not long; for his favourite daughter, Mrs Cleypole, falling sick of a distemper, which, by the excruciating pains it brought upon her body, not a little distempered her mind, so wounded him by her vehement exclamations against his cruelties, and more especially for the death of Dr Hewett, on whose behalf she had made the most importunate intercessions, that he was no less affected thereby than from her death, which happened on the 6th of August following (b). He was, from that time, wholly altered, grew daily more reserved and suspicious, not indeed without great reason; for he found a general discontent prevailed through the nation, a signal disaffection in the Army, and a great increase of the influence of the Republicans, to whom his son-in-law Fleetwood, and even his wife, were very much inclined; and besides them, his Privy-Counsellors Pickering and Sydenham, upon whom he had principally depended, and even Desborough, his near relation and great confidant, caballed with Lambert, so that he knew not which way to turn, or what to expect (c). These cares having long tormented his thoughts, at last affected his body, so that, while at Hampton-Court, he fell into a kind of slow fever, which soon degenerated into a tertian ague. For about a week his disease continued without any dangerous symptoms, insomuch that every other day he walked abroad; but one day, after dinner, his five Physicians coming to wait upon him, one of them having felt his pulse, said, that it intermitted, at which, being somewhat surprized, he turned pale, fell into a cold sweat, and, when he was almost fainting, ordered himself to be carried to bed, where, by the assistance of cordials, being brought a little to himself, he made his will with respect to his private affairs (d). As to the remaining part of the history of his distemper, which, on many accounts, is very remarkable, the reader will find it in the notes [OO]. Being removed to London he became much worse, grew first lethargick,

that could give him the least jealousy or suspicion; for it was his fleet and army that enabled them to do all they did, and there is nothing more certain, than that he was the true author of all their future greatness, as well as of that lamentable depression of the Spanish monarchy, which it could never recover, and which has been so fatal to the ballance of power in Europe.

[OO] *The reader will find it in the notes.* It is impossible to have a better account of his last sickness, than that given by Dr Bates, who was his Physician. After mentioning the circumstance of making his private Will, as related in the text, he proceeds thus: 'Next morning early, when one of his Physicians came to visit him, he asked him (207), 'Why he looked so sad?' and when he made answer, 'That so it became any one, who had the weighty care of his life and health upon him;' 'Ye Physicians, said he, think I shall die.' Then the company being removed, holding his wife by the hand, he spoke to him to this purpose: 'I tell you I shall not die this bout, I am sure on't.' And because he observed him to look more attentively upon him at these words, 'Don't think, said he, that I am mad; I speak the words of truth, upon surer grounds than Galen or your Hippocrates furnish you with.' 'God almighty himself hath given that answer, not to my prayers alone, but also to the prayers of those who entertain a stricter commerce and greater interest with him. Go on cheerfully, banishing all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would do with a serving-man. Ye may have a skill in the nature of things, yet nature can do more than all Physicians put together, and God is far more above nature.' But being ordered to take his rest, because he had not slept the greatest part of the night; as the Physician was coming out of the chamber, he accidentally met another, who had been a long time very familiar with him, to whom 'I am afraid, says he, our Patient will be light-headed.' 'Then, said he, you are certainly a stranger in this house. Don't you know what was done last night; the Chaplains, and all who are dear to God, being dispersed into several parts of the palace, have prayed to God for his health, and all have brought this answer, *He shall recover.*' Nay, to this degree of madness they came, that a publick fast being for his sake kept at Hampton-Court, they did not so much pray to God for his health, as thank him for the undoubted pledges of his recovery, and repeated the same at Whitehall. These oracles of the saints were the cause that the Physicians spake not a word of his danger. In the mean time Cromwell leaving Hampton-Court, where hitherto he had lain sick, is brought to London, and the Physicians meet at a consultation in the chamber of the

forementioned Doctor, who at that time was troubled with a grievous head-ach, and an imposthume in his ear. But next morning early, another Physician coming, who had watched all night with the patient, and telling the rest how ill he had been in the last fit, they all concluded that he could hardly out-live another. This sentence of the Physicians awaking the Privy-Council; at an appointed time, they come to advise him that he would name his successor. But when in a drowsy fit he answered out of purpose, they again asked him if he did not name Richard his eldest son for his successor, to which he answered, Yes. Then being asked where his Will was which heretofore he had made concerning the heirs of the kingdom, he sent to look for it in his closet and other places, but in vain, for he had either burnt it himself, or somebody else had stole it.' All this agrees very well with those authentick accounts written by Lord Falconberg and Secretary Thurloe to Henry Cromwell in Ireland. In the letters of the last it is said, that the Protector named his successor in writing during the sitting of the last Parliament; that he folded up the paper containing this nomination in the form of a letter directed to Thurloe; that when he was so ill at Hampton-Court he said this letter lay upon the table in his study, and directed it should be brought, but search being made for it no such paper could be found (208). It is farther said, that he declared his son Richard his successor, in the presence of several of his Council, but this was generally doubted at the time, and is not affirmed in the Proclamation upon Richard's assuming the title of Protector (209). Before I close this note it may not be amiss to discuss two points, that seem to have been but indifferently treated; the first is with respect to his pretending to have received a revelation that he should not die at that time, not only at the beginning of his sickness, but after he was brought to London, and given over by those of the Faculty that were about him. The fact itself is very certain; General Fleetwood mentions it in a letter to Henry Cromwell, but recommends secrecy to him till the event should direct him whether to bury it in silence or proclaim it to the world (210). One would think it hardly possible to assign a reason for this, excluding fanaticism or enthusiasm; and yet a foreign writer pretends to relate, upon good authority, somewhat on this head that deserves notice. He observes, that the Physician who attended the Protector could not help expressing great astonishment at his boldness in this respect, to whom Cromwell, when they were alone, expressed himself to this effect: 'You are an honest man, Doctor, and have good sense, I wonder that you don't see that I hazard nothing by my prediction; for if, as you say, I should not survive twenty-four hours,

(a) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 674.

(b) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 696. Echard's Hist. England, p. 734. Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 607.

(c) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 233, 234.

(d) Echard's Hist. England, p. 734.

(207) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, P. ii. p. 234, 235, 236.

(208) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 364.

(209) See that proclamation in Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 674.

(210) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 355.

gick, then delirious; from whence recovering a little, but not enough to give any distinct directions as to the management of publick affairs; he died on Friday, September the 3d, 1658, aged somewhat more than fifty-nine years and four months. Some have intimated a suspicion, that he died of poison (e); but the nature and length of his disease, together with his body's being publickly opened, seems to destroy all probability in such a supposition. It appears to be more generally agreed, that there was something very mysterious in the manner of disposing of his body, which several authors, and those too of opposite principles, very positively assert, was never carried to Westminster-Abbey; it would undoubtedly be a very difficult thing to affirm which of the stories that are told about it is most probable; tho' there can be nothing clearer, than that none of them ought to be accounted certain (f) [P]. A very pompous funeral was ordered at the publick expence, and performed from Somerset-House, with a splendor not only equal but superior to any that has been bestowed upon crowned heads; though it is said, that expence fell heavy upon his family, and upon some of the tradesmen who furnished the ornaments of that solemnity, of which as there are many particular accounts common to be met with, there is no need

(e) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 674. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 424. Echard's Hist. Engl. p. 734.

(f) See that point explained at large in the notes.

' hours, this rumour of my recovery which will be diffused through the whole nation, will keep the minds of men in suspense, and prevent my enemies from coming to any certain resolutions: on the other hand, if I should recover, as you Physicians are not infallible, it will add new credit to my government, and the bulk of this people will believe me a man sent from God (211).' It may be objected, that it is very improbable Cromwell should deal so very freely with any man, and indeed I lay no great stress upon this story, but this may be observed by the way, that the only vanity he had was boasting of his power to overreach, of which there is a remarkable instance in what he said to Mr Waller (212), and still a stronger instance in a matter of greater notoriety, for to his first Parliament he magnified the *Instrument of Government* as the most compleat thing that could be, whereas, in his speech to his last Parliament, he ran it down as a weak and inconsistent project, which he compared to a rotten plank (213). Besides, had he lived, the Doctor durst not have disclosed it in prejudice to his scheme of passing for a Prophet, and his divulging it after his death served only to shew, that the Protector was in reality a consummate Politician to the very last. The second point to be explained is as to his being poisoned, of which Mr Wood tells us (214) there was a report that it was done by Dr Bates, but he insinuates that this was invented by the Doctor's friends, to apologize for his conduct in those times, and that it might be no bar to his preferment; for he was Physician to King Charles I, to the Protector Oliver, and to King Charles II. Archdeacon Echard (215) sets it down as a fact *that he gave Cromwell a sure dose*, but, in this respect, neither of these writers deserve much credit, since it appears from Whitdoeke (216), that there was a rumour of his being poisoned at the very time of his death, consequently it was not a tale invented after the Restoration; and that it was not a fact, appears from the sense his family had of it, visible in the Letters of Fleetwood, Falconberg, and Thurloe, and from the history of his distemper in those letters, which appears to have been at first a slow fever, then a tertian, and at last a double tertian, which might well carry off a person of his years, without the assistance of a sure dose, and indeed in spite of the assistance of the Faculty; neither can it be believed, that such a thing was practised upon such a person by one, when, at the same time, he was attended by four other Physicians.

[PP] *That none of them ought to be accounted certain.*] In the first place it is proper to produce an authentick proof of the only fact that is asserted in the text, that his body was really buried before his pompous funeral. Dr Bates gives us this account in the following words (217): 'His body being opened; in the animal parts, the vessels of the brain seemed to be over-charged; in the vitals, the lungs a little inflamed; but, in the natural, the source of the distemper appeared, the spleen, though found to the eye, being within filled with matter like to the lees of oil. Nor was that incongruous to the disease that for a long time he had been subject unto, since, for at least thirty years, he had at times heavily complained of hypochondriacal indispositions. Though his bowels were taken out, and his body filled with spices, wrapped in a fourfold fear-cloth, but put first into a coffin of lead and then into a wooden one, yet

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' it purged and wrought through all, so that there was a necessity of interring it before the solemnity of his funeral.' Echard asserts precisely the same thing, and, in all probability, from the same authority. We have another story, said to be founded on the testimony of Mr Barkstead, son to the famous Barkstead, who was Lieutenant of the Tower in Cromwell's life-time, to this effect (218): 'That Barkstead, the father, among other confidants of Cromwell's, desiring in his illness to know where he would be buried, the Protector answered, where he had obtained the greatest victory and glory, and as nigh the spot as could be guessed where the heat of the action was, viz. in the field at Naseby in Northamptonshire: which accordingly was thus performed; at midnight, soon after his death, the body, being first embalmed and wrapped in a leaden coffin, was in a hearse conveyed to the said field, Mr Barkstead himself attending, by order of his father, close to the hearse. Being come to the field, they found about the midst of it a grave dug about nine foot deep, with the green sod carefully laid on one side, and the mould on the other, in which the coffin being put, the grave was instantly filled up, and the green sod laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken that the surplus should be clear removed. Soon after, the like care was taken that the field should be entirely ploughed up, and it was sown three or four years successively with corn.' We have a very different account from Mr Oldmixon, who assures us that he had it from a gentlewoman who attended the Protector in his last sickness (219): 'She told me, says he, that the day after Cromwell's death, it was consulted how to dispose of his corpse, they could not pretend to keep it for the pomp of a publick burial. Amongst other proposals this was one, that, considering the malice, rage, and cruelty of the Cavaliers, it was most certain, they, who never spared either living or dead, in the lust of their revenge, would insult the body of this their most dreadful enemy, if ever it was in their power; and, to prevent it's falling into such barbarous hands, it was resolved to wrap it up in lead, to put it aboard a barge, and to sink it in the deepest part of the Thames, which was done the night following, two of his near relations, with some trusty soldiers, undertaking to do it.' That the Protector's body was buried before the publick and pompous ceremony of the funeral seems to be out of all doubt, but that there was a body interred at Westminster, and that this body was really the Protector's body, seems to be very clear, from the following account of what passed upon the order to dis-inter him after the Restoration (220): 'In the middle isle of Henry VIIth's chapel, says my authority, at the east end, in a vault, was found his corps. In the inside of whose coffin, and upon the breast of the corps, was laid a copper-plate finely gilt, inclosed in a thin case of lead; on the one side whereof were engraved the arms of England, impaled with the arms of Oliver; and, on the reverse, this following legenda: *Oliverius Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ, natus 25 April. 1599, inauguratus 16 Decembris 1553, Mortuus 3 Septembris ann. 1658. Hic situs est.* Mr Gifford of Colchester, who married the Serjeant's daughter (who by order of the House took up the body) had, in 1719. the plate.'

(218) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 228; in the notes.

(219) Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 426.

(220) Compleat Hist. Vol. III. p. 229.

(211) Vie de Cromwell, par Raguenet, p. 395.

(212) See the life of Waller, prefixed to his poems.

(213) See that see. in Whitlocke's Memorials.

(214) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 424.

(215) Hist. of England, p. 862.

(216) Memorials of English affairs, p. 674.

(217) Bates's Elenchus Mortuum. P. II. p. 256.

(g) Echard's Hist. Engl. p. 737.  
Heath's Chronicle, p. 410, 411.  
Perfect Politician, p. 266, 267.

(b) See these and others all collected in the 3d Vol. of State-poems.

(i) Gray's Examinations of Neal's Hist. Vol. IV. p. 226, 227.

(k) See all these panegyrics collected and translated by the Rev. Mr Francis Peck, in his Memoirs of the life and actions of O. Cromwell, Lond. 1740. 4to.

(l) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 485.

(m) See the instances already given from Hollis's Mémoires.

(n) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 480.

(o) Modest Vindication of O. Cromwell.

(p) The World's Mistake in O. Cromwell.

(q) Cowley's Works, Vol. II. p. 631, &c.

(r) Father Orleans's Revolutions of England, p. 185.

(s) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 697.

(t) Vie de Cromwell, par Gregorie Leti, Vol. II. p. 452, 453.

(u) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 70.

need that we should insist longer upon it here (g). There were other, and those still more extraordinary, marks of publick approbation bestowed upon his memory, such as the celebrated poems of Waller, Sprat, and Dryden, which are like to last as long as our language (b); and which, though the authors lived all of them to change their sentiments, will not fail of giving posterity a very high idea of those great actions, which were capable of exciting such elevated descriptions by those who were eye-witnesses of them. Besides these, there are multitudes of Latin verses, some of them very fine, which speak the same language with the same warmth (i). In his life-time his actions had been celebrated by two very learned foreigners, as well as by his own Secretary Milton (k), with which, very probably, he was not displeas'd. Yet, after all, Poets are not the most credible witnesses, and we are, for very good reasons, apt to suspect whether truth be the ground-work of panegyrics. It was for this reason that Cromwell was mighty desirous of engaging a very learned man to write his history, in which nevertheless he failed; for though considerable rewards were offer'd, that very able person declined the task (l). We have indeed various characters from various persons, and those too of various sentiments; yet in most of these there seems to be a mixture either of flattery or of prejudice. Such as approved his actions, knew not where to stop their praises; and such as detested his proceedings, gave a loose to their resentments, that, in some respects perhaps, carried them beyond the bounds of truth. Those who hated his person went farther still; Lord Hollis will hardly allow him either great or good qualities (m); and as for Lieutenant-General Ludlow (n), one principal design of his book is to represent Cromwell as the vilest and wickedest of men. Against this last writer he has been very well defended by one, who, with great force of argument, and in very elegant language, has shewn, that Cromwell had just as much right to erect a new Monarchy, as the long Parliament had to establish a new Commonwealth upon the ruins of our old Constitution (o). Another writer has laboured to vindicate the long Parliament, by shewing that they had the welfare and reputation of their country more at heart than Cromwell (p). The learned and ingenious Abraham Cowley has excelled all others, as well in respect to the matter as the manner of representing his actions and administration in the different lights of praise and censure, so that his performance may be justly esteem'd the most perfect of any, as it is indeed, beyond comparison, the most beautiful of all that have been written upon this subject (q). It is said, that Cardinal Mazarine stiled him a fortunate madman (r). Father Orleans dislikes that character, and would substitute in it's stead that of a judicious villain. The Noble Historian, with better sense and better language, stiles him, a brave wicked man (s). A certain writer, very conversant in the history of those times, would persuade us, that a foreign author has given us the justest idea of Cromwell in these few words: He was a Tyrant without vices, and a Prince without virtues (t). This, perhaps, is a character not easy to be understood. A certain Prelate of our own nation, has a very judicious reflection upon his death: he says, His life and his arts were exhausted together, and that, if he had survived longer, he would have scarce been able to preserve his power (u). But it is not in general characters, or from the many lives that have been written of Oliver Cromwell, that we may hope to find what it imports us most to know, with respect either to his publick or to his private character; and there is still wanting, though there seems to be now sufficient materials, a candid, circumstantial, and sensible account of both. As to the first, the world may justly expect to be satisfied how his domestick administration was conducted, what measures he pursued for the general benefit and advantage of the people, what superior and extraordinary blessings he procur'd, what oppressions he removed, what grievances he detected and took away, what respect he paid to the laws, and with what revenue he was pleas'd to be contented. These are things that would give us a true and rational notion of his title to fame, considered as the possessor of supreme power, by what means soever attained, or held by whatever title [22]. As to

[22] Or held by whatever title.] It has been said, by such as were desirous of raising the character of Cromwell, that the nation was much benefited by his government, that there was nothing of pomp or needless magnificence in his dress, his equipage, his household, or in his way of living (221); that his ears were open to complaints and to informations of every kind; that he was familiar with his old friends, and with the officers and soldiers of the army, after his advancement to the supreme power, which shewed that he had not either pride or vanity (222); that he shewed much justice in all private affairs, administered those of the publick with frugality, and paid both his civil and military officers punctually (223); that he kept up a great face of religion in his own Court, and through the nation; that he always profess'd himself for liberty of conscience, and shewed a very high zeal for the Protestant religion (224); that Westminster-hall was never filled with Judges of greater learning and worth, than in his time (225); that his army observed the strictest discipline, and were not troublesome in

their quarters (226); that he was beneficent to learned men; that trade flourish'd in his time (227); and that in spite of the badness of his title to, and the means by which he acquired power, he was universally respected at home and abroad (228). Now there are also some few particulars that deserve notice on the other side. It is observ'd that Cromwell's motion to the supreme power was progressive, and that his state augmented as it went; he took possession of the King's lodgings at Whitehall, when he was only General; he prevented several palaces from being sold while a private man, that he might possess them in a princely character (229); he gradually increased his great officers, to the very end of his life; and, by a stroke of prerogative for which none of our Kings set him a precedent, would have made a house full of new Peers at once (230). Our former Kings swore to maintain the laws and liberties of their people, the meaning of which was very well known and ascertained; but Cromwell's *Instrument of Government* was of his own making, so that his oath to maintain it was only swearing he would govern by his own will (231). Yet this was not kept, for

(226) Winstanley's true Character of Cromwell, p. 2.

(227) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 410.

(228) Unparalleled Monarch, p. 19.

(229) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 479.

(230) See the fourth part of the Hist. of Independency, p. 95.

(231) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. the p. 65.

(221) History and Policy reviewed, p. 112, 113.

(222) See Whitlocke, Coke, and Heath in his Flagellum.

(223) Unparalleled Monarch, p. 111.

(224) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 77.

(225) Unparalleled Monarch, p. 95.

to foreign affairs likewise, though very much has been said about them, we are nevertheless greatly in the dark. It is to be examined, not only whether the British nation was respected and revered by her neighbours, but whether her interests were thoroughly understood, and steadily prosecuted. We ought to know what measures were taken to protect, to improve, and to extend our commerce. We ought to be satisfied whether she retained that weight, as well as that rank, which she held before amongst the powers of Europe, and whether more respect was not had to the deference paid to the government, than to the advantages yielded to the nation. We should be particularly careful to learn whether a due attention was preserved to the balance of power, and whether the unquestionable rights of the English flag were maintained in as high and ample a manner as they might have been; and, in short, whether, without the bounds of our own dominions, the nation was the better or the worse for his directing her affairs [RR]. Lastly, as to his

*the humble Petition and Advice* was a new model of government, which, as perfect as it was, needed a Supplement, and had it; so that a government frequently changed, and changed by the will of him who administered it, was most certainly an arbitrary government, if there ever was one in the world (232). He might be familiar with his creatures, and it was necessary he should be so with his officers; yet not only Hollis and Ludlow, but even Whitlocke (233) says, he took upon him great state; and Sir Philip Warwick (234), without intending him any hurt, confirms the same thing. There was a strange kind of splendor in his time at Whitehall, for sometimes his Court wore an air of stately severity, at other times he would unbend himself and drink freely, though not to excess, that he might have an opportunity of founding then mens thoughts, in their unguarded moments, of fishing for secrets in a free conversation, and of ravishing opinions by unexpected questions, for all which he was admirably qualified by nature, having two qualities that seldom meet in the same person, a memory retentive as marble, and a judgment that pierced like lightning (235). Sometimes, even in the midst of serious consultations, he started into buffoonry; sometimes, the feasts that were prepared for persons of the first distinction, were, by a signal of drums and trumpets, made the prey of his guards (236); there was a kind of madness in his mirth, as well as of humour in his gravity, and much of design in all. His justice, when not at his own expence, was his interest; but the cases of Lilburn, Coney, and Sir Henry Vane, afford no great proofs of his sacrificing interest to justice when he could not comply with both (237). As to frugality, there are some facts that will not allow us to believe their assertions. When he turned out the Long Parliament there were five hundred thousand pounds in their coffers, the value of seven hundred thousand pounds in their magazines, the army three or four months pay in advance, the fleet in an excellent condition, and nine hundred thousand pounds *per annum* had been refused for the customs and excise: when he died, the state was much in debt; while he lived, it was always embarrassed; his army was often in arrear, and the fleet in great decay (238). When he first seized the government he levied money by his own authority, afterwards very large sums were given by assemblies that had no title to be called Parliaments; yet all could not suffice, even the addition of the vast sums raised by decimating the Cavaliers, which was a direct breach of the publick faith, so much the more gross, as he valued himself upon obliging the Parliament to pass the Ordinance of Oblivion, and when they came into power again, the Long Parliament declared their abhorrence of it (239). It is not easy to know what is meant by the face of religion, but this is certain, that religion never wore so many faces as in his time, nor was he pleased to discover which face he liked best; the Presbyterians he hated, the Church of England he persecuted, against the Papists he made laws, but the sectaries he indulged; yet some of the Presbyterian Divines he courted, affected kindness to a few of the Ministers of the Church of England (240), and entered into some very deep intrigues with the Papists; which made Sir Kenelm Digby his favourite, Father White write in defence of his government, and which was more, of his conduct; and the Popish Primate of Ireland, Reily, who boasted that he hated King Charles II, the two Dukes his brothers, and the Duke of Ormond, sent precepts through all his province, under his seal, to pray for the health, establish-

ment, and prosperity, of the Protector Cromwell and his government (241). He is charged with exciting a great charitable collection for the distressed Protestants abroad, sending them a part, and making free with the rest (242). As for the Judges in Westminster-hall, he differed with St John, he was sometimes out of humour with Hale; he set up High Courts of Justice, unknown to the law, and put Dr Hewett to death for not pleading before one of them, though he offered to plead, if any one that sat there and was a Lawyer, would give it under his hand, that it was a legal jurisdiction (243); and Whitlocke himself owns, that tho' he was named in the commission he would never sit, because he knew it was not (244). His Majors-General, while they acted, superseded all law; and the Protector himself derided *Magna Charta*, so much respected by our Kings (245). The discipline of his army was necessary to his own security, and he taxed this nation to maintain twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, whereas the King that he brought to the block had not a troop of guards (246). Yet, after all, he had not much to boast in this respect, if we may credit Mr Coke (247), whose words are these: 'he had nothing to trust to but a mercenary army, which he could not pay, and above half of those would have been content to have cut his throat.' He was kind to some learned men indeed, Milton and Marvell were his Secretaries, and though he banished Biddle the Socinian, he allowed him a pension (248); would have hired Meric Casaubon to have wrote his History (249); and would have entertained Thomas Hobbes in his service for writing the *Leviathan*, in which power is made the source of right and the basis of religion (250). He gave the body of Archbishop Usher a publick funeral in Westminster-abbey, yet he paid but half the expence, and the other half proved a heavy burthen upon that Prelate's poor family (251). As to the reverence of the nation, a certain writer, speaking of the last days of his life, describes his situation thus (252): 'His means would not pay for the intelligence he was forced to buy at home and abroad, to discover the practices which were every day hatching against him; so as he had no security but in the general fear, which all the factions as well as he had, that their discords might give an occasion of restoring the King, to the ruin of them all.' Bishop Burnet (253) also confirms this, as we have hinted in the text, and the reader will observe, that through this whole note there is nothing delivered but from authorities, and though it is a long one, much more is omitted than inserted. Those who would see things as they were, will trust to such accounts as are supported by facts, and not to florid characters, which are frequently but beautiful fictions.

[RR] For his directing her affairs.] All who are tolerably versed in the history of those times know, that such as labour to magnify the Protector's government, insist principally upon the advantages he gained over foreign states, and the terror which he imprinted throughout all Europe, of the English fleets and forces. He is represented as the conqueror of the Dutch, as the great author of their submission and to, and acquiescing in, an inferior character of maritime power; with respect to this nation, he is said to have achieved what Queen Elizabeth had left imperfect, and what the two last Kings had meditated indeed, but never could bring about; he is reported to have retrieved the honour of the nation with respect to the business of Amboyna; and, in short, to have given, or rather, to have prescribed, a peace to the Dutch upon his own terms

(232) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 591, 592, 593.

(233) Memorials of English Affairs, p. 661, 662.

(234) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 248.

(235) Flagellum, or the Life of O. Cromwell, p. 158, 159. True Character of O. Cromwell.

(236) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. I. p. 240.

(237) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 697. The World's Mistake in O. Cromwell.

(238) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 488. Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 65, 66, 67.

(239) The World's Mistake in O. Cromwell.

(240) Dr Parr's life of Archbishop Usher, p. 75, 76.

(241) Letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament, p. 58.

(242) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 173.

(243) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 606. Mr Emlyn's Preface to Hale's Hist. of the Pleas of the Crown.

(244) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 673.

(245) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 697.

(246) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 65. The World's Mistake in O. Cromwell.

(247) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 67.

(248) Life of Mr Thomas Firmin, Lond. 1698. 8vo. p. 10.

(249) Wood's Athen. Vol. II. col. 485.

(250) The Leviathan heretical, Oxford, 1683, 12mo. p. 137.

(251) Dr Parr's life of Archbishop Usher, p. 78.

(252) Coke's Detection, Vol. II. p. 67. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 385.

(253) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, p. 70.

his private life, it certainly merits our notice in all its several branches and relations, since  
it

(254) *Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector*, p. 265.

(255) *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. IV. p. 172.

(256) See the three panegyrics published by Peck.

(257) See Secretary Thurloe's account of the Protector's negotiations.

(258) See the account before cited, as also Milton, Welwood, and Oldmixon.

(259) *Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 110.

(260) *Sir William Temple's Works*, Vol. I. p. 356.

(261) *Milton's Works*, Vol. II. p. 211, 218, 226.

(262) *Coke's Diction*, Vol. II. p. 46, 47.

(263) *Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 372.

terms (254). In reference to the Mediterranean, he is called the scourge of the pyritical states, whom he did not barely reduce to reason, but taught humility (255); the Portuguese not only fought his friendship of their own accord, but besought it upon such conditions as he should be pleased to grant (256). Spain too courted his alliance, and would have purchased it at a very high price, if his amity might have been set to sale; but his hatred to a power that durst not give up the Inquisition, his sense of the Merchants wrongs, and innate abhorrence of a bigotted Popish people, withheld him from closing with their propositions, and induced him to signalize his power by reducing them to the lowest distress, and that by entering into a treaty and alliance with France (257). This alliance was at the humble and earnest suit of that power, willing to make any concessions which might procure his goodwill, and ready to subscribe such propositions as he judged reasonable for the grounds of their new friendship (258). By this means it is said he obtained a better treaty of commerce than had been settled with that nation in former times; by this he signalized his credit with the first power in Europe, and was treated with deference, not to say submission, by that crown that to others was often wanting in respect (259). By this means he reached over to, and gained footing upon, the Continent, repaired to England the loss of Calais, and laid a foundation for designs wonderfully great in themselves, which he did not live to execute (260). But, as if bringing the Dutch to submit, giving law in the Mediterranean, and being courted by France, was not sufficient, he made himself also the umpire of the North, and secured, in the highest degree, the attachment of the Swedish Monarch, who owed to his friendship his making so formidable an appearance, as hardly yielded to that of his glorious predecessor Gustavus Adolphus, the support of the Protestant religion, and the scourge of the House of Austria (261). These, say they, were the great acts of Cromwell, by which he made himself, and the nation he ruled, awful in the eyes of their neighbours, secured them the full enjoyment of all that they could justly claim, and gave them a great facility in acquiring whatever more they wished; such, if we look into certain books, were the deeds, and such the honours due to the Protector. But, on the other hand, it is observable, that these high eulogies were very boldly questioned in his own times, and that too not by envious declaimers, who meant to shew their eloquence in satire, or their skill in cavilling, but by men of the first rank, who undertook to contradict the facts, and to shew that the whole scheme of his foreign politicks was either false in its principles, or narrow in its foundation. They bid us remember it was the long Parliament, not he, beat the Dutch; and though we should give no credit to what has been insinuated, that he was encouraged by them to revolt from and turn out his masters, yet most evident it is, that he relaxed in his demands, and made a peace upon lower terms, not that had been demanded only by, but had been submitted to in respect to, the Parliament. He remitted the three hundred thousand pounds, which the Dutch had offered that Assembly for the damages sustained during the war; he did not insist upon an annual revenue for the liberty of fishing in our seas, he insisted upon no other proof of our sovereignty at sea than the ceremony of the flag; and even in respect to the business of Amboyna, the satisfaction obtained was not substance but shew, for, tho' strongly worded in the treaty, yet being referred to Commissioners, it came to nothing, any more than the restitution of the island of Poleron, which was stipulated indeed, but never complied with (262). Not that Cromwell wanted force sufficient to have compelled what he pleased, but the expulsion of the King out of the dominions of the State, and the exclusion of the Prince of Orange from the dignities due to his family; the consenting to which was a violation of the Dutch Constitution, were, tho' private advantages only, accepted as equivalents for the benefits that might have been obtained for the nation (263). What there was therefore of honour in the Dutch peace, belonged of right to the Parliament, under whose auspice all the victories, save one gained by

Monk, were obtained that procured it; and most of those great points they insisted upon had been claimed by King Charles and King James, as one of their own advocates acknowledges, in a piece dedicated to themselves (264). With all the rest of Europe the English Commonwealth was at peace, the King of Portugal's addresses were in consequence of the Parliament's representing his protection of Prince Rupert, and, besides, in the situation of that crown, it was no wonder they made any advances to the first maritime power in Europe (265). The glory of the English flag in the Mediterranean has been justly ascribed to Blake, who was truly an honour to his country, but not mighty well satisfied with Cromwell's government any more than Monk was with the Dutch treaty, which he was not afraid to declare was a base piece of treachery (266). In his quarrel with Spain, he acted as imprudently as unjustly; for the Spaniards had courted the Commonwealth earlier than any other power in Europe, and, with respect to Cromwell, had declared their willingness to guaranty his own and his successors government, as professing an implacable aversion to the Royal Family, and a resolution to exclude that line from the throne, from motives of interest (267). They were willing to have carried on a war against France in conjunction with Cromwell, upon very easy terms, or would have closed with him without insisting upon his taking part in that war at all. The Protector entertained a treaty which he never designed should come to any thing, while he provided for a war, which, from a prospect of advantage, he had been bent upon from the beginning, and began without publishing any declaration (268); all this in the very teeth of the English interest, at that time in the sole possession of the whole Spanish trade, which was the great source of our riches (269). It was this that induced him to enter into a league with France; and the reason that led him to prefer the friendship of that power was, the excluding the Royal Family out of its dominions, which, joined to the exclusion already obtained out of the territories of the States, and his project of getting the ports in the Spanish Low-Countries into his own hands, shews *what* was the ruling maxim in his politicks; which is very ingenuously acknowledged, and all the particulars clearly set forth, in a paper of Thurloe's (270). As to his management in the North, it was of a piece with the rest, that is, he did all that lay in his power to destroy the balance (271), by making the King of Sweden master of Denmark and the North, which had been effected, if it had not been for the Dutch, who understood and pursued their own interests better. For, had his scheme been brought about, he must have laid himself at the mercy of Sweden and France, who, being old allies, would have had it in their power to give law to all Europe (272). This being so visibly the aim of France, it shews plainly why Cardinal Mazarine paid such excessive court to Cromwell, and perhaps it may give some light, why he stiled him "a fortunate madman;" *fortunate*, because, by the bravery of English seamen and soldiers, he obtained all he fought; and *madman*, because, to the temporary security of his own establishment (273), he sacrificed the interests of his country, the balance of power, and the tranquillity of Europe, which former Kings had always maintained, and the very last King, Charles the First, had prevented the French and Dutch from dispossessing the Spaniards of the Low-Countries, and dividing them between them (274); which plan Cromwell not only accepted but executed. What influence these errors in policy had upon the state of this nation, at home and abroad, may be shewn from facts that admit of no dispute, such as the sinking of our coinage (275), the declension of the city of London in the number of its inhabitants (276), the loss of countries in America, where the Dutch were permitted to keep the New Netherlands, now stiled New York and the Jerseys, though our right to them was incontestible (277); from the decay of the navy, and from the loss of a great part of the Spanish trade; to which may be added, the laying the foundation of all the subsequent wars for reducing the exorbitant growth of France, which he assisted, and which without his assistance, and his weakening the Spanish monarchy as he did,

(264) See this dedication prefixed by Marchmont Needham to his translation of Selden's *Mare Clausum*.

(265) *Milton's Works*, Vol. II. p. 193.

(266) *Dr Gumble's life of Monk*, p. 74.

(267) See Thurloe's account of the Protector's negotiations.

(268) *Coke's Diction of the four last reigns*, Vol. II. p. 51, 52, 53.

(269) *Thurloe's State Papers*, Vol. VII. p. 615, 616.

(270) Inserted in the first Vol. of his State Papers, p. 759.

(271) *Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 373.

(272) *The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*.

(273) *Rymer's Fœdera*, Tom. XX. p. 793.

(274) *Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 53, 54.

(275) *Happy future State of England*, p. 78.

(276) See the *Philosophical Transactions*.

(277) *British Empire in America*, Vol. I. p. 236—238.

did,

it is from thence only that we can be instructed to decide, with probability, as to the principles even of his publick actions; for men of different tempers act in the same manner, upon certain occasions, from very different motives; and of these there is no judging, but from an acquaintance with their tempers; which can be no other way so well known, as from the relation of their private and domestick behaviour. Besides, there is a natural curiosity to enter, as it were, into the privacies of extraordinary persons; which is a kind of slipping behind the scenes, and taking a more nice and certain view of their conduct, by getting on the wrong side of the theatre. Men, called into high spheres of life, naturally become actors, and wear the robe and buskin thence forward in publick, so that we can judge but little of their real disposition from their actions, unless we obtain a kind of key from the knowledge of their private life; so that circumstances which, with respect to others, would be frivolous and impertinent in regard to them, are very useful as well as entertaining [SS]. The Protector Oliver Cromwell had many children, of whom

did, could not have been attained (278). These are to be considered as brief heads for that examination, the necessity of which is suggested in the text, in order to the forming a true and impartial judgment of his administration as to foreign affairs.

[SS] *Are every useful as well as entertaining.* It is really not a little strange, that, considering Cromwell was towards forty when he first distinguished himself in opposing the project for draining of fens, that we should know so little of his private life; and how little this is, the reader has already seen, most of the circumstances that deserve credit being mentioned either in the text or in the notes (279). Yet some few there were who knew and understood him thoroughly, before his extraordinary talents were made known to the world, and in particular his cousin Hampden, of which this was a remarkable instance (280). When things ran high in the House of Commons, Mr Hampden and the Lord Digby were going down the Parliament stairs, and Cromwell just before them, who was known to the latter only by sight: *Pray, said his Lordship to Mr Hampden, who is that man, for I see he is on our side by his speaking so warmly to-day? That sloopen, returned Mr Hampden, whom you see before us, who hath no ornament in his speech, that sloopen, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the King, which God forbid! in such a case, I say, that sloopen will be the greatest man in England.* This prophecy, which was so fully accomplished, rose chiefly from the sense that great man had of Cromwell's indefatigable diligence in pursuing whatever he undertook; and, in truth, he had this remarkable quality in a very high degree, for whatever he had in view, remained ever in his thoughts, and every thing he said or did was some way calculated to promote it; so that if steadiness, vigilance, and address, could attain any point, as indeed what point is there they will not attain? he was sure to accomplish whatever he thought were worthy of undertaking (281). He had another quality, which was equally useful to him, and that was, discerning the temper of those he had to deal with, and dealing with them accordingly. Before he became Commander in Chief, he kept up a very high intimacy with the private men, taking great pains to learn their names, by which he was sure to call them, shaking them by the hand, clapping them on the shoulder, or, which was peculiar to him, giving them a slight box on the ear, which condescending familiarities, with the passion he expressed for their interests, gave him a power easier conceived than described (282). He tried to inveigle the Earl of Manchester, but finding his sentiments of another kind, he fell upon him in the House of Commons, and procured his removal. He carried himself with so much respect to Fairfax, that he knew not how to break with him, though he knew that he betrayed him (283). He not only deceived Harrison, Bradshaw, and Ludlow, but outwitted Oliver St John, who had more parts than them all, and foiled Sir Henry Vane with his own weapons; in short, he knew men perfectly, worked them to his purposes, as if they had been cattle, and, which is still more wonderful, did that often while they conceived that they were making a tool of him (284). His strength of mind, or strength of head, call it which you will, enabled him to impose even upon the greatest bodies of men; he led the resentment of the House of Commons against the Army, till the latter were in a flame, and very angry with him; when he came to them, it was upon a flea-bitten nag, all of a foam, as

if he had made his escape, and, in this trim, he fought the engagement at Triploe-Heath, throwing himself from his horse upon the grass, and writing his name as he lay upon his belly (285). He had yet another faculty beyond these, and that was, the art of concealing his aits; he dictated a paper once to Ireton, which was imposed upon the Adjutors as if founded upon their instructions, who sent it express by two of their number, Sexby (who conspired against him when Protector) and Lavinby, to Cromwell, then Lieutenant-General, at his quarters at Colchester. He was in bed when they came, but they demanded and had admittance; when they told him their commission, he asked them, with the greatest rage and resentment in his looks, how they durst bring him papers from the Army? they said, That paper contained the sense of the Army, and they were directed to do it. Are you sure of that? said he, with the same stern countenance, Let me see it. He spent a long time in reading it, and, as it seemed to them, in reflecting upon it; then, with a mild and devout look, he told them it was a most just thing, he hoped that God would prosper it, adding, *I will stand by the Army in these desires with my life and fortune* (286). In the course of his life he was temperate and sober, and despised those that were otherwise. He knew perfectly well the means of conciliating friendship, in which he was very constant to those who went all his lengths, as the Earl of Warwick, and some others, did (287); and could be very civil to such as disapproved his measures, provided they did not oppose them, which was the case of St John, Whitlocke, and others (288); but if they differed with him, he forgot all former ties, as appeared by his imprisoning Sir Henry Vane, removing Major-General Harrison, and obliging the Lord Viscount Say and the Lord Grey of Groby to live in a kind of voluntary exile (289). In his family he shewed great kindness, but without any diminution of his authority; he was very respectful to his mother, and very tender towards his wife (290); yet neither had any influence over him; he expressed a deep sense of the concern which the former expressed for his danger, heard whatever she said to him patiently, but acted as he thought proper, and, in respect to her burial, directly against her dying request (291). The latter is said to have made a proposition, tending towards restoring the King, but he rejected it (292), as he had before shewn himself unmoved, when his son Richard threw himself at his feet, to dissuade him from taking King Charles's life (293). He did not seem to take amiss applications of the like kind from other persons, as from Whitlocke (294), but that Gentleman thought he lost his confidence by it; from the Marquis of Hertford, whom he treated very respectfully (295); and from Dr Brownrig, Bishop of Exeter, to whom he shewed more kindness than to any other man of his rank and profession, and of whom, with some earnestness, he asked advice (296): *My advice, said the good Prelate, must be in the words of the gospel; Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's: to which he made no reply.* All this shews a very great, a very unusual calmness of mind; yet he was naturally hasty and passionate, which those who were about him sometimes felt (297); but he knew how to compose matters again by a proper and an immediate condescension, of which he gave a strong instance to Lord Broghill, and another to Secretary Thurloe. He knew the force of family connections, and employed them very

(285) Account of the engagements at Triploe-Heath and at Dunbar, p. 31.

(286) Flagellum; or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 56.

(287) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 9.

(288) See Whitlocke's Memorials throughout.

(289) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 530, 563, 577.

(290) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 14.

(291) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

(292) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 726.

(293) Lives of illustrious Persons that died in 1712. p. 296.

(294) Memorials of English Affairs, p. 516.

(295) Hearne's Chronicon de Dunstable, Vol. II. p. 837.

(296) Memorials of Bishop Brownrig, p. 186, 187.

(297) Mr Majdston's account of the Protector, to whom he was Steward, in Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 766.

(278) The World's Mistake in O. Cromwell.

(279) In the Perfect Politician all his private history takes up but three pages.

(280) Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 193.

(281) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 1.

(282) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 77.

(283) This appears from reading the whole of Fairfax's short Memoirs.

(284) Estes's Elenchus Motuum, p. 81.

whom six survived to be men and women, viz. two sons and four daughters. 1. Richard Cromwell was born the 4th, and baptized the 19th of October, 1626, and died July 13th, 1712, at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire (w). 2. Henry Cromwell, born January the 20th, 1627, christened the next day, died March 25th, 1674 (x). (1.) Bridget, who first married Commissary-General Ireton, and, after his decease, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood; as both her husbands were zealous Republicans, she had no small tincture of the same spirit, which was very displeasing to her father. In other respects she was a woman of very good sense, regular in her behaviour, and was highly instrumental in promoting the interests of her second husband, who was very much guided by her advice (y). (2.) Elizabeth, born *Anno Domini* 1630; she married John Cleypole, Esq; a Northamptonshire Gentleman, whom the Protector made Master of the Horse, created him a Baronet July 16th, 1657, and appointed him one of his Lords (z). (3.) Mary, who was married, with great solemnity, to the Lord Viscount Fauconberg, November 18th, 1657, but the same day more privately, according to the office in the Common-Prayer Book. She was a Lady of great beauty, and of a very high spirit, one who, after her brother Richard was deposed, is thought to have promoted very successfully the restoration of King Charles. Her husband was sent to the Tower by the Committee of Safety, and was in

very

very successfully. It was by this that he managed Ireton, and afterwards Fleetwood (298). The dealers in secret, or rather, scandalous history, say, he found another method of managing Lambert; which there is no need to believe, since it is visible that he cajoled him for a long time with the hopes of the succession (299): he married all his daughters well, and was kind to their husbands; but it is said he gave them no fortunes, which, if true, must have been because it was not in his power. Some have wondered that he did not court the alliance of some foreign house; and something of this kind was once spoken of for the Prince of Conde, for whom he had a particular kindness, and aimed at making him great in the same way as himself; he served in the Spanish army against his natural Prince; the Protector was for making him a Sovereign at the expence of the Spaniards he served, by giving him the best part of their Low-Countries; but the French would not agree to this, and so it came to nothing, as the business of the match had done long before. He is censured for keeping his eldest son at a distance from business, and for giving him no employments (300); but for this, perhaps, there is not any just ground. He married him to a Lady who brought him a good fortune; he suffered him to pursue the bent of his inclinations, and to lead the life of a plain, honest, country gentleman; which, for a time, was highly suitable to his own interests, as it seemed to correspond with the terms of the *Instrument of Government*, and the dislike which the Protector, when first so called, expressed of hereditary right (301). When he had afterwards brought about a change in affairs, he altered, at the same time, his conduct towards his son, named him the first Lord in his Other House, resigned to him the chancellorship of Oxford (302), and went as far as he could go, for fear of disobliging Fleetwood. His second son, Henry, he sent over into Ireland, where he raised him gradually to the post of Lord Lieutenant (303); though in this he seemed to give him the preference, yet in reality he used him more harshly than the other; for, though his abilities were good, his manners irreproachable, and his submission exemplary, yet he paid no great deference to his recommendations, and allowed him far less power than could well be imagined (304). His daughter Cleypole was his favourite, and her husband had much of his confidence; he was master of his horse, and had the Court secret in the House of Commons (305). It is however to be observed, that as his government was distracted and disturbed, so he was unhappy also in his family. Neither of his sons thought his establishment secure or well founded. His daughter Fleetwood was a Republican, and so were many others of his nearest relations; all the rest of his daughters had a secret kindness for the Royal Family, of which however he was not ignorant (306). He shewed a great respect for learning and learned men, without affecting to be learned himself. His letters are however the best testimonies of his parts, for they are varied in their stile in a very wonderful manner, exactly adapted to the purposes for which they were written, and the persons to whom they were addressed (307). His publick speeches were long, dark, and perplexed; and though mixed with the language of the times, which was cant,

yet have sentiments in them that shew very clearly the superiority of his understanding (308). In his conversation he was easy and pleasant, and could unbend himself without losing his dignity. He made an excellent choice in those he employed, but trusted none of them farther than was necessary (309). It may seem strange, that in drawing together his character, there should be nothing said of his principles as to government or religion; but the plain truth is, neither can be discovered with certainty. We know that he hated a Commonwealth and the Presbyterians, but what his sentiments were in other respects it is hardly possible to say. When he recollected himself, after the follies of his youth, there seems to be no doubt that he had serious impressions of religion; and there seem to be very strong proofs, that he was afterwards tinctured with enthusiasm (310). In the time of his greatest elevation, to suppose him a Fanatick, seems injustice to his parts; to affirm, as some have done, that he lost all sense of religion, is more, than, at this distance of time, any authorities will warrant. Such as entertain the best opinion, of him allow, that he fell into deep and dangerous errors, particularly in believing that success was a mark of the divine approbation (311). Those who speak worst of him, charge him with a contempt of all things sacred (312). But, in a matter of this obscurity, let us call in the assistance of one, who knew him well, and could judge of him in that respect much better than we (313). This is the famous Mr Baxter, who speaks very sensibly and clearly to the point. 'His name standeth as a monitory monument, or pillar to posterity, to tell them the instability of man in strong temptations, if God leave him to himself. What great success and victories can do, to lift up a mind that once seemed humble. What pride can do, to make men selfish, and corrupt the heart with ill designs. What selfishness and ill designs can do, to bribe the conscience, and corrupt the judgment, and make men justify the greatest errors and sins, and set against the clearest truth and duty. What bloodshed and great enormities of life an erring deluded judgment may draw men to and patronize; and that when God hath dreadful judgments, an erroneous sectary, or a proud self-seeker, is oftener his instrument, than an humble lamb-like innocent saint.' It is somewhat strange, that so great a man as the Earl of Clarendon (314), should mention the Protector's speaking kindly of Bishops, and as if there was something good in that order if the dross was scoured off; so as to shew he took him to be really in earnest. The whole course of Cromwell's life proves, that he was not at all steady to the form of religion, supposing that he retained any principles at the bottom; and there seems to be very little doubt, that the true meaning of these flattering expressions was, his desire to return to the old form of government; for, whatever he pretended, that was his great aim. He did not overturn the constitution to leave it in ruins, but to set it up again, and himself at the head of it (315); and though he compared his own government at first to that of a High-Constable, yet there is nothing clearer, than that all he laboured for afterwards was to get the chaos new moulded, and his own authority sanctified by the regal title, and the appearance of a legal Parliament (316).

[T T] Gives

(w) From the parish-register of St John's Huntington.

(x) From the same register.

(y) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts.

(z) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 169.

(298) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 419, 425.

(299) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 183, 184.

(300) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, p. 426.

(301) See his speech to his first Parliament in Whitlocke.

(302) Lives of Illustrious Persons who died in 1712. p. 287.

(303) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 534.

(304) See his letters to Thurloe amongst the State Papers, which are a series of complaints.

(305) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 169.

(306) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 233, 234.

(307) See a great number of these letters in Thurloe's and in Nicholls's Collections, as well as in Rushworth and Whitlocke,

(308) Several of these are to be found in Whitlocke's Memoirs.

(309) True Character of O. Cromwell.

(310) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(311) Neale's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 203.

(312) As Hollis, Ludlow, and Coke.

(313) In the account of his own life, P. i. p. 100.

(314) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 697.

(315) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 70.

(316) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 17.

very high favour with King Charles the Second; he was raised to the dignity of an Earl by King William, and died on the last day of the year 1700; his lady survived him to March 14th, 1712, and distinguished herself to her death, by the quickness of her wit and the solidity of her judgment (a). (4.) Frances, his youngest daughter, was twice married, first to Mr Robert Rich, grandson to the Earl of Warwick, November 11th, 1657, who died the 16th of February following. She afterwards married Sir John Russell, of Chippenham in Cambridgeshire, by him left several children, and lived to a great age (b). One, who pretends to a great acquaintance with the family, gives us an extraordinary story of this Lady in the earlier part of her life (c) [TT].

(a) Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, Vol. 1V. P. 2. 250.

(b) Lives of Illustrious Persons, who died in the year 1712, p. 285.

(c) See this at large in the notes.

[TT] Gives us an extraordinary story of this Lady in the earlier part of her life.] We have this story in several books, but the best account of it that I have met with is in the History of the Stuarts, written by Mr Oldmixon, which therefore I shall give the reader in his own words (317): 'One of his domestick Chaplains, Mr Jeremy White, a sprightly man, and a top wit of his Court, was so ambitious as to make his addresses to Lady Frances, the Protector's youngest daughter. The young Lady did not discourage him, and this piece of innocent gallantry, in so religious a Court, could not be carried on without spies; Oliver was told of it, and he was much concerned at it, obliging the person who told him to be on the watch, and told him if he could give him any substantial proof he should be very well rewarded, and White severely punished. The spy followed the matter so close, that he hunted Jerry White, as he was generally termed, to the Lady's chamber, and ran immediately to the Protector with this news. Oliver, in a rage, hastened thither himself, and going in hastily, found Jerry on his knees, kissing the Lady's hand, or having just kissed it. Cromwell, in a fury, asked, What was the meaning of that posture before his daughter Frank? White, with a great deal of presence of mind, said, May it please your Highness, I have a long time courted that young gentlewoman there, my Lady's woman, and cannot prevail, I was therefore humbly praying her Ladyship to intercede for me. The Protector, turning to the young woman, cried, What's the meaning of this, hussy? Why do you refuse the honour Mr White would do you? he is my friend, and I expect you should treat him as such. My Lady's woman, who desired nothing more, with a very low curtsy, replied, If Mr White intends me that honour, I shall not be against him. Sayst thou so, my lass, cried Cromwell? Call Godwyn. This business shall be done presently, before I go out of the room. Mr White was gone too far to go back, the Parson came, Jerry and my Lady's woman were married in the presence of the Protector, who gave her five hundred pounds for her portion, and that, with the money she had saved before, made Mr White easy in his circumstances, except in one thing, which was, that he never loved his wife nor she him, though they lived together near fifty years afterwards. I knew them both, and heard this story told when Mrs White was present, who did not contradict it.' This singular story I was induced to insert for several reasons, being well assured, that, independent of Mr Oldmixon's credit, who, in

matters of this nature, was however a person very well informed; the facts upon which it depends are absolutely true, and were often related by Mr White himself, and, if I have not been misinformed, to his Majesty King Charles II. It is an admirable instance of the Protector's sagacity in keeping spies within doors and without, as well as a most pregnant proof of his presence of mind, and great dexterity in finding and applying the proper remedy at once, and upon the first discovery of the disease, however sudden or unexpected. That these notes have not been loaded with many particularities in relation to the wonderful nicety and amazing extent of Cromwell's intelligence, is owing to more causes than one. The relations themselves are common enough, and almost in every body's mouth; in the next place, they are not so wonderful as is commonly imagined, for all governments have their spies and secret intelligence, though they are not desirous of making this known to the world. Yet we must not imagine that it was ignorance in Cromwell, or in his Minister Thurloe, to publish so much upon this head; for whereas in other governments the great point is, to gain intelligence without it's being known; in respect to his it was quite contrary, for his interest consisted in being thought to have better and quicker intelligence than he really had. Lastly, though this did infinite honour to his administration, yet in reality it shewed the weakness of his government; and therefore it is a right remark of Mr Coke, that it kept him always necessitous, and was in reality that gaping gulph, through which all the money that he could amass slipped away; so that it might be truly said, that if he was preserved by it in one sense, he was undone by it in another; and therefore, when the publick accounts came to be examined in Richard's Parliament, what was issued for secret service was not only thought extravagant but impossible; and indeed, how much soever it may astonish vulgar Politicians, refined Statesmen will very hardly allow, that a government which cannot subsist but by the distribution of vast sums in this way, is to be either admired or applauded, because the excellence of government consists in managing publick affairs well, and without exorbitant expence; so that the best government is that which is at the least charge. These reflections detract nothing from the Protector's skill or abilities; it is a misfortune to meet with continual storms in a voyage, but the Pilot nevertheless deserves praise, who secures his vessel from perishing in those storms, and still more praise, if the vessel itself be rotten and leaky. E

CUDWORTH (RALPH) a very learned and rational Divine, son of Ralph Cudworth, D. D. Rector of Aller in the County of Somerset [A], was born at Aller in 1617 (a). His mother was of the family of Machell, and had been nurse to Prince Henry, eldest Son of King James I. After Dr Cudworth's death, which happened in August or September 1624 (b); she married again to Dr Stoughton, an eminent Preacher in those times, who took a particular care of his son-in-law's education. He discovered from the first a quick and penetrating genius, and made so good progress in his studies, that at the age of thirteen he was admitted Pensioner of Emanuel College [B]: However, he was not matriculated as a Student in the University till July 5th, 1632. What proficiency he made there in all kinds of learning, particularly in Philosophy, his excel-

(a) Vita D. R. Cudworth præfixa L. Mosheimii Latinæ Versioni Cudworthi Operum. Jenæ 1733. 2 Vol. fol.

(b) Wood, Fasti, Vol. 1. col. 1374. edit. 1721.

lent

[A] Son of Ralph Cudworth, &c.] He [the father] was at first Fellow of Emanuel-college and Rector of St Andrew's in Cambridge, then Vicar of Coggeshall in Essex, and afterwards Rector of Aller, and Chaplain to King James I. He published several pieces of Mr Perkins, and added *A Supplement to Mr William Perkins's Commentary upon St Paul's Epistle to the Ga-*

latians; which is all he ever published under his own name (1).

[B] — At the age of thirteen he was admitted Pensioner of Emanuel-college] And though he was so young, his father-in-law declared, That he was as well grounded in school-learning, as any boy of his age that went to the university (2).

(1) Vita R. Cudworth ubi supra. Newcourt's Repertorium Ecclesiasticum. Vol. 11. p. 160.

(2) Ibid.

[C] He

lent Works do abundantly testify. In 1639 he took the degree of Master of Arts; and about the same time being chosen Fellow of his College, he became so eminent a Tutor, that he had eight-and-twenty Pupils at once; a thing never known before even in the largest Colleges in the University. Among them was the famous William Temple, afterwards created a Baronet (c). Not long after, he was presented by Emanuel College to the Rectory of North-Cadbury in Somersetshire, a living worth near three hundred pounds a year, and probably kept it till the year 1656 (d). The first things he published were, *A Discourse concerning the true Notion of the Lord's Supper*; and, *The Union of Christ and the Church shadowed, or in a shadow*, printed at London in 1642. About 1644 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity [C], and the same year was chosen Master of Clare-Hall, in the room of Dr Paske who was ejected; where he had the honour of having under his care the celebrated John Tillotson. The next year, Dr Metcalfe resigning his place of Regius Professor of Hebrew, Mr Cudworth, who was a great master of the oriental languages, was unanimously appointed, on the 15th of October, to succeed him. From which time he applied himself entirely to his academical employments and studies; and read his public lectures every Wednesday, the first being upon the structure and plan of the Temple of Jerusalem. In 1647 he printed, at Cambridge, a Sermon on 1 John ii. 3, 4. which he had preached, the 31st of March of the same year, before the House of Commons at Westminster [D]. In 1651. he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (e). Notwithstanding his preferments, yet, whether it was owing to that neglect and contempt of the things of this world, which are common among studious persons, or to any other cause, certain it is, that Dr Cudworth's income was not sufficient to maintain him; and therefore he left, upon that account, the University for a while: But, being extremely beloved, he was soon invited thither again. For, upon the death of Dr Samuel Bolton Master of Christ's College, in October 1654. he was chosen to succeed him. The same year he married; and spent in this place the remainder of his days, being very careful of young Gentlemens education. January 16. 1657. he was one of the Divines appointed by the Grand Committee for Religion (f), to consider of the translations and impressions of the Bible [E]. The first of December 1662. he was presented by Gilbert Bishop of London to the Vicarage of Ashwell in the County of Hertford (g). And in 1678. was installed Prebendary of Gloucester (h). But the most remarkable circumstance of his life, and what does him most honour, is, that he was the Author of *The True intellectual System of the Universe*; a book full of excellent reasoning, and a great variety of curious learning [F]. As one extrem is generally apt to produce another, the pious Nonsense, and stupid Enthusiasm, that had prevailed in this kingdom during the times of confusion, was succeeded in the licentious reign of King Charles II. and even some time before, by Atheism, Profaneness, and Irreligion. Many of our best Divines endeavoured to stop their progress, but none with more vigour nor greater success than Dr Cudworth. 'None better knew how to use the arms of Reason and Learning, as one expresses it (i), to conquer the presumptuous ignorance of Hobbes, who had acquired a great reputation at court.' 'Tis no wonder therefore that King Charles's courtiers should undervalue the *True intellectual System* (k); but notwithstanding their vain efforts, it has and will maintain its reputation. The Author was undoubtedly several years about it, tho' it was not published till 1678 [G]. Besides the four books already mentioned, Dr Cudworth published in 1664, a Sermon preached at Lincoln's-Inn, on 1 Cor. xv. 57. and a treatise intituled

*Deus*

[C] *He took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.* The questions he disputed upon, at the commencement at Cambridge that year, were these; There are eternal and indispensable reasons (or differences) of good and evil: and, There are incorporeal substances immortal in their own nature (3).

[D] *A Sermon on 1 John ii. 3, 4.* It was printed in 4to. containing 82 pages, and reprinted in folio to be placed at the end of his Intellectual System. In the Dedication of it to the House of Commons, he told them, That the scope of that sermon was not to contend for this or that opinion, but only to persuade men to the Life of Christ, as the pith and kernel of all religion; without which all the several forms of religion in the world, though we please ourselves never so much with them, are but so many several dreams.

[E] *He was one of the Divines appointed, &c.* These Divines, of which the chief, besides Dr Cudworth, were, Dr Walton, Mr Hughes, Mr Clarke, Mr Castle, and Mr Poulk, often met at the Lord Commissioner Whitlock's, and had the most learned men in the oriental tongues to consult with in this great business, and divers excellent and learned observations of some mistakes in the translations of the Bible in English; which yet was agreed to be the best of any translation in the world. But this design became fruitless by the Parliament's dissolution (4).

[F] *The true Intellectual System, &c.* The whole title of it is, *The true Intellectual System of the Universe:*

*The first part; wherein, all the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism is confuted; and its Impossibility demonstrated.* By R. Cudworth, D. D. Being surprized at the length of the first part, he published it, as a thing compleat of itself; designing to compose and publish afterwards a second and third part, which, however, he never did (5). An abridgment of this book was published in 1706, under the following title, *A Confutation of the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism: being in a great measure either an Abridgment or an Improvement of what Dr Cudworth offered to that purpose in his True Intellectual System of the Universe. Together with an Introduction, in which among accounts of other matters relating to this Treatise, there is an impartial examination of what that learned person advanced touching the Christian Doctrine of a Trinity in Unity, and the Resurrection of the Body.* In two Volumes. By Tho. Wise, B. D. Fellow of Exeter-college, &c. in Oxford. This abridgment is reckoned to be well done: the style being clear and easy, and the matter well digested. A Latin translation of the Intellectual System was published at Jena 1733, in two volumes, fol. by John-Laurence Mosheim, D. D. illustrated with notes and dissertations.

[G] *Though it was not published till 1678.* It was printed in a thick folio containing 999 pages, besides the Preface and Contents. The *Imprimatur*, at the end of the Preface, bears date May 29, 1671, which shows that the author kept it by him a considerable time before he published it.

[H] *He*

(c) Vita R. Cudworth, ubi supra.

(d) For then S. Cradock was presented thereto. See A. Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 71.

(e) Vita, &c. ut supra.

(f) Whitlock's Memorials of the English Affairs, Lond. 1732. p. 654.

(g) Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. p. 835.

(h) Browne Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. Lond. 1727. 4to. p. 743.

(i) Mosheim in vit. Cudworth, ubi supra.

(k) See J. Clerici Vita, Amstelod. 1711. 8vo. p. 129.

(3) Vita, ubi supra.

(4) Whitlock, ubi supra.

(5) Preface.

*Deus Justificatus*, or, *The Divine Goodness vindicated and cleared, against the Assertors of absolute and inconditionate Reprobation.* He left several books in manuscript [11], of which only one has been printed since his decease, intituled, *A Treatise concerning eternal and immutable Morality* [1]. He died at Cambridge June 26. 1688, in the seventy-first year of his age, and was buried in Christ's College. Several sons that he had died young; but one daughter, named Damaris [K], born January 18. 1658. survived him. She was second wife to Sir Francis Masham, of Oates in Essex, Baronet, and had by him a son, Francis Cudworth Masham, Esq; (l) one of the Masters in Chancery, Accomptant-General of the said court, and foreign Apposer in the court of Exchequer, who died May 17. 1731. Dr Cudworth was a man of great piety and moderation, of uncommon prudence; and especially of very extensive learning: For he was not only a good Linguist and Antiquarian, but also an able Mathematician, a subtil Philosopher, and a profound Metaphysician. In his small treatises, he shows himself well skilled in the oriental languages; as he appears in his *Intellectual System* a perfect master of the Platonic Philosophy; with a great strength of genius, and a vast compass of learning. He hath in it some particular notions, namely, of a *Plastic Nature*, which, subordinate to the Supreme Being, forms and organizes the bodies of animals, and produceth other phænomena (m): And, what he saith concerning the *Trinity* (n), and the *Resurrection* (o), is thought not to be exactly conformable to the received opinions [L]. But, notwithstanding, he must be impartially allowed to have been 'a great man in all parts of learning divine and human, an honour to Emanuel College where he was educated, to Christ's College where he afterwards presided, to the whole University of Cambridge which he adorned (p), and to the Church and Age in which he lived (q).'

(1) A. Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 435.

(m) Intellectual System, &c. p. 126, 147, &c. This notion was adopted by the great Mr. Ray, in his *Wisdom of God*, &c.

(n) Pag. 210, 546. &c.

(o) Pag. 784, &c.

(p) Bishop of Durham's Preface to the treatise concerning eternal and immutable Morality, p. 12.

(q) Bishop's Burnett's Hist. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 462.

[11] He left several books in manuscript.] The titles of them are, I. *A Treatise concerning moral Good and Evil*, in several volumes in folio, containing near 1000 pages. The design of it is to prove, that morality is founded in nature, and doth not depend upon the arbitrary will of any Being. He also exposes Epicurus's notions, and Hobbes's Morality and Politicks. II. *A Treatise of Liberty and Necessity, wherein the foundations of the Philosophy of Atheism are destroyed, the certainty of Morality established, and the nature of it explained.* It consists of 1000 pages in folio, and solves the objections of the Stoics, antient Atheists, and some modern Christians, against human liberty. III. *A Commentary on the Seventy Weeks mentioned by the Prophet Daniel, wherein the several explications of them by the Jews, and some Christian writers, are examined and confuted*, 2 vols fol. IV. *Of the truth of the Christian Religion against the Jews.* He mentions this book in some of his works, but it has not yet been found among his MSS. V. *A Treatise of the Creation of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul.* A volume in 8vo. VI. *Of the Learning of the Hebrews.* VII. *An Explanation of Hobbes's notions, concerning the nature of God, and the extension of Spirits.*

[1] *A Treatise concerning eternal and immutable Morality.*] It was printed at London in 8vo, 1731, with a Preface by Edward [Chandler] Lord Bishop of Durham; who therein observes, that the author 'proves in that book the falseness of the consequences with respect to natural justice and morality in God, which are deducible from the principles of those that maintain the second sort of fate, denominated by him *Theologick* (6). And thus it may be reckoned to be a

'sequel in part, of his first book against material fate (7).' The author intituled it ΔΙΚΑΙΩΝ ΖΩΗΝ ΑΙΩΝΙΩΝ, or *A Treatise concerning eternal and immutable Morality*; and 'transcribed the best part of it with his own hand, as if it was speedily to be sent to the press (8).'

(7) Bishop Chandler's preface, p. 9.

(8) Ibid. p. 11.

[K] *One daughter, named Damaris.*] She died April 20, 1708, and was buried in the cathedral church of Bath; where a monument is erected to her memory, in which this character is given of her — 'To the softness and elegancy of her own sex, She added several of the noblest accomplishments and qualities of the other. She possessed these advantages in a degree unusual to either, and tempered them with an exactness peculiar to herself. Her learning, judgment, sagacity, and penetration, together with her candor, and love of truth, were very observable to all that conversed with her, or were acquainted with those small treatises she published in her life-time, tho' she industriously concealed her name (9).' Of the small treatises here mentioned, one was *A Discourse concerning the Love of God.* Printed at London, 1696, 12mo. The rest are not known. Mr J. Locke lived in her family the 14 last years of his life.

(9) Peerage of England, by A. Collins, Esq; Vol. III. p. 435. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglic. Vol. I. p. 146.

[L] *Is thought not to be exactly conformable, &c.*] He has been very severely treated upon that account; particularly by one (10), who calls him a *Tritheistick*, and says, 'the most that charity itself can allow the Doctor, if it were to step forth, and speak his most favourable character to the world, is, that he is an Arian, a Socinian, or a Deist.' A very hard and unjust censure!

(10) J. Turner, Dedication before his Discourse of the Messiah. Lond. 1685. p. 17, 19.

C

CUFF or CUFFE (HENRY), a celebrated wit, a famous scholar, and the unfortunate Secretary of the unhappy Earl of Essex, who suffered towards the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He is by some said, or rather suggested, to have been but of low birth (a), but very unjustly, since there is good evidence to prove, that his ancestors had been reputed gentlemen for several descents, and had lands to a considerable value about Creech and Taunton in Somersetshire (b). He was born at Hinton St George in that county, about the year 1560 (c), was educated at a grammar-school, and gave very early marks both of genius and application (d), insomuch that, in 1576, he was removed to Oxford, and entered there of Trinity College (e). His parts were so quick, and his diligence so great, that he very soon distinguished himself from most of his contemporaries, more especially in his knowledge of Greek, and his admirable faculty in disputing. He became, in due time, Fellow of his College, and would, without doubt, have gone through his academical studies with all the success and applause imaginable, if it had not been for a certain hastiness of temper, which induced him to speak his mind very freely on subjects and of persons, with whom he had little or nothing to do. A saying of his of Sir Thomas Pope, who was the founder of the College in which he was educated, proved fatal to him, so that he was turned out of his Fellowship, and expelled the College (f). His merit, however, was so great, and his reputation for learning so extraordinary, that he

(a) Sanderfon's Lives of Mary Queen of Scots and King James, p. 238.

(b) Visitation-book of Somersetshire, Anno Dom. 1573. MS. in the Herald's office.

(c) Fuller's Worthies in Somersetshire, p. 23.

(d) Remarks upon the reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 537.

(e) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307.

(f) Liber niger Saccarii, edit. T. H. p. 593.

(6) See Intellectual System, &c. p. 3, &c. and preface.

was received into Merton-College by Sir Henry Savile, then Warden of it, and who was particularly remarkable for being a most disinterested patron of such as were truly scholars (g). In 1586 Mr Cuffe was elected Probationer-fellow of that College, and, being very intimate with many of the greatest men of those times who were bred at this University, he was looked upon as one capable of making a shining figure in the world (h), more especially as he was known to turn his thoughts to active life, and to apply himself with great vigour to the more polite as well as abstruser parts of learning. In 1588 he became Fellow of Merton-College, and, on the 20th of February following, he took the degree of Master of Arts (i). Amongst other persons of note with whom he had great intimacy, one was the learned Mr Camden, in commendation of whose excellent *Britannia* he wrote a Greek epigram, that has been much admired (k). This indeed was the happiest part of his life, and it had been very fortunate for him if he had contented himself with that easy and honourable situation, which his own learning, and the assistance of his friends in this University, had procured him, notwithstanding the slip he had made in the earlier part of his life, from a vivacity of temper which never left him [A]. He was afterwards promoted to the Greek professorship, and was chosen Proctor of the University April 10th, 1594 (l). At what time he left the University, or upon what occasion, does not appear; but there is great reason to believe, that it was for the sake of improving himself by travelling into foreign parts (m); for he was always inclined rather to a busy than a retired life, and held, that learning was of little service to any man, if it did not render him fitter for being employed in matters of importance. This disposition of his recommended him very much to the favour of Robert Earl of Essex, who was himself much of the same temper, that is, equally fond of knowledge and business, and strongly persuaded the former was of very little use but as it fitted men for the latter. His Lordship writing admirably well, and being an excellent judge of the writings of other men, thought it would be highly useful to himself, and the means of promoting Mr Cuffe, if he took him into his service, as well as into his protection; and accordingly, about the time that he became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (n), Mr Cuffe was appointed his Secretary. It appears, from the private as well as publick histories of those times, that he was very much in his confidence; but, whether the Earl intrusted him with the dark designs he carried on with Tyrone, in order to make himself King of England, and Tyrone Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is as little certain, as whether his Lordship ever had any such designs, or was so unfortunate only as to have them imputed to him by his enemies (o). This, however, is out of dispute, that, when the Earl returned from his expedition, in August 1599, to Dublin, and resolved to send over an account to the Queen of what he had concluded with Tyrone, he made choice of Mr Cuffe to be the bearer, and, perhaps, used his assistance in penning those letters. This was certainly both a dangerous and a disagreeable service; which, however, Mr Cuffe undertook, and very happily performed, delivering his letters safely to her Majesty, and afterwards, upon some insinuations to his prejudice, upon which he was sent for to the Queen, he justified himself to her satisfaction (p) [B]. As he had naturally a very high spirit, was sincerely attached

(g) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 466.

(h) Ep. Mountague's pref. to his D'atribe upon the first part of the Hist. of Tythes.

(i) Wood's Fasti Oxoniensis, Vol. I. col. 135.

(k) It is prefixed in all the Latin editions, and in the two last English translations.

(l) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307. Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 147.

(m) See the note [I].

(n) Camd. Ann. edit. T. H. p. 792.

(o) See the declaration of the treasons of Robert Earl of Essex, published by authority, 4<sup>to</sup>, 1601.

(p) Memorials and State Papers of the Sidney family, Vol. II. p. 122.

[A] *From a vivacity of temper which never left him.* It was certainly a mark of the candour, as well as care, of Mr Wood, that he took so much pains as to search the Heralds Office, in order to find the grant of a coat of arms made to Job Cuffe, our author's ancestor, by Christopher Baker then King at Arms, in the 36th of Henry VIII (1). He was in the wrong however to fix upon a late, and in some respects a low, writer, as author of those detracting passages, that passed so currently in the world to his prejudice; whereas, most undoubtedly, these took rise from what was said of him by a noble author (2), who wrote indeed at that time under direction, and we may believe could not but be rude to his Secretary, after being roundly schooled by the Queen, for speaking with common decency of his master. It was from him therefore that succeeding writers copied, though there wanted not others, well acquainted with those times and with the man, who spoke of him with decency, pity, and even with respect. He was but a very young man when he went to Oxford, and it was by the pregnancy of his parts that he became so early a Fellow of Trinity-college. Mr Wood tells us, in one place, that he was forced to resign his fellowship for saying somewhat that was true of the founder (3); in another place, however, that is, in a Collection of Historical Passages, he has set down the whole story, and that upon good authority; which as it very fully justifies what we have said in the text, the reader shall have in his own words (4): 'Dr Bathurst told me, that our Cuffe was of Trinity-college, and expelled from thence upon this account; the founder, Sir Thomas Pope, would, wheresoever he went a visiting his

friend, steal one thing or other that he could lay his hands on, put it in his pocket, or under his gown. This was supposed rather an humour than of dishonesty. Now Cuffe upon a time, with his fellows being merry, said, a pox this is a poor beggarly college indeed, the plate that our founder stole would build such another. Which coming to the President's ears, was thereupon ejected, though afterwards elected into Merton-college.' How dear he was to Sir Henry Savile, at that time Warden of Merton-college, appears not only from his procuring him to be elected upon the very first occasion that offered after his own preferment, but also from a letter of his to the learned Camden, in which, in a very few words, he gives him the highest character, and stiles him his own and Camden's intimate friend.

[B] *He justified himself to her satisfaction.* What we have to explain in this part of the work is, the share that Mr Cuffe had in the Earl of Essex's proceedings, nor would this be of so much importance, if many of our Histories did not deliver things somewhat remote from truth in several instances, and directly contrary to it in others. It is generally set forth and believed, that the Earl went to Ireland with great joy and alacrity, from whence it has been inferred, that he had dangerous designs in his head before he went thither, which he meant to ripen and bring to perfection there (5). However, the contrary of this is very fully proved (6), by a knowing and intelligent writer, who has brought to light many remarkable passages relating to these times. The truth seems to be, that the Earl of Essex found himself not able to perform any great matters in that kingdom, and was at the same

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307.

(2) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 395.

(3) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307.

(4) Liber niger Scaccarii, edit. T. H. p. 593.

(5) See the declaration of the treasons of Robert Earl of Essex.

(6) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 133, in the notes.

attached to the Earl of Essex, and looked upon the usage he met with from the court as effects rather of the power of the opposite faction, than the just punishment of the Earl's offences, he gave way to his resentments, and was one of those that dissuaded that unhappy Lord, after his emerging a little from that dark cloud of the Queen's displeasure, in which he had been involved, and suffered thereby severely, from prosecuting the recovery of her favour by those methods of humble duty, and deep submission, which others of his Lordship's friends advised (7). It is very possible, that both he and they might be prompted to the opposite counsels they gave, from certain views to their own interest, as well as those of the Earl; for Mr Anthony Bacon, and Sir Francis his brother, had other friends at court, and other means to trust to than the countenance of the Earl of Essex, and might therefore advise him to what they thought best suited their own schemes. But it was quite otherwise with Mr Cuffe, his sole dependance was upon the Earl, and, as he had no other hopes of attaining any considerable office than by his favour and protection, he was very desirous of seeing him quickly restored to the Queen's good graces, which he thought could not fail if he had once free access to the court, which, therefore, he prompted him to obtain by any means, and at any rate (8) [C]. While the Earl of Essex followed the advice of the two Bacons, as well as during his Lordship's confinement after his precipitate return from Ireland, Mr Cuffe had little or no access to him; but, after he recovered his liberty, and found that was not attended, as he expected, with a restitution of his power and credit, he began to recur to his old projects, and to converse once more with his old friends, by which means Mr Cuffe was recalled again to his service, and to that measure of intimacy and confidence in which he had been formerly held (9). This, together with the great likeness of their tempers, was the source of both their misfortunes; for the Earl thenceforward began to dislike, and even to suspect, the representations made to him by those who were desirous that he should leave it to time; and the Queen's known regard for him, to overcome the ill impressions she had received, and not, by a hasty resuming of his former popularity, beget new grounds of distaste, and afford his enemies fresh opportunities of insinuating things to his prejudice, the only method which, as they persuaded him, could hinder his coming once more into favour and power

(7) *Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 813.*

(8) See Sir Francis Bacon's Apology, Sir Henry Wotton's Parallel, and Camden's Annals.

(9) *Relique Wottonianæ, p. 28.*

same time kept there by the Queen's express command. It is very likely that it was this that put him upon his treaty with Tyrone, and afterwards induced him to form that desperate design, of landing with two thousand men at Milford Haven, from which it was with some difficulty he was dissuaded by the Earl of Southampton and Sir Christopher Blount. It is not at all probable that Mr Cuffe was so much as acquainted with, much less in any degree the author of, this scheme; for he was sent over in August with the Earl's letter to the Queen (7), a particular that seems to have been unknown to most of the writers upon this subject. But however he had not been long in London, before the zeal and diligence he expressed in his master's service drew upon him the resentment of some great persons, who gave bad impressions of him to the Queen, which occasioned his being sent for. This passage we learn from a letter written at that very time by Mr Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, dated September 12, 1599, which runs thus (8): 'The unkindness between my Lord of Essex and Mr Secretary is grown to extremity. I hear my Lord is infinitely discontented, and in his discontentments uses speeches that may be dangerous and hurtful to his safety. Mr Cuffe hath had access to the Queen, who came of purpose marvellously well instructed to answer such objections as her Majesty could lay to his charge, and I hear that Cuffe hath very wisely behaved himself to her Majesty's better satisfaction.'

[C] *By any means, and at any rate.* This was from first to last the great point which Mr Cuffe had in view. He thought that the Earl of Essex's friends were so numerous, and some of them of such high quality, that the method which the Cecilian party took to maintain themselves in power, might be so represented as to raise a jealousy in the Queen, who was very tender of her authority, and that if the Earl once came to her presence, and represented these matters with his usual eloquence, and was supported by the testimonies of those who were prepared to make good his charge, their business would be done (9). But without doubt, when he first thought of this method, he had no design of accomplishing it by force, that fell in afterwards, when experience had discovered that access could be had no other way. It is true that something of this nature had been proposed to the Earl long before, when he was in Ireland, but he rejected it, and foreseeing that it might be objected to him when his conduct was

called in question before the Privy Council, he set down an answer to this charge in the brief notes that he made for his defence, the substance of which are preserved by a grave Historian (10). It is therefore most probable, that when force came again to be thought of, it was originally moved by the same person that first hinted it, and that was Sir Christopher Blount, who had married the Earl of Essex's mother. This seems also to be clearly proved by the Earl of Essex's confession, who charged that gentleman with giving him such advice (11). Upon the whole, therefore, we have good reason to believe, that at first these were two distinct designs, and that Mr Cuffe founded all his hopes in the enlarging and increasing the Earl's faction, by taking in malecontents of all parties and of all religions, but more especially by drawing to him such great men and Ministers, as were known either to fear Secretary Cecil's resentment, or to envy his greatness, in pursuance of which scheme Mr Cuffe not only acted vigorously himself, and engaged the Earl in the like schemes, but prevailed upon him to employ others in the prosecution of that design, which went so far as to alarm the Court very much; nor is it at all improbable, that if it had been managed with more temper and discretion, and without giving such visible occasions of questioning the Earl's dutiful intentions, it might have been brought to end otherwise than it did, the Earl having most part of the city, and not a few at Court, on his side. But it was that Nobleman's misfortune, that with very great parts he had very great weaknesses; he was certainly a man of principle, as well in regard to policy as religion; but as he had very strong passions, and those kept constantly inflamed by his followers on one side, and his enemies on the other, there was little of steadiness in his proceedings. He sometimes embraced the sentiments of Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, and of his Court friends; but this method proving slow, he came, as it is said in the text, to dislike that, and fall in with Cuffe's counsels, who suspected the sincerity of the Courtiers, and thought to make his Lord formidable, by placing him at the head of a numerous party; but this too not answering in so short a time as his desires, and indeed his occasions, required, Sir Christopher Blount's project was brought again upon the carpet, and thus, by only approving the best, and pursuing the worst counsels, this Nobleman ruined himself and all who were attached to him.

(10) *Camd. n. Annal. p. 797.*

(11) See the trial of Sir Christopher Blount, and others, in the State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 47.

[D] Or

(7) *Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 792.*

(8) *Memorials and State Papers of the Sidney family, Vol. II. p. 122.*

(9) This is Cuffe's own account of the matter, at his trial, in his confessions, and at his death.

(t) Camd. Annal.  
Eliz. p. 834, 835.

(u) Reliquæ Wot-  
tonianæ, p. 31.

(w) Camd. Annal.  
Eliz. p. 833.

(x) Reliquæ Wot-  
tonianæ, p. 32.  
Camd. Annal.  
Eliz. p. 833.

(y) Wood's  
Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. I. col. 358.

(z) Camd. Annal.  
Eliz. p. 835, 837.

(a) See the de-  
claration of the  
Earl of Essex's  
treasons, Camd.  
Annal. Eliz. p.  
837.

(b) This is col-  
lected from the  
declaration be-  
fore mentioned,  
and the proceed-  
ings against the  
Earl and his ac-  
complices.

power (t). Yet, as much as the Earl liked the zeal and affection of his Secretary, and notwithstanding he delighted very much, as indeed he very well might, in his conversation, since he had a wonderful facility of applying all that he had learned from books to business, and of suiting the wise observations of ancient authors to the transactions of modern times (u). Yet, his Lordship was but too well acquainted with the nature of Courts, and more especially that he had to deal with, to regard Mr Cuffe's political reflections as oracles, which the other observed, and took amiss. This led him to shew the Earl, that he was not so far addicted to him as not to see his blind side; for that his submission, when called before the Lords of the Privy-Council, had sunk his character very much without raising his fortune at all; that, by admitting his own conduct in Ireland to be wrong, he, in effect, acknowledged all the proceedings against him right, and therefore, if he meant not to lead a life of dependance, he must think of recovering his reputation by some distinguished action (w). This roused the Earl, whose parts were certainly very good; he saw at once the danger of such advice, and the destruction that must attend his following it; for which reason he not only rejected it with disdain, but ordered Sir Gelly Merrick to discharge the Secretary immediately from his service, which, if he had done, some writers seem to think both their lives had been by it preserved. So it was however, that Sir Gelly Merrick took no notice of this order, which omission cost him his life also. The reason he gave for it was, that he was afraid Mr Cuffe might be tempted to join with his Lord's enemies; but his real motive was, his agreeing in Cuffe's sentiments (x). However, this produced a coldness, which lasted for some time; but the Queen denying to renew the Earl's grant for farming the sweet wines, and some other mortifications which he received from Court, having again soured his temper, he called Mr Cuffe back to his councils; to which he might be possibly induced for the sake of managing better a new design he was upon, which was interesting King James in his favour, or, rather, labouring to persuade that Prince of his cordial affection to his service: A thing not a little suspected before, as appeared by the Jesuit Persons's dedicating to his Lordship his dangerous book about the Succession, which he had published under the name of Doleman (y). This scheme was certainly a better than the former, and there is some reason to believe that this also was Cuffe's, and was, for some time, pretty well managed. But such was the heat of some of their associates tempers, that they would not suffer the Earl to wait for the good effects that project might have produced; on the contrary, they were continually infusing into him his danger of becoming a beggar, upon the expiration of his grant for the sweet wines; in consequence of which his friends would drop off, and he must entirely lose that credit and influence which had hitherto made him dreadful to his enemies, even under the weight of his misfortunes (z). By degrees these insinuations prevailed so far upon the Earl's mind, that he departed entirely from his scheme of submission, and returned to that sort of conduct which he had pursued in Ireland, directing, or at least allowing, Sir Gelly Merrick to keep a kind of open table for discontented and factious persons of all parties, though he did not appear in person, or converse with any of them, agreeable to one of Cuffe's maxims, *That it was good to have a multitude at his back, but few heads in his council* (a). Upon particular occasions, and to afford them necessary instructions for the management of their respective parts in the maintenance of his association, the Earl of Essex conferred personally, but generally in private, with the principal Lords and Gentlemen of his party, yet without disclosing the whole extent of his views, or the means he intended to employ in order to carry them into execution; those were reserved for his secret council, and these, as far as we can discern, were Sir Christopher Blount and Mr Cuffe, who suggested and directed, or at least examined, and gave their approbation, to all his proceedings (b) [D]. Amongst other schemes set on

foot

[D] Or at least examined and directed, and gave their approbation to all his proceedings.] We have in the text, upon the authority of a grave and great Historian, given an account of the motives upon which the Earl of Essex dismissed Mr Cuffe (12), and how that measure came to prove abortive; but the tale is quite otherwise told by a very polite writer, and one who asserts he had it from good authority. His story is worth the reading, it runs thus (13): 'There was amongst the Earl of Essex's nearest attendants, one Henry Cuffe, a man of secret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate counsels, smothered under the habit of a scholar, and slubbered over with a certain rude and clownish fashion, that had the semblance of integrity. This person, not above five or six weeks before my Lord's fatal irruption into the city, was, by the Earl's special command, suddenly discharged from all further attendance or access unto him, out of an inward displeasure then taken against his sharp and importunate insinuations, and out of a glimmering foresight, that he would prove the very instrument of his ruin. I must add hereunto, that about the same time my Lord had received from

' the Countess of Warwick (a Lady powerful in the Court, and indeed a virtuous user of her power) the best advice that I think was ever given from either sex, ' That when he was free from restraint he should closely take any out-lodgings at Greenwich, and sometimes, when the Queen went abroad in a good humour, whereof she would give him notice, he should come forth and humble himself before her in the field. ' This counsel sunk much into him, and for some days he resolved it, but, in the mean time, through the intercession of the Earl of Southampton, whom Cuffe had gained, he was restored to my Lord's ear, and so working advantage upon his disgraces, and the vain foundation of vulgar breath, which hurts many good men, spun out the final destruction of his master and himself, and almost of his restorer, if his pardon had not been won by inches. True it is that the Earl, in Westminster-Hall, did in general disclose the evil persuasions of this man; but the particulars which I have related, of his dismissal and restitution he buried in his own breast, for some reasons apparent enough. Indeed, as I conjecture, not to exasperate the case of my Lord of Southampton, though

(12) Camden.  
Annal. Eliz. p.  
833.

(13) Reliquæ  
Wottonianæ,  
p. 31.

foot at this time by Mr Cuffe, for the support of the Earl's interest, there was one which shewed him a true Politician, a great master in the knowledge of human nature, and a man equally capable of contriving with the utmost sagacity, and executing with the greatest address. Sir Henry Nevile, who had been the Queen's Ambassador in France, and who had shewn himself, in a long and troublesome negotiation, as active and able a Statesman as those times had produced, was then at home, and under kind of a court cloud, which, though he was nearly related to Sir Robert Cecil, he had some cause to suspect was of his raising, or, at least, thought he had good grounds to be displeas'd, that, by his known power and interest, it was not dispell'd (c). Upon the discontents of this great and wise Minister, Mr Cuffe thought it practicable to work; and, though he had never any nearness with the Earl of Essex in his greatest prosperity, or the least correspondence with him since his troubles began, yet Mr Cuffe, who knew with how great efficacy the associating so great a person, and of such high reputation for his sagacity in their designs, would operate in favour of the Earl's cause, undertook to bring it about, and, against all shew of probability, succeeded (d). He took an opportunity of insinuating to Sir Henry, that, after the Queen, his mistress, the nation in general, and the Ministry in particular, had received many and great advantages from that vigilance and industry with which he had managed publick affairs in France, and elsewhere; instead of receiving suitable rewards, exceptions were taken to his conduct, and himself put under difficulties and hardships, by the intrigues of Cecil, who was jealous of every man whose services were greater, and whose parts were better, than his own. By these suggestions he wrought himself so thoroughly into the confidence of Sir Henry Nevile, that he brought him to have a good opinion of the Earl his master's intentions for the publick service; and this may be justly esteem'd the most eminent stroke of Cuffe's politicks, and the highest proof of his abilities (e). His perfect intimacy with the Earl, the great likeness of their tempers, his entire knowledge of his affairs, might very well account for the ascendancy he had over him; but nothing of this, a very long acquaintance excepted, can be suggest'd with regard to Sir Henry Nevile, so that his interest with, and influence over, him could be ascribed to nothing but his abilities (f) [E]. We now come to the main point of the conspiracy;

(c) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. 1. p. 271.

(d) See Sir Henry Nevile's case, in Winwood's Memorials.

(e) Collected from Sir Henry Nevile's own relations of this matter.

(f) Mr Cuffe valued himself highly upon this at his trial.

' though he might therewithal a little peradventure  
' have mollified his own. The whole and true report  
' I had by infallible means, from the person himself  
' that both brought the advice from the aforesaid ex-  
' cellent Lady, and carried the discharge to Cuffe,  
' who, in a private chamber, was stricken therewith  
' into a swoon almost dead to the earth, as if he had  
' fallen from some high steeple; such turrets of hope  
' he had built in his own fancy! The noble Histori-  
' an, who, in his junior years, considered the subject  
upon which the author wrote whom we have last men-  
tioned, though he mentions him but very slightly, yet  
affords Mr Cuffe quite another kind of character, and  
makes him to have been a much better Courtier than  
his master, one who observed it as a fault in him, i. e.  
the Earl of Essex, that he wore his passions in his coun-  
tenance, that his affections or his anger were always to  
be read in his looks, and that he knew not how to con-  
ceal either. The noble writer's words deserve our notice.  
After shewing that there is a sort of dissimulation  
absolutely necessary in a Court, he proceeds to shew,

(14) how indifferently Essex was furnished in that particular; ' how ill, says he, the Earl was read in this philosophy, his servant Cuffe (whose observations were sharp enough, whatever Stoicisms raved in his nature) well discerned when he said, *Amorem & odium, semper in fronte gessit, nec celare novit.*

[E] So that his interest and influence over him, could be ascribed to nothing but his abilities ] It was from a long and intimate acquaintance with Sir Henry Nevile, that Mr Cuffe undertook to manage so dangerous and so intricate an affair with him. This we learn from Mr Cuffe himself, who, at his tryal, was very much provoked by the Attorney-General's treating him as a messenger from the Earl of Essex, and this induced him to tell the court, that he was no such Mercury as Mr Attorney was pleas'd to make him, but that in whatever he transacted with Sir Henry Nevile, he behaved as a principal, and as a common friend to the Earl and to the Knight (15). Indeed this is sufficiently corroborated by the account given of this matter by Sir Henry Nevile, which was read at Cuffe's trial, and what he had asserted is clearly confirmed. It was conceived in the following terms, allowing for the inaccuracy of the transcribers (16). ' At his (Sir Henry Nevile's) arrival out of France, he was told that he had  
' ill offices done him in Court by divers, and some of  
' great place, and his actions at Bullen and carriage

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' there greatly blamed, as causing the ill success of the  
' peace. And by Cuffe it was told him, the Earl  
' would have him know he was wronged, because  
' he was one that loved him. After this Cuffe brought  
' him a letter from the Earl, thereby desiring his love,  
' and to hold it to him, besides many other words only  
' of compliment. To which letter he returned an an-  
' swer suitable to so kind provocations: But all this  
' while he never went to him; and being in the coun-  
' try within ten miles of the Earl, yet never went to  
' visit him. But Cuffe came to him from the Earl and  
' told him, the Earl was then at liberty; and all the  
' world that would might then freely come unto him,  
' but still he put off his going, till, at one time, Cuffe  
' came and told him, the Earl expected his coming to  
' him, and such a day he would stay supper for him,  
' and that if he came, and Cuffe chanced not to be in  
' the way, a gentleman of the Earl's should attend his  
' coming, and bring him to the Earl's closet. About  
' eight of the clock that night he went to the Earl's,  
' and was met by a gentleman who brought him to his  
' Lord, who entertained him kindly, and after a while,  
' after many questions of his hopes, but used no undu-  
' tiful words of the Queen or State, he parted with the  
' Earl; there having nothing but ordinary terms of  
' compliment pass'd between them. Afterwards, Mr  
' Cuffe repairing often to him, he asked him at times  
' how his Lord's matters stood in Court. At one time  
' he answer'd him, well; and told him of great hopes  
' conceived; at some other time he answer'd him very  
' discontentedly in these things, saying it made no  
' matter, it would cause the Earl to take other courses,  
' and said there was a pretext to lay up the Earl of  
' Southampton, which was a warning that they meant  
' to lay up Lord Essex after him, but that the Earl  
' was resolv'd they should never curb him up any  
' more. Cuffe then told him, his Lord had in pur-  
' pose some matters, but he should not embark himself  
' further in them than he list'd, and desired him to  
' give a meeting to the Earl of Southampton and Sir  
' Charles Danvers; he said he would, but with this  
' limitation, that nothing was intended against the  
' Queen's person, which was promis'd. But he de-  
' tain'd them at two meetings, which caus'd them to  
' make an ill judgment of his meaning towards them  
' and the intendment. Monday, on Candlemas-day,  
' standing in Serjeants-inn gate, the Earls of Essex,  
' Southampton, and Sir Christopher Blount, pass'd by

18 F

in

(14) Disparity between the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Essex, written by the Earl of Clarendon.

(15) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 59.

(16) Ibid. p. 47.

conspiracy, or that design laid for restoring the Earl's power and greatness, which ended in his own, and in his followers ruin. Here it is necessary to distinguish between Mr Cuffe's scheme, which was contrived and never executed, and the unfortunate Earl's project, which, if I may be allowed the expression, without being thought to play upon words, was executed without any contrivance. As to the first it was this, Mr Cuffe perceiving that the Earl had many friends, some of them of great rank and quality, and that Cecil, and his associates in the ministry, had likewise many enemies, who were also persons eminent by their birth, fortune, and influence, he thought that, by uniting these, and procuring, some way or other, access to the Queen, a change might be made in the management of publick affairs, at least in her name, if not by her consent, and the Earl thereby raised to a degree of power equal to his friends wants, and his own wishes (g).

(g) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 395.

Whether this sudden change for the present, was to have derived a future support, by a declaration in favour of the King of Scots claim to the succession, or whether that was to be left to further consideration, is a point we want lights sufficient to determine; but, that this was really the basis of Cuffe's project, and that he flattered himself it would not come within the legal construction of treason, is what we have good grounds to believe, and, indeed, sufficient authorities to prove (b).

(b) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 837, 838.

When things were thus far brought into order, a resolution was taken, that a general and solemn meeting should be had at Drury-House, where the chiefs of the party might see each other, where they might have a full communication in reference to their strength, and come to some resolution as to the attempt that should be made, and the safest and most feasible method of making it. After much reflection and consideration, February 2d, 1601, was fixed upon, and, accordingly, upon that day, the assembly was held at the place before-mentioned (i).

(i) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 396.

It is very remarkable, that the Earl of Essex himself was not present, to prevent, as was said, any notice or umbrage being taken at Court; but, in reality, that there might be no evidence to affect him for holding such an assembly, or those who were present at it for consulting with him, in case any thing relating to it should take air. At this assembly Mr Cuffe was likewise not present, but all his friends, and at his request, and upon his earnest intreaty amongst the rest, Sir Henry Nevile. It was propounded there, that a few persons had got the Queen and the Government into their hands; that such as they disliked were no longer safe; that they daily suffered wrongs and oppressions, without any hopes of redress; that these proceedings were against justice and common right, and that the only remedy was, to obtain an audience of the Queen, in which these grievances might be fairly laid before her (k).

(k) See the case of Sir Henry Nevile, in Winwood's Mem.

After these preliminaries, the main point, How such an audience should be obtained? came under deliberation, and a scheme was then laid down for the Earl of Essex gaining access to her Majesty, and power enough to remove his enemies; but nothing was resolved in this assembly, though a list was produced of one hundred and thirty Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of estates, that were ready to embark in the Earl's cause, and to hazard, as indeed many of them did, and lost too, for his sake, their lives and fortunes (l). Such was the design and issue of the conference at Drury-House, in which Mr Cuffe had so deep a share, as well in the managing as in the contriving [F].

(l) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 840. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 396.

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in a coach, whom he saluted passing, and was the first time he had seen them of long. Anon after, Cuffe coming to him, told him he had a commission to deliver a secret unto him, which was, that the Earl finding his life sought by men potent about her Majesty, he was advised to make his appearance to the Queen, and go with strength for that purpose, describing the same manner of taking the Court, and making way to the Queen, as before is set down by others. This Cuffe said he was to impart to him, as one in whose love the Earl was confident. The matters being propounded unto him, he made many objections, and put great difficulties in the execution, easy perfecting of things being promised; my answer was, *Multa sunt quæ non laudantur nisi cum aguntur*. When some persons were named for the actors, he objected that if many knew it, it would not be concealed; if few were used, it would not be performed. The Earl of Rutland being named for one, said, they would not trust him long before-hand, for if he knew it but two hours before he would tell. In conclusion, he was desired to think of the things propounded in case they were shewed unto him. Afterward Cuffe came to him, to whom he related all the speeches used in that conference, and told him he would not allow it, except they would conjure and take an oath to attempt nothing against the Queen's person and against Mr Secretary, he would never do nor consent to any thing, for he was nearer unto him, therefore they must, *duce pudicè*, spare him in that. Cuffe said to him they would only have him present when things were doing, and if it fell out so, that he should be hastened to dispatch into France before

that time, he might defer it by feigning sickness. By their appointment he should have been Secretary. Further it is required, that he should have sent a Minister into London to find how the city stood affected to the Earl. Cuffe further told him of a buzz in many mens mouths in London, and that there had been warning given to the Mayor and Aldermen to look to the city, but of twenty-four Aldermen he doubted not of twenty at least. It is evident enough that this narrative was but indistinctly taken, however it is the best we have, and comes home to the point it was brought to prove, that Sir Henry Nevile had a great confidence in Cuffe, and that it was chiefly from this he was drawn to meddle in the affair.

[F] In which Mr Cuffe had so deep a share, as well in the managing as in the contriving. There is one point left much in the dark in the last note, which therefore should be explained in this; it is confessed that Sir Henry Nevile was privy to the proposals made, and the resolutions taken, in the consultation at Drury House, and it was for his knowledge of them, and for that only, that Cuffe died; it is requisite therefore that the reader should be acquainted with what those propositions were, and this he shall be told with all the succinctness possible (17). Sir Christopher Blount was, with a choice detachment, to possess himself of the Palace gate; Davis was to seize the hall; Danvers the guard-chamber, which was but slightly watched, and the presence-chamber; and Essex was to rush in from the Meuse, which were stables belonging to the Court, with a select party at his heels, and to beg the Queen on his knees to remove his adversaries from her presence, to bring them upon their trial, and then to call

(17) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 839.

a Par-

There was a second meeting some time after, to which Mr Cuffe used many intreaties with Sir Henry Nevile to come, but he absolutely refused, nor would he listen to what was proposed, of an interview with the Earl of Essex, from a supposition that he was unwilling to trust himself where there were so many people present; but, in reality, he had already heard much more than he was inclined to hear, foresaw but too clearly the consequences of the former meeting, though he was unwilling, as a man of honour, to betray those who had trusted him, as well as a man of too much sense to trust himself in such a company again (*m*). Things were now so far advanced, that it was thought dangerous to go back, at the same time that there was no safety in going forward; a great resort of company there was to Essex-House, and, to cover this, the mask of religion was used, the Earl pretending that he sought no relief but from spiritual comforts; and, for this reason, he had frequent sermons there, and indeed many of the Clergy in the city ventured to pray for him, and for his preservation; which, all things considered, was a very strange thing (*n*). It is not to be supposed, that the Court was asleep all this while, or that Sir Robert Cecil, and his friends, should have so growing and dangerous an evil in their neighbourhood, without being apprised of it, or providing for their own safety. There is very good reason to believe, that they were not either inattentive or ill-informed, and that having mustered, in their own opinions, the whole force of the Lord Essex's party, they grew convinced, that any step, tending to open force, must end in his destruction. They therefore, to quicken him, took a variety of methods of shewing their contempt of his interest, and suffered those who had personal quarrels with his friends to insult them (*o*). Though this went to Essex's heart, yet he was irresolute, as not being able to draw together a number of persons sufficient to execute the scheme that had been talked over at Drury-House. But while he delayed, in hopes of collecting strength, his enemies, having provided for the total dissipation of his schemes, determined not to let him linger any longer, and therefore a message was sent him on Saturday the seventh day of February, from Secretary Herbert, to attend him, which he excused, on the score of his indisposition; and this, as it was foreseen it would, forced him to break out, as he did the next day, with all the force that he could collect; but, being dissuaded from attempting the court, and failing of that assistance he expected in the city, he, and all that were with him in Essex-House, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners (*p*). By this sudden reverse of fortune, Mr Cuffe found himself in the most wretched condition possible; for the Earl of Essex being tried and condemned on the 19th of February, and being solicited by the Divines who attended him while under sentence, not only confessed matters that were prejudicial to Mr Cuffe, and gave those confessions under his hand, but likewise charged him to his face with being the author of all his misfortunes, and the person who principally perswaded him to pursue violent measures (*q*). Sir Henry Nevile also being involved in this unhappy business, charged Mr Cuffe with being the person who invited him to the meeting at Drury-House, but very modestly, and without any circumstances of aggravation (*r*). He was brought to his trial on the fifth of March following, and defended himself with great steadiness and spirit (*s*) [G]. He was, however, convicted;

(*m*) Sir Henry Nevile's case and his narrative, printed in Cuffe's trial.

(*n*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 839.

(*o*) See Osborn's Political Deductions from Essex's death.

(*p*) Camd. Annal. p. 839. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 401, 402.

(*q*) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 53.

(*r*) See his case and his narrative, printed in Cuffe's trial.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies in Somersetsshire, p. 28. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 366.

a Parliament and make a change in the government. This most certainly was not originally Mr Cuffe's scheme, but was made up of his and Sir Christopher Blount's blended together, and to which, in the end, Mr Cuffe was brought to assent, as the only one that was practicable. Of this it was that Sir Henry Nevile gave his opinion, that some things were not to be applauded till they were achieved, and of this it is not improbable, that he gave some hints, to the Court, at least something like this was said by Secretary Cecil at Cuffe's trial. We now see the very depth of this affair, and in what manner, and by what degrees, Mr Cuffe plunged into this treasonable abyss, out of which, though there were some who escaped, yet it is generally thought that they left the best part of their estates behind them.

[G] *And defended himself with great steadiness and spirit.*] When the Attorney-General Coke opened a charge against Mr Cuffe, he did it with all that violence which was so natural to him (18); he told him that he was the errantest traytor that ever came to the bar; he was *polypragma*, the very seducer of the Earl, and added, that, since he was a scholar and a sophister, he would frame him a syllogism, and bid him deny which part he would. The syllogism was this, Who-soever commits rebellion intends the Queen's death, but you committed rebellion, *ergo*, you intended the Queen's death. After abundance of other hard sayings he enters into the charge, but without producing any witnesses, or any kind of proof, except the confession of Sir Henry Nevile, and the stories that Secretary Cecil was pleased to tell upon the bench, of the confessions of the Earl of Essex and of the Earl of

Southampton, all which were in this general manner used as evidence that Cuffe was the great framer and manager of all these dangerous designs. At length, Mr Cuffe being allowed to speak for himself, said, 'the matters objected against him were many, and urged against him with all force of wit, therefore, for the help of his weak memory, he would reduce all unto two heads, things plotted, and things acted. For the first of them, Mr Attorney thinks he hath concluded me in mood and figure, but my answer is, that if a man may be excused of treason by committing nothing, I am clear. Yet the number of matters heaped upon me, and the inferences and enforcements of the same used against me, to make me odious, make me seem also as a monster of many heads in this business. But since by the law all accusations are to be believed, and facts weighed, as by evidence they are proved, and things are best proved being singled; I will beseech Mr Attorney, that we may insist upon some point certain, and not, as in a stream, have all things at once brought upon me with violence. For my being in Essex House the Sunday, I hope it shall be construed as in the case of others. Then, if those who only had their being within the walls of that house, and no hand nor head in that action, were not traitors, I hope, that in favour and in charity, you will accordingly judge of me, who spent all that day locked up in my chamber amongst my books, and never appeared unto any man till all was yielded up to my Lord Admiral. To conclude me to be a traitor, because I was in the house where treason was committed, by the same reason, if a lion had been there locked up in a grate, he had been in case of treason.

(1) Stowe's Annual, p. 795.

victed; and, as he was looked upon as the principal author of this fatal business; considered as a man of dangerous capacity; and having had no sort of intelligence with those that were then in favour, he was, with Sir Gelly Merrick, executed at Tyburn, March 30th, 1601, and died with great constancy and courage (1) [H]. His character has been harshly

treason. But whereas your argument, Mr Attorney, is this, that whosoever intends treason, and the same is afterwards acted by others, there the intender, as well as the actor, is a traitor. But I intended treason, and others acted it, ergo. Mr Attorney it is not your major that I deny, because my Lords the Judges have determined that, but I deny your minor. For if the thing intended was the going to the Court, yet the thing acted was the going into London. But Mr Attorney-General taking him short upon his own confession, concluded him a traitor, for in treason the very intent is treason, if the same can be proved. Now it is confessed by Mr Cuffe, that he intended the taking of the Court, which in itself is treason. Mr Cuffe said, 'My Lords, the matters forced upon me so amaze me, as I know not what to say: but I beseech you, even as yourselves shall be judged, judge so of me both by my words and deeds, for this is the law both of God and man; and let not the accusations of others, or arguments now forced so far, have power against me, as to take from me my just defence. I am further charged with contriving plots for restoring the Earl to greatness. True, I must confess, as a servant that longed for the honour of his master, I have often wished to see his recalling to the Court, and restoring to her Majesty's former favour, but beyond the limits of these desires my thoughts never carried me, nor aspired to other greatness, than to see him again in place of a servant and worthy subject as before he had been. And whereas I stand accused to be as one that turned the wheel, which else had stood, and to be the stirrer of his mind, which otherwise had settled to another course; to clear this I had written two lines, which you, Mr Secretary, knew the Earl would have subscribed if he might have been suffered.' But Mr Secretary affirmed, he perceived no such purpose in the Earl, neither remembered any such matter in that which was written. Said Cuffe, 'You know, Mr Secretary, my paper being read to the Earl as he read, he said, still as he went, true, true.' At the importunity of Mr Cuffe, Mr Secretary willed the paper should be read, but it tended only unto this, that if he knew of the Earl's intent to go to the Court, 'twas with such limitations as the Earl had propounded, otherwise not, for he had not suggested any of these new practices. Mr Attorney, to cut short this defence, began his reply with telling him, 'Come Mr Cuffe, I will give you a cuff shall set you down;' and then ordered part of the Earl's and Sir Henry Nevile's confession, to be read. Mr Secretary Cecil then questioned Mr Cuffe, What was meant with respect to a Parliament? to which he answered, that if these schemes had succeeded, many alterations would have followed, and that, for the settling of things, a Parliament might then have become necessary. Mr Attorney-General was pleased to inform the Court, that, in that Parliament, Mr Cuffe was to have been Speaker. The jury found him guilty, in which Mr Cuffe said that they had done but right in discharging their consciences; he took notice, that when he was seized he had but two shillings about him, but that there were three hundred and fifty pounds in ready money taken in his chamber; he said, that, upon his being first carried to the Tower, he was put into a very bad place, but that he was afterwards removed into a better, where he desired to continue, which was afterwards granted; he farther requested, that he might have a Divine sent him, and be allowed the use of pen, ink, and paper, which were also promised. Mr Camden, in his account of Cuffe's trial, says (19), that the Lord Chief Justice Anderson, told both the Attorney-General and Mr Cuffe, that they were but indifferent disputants, and pressed the statute of treason, by which Cuffe was concluded, since it appeared that he was acquainted with what passed in the conference at Drury House, and the proposal of putting the Queen under a force, and shewed his approbation of it by citing, in conversation, to Sir Henry Nevile, a passage from the poet Lucan, implying, that

where justice is denied, it might be obtained by force:

— Arma tenenti  
Omnia dat, qui iusta negat.

Mr Fuller, who affects to treat every subject merrily, says (20), humorously enough, that this might be stiled Mr Cuffe's *neck-verse*, in which how improperly however he shews his wit, yet certainly he shews his judgment at the same time, for without doubt the quoting these verses was the highest treason that Cuffe committed, and the only proof that he consented to the project of putting a force upon the Queen, which, in the construction of the law, was treason; yet this is so far from being proved by two witnesses, that it could only have been proved by one, and even he was not produced. Such, in comparison of those in which we live, was the justice, or rather severity, of former times.

[H] And died with great constancy and courage.] It was an observation of Secretary Cecil's, that Cuffe was as silent under his misfortunes, as his master was open. Indeed there was something very extraordinary in the Earl of Essex's behaviour, for, when he once began to confess, he charged every body that had any kindness for him, as having a hand in his plot; such as the Lord Montjoy, his successor in Ireland, and many others; so that the very number of them rendered a prosecution unsafe, which is a further proof that Cuffe's original scheme might have succeeded, had it been coolly and carefully pursued. The Earl, to prove his sincerity, desired to see Mr Cuffe, whom he exhorted to confess, as he did, with many passionate expressions, adding at last (21), 'I must tell you plainly, that this instance of disloyalty is purely owing to your advice.' Mr Camden tells us, that Mr Cuffe was surprized at this, and in few words, but to the purpose, charged the Earl with weakness and levity in betraying his friends (22). This was before Mr Cuffe's trial, and how handsomely he acted thereat has been already shewn. At the place of execution all writers agree, that he behaved with the utmost resolution, and the most steady composure. He delivered himself, upon this melancholy occasion, in the following words: 'I am brought hither to pay my last debt to nature, and to suffer for crimes committed against God, my Prince, and my country; and as I cannot but discern the infinite justice of God, when I reflect on the multitude of my offences, so can I as little doubt but the severity of my punishment will make way for my admission into the embraces of his mercy. We are exposed here as sad spectacles, and instances of human frailty; the death we are to undergo carries a frightful aspect, (for even the best of men desire life) besides that 'tis as full of ignominy as terror. However, 'tis the portion of the best of saints, with whom I assuredly hope to rise again in Christ. Not that I would be thought by any one to depend upon my own merits, which I absolutely discard, but I place my entire trust and dependence in the atonement of my Saviour's blood. I am fully persuaded, that, whoever feels a secret consolation within himself whilst he groans under the infliction of any earthly punishment, is chastised by God with a paternal tenderness, and not in an angry and judicial way. But to come to the cause of my death. There is nobody here can be possibly ignorant, what a wild commotion was raised on the 8th of February, by a particular great, but unadvised, Earl. I do here call God, his angels, and my own conscience, to witness, that I was not in the least concerned therein, but was shut up on that whole day within the house, where I spent my time in very melancholy reflections.' Here he was interrupted, and advised not to disguise the truth by distinctions, nor palliate his crime by specious pretences. Then he proceeded in these words: 'I confess 'tis a crime as black as treason, for a subject, who has lost his Prince's favour, to force his way to the royal presence. For my

(20) Worthies in Somersetshire, p. 23.

(21) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 59.

(22) Annal. Eliz. p. 839.

(19) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 866.

harshly treated by Lord Bacon (u) and Sir Henry Wotton (w), and some other writers; Camden also, who knew him intimately, and had lived for many years in great friendship with him, bestows on him a short but bitter reflection. Others are milder in their censures, and all allow him to have been a very learned and a very able man. He wrote a book in English, that was printed after his death several times, and has been much commended (x); and, besides this, there is another work of his that was never printed, of both which we shall give some account in the notes [I]. The course of his life, as well as the manner of his death, rendered him the theme of much discourse in his own times; our general Historians have mentioned him in such a manner, as might have raised the curiosity of their readers, to be more particularly informed. The Reverend Mr Fuller (y) has given him a place amongst his Worthies in Somersetshire; honest Anthony Wood (z) has treated him with great fairness and freedom; and the learned and industrious Bishop Tanner (a) has spoken of him, as indeed he does of every-body, with great candour, accuracy, and decency; and these authorities will sufficiently justify the giving his memoirs a place in this collection, more especially as it has afforded an opportunity of setting several historical circumstances relating to a very dark and intricate affair, in a clear and true light. His death hindered not his limbs from being interred, though we are not able to say where; tho' the manner of it did, as it well might, deprive him of a monument; an old friend of his, however, ventured to embalm his memory in an epigram (b), with which, being very short, we shall conclude:

(u) See his Works, Vol. IV. p. 395.

(w) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.

(x) Fuller's Worthies in Somersetshire, p. 28. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 303.

(y) Fuller's Worthies, p. 28.

(z) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 303.

(a) Bibliotheca Britannica-Hibernica, p. 211.

(b) Owen, Epigram. lib. v. no. 107.

Doctus eras Græce felixque tibi fuit Alpha  
At fuit infelix Omega Cuffe tuum.

Which has been thus translated:

*Thou wast, indeed, well read in Greek!  
Thy Alpha too was crown'd with hope;  
But, oh! tho' sad the truth I speak,  
Thy Omega proved but a rope.*

' my own part, I never persuaded any man to take up arms against the Queen, but am most heartily concerned, for being an instrument of bringing that worthy Gentleman, Sir Henry Nevile, into danger; and do most earnestly intreat his pardon: and whereas I said, that one and twenty Aldermen out of the twenty-four were devoted to the Earl's interest, I only meant that they were his friends, and ready to serve him, but not in the way of open rebellion.' Here he was again interrupted, and so began to apply himself to his devotions, which he managed with a great deal of fervour, and then, making a solemn profession of his creed, and asking pardon of God and the Queen, he was dispatched by the executioner. A man, says Camden, of most exquisite learning, and of a penetrating, but seditious and crooked, wit (23). *Vir exquisitissima doctrina, ingenioque acerrimo, sed turbido & tortuoso.*

[I] Of both which we shall give some account in the notes.] As for Mr Cuffe's book, it was, for some time after his decease, handed about at Oxford in manuscript, and considered as a very great curiosity. Mr Anthony Wood tells us, he wrote it in the year 1600, that is, a very little before his death. About six years after it was printed under this title:

*The Differences of the Ages of Man's Life, together with the original Causes, Progress, and End, thereof. Written by the learned Henry Cuffe, some time Fellow of Merton-college in Oxford Lond. 1607, 1638, 8vo; 1640, 12mo.* There is something in this piece very curious and philosophical, and though, at this time of day, what between our proficiency in experimental philosophy, in which he was but a beginner, and the uncouthness of his stile, which was the fault of his time, much of the beauty of his work is lost; yet the strength of his thoughts, the accuracy of his method,

and his connected manner of reasoning, leaves no reason at all to doubt, that he deserved the commendations that have been bestowed upon him. Mr Wood says (24), that he left behind him many other things ready for the press, which were never published; but he does not think fit to tell us any of their titles. All that we can supply from the enquiries of the indefatigable Bishop Tanner, is the following title of one piece, and the place where it is, or at least was once, to be found (25):

*De rebus gestis in sancto concilio Nicæno*, or, 'The Transactions in the Holy Council of Nice, translated out of Greek into Latin,' and is believed to have been the work of Gelasius Cyricenus, which was transcribed from the original in the Vatican Library, by Henry Cuffe (26). We will conclude this note with the judicious and salutary reflection of a celebrated author, upon the uneasy life, and unfortunate death, of this extraordinary person of whom we have been speaking, which teaches the use of these kind of Histories, and shews, that we may borrow as beneficial improvements from contemplating the lives of unhappy men, as from the perusal of the swelling memoirs of persons more indebted to Fortune for her favours (27). 'Mingle not, says he, your interest with a great man's, made desperate by debts or Court injuries, whose breakings out prove fatal to their wisest followers and friends, averred in the last Earl of Essex but one, where Merrick his Steward, and Cuffe his Secretary, though of excellent parts, were both hanged. For such unconcocted rebellions turn seldom to the hurt of any but the parties that promote them, being commonly guided by the directions of their enemies, as this was by Cecil, whose creatures persuaded Essex to this inconsiderate attempt.' E

(24) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 303.

(25) Bibliotheca Cotton. Nero D. X.

(26) Bibliotheca Britannica-Hibernica, p. 211.

(27) Osborn's Advice to his Son, P. i. cap. iv.

C U M B E R L A N D (R I C H A R D) a very learned Divine, and Bishop of Peterborough in the close of the last and beginning of the present century. He was the son of an honest citizen of London, who, by his industry, acquired a competent, though not a great fortune (a). This Reverend Prelate was born in the parish of St Ann near Aldersgate, July 15th, 1632, tho' his father lived afterwards in Fleet-street (b). He received the first tincture of letters in St Paul's school, under the care of Mr John Langley (c), and was removed from thence to Magdalen-College in Cambridge, where he was con-

(b) Willis's Survey of Cathedral, Vol. III. p. 510.

(c) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 555.

(23) Camd. Aan. Eliz. p. 368.

(a) From the Rev. Mr Havne's Preface to S. Bonauto's Phœnician History, p. 3.

temporary with some very worthy and learned persons; such as Dr Hezekiah Burton, his intimate friend and acquaintance, a very learned and pious Divine; Dr Hollings, an eminent Physician at Shrewsbury; Sir Samuel Moreland, admired for his skill in the Mathematicks; the celebrated Mr Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty; and the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, to whom himself, and his friend Dr Burton, were Chaplains at the same time (d). He was very remarkable, while Fellow of his College, for his diligent application to his studies, as well as for the unaffected piety, and unblemished probity, of his life. It does not appear in what year this excellent person came to the University, but from circumstances it may be very easily collected, and we have reason to think it was in 1649 (e): He took his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1653 (f), and in 1656 he became Master of Arts (g), at which time he had thoughts of applying himself to Physick, which he actually studied for some time (h). He was incorporated Master of Arts in the University of Oxford, July 14th, 1657 (i). He went out Bachelor of Divinity at a publick commencement at his own University, A. D. 1663, with universal applause (k). His first preferment was the rectory of Brampton in the deanery of Haddon, in the archdeaconry and county of Northampton, which was given him by Sir John Norwich. The patron was not disappointed in having a Clerk, who, in all respects, answered his highest expectations, and they lived together in the greatest unanimity (l). This worthy Gentleman was descended of a most antient and noble family, and was advanced to the dignity of a Baronet by King Charles the First. Brampton was his own parish, where he lived in great privacy and retirement. Mr Cumberland was admitted December 3d, 1658, upon the demise of the Reverend Mr John Ward (m); and after the Restoration, having never had the least scruple to the authority of the Church, he had a legal institution, and read the thirty-nine articles, as directed by law, November 24th, 1661 (n), and was, the same year, appointed one of the twelve Preachers in the University of Cambridge: this, however, was a temporary avocation only, owing to the high character he had raised by the masterly manner in which he had performed all academical exercises, and from which he quickly returned to the duties of his parochial charge. In this rural retirement he minded little else than the duties of his function, and his studies. His relaxations from these were very few besides his journies to Cambridge, which he made frequently, to preserve a correspondence with his learned acquaintance in that place. Here he thought to have remained, and here he might have remained during the course of his whole life, if his intimate friend and kind benefactor Sir Orlando Bridgeman, upon his receiving the seals in 1667, had not sent for him up to London, made him his Chaplain, and soon after bestowed upon him the living of Alhallows in Stamford (o). He discharged the functions of his ministry in that great town with indefatigable diligence; for, besides the duties incumbent upon him by his parochial charge, he accepted of the weekly lecture, and, by this means, was obliged to preach three times every week in the same church (p). This difficult province he went through constantly and assiduously; and tho' this alone would have been a burthen too heavy for an ordinary man, he discharged it with so much ease, that he carried on at the same time great designs in his Philosophical, Mathematical, and Philological Studies. He gave a noble proof of this, and one which equally demonstrated the soundness of his morals, and the solidity of his parts, in publishing his *Philosophical ENQUIRY into the LAWS of NATURE*; a book deserving universal applause, and received with the applause that it deserved [A]. He was not in the least elevated with the praises

(d) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 4, 5, 6.

(e) See the following dates, and those of his two dedications.

(f) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 555.

(g) Extract from the University Register.

(h) Kennet's Chronicle, ubi supra.

(i) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 118.

(k) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 555.

(l) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's History, p. 7.

(m) Baronetage of England, Vol. II. p. 216. Kennet's Chron. p. 555.

(n) Regist. Laney Petriburg.

(o) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's History, p. 8. But Mr Willis says that he was Vicar of St Martin's, Stamford.

(p) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's History, p. 9.

[A] And received with the applause that it deserved.] The title of this work at large runs thus: *De Legibus Naturæ Disquisitio Philosophica, in qua earum forma, summa Capita, Ordo, Promulgatio, & Obligatio à rerum naturâ investigantur; quin etiam Elementa Philosophiæ Hobbeianæ, tum moralis tum civilis, considerantur & refutantur.* Londini 1672, 4to. i. e. 'A Philosophical Enquiry into the Laws of Nature, in which their Form, principal Heads, Order, Promulgation, and Obligation, are investigated from the nature of things; and in which also the Philosophical Elements of Hobbes, moral as well as civil, are considered and refuted.' This book was written while he was Chaplain to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, to whom it was dedicated, and there is prefixed to it a short Preface to the reader, by the author's friend and fellow Chaplain to the Lord Keeper, Dr Hezekiah Burton. Dr Cumberland being at a distance from the press when this book was published, it came into the world very incorrectly printed, and in subsequent editions these faults were multiplied in a very surprizing manner (1). We may from hence form an idea of the excellency of a work, that could, notwithstanding, support its author's reputation both at home and abroad, and be constantly esteemed one of the best performances that ever appeared, and that too upon one of the nicest and most important subjects. Mr Payne says very justly, that it was one of the first pieces written in a demon-

strative way on a moral subject, and at the same time the perfectest (2). It is indeed on all hands admitted, that the Philosopher of Malmesbury was never so closely handled, or his notions so thoroughly sifted, as by Dr Cumberland. He has however taken a new road, very different from Grotius, Puffendorff, and other writers, more difficult, and less entertaining indeed, but, at the same time, much more convincing. It was desired that a piece of such general utility should be made better known by being put into an easier method, and translated into the English language. This the author would not oppose, though he did not undertake it; being very sensible that the obscurity complained of by some, was really in the subject itself, and would be found so by those who meddled with it. The project however was pursued by James Tyrrel, Esq; grandson to the famous Archbishop Usher, who published his performance under the following title: *A brief Disquisition of the Law of Nature, according to the principles and method laid down in the Reverend Dr Cumberland's (now Lord Bishop of Peterborough) Latin Treatise on that Subject; as also his Confutations of Mr Hobbes's Principles, put into another Method, with the author's approbation* (3). Mr Payne, whom we have so often quoted, gives us a very honest and fair account of a design that he also had of the same nature. After mentioning the prejudice that this work had received from its ill usage at the press, he proceeds

(1) See the Rev. Mr Maxwell's Preface to his Translation.

(2) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 26.

(3) Lond. 1692. 8vo.

praises bestowed upon him, not only by the world in general, but by persons of the most distinguished merit and learning, upon the score of this excellent performance (q). He went on doing his duty with the same calmness and cheerfulness as before; and, in this station of a private Clergyman, so great was his reputation, that he was importuned by the University, and by other acquaintance, to take upon him the weighty exercise of responding at the publick commencement. Nothing but the earnest sollicitation of his friends could have prevailed with a man, void not only of ambition but of even the desire of applause, to appear so publickly. This he did in the year 1680, in so masterly a manner, that, for many years after, the memory of his performance remained fresh in that University (r) [B]. The next specimen of his great abilities and profound learning appeared in the year 1686, in his *ESSAY on Jewish MEASURES and WEIGHTS*; a work written with the utmost sagacity, and in which is discovered qualities that seldom are found in the same mind, a deep penetration, extensive reading, a strong and accurate judgment, together with a candour seldom to be met with, and an unaffected humility, which, in conjunction with such talents, is truly admirable (s). It was a work not only highly useful in it's nature, but very much wanted, and was therefore received with the highest applause by the best judges, who were equally pleased with the method and matter, as well as the manner and conciseness, of the performance. It was afterwards reprinted, and will continue to support the reputation of it's author, as long as this kind of literature is either encouraged or understood (t) [C]. His sincere attachment to the Protestant Religion

(q) See this thoroughly explained in the notes.

(r) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's History, p. 9.

(s) See this fully explained in the notes.

(t) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's History, p. 27.

ceeds thus: ' This may have been some discouragement to the reading it, though the difficulty of the subject, and the closeness of the reasoning, has been a greater. Hardly any men hitherto have made themselves acquainted with the argument of it, but such as are in the uppermost form of learning. I have sometimes wished that his Lordship would have been pleased to have revised it, and tried to make it more easy and intelligible, but it had lain so long out of his hands, that he did not care to take it up again. He gave me leave to attempt any thing of that kind if I would, and as a help he gave me his own interleaved book, which has here and there a little addition. I read his book over and over diligently with this view, but never found where I could well alter any thing, where I could leave out, or where I could add. All I can think on to give a little advantage to common readers, is to print the book correctly, to give an Analysis of the argumentation, to add contents to each paragraph, and to divide them oftener. This I may perhaps find leisure to do (4).' It is not impossible, that the Rev.

Mr Payne might be diverted from this purpose of his, which certainly would have been very welcome to the learned world, by a like attempt made some few years after, while he was employed in publishing the Bishop's Posthumous Works, by a Reverend Divine of the kingdom of Ireland, who very probably never heard of his intention, or of the singular advantages he had, and which must have enabled him to perform it better than any other man. This last mentioned gentleman printed an English translation of our Prelate's book by subscription, under the following title: ' A Treatise of the Laws of Nature, by the Right Reverend Father in God Richard Cumberland, Lord Bishop of Peterborough; made English from the Latin by John Maxwell, A. M. Prebendary of Connor, and Chaplain to his Excellency the Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: To which is prefixed, an Introduction concerning the mistaken notions which the Heathens had of the Deity, and the defects in their Morality, whence the usefulness of Revelation may appear. At the end is subjoined an Appendix containing two Discourses, 1. Concerning the Immateriality of thinking Substance. 2. Concerning the Obligation, Promulgation, and Observance, of the Law of Nature; by the Translator. Lond. 1727, 4to.'

[B] Remained fresh in that university.] These kind of exercises are common in the university, which, however, does not hinder their being performed with great strictness and punctuality, and, as this is always done before a numerous audience, composed of persons who are all of them proper judges, we may be satisfied, that whenever discourses are not only received with a temporary applause, but dwell upon the memory of such as hear them, and are talked of for many years after, they must have an extraordinary degree of merit to recommend them. The topics that were now handled

by our learned and accomplished author, were equally weighty and important in themselves, and, at the same time, of a no less nice and delicate nature, such as, denouncing his zeal for the Church of England, must, at the same time, deprive him of any assistance from either of the two opposite factions, each of which, at that time, was known to have a considerable influence. The theses maintained by him were (5), 1. Sancto Petro nulla data est jurisdictione in cæteros Apostolos; i. e. *St Peter had no jurisdiction granted him over the rest of the Apostles.* 2. Separatio ab Ecclesia Anglicana est schismatica; i. e. *The separation from the Church of England is schismatical.*

[C] Is either encouraged or understood.] The title of his book at large runs thus: *An Essay towards the recovery of the Jewish Measures and Weights, comprehending their Monies, by help of an antient Standard, compared with ours of England, useful also to state many of those of the Greeks, Romans, and Eastern Nations.* Lond. 1686, 8vo' The Dedication of this book to Samuel Pepys, Esq; then President of the Royal Society, is dated October 28, 1685, and from thence it may not be amiss to transcribe a paragraph or two, because they shew the reason why this piece was written. ' Because, Sir, the improvement of natural knowledge, for which the Royal Society was founded, may be attained, in some degree, by recovering some parts thereof which the Antients had, but are now unknown, I thought it not improper to present to you, who deservedly preside in that illustrious Society, this attempt to restore those eldest standards of measures and weights, which are mentioned in the most antient records, the Sacred Scriptures, as commonly known when they were written. But such hath been the ignorance and carelessness in these matters, of many intervenient ages, by whose care these things should have been transmitted to us their posterity, that most of our late diligent enquirers have declared their opinion to be, that though the retrieving of them be highly desirable, yet that success in such an endeavour is scarce to be hoped. Nevertheless, being desired by some learned Divines of our Church, in subserviency to some brief Annotations on the Bible, by them intended, to do the best I could in this affair, I have, by this treatise, attempted to rescue this most antient and useful piece of learning from the grave of oblivion and neglect, into which many despairing men were casting it, before it was quite dead, or past recovery. Learning I call this knowledge of weights and measures, because the first constitution of them, and the reason and proportions contained in their mutual correspondencies, do import not only prudent observation which is learning's foundation, but also some elements of Geometry, Arithmetick, and Staticks, which are essential parts of it's superstructure, thence peculiarly called *μάθημα*, or, *The Learning.* And for this cause I have been forced, in the prosecution of this enquiry, to call in to my assistance some

(5) Idem, ibid. p. 9, 10.

(4) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 27.

made him very apprehensive of it's danger, and the melancholy prospect of affairs in the reign of King James made so deep an impression on this excellent person, as to contribute to a dangerous fit of sickness one of the severest fevers from which ever man recovered. He continued after the Revolution in the same situation as before, and without any thoughts of soliciting for better preferment; indeed, through the whole course of his life, this seems never to have entered into his head; he was always content with the lot that befel him, and applied himself, with the utmost vigour and diligence, to discharge his duty in that station where Providence had placed him (u). It was, therefore, a greater surprize to himself than to any-body else, when walking, after his usual manner, on a post-day to the coffee-house, he read there in a news-paper, that one Dr Cumberland, of Stamford, was named to the bishoprick of Peterborough. This piece of intelligence however proved true, and he had the singular satisfaction of finding himself raised to a bishoprick, not only without pains or anxiety, but without having so much as sought for it (w). This accidental, we ought rather to say providential, promotion, was highly honourable for him. It was looked upon, at that time, as a thing necessary to the establishment of the new government, that men, who were to be raised to such high stations in the Church, should be such only as had been most eminent for their learning, most exemplary in their lives, and firmest to the Protestant interest. Whilst these qualifications were only considered, such a man could not easily be overlooked, though he himself did least of any man look for such a promotion. The King was told, that Dr Cumberland was the fittest man he could nominate to the bishoprick of Peterborough. Thus a private country Clergyman, without posting to Court, a place he had rarely seen, without suing to great men, without taking the least step towards soliciting for it, was pitched upon to fill so great a trust, only because he was fittest for it [D]. He was elected in the room of Dr Thomas White, who refused the new oath, May 15th; was consecrated, with other Bishops, July 5th; and enthronized September 12th, 1691, in the cathedral of Peterborough (x). Thus in the sixtieth year of his age, when his parts were as strong as ever, his body unbroken with infirmities, and his experience at a just height, he entered on a new scene. He now applied himself to the work of a Bishop. Studious men acquire habits, that make them not overforward to put themselves out into action. The speculations of their minds employ the whole man. The natural calmness of his Lordship's temper added still to this disposition: yet no man took more care not to be defective in his proper duty. He made no omissions to consult his own ease, or to spare his pains; and the desires of his

(u) Compleat Hist. England, Vol. III. p. 642.

(w) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's History, p. 12.

(x) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 510.

of the easiest mathematical notions, which are as old almost as mankind, associating thereunto some observations of nature, whose constancy, from the beginning, gives reason to believe, that they were known early by men, together with the eldest works of art, remaining in the pyramids, shekels, and other remains of Eastern and Western antiquity; that, from the concurrent evidence of these aged witnesses, I might be enabled to give this my verdict, which is now brought in before you. We have no account any where of the Annotations, for the furtherance of which this discourse was written; but, from the friendship between their authors, and some other circumstances, I am inclined to think they were the Commentaries of Dr Patrick, Bishop of Ely (6). In another part of his Dedication, our author observes to his patron, that nothing pleased him better, or gave him greater comfort in the prosecution of the difficult task he had undertaken, than that it related not to any quarrelsome interest, but the peaceable doctrine of measures and weights, which in their general nature are the common concern of all mankind, as being the necessary instruments of just dealing and fair commerce between all nations. He mentions also his own industry in avoiding all appearance of contention, which had lead him so far as not to name the known diversities of opinion amongst men about this matter. All this, however, did not secure him from contradiction, for a certain writer attacked him, though without naming him (7), and our author wrote some sheets to justify his calculations; but his affection for peace was so great, that after all he laid them aside, and left his book to shift for itself, which it has done very well. A celebrated Journalist has given a very large extract of this work (8), which shews how much he esteemed it; as, on the other hand, that certainly does our author great honour, since, besides his being a very bold and free Critick, there was hardly any subject with which he was more thoroughly acquainted.

[D] Only because he was fittest for it.] What has been delivered in the text upon this subject is founded upon the authority, and expressed in the very words, of the Reverend Mr Payne, a very competent and unsuspected witness to the truth of the facts which he has

preserved, and which, but for his duty and gratitude, might have been lost to posterity. But notwithstanding the circumstances which relate to Bishop Cumberland rest upon his testimony solely, yet, as to his promotion in general, a certain Prelate, well acquainted with the politicks of those times, has given us a large account, which it may be the reader will not be displeas'd to see. The Bishop of Ely's (Dr Turner's) Letters to St Germans (9), says he, gave so fair an occasion of filling those Sees (whose Bishops would not take the oaths) at this time that the King resolv'd to lay hold on it; and Tillotson, with great uneasiness to himself, submitted to the King's command: and soon after the See of York falling void, Dr Sharp was promoted to it, so that those two Sees were filled with the two best preachers that had sat in them in our time; only Sharp did not know the world so well, and was not so steady as Tillotson was. Dr Patrick was advanced to Ely, Dr More was made Bishop of Norwich, Dr Cumberland was made Bishop of Peterborough, Dr Fowler was made Bishop of Gloucester, Ironside was promoted to Hereford, Grove to Chichester, and Hall to Bristol, as Hough (the President of Magdalen's) was the year before this made Bishop of Oxford; so that in two years time the King had named fifteen Bishops, and they were generally looked on as the learnedest, the wisest, and the best men, that were in the Church. It was visible, that in all these nominations, and the filling the inferior dignities that became void by their promotion, no ambition nor Court favour had appeared; men were not scrambling for preferment, nor using arts, or employing friends, to set them forward; on the contrary, men were sought for, and brought out of their retirements, and most of them very much against their own inclinations. They were men both of moderate principles, and of calm tempers. This great promotion was such a discovery of the King and Queen's designs, with relation to the Church, that it served much to remove the jealousies, that some other steps the King had made were beginning to raise in the Whigs, and very much softened the ill humour that was spread among them.

(9) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, Vol. II. p. 76.

(6) Whose sentiments he mentions and defends in his posthumous works, in several places.

(7) Bernard de Menfuris & ponderibus Antiquis. Oxon. 1688. 8vo.

(8) Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Universelle & Historique, Tom. V. p. 149—192.

his mind, that all under him should do their duty, were very earnest and sincere. His composition had no alloy of vain glory. He never did any thing to court applause, or gain the praise of men. He never acted a part, never put on a mask. His tongue and heart always went together. If he ran into any extremity, it was the excess of humility, the safest side for every Christian to err on. He lived with the simplicity and plainness of a primitive Bishop, conversed and looked like a private man, hardly maintaining, as the world calls it, the dignity of his character. He was not one that loved to have the pre-eminence, and he contended with nobody for prerogative and precedence. He used hospitality without grudging: no man's house was more open to his friends, and the ease and freedom with which they always found themselves entertained, was peculiar to it. The poor had substantial relief at his door, and his neighbours and acquaintance a hearty welcome to his table, after the plentiful and plain manner in which he lived. Every thing in his house served for friendly entertainment, nothing for luxury or pomp. His desire was to make every body easy, and to do them good. He dispensed with a liberal hand to the necessities of others, though his contented mind made him require little for his own. His kindness to his relations and acquaintance that wanted it, the sums he parted with to such as were indigent, are deeds not proper to be proclaimed. Half such sums, distributed with ostentation by those who desire to have glory of men, would have gained the fame of great liberality and generosity. In these cases he truly observed our Saviour's precepts, to do his alms in secret, and even *not to let his left-hand know what his right-hand did*. His speeches to the Clergy at his visitations, and his exhortations to the Catechumens before his confirmations, though they had not the embellishments of oratory, yet they were fervent expressions of the inward desires of his soul to do what good he was able, and to excite others to be influenced by it; the pious breathings of a plain and good mind. On all occasions he treated his Clergy with singular regard and indulgence. An expression, that often came from him, was, *I love always to make my Clergy easy*. This was his rule on all applications made to him by them, and if he err'd, it was always on this side. When the duties of his office required it, he never spared himself. To the last month of his life it was impossible to dissuade him from undertaking fatigues, that every body about him feared were superior to his strength. He was inflexible to their intreaties, and his answer and resolution was, *I will do my duty as long as I can* (y). He had acted by a maxim like this in his vigour. When his friends represented to him, that, by his studies and labours, he would injure his health, his usual reply was, *A man had better wear out than rust out*. The last time he visited his diocese, he was in the eightieth year of his age; it was apprehended that he could not but suffer through the fatigues of it, though it pleased God he had no inconvenience from it. At his next triennial, when he was in the eighty-third year of his age, it was with the last difficulty that he could be dissuaded from undertaking again the visitation of his diocese. To draw the Clergy nearer than the usual decanal meetings, to make his visitations easier to himself, was a thing he would not hear of. He would never take a burthen from his own shoulders to lay it on other peoples (z). Such were the publick acts of this great Prelate, in the discharge of his duty as a Father of the Church; in respect to his temporal concerns, and his management of the revenue arising from his see, an account will be found in the notes [E]. His natural

(y) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's History, p. 14.

(z) Ibid. p. 150

natural

[E] *An account will be found in the notes.* Every body concerned with him, says the ingenious Mr Payne (10), felt the advantage of his benevolence and goodness of his temper. He had a paternal estate, the lessees of which found him a landlord kind indeed. He never raised his rents, or hardly changed a tenant; they grew old in his farms, and were afterward succeeded by their children. Such was he also to them that held under him, as he was a Bishop, good natured. I am almost tempted to say to a fault. They were sure to find no pressure from him the point in question always was, his preserving the just rights of his See. If he could be prevailed on to raise a fine, where the reason and equity of it was most apparent, it was always with great difficulty, and never his own voluntary act. In renewing some of his leases he shewed great instances of kindness and compassion, I wish they who received the obligation were sensible enough of it: For indeed, tenants under Bishops are generally a thankless sort of men; they consider not the estate they hold as another man's, but look upon it as their own, and part grudgingly with what goes out of it, as a hardship on themselves. As the great Christian graces in which he excelled were humility and meekness, and these concurring with a sedentary and studious habit, it is not to be expected that there should be in the same man any great degree of warmth and activeness. God almighty gives not perfection to any man in this mortal state. As to his modesty, condescension, and good nature in private life, he ob-

serves (11), ——— ‘ Learned men often love and affect to be silent. His Lordship was so humble, that he thought nobody too low to be conversed with; and so benevolent, that he was willing every body that came near him should partake of his knowledge. As he was the most learned, so he was the most communicative man I ever knew. No conversation pleased him so well as what turned upon some point of learning. The first experience I had of this, continues Mr Payne, was while I was under-graduate in the university, soon after his Lordship's promotion: I was then studying some parts of the Mathematical sciences. He did me the honour to talk with me on those subjects. It struck me with surprize to see so much condescension, familiarity of conversation, and love, to inform a young man, in a person of his learning, age, and station. The years I since have spent in greater freedom with him, have been the happy part of my life; a blessing that by me can never be sufficiently valued. He was my oracle to consult on any author, or whatever subject I read. Whatever was difficult I was sure to have resolved by him. He was unacquainted with nothing I could ask him, even in small matters, in low authors, which it might be expected, by a man whose mind was taken up with so much higher speculations, should have been passed over unheeded. ——— His soul was through his whole life in a constant calm and serenity, hardly ever ruffled with any passion. Having thus a mind friendly to his body, and being

(11) Idem, ibid. p. 22.

exactly

natural parts were not quick, but strong and retentive. He was a perfect master of every subject he studied. Every thing he read staid with him. The ideas in many mens minds are too like the impressions made in soft wax, they never are distinct and clear, and are soon effaced: in his mind they were like impressions cut in steel, they took some time in forming, but they were clear, distinct, and durable (a). The things he had chiefly studied were searches into the most antient times, Mathematicks in all it's parts, and the Scripture in it's original languages: these were the great works of his life, but he had, by the bye, diverted into almost all other studies. He was thoroughly acquainted with all the branches of Philosophy; he had good judgment in Physick, knew every thing that was curious in Anatomy, had an intimacy with the Classicks. Indeed he was a stranger to no part of learning, but every subject he had occasion to talk of he was as much a master of it, as if the direction of his studies had chiefly lain that way. He was thoroughly conversant in Scripture, and had laid up that treasure in his mind. No hard passage ever occurred, either occasionally or in reading, but he could readily give the meaning of it, and the several interpretations, without needing to consult his books (b). He sometimes had thoughts of writing an exposition of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. It was a misfortune to the world, that he wanted that spur so necessary to excite men to action, the desire of praise. It is believed, that, if he had proceeded in this design, he would have set the doctrine of Justification in a light very different from that in which it has been hitherto considered by most Divines. But the great business of his life was the examination of SANCHONIATHO'S *Phœnician History*, about which the greatest men had been most mistaken, and in relation to which none had entered into so strict an examination as our learned Prelate thought it deserved (c). He spent many years in these speculations; for he began to write several years before the Revolution, and he continued improving his design down to 1702. It may be justly wondered, that, after taking so much pains, and carrying a work of such difficulty to so high a degree of perfection, he should never judge it expedient to publish it; for, though his Bookseller refused to print the first part, at a critical season, yet afterwards both might have seen the light; and for this the most probable reason that can be assigned is, that thorough dislike he had to controversy. His son-in-law however, the Reverend Mr Payne, has done justice to his memory, and published that work, which, by all competent judges, has been received with the utmost esteem and respect (d) [F]. After he had once engaged his thoughts upon this subject, fresh matter was continually rising, for the distribution of which into a proper method, so as to render a very perplexed subject intelligible, he found himself under the necessity of undertaking a yet more extensive work than the former, in which

(a) These facts are rendered highly probable, if not incontrovertibly proved by his writings.

(b) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 21, 22.

(c) This fully appears from our Prelate's whole work, but more especially from his Review of the Cosmogony and History.

(d) Printed at Lond. 1720. 8vo.

‘ exactly regular and temperate in his way of living, ‘ he attained to a good old age with perfect soundness ‘ of mind and body. He was not afflicted with, or ‘ subject to, any ailing or distemper; never complained ‘ that he was ill or out of order, came almost constantly from his chamber in a morning with a smile ‘ in his countenance (12).’ Such great, and such amiable qualities as these, more especially when they are testified to the world by evidence that cannot be suspected, much less disbelieved, do honour, not only to our Church and nation, but to human nature, and may be the more freely insisted upon when they do occur, because such as are best acquainted with mankind know well, that they occur but very rarely.

(12) Idem, ibid. p. 23.

[F] *With the utmost esteem and respect.*] The title of this work at large will give the reader some notion of it's contents. It runs thus: ‘ SANCHONIATHO'S ‘ *Phœnician History*, translated from the first book of ‘ Eusebius de *Preparatione Evangelica*. With a Continuation of Sanchoniatho's History by Eratosthenes ‘ Cyrenensis Canon, which Dicaearchus connects with ‘ the first Olympiad. These authors are illustrated ‘ with many Historical and Chronological Remarks, ‘ proving them to contain a Series of Phœnician and ‘ Egyptian Chronology, from the first man to the first ‘ Olympiad, agreeable to the Scripture accounts. By ‘ the Right Reverend R. Cumberland, D. D. late Bishop of Peterborough. With a Preface, giving a ‘ brief account of the Life, Character, and Writings, ‘ of the Author. By S. Payne, M. A. Rector of Barnack in Northamptonshire, his Lordship's domestick ‘ Chaplain (23).’ Mr Payne observes, that our author had a quicker sense than many other men of the advances Popery was making upon us, and was affected with the apprehension of it to the last degree. This made him turn his thoughts to the enquiry, by what steps and methods idolatry got ground in the world. The oldest account of this he believed he found in Sanchoniatho's fragment. This he saw was a professed apology for idolatry, and owned openly what other Heathens would have made a secret of, that the gods

of the Gentile world had been all mortal men. He studied this fragment with no other view, than as it led to the discovery of the original of idolatry. He spent some time upon it, before ever he had a thought of extracting from it footsteps of the History of the world preceding the flood. While other Divines of the Church of England were engaged in the controversy with the Papists, in which they gained over them so compleat a victory, our author was endeavouring to strike at the root of their idolatrous religion (14). Such are the sentiments of this gentleman concerning our Prelate's work, which is in truth full of the most abstruse learning, and shews a sagacity and penetration equally singular and admirable. These fragments have exercised the talents of some of the ablest scholars that foreign nations have produced, and several of these, being able to make nothing clear or consistent out of them, incline to think they were forgeries, and consequently not worthy of notice. Our Prelate was not only of a different sentiment, but, with great knowledge and great labour, has made it very evident that these fragments are genuine, and that he thoroughly understood them. He has proved, that they contain the most antient system of atheism and idolatry, that very system which took place in Egypt, and was set up against the true religion contained in the writings of Moses. It cannot be expected that we should, in the compass of a note, enter into the plan of so large and so compact a performance, for our author was not a diffuse writer, but expressed himself clearly in few words, and has brought into a very narrow compass, what an author, covetous of fame, would have extended into a very large volume. But this great man aimed only at truth, and though the discovery of it cost him much time and pains, yet he was willing to conduct his reader to it by the shortest road possible. He saw indeed, that many useful deductions might be made from this discovery, and it was this that put him upon composing a second volume, of which we shall speak in the next note.

(14) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 17.

(13) At London, 1720. 8vo.

which he made some progress in the space of above twenty years, during which we are assured that it employed his thoughts. To this piece, when finished, he proposed to have given the title of *Origines Antiquissimæ* (e), which were transcribed in his life-time, and, by his direction, through the care of the same person, who, from a most laudable sense of duty and gratitude, published the other work. This treatise also is now likewise in print, and justifies, in every respect, all that we have said of this learned and venerable Prelate, upon the credit chiefly of the editor. This last piece is properly a supplement to the first, and equally valuable in every respect [G]. We have now done with his History as a Father of the Church, and an ornament of the Republick of Letters; we will conclude with some account of his private life and disposition when in the decline of his days, a season in which the weaknesses even of the greatest men are frequent and excusable. In him, however, there was no need of any apology of this sort. His Lordship lived beyond what Horace called old age; but never were characters more unsuitable to any man, than those bestowed by that Poet on old men were to him; it is literally true, that he was, in every respect, the very reverse of them. A person, who would have retired from every thing that was censorious, querulous, uneasy, or disquieting, must have gone into his company, and the room where he sat. The easiness and sweetness of his temper was such as is not to be described by words, nothing but conversation with him, and the experience of it, could give a man a just idea of it. This happy disposition was become a habit to him, and continued to the last day of his life. His senses and bodily strength lasted better than could well be expected, in a man whose course of life had been studious and sedentary. Yet I, who conversed every day with him, says Mr Payne, thought that the faculties of his mind were less impaired than those of his body (f). He remained a master of all the parts of learning he had studied when he was young. He ever loved the Classics, and, to the last week of his life, would quote them readily and appositely. When Dr Wilkins had published his Coptic Testament, he made a present of one of them to his Lordship, who sat down to study this when he was past eighty-three. At this age he mastered the language, and went through great part of this version, and would often give excellent hints and remarks as he proceeded in reading it. At length, in the autumn of the year 1718, he was struck in an afternoon with a dead palsy, from which he could not be recovered (g). He had no previous notice of this at all, for he rose in the morning rather better, and more vigorous, than usual. He breathed his last in his palace at Peterborough on the ninth of October, in the same year, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. His corps was interred in his own Cathedral, where a plain tomb has been erected, with a modest inscription, to his memory (h) [H]. The turn of his studies did not at all conduce to make our Prelate eminent in his life-time. There were a great variety of books written against Hobbes, but, amongst this crowd of refuters, each of their

(e) Payne's Pref. to Synchronist's Hist. p. 20, 21.

(f) Ibid. p. 24, 25.

(g) Kennet's Chron. p. 555.

(h) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 510.

books

[G] *And equally valuable in every respect.* The title of this book was: '*Origines Gentium antiquissimæ: or, Attempts for discovering the times of the first planting of Nations; in several tracts.* By the Right Reverend R. Cumberland, D. D. late Bishop of Peterborough. Published from his Lordship's manuscript, by S Payne, M. A. Rector of Barnack in Northamptonshire (15).' This work consists of the following tracts, 1. A Discourse on Gen. xxxvi. concerning the settlement of Esau's family from Mount Seir to Elparan, the antient seat of the Horites, and of the government of that land before and after their settlement; with an enquiry about the times thereof. 2. A discourse on Deut. ii. 23. The Avims which dwelt in Hazarim, even unto Azzah, the Caphtorim, which came forth out of Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead. 3. Notes on the Synchronisms of Canaan and Egypt. 4. Concerning the possibility of a sufficient increase of men, from the three sons of Noah, to a number large enough to found all the nations mentioned in the oldest credible Histories; and that, in the times assigned to their foundations, agreeably with the Hebrew accounts. With some suggestions about the dispersion of men to plant in several parts of the earth, particularly the building of Nineveh, the metropolis of the Assyrian monarchy. 5. An appendix to the preceding chapter, in an Essay towards the better stating of the interval between the founding of Nineveh and the fall of Sardanapalus, which broke from the antient Assyrian empire two monarchies: I. That of the Babylonians, beginning with Nabonassar. II. That of the Medes, begun in Dejoces, yet left to Tiglath Pilezer and his successors, an Assyrian empire, which recovered good strength, so as to conquer Syria, and to captivate the ten tribes of Israel. 6. Proofs from Scripture, and from Heathens, of the Assyrian empire before Nabonassar. 7. A Discourse, endeavouring to connect the Greek and Roman Anti-

quities, with those of the eldest Eastern monarchies in Asia and Egypt, and, consequently; with the dispersion from Babel, which came near the great flood; in two chapters, 1. Concerning Greece, especially the Pelasgi. 2. Concerning Italy, particularly the Tyrrheni, or, as the elder Greeks call them, the Tyrsni; these, besides the Egyptians, being colonies from the Assyrian empire, and the beginning of the Greek and Roman empires. 8. *Appendix de Cabiris, addenda Disquisitioni de Pelasgi*, i. e. An Appendix as to the Cabiri, to which is added, a Disquisition concerning the Pelasgi. 9. *Appendicula de Legibus quibus tenebantur Patriarchæ tantæ, quam post diluvium, usque ad tempus quo solemnitur sancitum est Fœdus Mosaicum, quod leges continet præcipuas quibus tenebatur populus Judaicus post Exodum ex Ægypto*; that is, 'A succinct Dissertation concerning the Laws observed by the Patriarchs, as well before as after the Flood, down to the solemn settlement of the Law of Moses, more especially those under which the People of Israel lived after going out of Egypt.' To pretend adding any farther explication of this work, would be a needless presumption; since, to competent judges, this short table of contents will prove more satisfactory, than any thing we could offer upon the subject; all therefore that we shall take the liberty to say more is only this, that notwithstanding our Prelate treats of the most antient History, it is in a manner entirely new; his learning, though deep and sound, has nothing in it harsh or unpleasant; and, amongst other advantages to which this work may put in a just claim, there is in it this singularity, that, notwithstanding all the points treated therein are remarkably perplexed, the author has handled them with the utmost perspicuity, made all of them plainer than they were, and many of them as plain as it is possible.

[H] *With a modest inscription to his memory*] As this is very short, we thought it would not be unacceptable

books was not considered as a refutation. On the contrary, Hobbes maintained his notions very well against most of them, not through the justice of his cause, or the superiority of his understanding, but because he understood his ground perfectly well, and, like a skilful fencer, kept that advantage, and made the most of it. But our author was not to be so treated; he considered the ground well before he engaged, discerned his antagonist's advantage, and drove him from it; but, as this was a hard and laborious task to himself, so his method of arguing was not to be understood but by close application in his readers, so that it was a long while before the merit of his performance was fully known (i). At present, indeed, his reputation is very great at home, and much greater abroad; for foreign writers, of all nations, have been very ready to do him justice, and to speak of him with the praises he deserves [I].

(i) See the Rev. Mr Maxwell's Preface to his translation of our author's works, as also Dr Hezekiah Burton's Short Discourse prefixed to the original.

ble to the reader, that it found a place with a translation in the notes (16).

(16) Willis's Survey of Cathedral, p. 510.

Juxta jacet doctissimus sanctissimusque præful Richardus Cumberland, hujus Civitatis Episcopus, qui cum Ecclesiæ & Republicæ diu & feliciter invigilaverat migratus ad aliam quam solam quærebat Civitatem, Honorum & Dierum satur, obdormivit in Domino Anno Christi 1718, ætatis 86.

Maeste, malæ fraudis Domitor Defensor Honesti  
Legum Naturæ Justitiæque Pugil:  
O quantum debent quas læserat Hobbius ambas  
Recta simul Ratio Relligioque tibi!  
*Duport in Hobbium à Cumberlandio Confutatum.*

In English thus:

*Near this place lies interred, that most learned and holy Prelate, Richard Cumberland Bishop of this city, who, when he had long and faithfully watched for the Church and State, was translated to that other city, which alone he sought; full of days and of honour he slept in the Lord, in the year of Christ 1718, of his age 86.*

*Proceed foul error's scourge, and friend to right,  
Champion of Nature's laws, and Justice too;  
How much! the assassin Hobbes now put to flight,  
To thy sharp pen, do faith and reason owe?  
From Duport's poem upon the confutation of Hobbes by Cumberland.*

Underneath two books, with these words engraven on the leaves:

*Biblia Sacra.*  
The Holy Bible.

*Legibus Naturæ.*  
Of the Laws of Nature.

[I] *With the praises he deserves.* We find the Life of our Prelate very exactly written from his son-in-law Mr Payne's Memoirs, by Father Nicéron (17), who commends highly his book against Hobbes. The learned Morhoff mentions that work of his twice (18), and tells us, that in his judgment it was written with great labour and no less diligence; and observes farther, that he goes to the bottom in detecting the false reasoning of Mr Hobbes. Another German author, who has written expressly upon the same subject, gives a great character of our author's book (19); and the learned Stollus gives likewise a fair character, and a very good account, of our author and his writings (20). His sentiments, with regard to Sanchoniatho's History, are greatly applauded by a gentleman (21) who had studied these matters with much care, and who, it is very certain, was far enough from being disposed to commend others without reason. It does not appear, that hitherto his Posthumous Works have been translated into Latin, or into any modern language; whenever that shall happen, the fame of Dr Cumberland will extend much farther than it has done hitherto, for whether his particular opinions be approved or not, it is impossible that his extensive learning, his profound sagacity, and his perfect acquaintance with the best authors of antiquity, should not procure him just reverence and esteem.

(17) Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire des hommes illustres, Tom. V. p. 328.

(18) Danielis Morhoffii Polyhistor. II, 1, 15, 15.—III. 6, 1, 4.

(19) Thomafii Hist. p. 84.

(20) Introd. Hist. Litterariam, p. 762, 763.

(21) Fourmont Reflexions Critiques sur les Histoires des anciens peuples, &c.

E

## D.



**D**ANIEL (SAMUEL), an eminent Poet and Historian [A], in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I, was son of a Musick-master, and born near Taunton in Somersetshire (a), in the year 1562. In 1579 (b), he was admitted a Commoner of Magdalen-Hall in Oxford; where he continued about three years, and, by the help of an excellent Tutor, made a considerable improvement in academical learning. But his genius inclining him more to studies of a softer and gayer nature, he left the University without a degree, and applied himself to English History and

(a) Fuller's Worthies of England. Somers. p. 28.

(b) Langbaine, ubi infra, 337, in 1581.

[A] *An eminent Poet and Historian.* Mr Daniel's Poetical Works, consisting of Dramatic and other Pieces, are as follows. I. *The Complaint of Rosamond*. London, 1594, 1598, 1611, and 1623, in 4to. II. *A Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius*. London, 1611, in 8vo (1). These two pieces resemble each other both in the subject and stile, being written in the Ovidian manner, with great tenderness and variety of passions. The measure is stanzas of seven lines, of which take the following specimen, where he makes Rosamond speak of Beauty in as expressive a manner as description can reach.

Ah! Beauty, Syren, fair enchanting good,  
Sweet silent rhet'rick of persuading eyes;  
Dumb eloquence, whose pow'r doth move the blood,  
More than the words or wisdom of the wise;  
Still harmony, whose diapason lies  
Within a brow; the key, which passions move,  
To ravish sense, and play a world in love (2).

III. *Hymen's Triumph: A Pastoral Tragi-Comedy. Presented at the Queen's Court in the Strand, at her Majesty's magnificent entertainment of the King's most excellent Majesty, being at the nuptials of the Lord Roxborough*. London, 1623, 4to. second edition (3). It is dedicated by a copy of verses *To the most excellent Majesty of the highest born Princess, Anne of Denmark, Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*. It is introduced by a pretty contrived Prologue, by way of dialogue, in which *Hymen* is opposed by *Avarice*, *Envy*, and *Jealousy*, the disturbers of quiet marriage. In this piece, our author sometimes touches the passions with a very delicate hand. IV. *The Queen's Arcadia: A Pastoral Tragi-Comedy. Presented to her Majesty and her Ladies, by the University of Oxford, in August, 1605*. London, 1623, 4to (4). It is dedicated by a copy of verses *To the Queen's most excellent Majesty*. V. *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, presented in a Mask, the eighth of January, at Hampton-Court, by the Queen's most excellent Majesty and her Ladies*. London, 1604, 8vo, and 1623, 4to. Some copies have it, *The Wisdom of the Twelve Goddesses*, &c (5). It is dedicated to the Right Honourable the Lady Lucy, Countess of Bedford. It had been printed without the author's leave, and so imperfectly, that, to prevent the prejudice it might suffer thereby, he published it from his own copy. His design, under the shapes, and in the persons of twelve goddesses, was, to shadow out the blessings, which the nation enjoyed under the peaceful reign of King James I. By *Juno* was represented *Power*; by *Pallas*, *Wisdom* and *Defence*; by *Venus*, *Love* and *Amity*; by *Vesta*, *Religion*;

by *Diana*, *Chastity*; by *Proserpine*, *Riches*; by *Maccaria*, *Felicity*; by *Concordia*, the *Union of Hearts*; by *Astræa*, *Justice*; by *Flora*, the *Beauties of the Earth*; by *Ceres*, *Plenty*; and by *Tethys*, *Naval Power*. All these allegorical personages were properly attired, and offered up the several emblems of their power to the temple of *Peace*, erected upon four pillars, representing the four Virtues, that supported a globe of the earth. 1. *Juno*, in a sky-coloured mantle, embroidered with gold, and figured with peacocks feathers, wearing a crown of gold on her head, presents a sceptre. 2. *Pallas* (which was the person her Majesty chose to represent) was attired in a blue mantle, with a silver embroidery of all weapons and engines of war, with an helmet on her head; and presents a lance and target. 3. *Venus*, in a mantle of dove-colour, and silver embroidered doves, presented (instead of her *Cestus*, the Girdle of Amity) a scarf of divers colours. 4. *Vesta*, in a white mantle embroidered with gold flames, and dressed like a Nun, presented a burning lamp in one hand, and a book in the other. 5. *Diana*, in a green mantle embroidered with silver half-moons, and a crescent of pearl on her head, presents a bow and a quiver. 6. *Proserpine*, in a black mantle embroidered with gold flames, with a crown of gold on her head, presents a mine of gold ore. 7. *Maccaria*, the Goddess of Felicity, in a mantle of purple and silver, embroidered with the figures of Plenty and Wisdom (which concur to the making of true happiness) presents a *Caduceus* with the figure of Abundance. 8. *Concordia*, in a party-coloured mantle of crimson and white (the colours of England and Scotland joined) embroidered with silver hands in hand, with a head-dress likewise of party-coloured roses, presents a branch thereof in a wreath or knot. 9. *Astræa*, in a mantle of crimson embroidered with silver, figuring the sword and balance (the emblems of Justice) which she presented. 10. *Flora*, in a mantle of divers colours, embroidered with all sorts of flowers, presents a pot of flowers. 11. *Ceres*, in a straw-colour and silver embroidery, with ears of corn, and a head-dress of the same, presents a sickle. 12. *Tethys*, in a sea-green mantle, with a silver embroidery of waves, and a head-dress of reeds, presents a trident (6). VI. *The Tragedy of Cleopatra*. Lond. 1594 and 1598, 4to (7). It is dedicated by a copy of a verses *To the Right Honourable the Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke*. VII. *The Tragedy of Philotas*. London, 1611, &c. 8vo (8). It is dedicated by a copy of verses *To the Prince*, afterwards King Charles I. This play met with some enemies, not on the score of the wit, or conduct of the design; but because it was reported, that the character of *Philotas* was drawn for the unfortunate Earl of Essex; which obliged the author to vindicate himself from

(6) Poetical Works, &c. Vol. I. p. 228, &c.

(7) Wood, ubi supra.

(8) Ibid.

(1) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 447, 448.

(2) Poetical Works of Mr S. Daniel. Lond. 1718. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 41.

(3) Wood, ibid.

(4) Wood, ibid.

(5) Id. ibid.

(c) Wood's A-then. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 447. and Poetry (c), under the encouragement and patronage of the Earl of Pembroke's family

this charge in an *Apology*, printed at the end of the play. Both this play, and that of *Cleopatra*, are written after the manner of the antients, with a chorus between each act; and were much esteemed in their time. VIII. *The History of the Civil Wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster*. A Poem in eight books. London, 1604, 8vo, and 1623, 4to. with his picture before it (9). It is dedicated *To the High and most Illustrious Prince Charles His Excellence*. The introduction to this Poem is plainly an imitation of the beginning of *Lucan's Pharsalia*.

(9) Ibid.

I sing the Civil Wars, tumultuous broils,  
And bloody factions of a mighty land;  
Whose people, haughty, proud with foreign spoils,  
Upon themselves turn back their conqu'ring hand;  
Whilst kin their kin, brother the brother foils;  
Like ensigns all against like ensigns band;  
Bows against bows, the crown against the crown;  
Whilst all pretending right, all right's thrown down.

What fury, O! what madness held thee so,  
Dear England, too, too prodigal of blood,  
To waste so much, and war without a foe;  
Whilst France, to see thy spoils, at pleasure stood!  
How much might'st thou have purchas'd with less woe,  
T' have done thee honour, and thy people good?  
Thine might have been whatever lies between  
The Alps and us, the Pyrenees and Rhene (10).

(10) Poetical Works, &amp;c.

Vol. II. p. 5, 6.

IX. *A Funeral Poem upon the Death of the late Earl of Devonshire*. London, 1623, 4to. X. *A Panegyric Congratulatory, delivered to the King's most excellent Majesty at Burleigh-Harrington in Rutlandshire*. London, 1604 and 1623, 4to. XI. *Epistles to various great Personages in Verse*. London, 1601 and 1623, 4to (11). XII. *The Passion of a distressed Man, who being in a Tempest on the Sea, and having in his Boat two Women (of whom he loved the one, that drowned him; and scorned the other, who affected him) was by Commandment from Neptune to cast out one of them, to appease the Rage of the Tempest; but which, was referred to his own choice* (12). If the reader is curious to know the determination of this man's choice, it is summed up in the concluding line of the Poem;

She must be cast away, that wou'd not save.

(11) Wood, ubi supra.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Poetical Works, &amp;c. Vol. II. p. 418, &amp;c.

(14) Wood, ib.

XIII. *Musophilus, containing a general Defence of Learning*. Printed with the *Epistles, &c* (13). It is addressed *To the Right worthy and judicious Favourer of Virtue, Mr Fulke Grevil*. XIV. *Various Sonnets to Delia* (14). They are fifty-seven in number. XV. *An Ode*. XVI. *A Pastoral*. XVII. *A Description of Beauty, translated out of Marino*. XVIII. *To the Angel Spirit of the most excellent Sir Philip Sydney*. XIX. *To the Right Reverend Father in God James Montague, Bishop of Winchester* (15). *A Defence of Rhime*. Lond. 1611, 8vo (16). The title, at length, is; *A Defence of Rhime, against a Pamphlet, intituled, Observations on the Art of English Poesy: wherein is demonstratively proved, that Rhime is the fittest Harmony of Words, that comports with our Language*. It is dedicated *To all the worthy Lovers and learned Professors of Rhime within his Majesty's Dominions*; and it is addressed to his patron, *William Herbert Earl of Pembroke*. This piece is in prose. All these pieces are published together, in two volumes, 12mo, under the title of *The Poetical Works of Mr Samuel Daniel, author of the English History*. London, 1718. We must not omit the praises bestowed on Mr Daniel, as a Poet, by contemporary writers; one of whom, in a copy of verses on the *Time Poets* (17), stiles him

(17) See Choice Drollery, in 8vo. Lond. 1636. p. 6.

The pithy Daniel, whose salt lines afford  
A weighty sentence in each little word.

(18) See Sportive Wit, 8vo. p. 70.

Another author, in a copy called *A Censure of the Poets* (18), speaks of him thus:

Amongst these Samuel Daniel, whom I  
May speak of, but to censure do deny:  
Only have hear'd some wise men him rehearse  
To be too much Historian in verse.  
His rhimes were smooth, his metres well did close;  
But yet his matters better fitted prose.

His good friend Mr Charles Fitz-Geoffry wrote the following Latin epigram in his praise (19):

(19) Vide Epigr. in 8vo. Oxon. 1601.

Spenserum si quis nostrum velit esse Maronem,  
Tu, Daniele, mihi Naso Britannus eris.  
Sin illum potius Phæbum velit esse Britannum,  
Tum, Daniele, mihi tu Maro nofter eris.  
Nil Phæbo ulterius; si quid foret, illud haberet  
Spenserus, Phæbus tu, Daniele, fores.  
Quippe loqui Phæbus cuperet si more Britanno,  
Haud scio quo poterat, ni velit ore suo.

If Spenser merits Roman Virgil's name,  
Daniel, at least, comes in for Ovid's fame.  
If Spenser rather claims Apollo's wit,  
Virgil's illustrious name will Daniel fit.  
No higher than Apollo we can go:  
But, if a loftier title you can show,  
That greater name let Spenser's Muse command,  
And Daniel be the Phæbus of our land.  
For, in my judgment, if the god of verse  
In English wou'd heroic deeds rehearse,  
No language so expressive he cou'd chuse,  
As that of English Daniel's lofty Muse.

We come now to consider Mr Daniel as an *Historian*, in which capacity he wrote: *The First Part of the History of England, in three Books*. London, 1613, 4to, reaching to the end of King Stephen. To which he afterwards added a *Second Part*, reaching to the end of King Edward III. London, 1618, 1521, 1623, and 1634. This History was continued to the end of King Richard III, by John Trussell, a Trader and Alderman of the city of Winchester (20). Of Mr Daniel's History a certain writer (21) gives this character: 'It is written with great brevity and politeness; and his political and moral Reflections are very fine, useful, and instructive.' Mr Langbaine takes it to be the *Crown* of all our author's *Works* (22); and Dr Fuller tells us (23), 'he was a judicious Historian; witness his Lives of our English Kings, since the conquest, until King Edward the Third; wherein he hath the happiness to reconcile brevity with clearness, qualities of great distance in other authors.' Dr Heylin (24), speaking of the chief Historians of this nation, has these words: *And, to end the bead-roll, Half the story of this realm done by Mr Daniel, of which I believe that, which himself saith of it in his Epistle to the reader, that there was never brought together more of the main*. To conclude the character of this performance, I shall transcribe what Dr Kennet says of it (25). 'Mr Daniel's History follows next, containing the reigns of William I and II, Henry I, King Stephen, Henry II, Richard I, King John, Henry III, Edward I, II, and III. The author had a place at Court in the reign of King James I, and seems to have taken all the refinement a Court could give him. It is said, he had a good vein in Poetry, and it is certain he has shewn great judgment in keeping it, as he did, from infecting his prose, and destroying that simplicity, which is a principal beauty in the stile of an Historian. His narration is smooth and clear, and carries every-where an air of good sense and just eloquence; and his English is much more modern than Milton's, though he lived before him. But Mr Milton chose to write (if the expression may be allowed) a hundred years backwards; whereas it is particularly to be admired how Mr Daniel could, so long ago, express himself with the same purity and grace as our most sensible writers do now, though

(20) Wood, ubi supra.

(21) Bohun's Translation of Whear's *Metbod legendi-Histor.* p. 171.

(22) Account of the Dramatic Poets, p. 104.

(23) Worthies of England. Somers. p. 28.

(24) In the Preface to his *Cofmography*.(25) In the Preface to his *Complete History of England*.

family [B]. Afterwards he became Tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford [C], and, upon the death of the famous Spenser, was appointed Poet-Laureat to Queen Elizabeth. In King James's reign, he was made Gentleman Extraordinary, and afterwards one of the Grooms of the Privy Chamber to the Queen-Consort, who took great delight in his conversation and writings (d). He rented a small house and garden in Old-street near London, where in private he composed most of his Dramatic Pieces (e). Towards the end of his life, he retired to a farm, which he had at Beckington near Philips-Norton in Somersetshire (f), where, after some time spent in the enjoyment of the Muses and religious contemplation, he died, and was buried [D], in the year 1619 (g). He left no issue by his wife Justina, to whom he was married several years (h).

(f) Fuller, ubi supra, says, near the Doves in Wiltshire.

(g) Wood, ubi supra, col. 418.

(h) Fuller, ibid.

'we flatter ourselves, that we have considerably improved the language.'

[B] — under the encouragement and patronage of the Earl of Pembroke's family ] This may be gathered from a hint in his *Defence of Rhime*, dedicated to William Herbert Earl of Pembroke. For, addressing himself to that Lord, he says (26): 'We are told, how that our measures go wrong, all rhiming is gross, vulgar, barbarous; which if it be so, we have lost much labour to no purpose; and for my own particular, I cannot but blame the fortune of the times, and my own genius, that cast me upon so wrong a course, drawn with the current of custom, and an unexamined example: Having been first encouraged and framed thereunto by your most worthy and honourable Mother, and received the first notion for the formal ordering of those compositions at Wilton, which I must ever acknowledge to have been my best school, and thereof always am to hold a feeling and grateful memory. Afterward, drawn farther on by the well-liking and approbation of my worthy Lord, the fosterer of me and my Muse, I adventured to bestow all my whole powers therein, perceiving it a

'greed so well, both with the complexion of the times, and my own constitution.'

[C] He was Tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford.] This we learn from his epitaph (27). By the way it must be noted, that this Lady Anne, afterwards Countess of Pembroke, was the same person, who lived like a Princess, for many years after our author's death, in Westmorland; was a great lover and encourager of learning and learned men, hospitable, charitable to the poor, and of a most generous and public spirit. She died the 22d of March 1675, aged 87, and was buried under a stately monument in the church of Appleby in Westmorland (28).

(27) See the last last Remark.

(28) Wood, ubi supra.

[D] — was buried.] On the wall over his grave is this inscription (29): *Here lies, expelling the second coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the dead body of Samuel Daniel, Esq; that excellent Poet and Historian, who was Tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford in her youth, she that was daughter and heir to George Clifford Earl of Cumberland; who in gratitude to him erected this monument to his memory, a long time after, when she was Countess-Dowager of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery. He died in Octob. an. 1619. T*

(29) Id. ibid.

DANVERS (HENRY) a brave warrior in the end of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth century; and created Earl of Danby by King Charles I; was the second son of Sir John Danvers, Knight [A], by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and coheir to John Nevil the last Lord Latimer (a). He was born at Dantefey in Wiltshire, the 28th day of June, 1573. After an education suitable to his birth, he went and served in the Low-country wars, under Maurice Count of Nassau, afterwards Prince of Orange; and was engaged in many military actions of those times, both by sea and land. He was made a Captain in the wars of France, occasioned in that kingdom by the League; and there knighted for his good service under Henry IV. King of France. Next, he was employed in Ireland (b), as Lieutenant-General of the Horse, and Serjeant-Major of the whole Army, under Robert Earl of Essex, and Charles Baron of Montjoy, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (c). Upon the accession of King James I, he was, on account of his family's deserts and sufferings [B], advanced, the twenty-first of July, 1603, to the dignity of a Peer of this realm, by the title of Baron of Dantefey (d): And in 1605, by a special act of Parliament, restored in blood, as heir to his father, notwithstanding the attainder of his elder brother, Sir Charles Danvers, Knight (e). Moreover, he was appointed Lord President of Munster in Ireland (f): and in 1620 made Governor of the Isle of Guernesey, for life (g). By King Charles I, he was created Earl of Danby (h), on February 5. 1625; and made of his Privy-Council; and Knight of the Order of the Garter (i). Being himself a man of learning, as well as a great encourager of it; and observing that opportunities were wanting in the University of Oxford for the useful study of Botany, he purchased a piece of ground by the river Charwell, opposite to Magdalen-College; which he encompassed with a curious wall of square polished stone, and replenished with a great variety of plants and herbs proper for the study of Physick and Botany [C]. He founded also an Alms-house, and a Free-school, at Malmesbury in Wiltshire

(c) Dugdale, ubi supra, Vol. 11. p. 416, 417.

(d) Ibid. & Pat. i. Jac. p. 14. The Danvers were descended from the ancient family of Dantefey. Camden's Britan. edit. 1722. col. 105.

(e) Dugdale, ibid. and Journ. of Parliament.

(f) Dugdale, ibid. p. 417.

(g) Pat. 18. Jac. p. 13.

(h) Pat. 1. Car. I. p. 7. Camden's Britan. col. 911.

(i) Dugdale, ut supra, p. 417.

[A] Was the second son of Sir John Danvers, Knt.] That family was originally of Anvers or Antwerp, as their surname implies. The greatest accession to their honour and fortune (1), came by the marriage of Sir John Danvers with Elizabeth, the youngest daughter, and one of the co-heiresses to John Lord Latimer: Whose three other daughters, were, Catherine, wife of Henry Earl of Northumberland; Dorothy, wife of Tho Cecill, the first Earl of Exeter; and Lucy, wife of Sir William Cornwallis, Knt (2). Sir Henry Danvers's elder brother, was Sir Charles Danvers, Knt, who adhering to Robert Earl of Essex, in his disloyal designs against the Court, fell a sacrifice to the Cecilian faction, and was attainted of high-treason, and beheaded in 1601 (3). The reader is to observe, that

this family's surname is sometimes written Danvers, and sometimes Davers (4).

[B] On account of his family's deserts and sufferings.] For, both the Earl of Essex, Sir Charles Danvers, and the rest that then suffered, were thought to have fallen a sacrifice to the King of Scots succession; and the Earl of Essex was considered by King James I. as his martyr (5).

[C] Proper for the study of Physick and Botany ] In order to put this noble design in execution, he purchased for the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds, five acres of ground, in the place mentioned above; which had formerly served for a burying place to the Jews (residing in great numbers at Oxford, till they were expelled England by King Edward I, in 1290). His

(4) See Dugdale, and Camden, ibid. and Dugdale, Vol. 11. p. 416, 417. and *Hibernia Pacata*, by T. Stafford, ubi supra.

(5) See Rapin's Hist. of England; in the beginning of King James the First's reign, or Vol. 11. edit. 1733. fol. p. 159.

right

(d) Id. ibid.  
(e) Langbaine's Account of the Dramatic Poets. Ox. 1691. p. 100. and Winstanley's Lives of the Poets. Lond. 1687. p. 111.

(26) Poetical Works, &c. Vol. 1. p. 6.

(a) The Baronage of England, by Sir Will. Dugdale, Vol. 11. p. 416. and Vol. I. p. 313.

(b) See *Pacata Hibernia: Ireland appeared and reduced* &c. by T. Stafford, edit. 1633. fol. p. 199, 233. and *Memorials of Affairs of State*, &c. published by Edm. Sawyer, Esq; in 1725. Vol. 1. p. 370.

(1) See Camden's *Britannia*, edit. 1722. fol. col. 920.

(2) Dugdale's *Baronage*, Vol. 1. p. 313.

(3) See Camden's *Annals of Q. Elizabeth*, under the year 1601.

(k) Camden's Britannia, ut supra, col. 105.

shire (k). In his latter days he chose a retired life; and (upon what account is not well known) fell under the displeasure of the Court [D]. At length, he died at his house in Cornbury-Park in Oxfordshire, January the 20th, 164 $\frac{3}{4}$ , in the seventy-first year of his age: and was buried in the Chancel of the Parish-church of Dantesey, under a noble monument of white marble, with an epitaph [E], which contains the best character that can be given of him. He was never married (l).

(l) Dugdale, Vol. II. p. 417.

His younger brother and heir, was Sir *John Danvers*, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber to King Charles I. who was so ungrateful and inhuman, as to sit in judgment upon his gracious Master, that unfortunate Prince, and to be one of those who signed the warrant for his execution. He died before the Restoration of King Charles II. but, however, all his estates both real and personal were confiscated in 1661 (m). His character is given below [F].

(m) See Register and Chronicle, &c. by Bishop Kennet. Lond. fol. 1728. p. 156, 178, 49c.

right and title to that piece of land, he conveyed to the university, on the 27th of March 1622. And the ground being first considerably raised, to prevent its being overflowed by the river Charwell; the Heads of the university laid the first stones of the walls, on the 25th of July following. They were finished in 1633, being fourteen foot high: and cost the noble benefactor about five thousand pounds. The entrance into the garden, is on the north side under a stately gate, the charge of building which amounted to between five and six hundred pounds. Upon the front of that gateway, is this Latin inscription: *Gloriæ Dei Opt. Max. Honori Caroli Regis, in usum Acad. et Reipub. Henricus Comes Danby, D. D. MDCXXXII. i. e.* 'To the Glory of God, and the Honour of King Charles, for the use of the University and the Kingdom, Henry Earl of Danby gives and dedicates [this Garden.] For the maintenance of it, and of a Gardiner, the noble founder left, by Will, the impropriate rectory of Kirkdale in Yorkshire: which was afterwards settled for the same purpose, by his brother and heir, Sir John Danvers, Knt. The Earl of Danby's Will bore date the 14th of December 1640 (6).

(6) A. Wood, Histor. & Antiquitates Univ. Oxon. edit. 1674. lib. II. p. 45. See also the Present State of England, &c. by J. Chamberlayne. Part i. ch. 12.

[D] *Fell under the displeasure of the Court*] For, he was fined *five thousand pounds* in the Star-Chamber, for having felled timber in Wichwood-forest, without licence (7). Which was such a severe punishment, as would not have been inflicted upon him, had he been in the good graces of the Court.

(7) The Peerage of England, &c. by Ar. Collins, Vol. II. Part ii. edit. 1735. 8vo. p. 644.

[E] *With an epitaph.*] Being as follows: 'Henry Earl of Danby, second son to Sir John Danvers, Knight, and Dame Elizabeth, daughter and coheir to John Nevil Lord Latimer; born at Dantesey, in the county of Wiltshire, the 28th day of June, Ann. Dom. 1573, and baptized in this church, the first of July following, being Sunday. He departed this life on the Twentieth day of January, Ann. Dom. 1643, and lyeth here interred.

'He was partly bred up in the *Low-Country-wars*, under Maurice E. of Nassaw (afterwards Prince of Orange) and in many other military actions of those times both by sea and land. He was made a Captain in the wars of France, and there knighted for his good service, under Henry the Fourth, then French King. He was employed as Lieutenant-General of the Horse, and Serjeant-Major of the whole army in

(a) T. Fuller's Church Hist. edit. 1655. B. xi. p. 176.

(b) From the College Register. It doth not appear by it that he was admitted a Fellow-Commoner, as T. Fuller affirms. Ibid.

(c) From the University Register. The Register-book, wherein his Bachelor of Arts degree was entered, is lost.

DAVENANT (JOHN) Bishop of Salisbury in the seventeenth century, was born in Watling-street, London, where his father was an eminent Merchant, but originally descended from the ancient family of the Davenants of Sible-Heningham in Essex

(a) [A]. What school he was educated in, we cannot find. But, on the fourth of July 1587, he was admitted Pensioner of Queen's College in Cambridge (b). He regularly took his degrees in Arts; that of Master in 1594 (c). A Fellowship was offered him about the same time, but his father would not permit him to accept of it on account of his plentiful fortune; however, after his father's decease, he accepted of one (d), into which he was admitted September 2, 1597 (e). Being thus settled in the College, he distinguished himself, as he had already done before [B], by his learning and other excellent qualifications (f). In the year 1601 he took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity: and that of Doctor in 1609 (g). This same year last mentioned he was elected Lady Margaret's

(9) The History of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1731. 8vo. Part iii. Vol. I. p. 255, 256.

(10) He had been just before giving the character of Sir Henry Mildmay, another of the King's servants, and Judges.

(d) T. Fuller, ibid.

(e) College Register.

(f) T. Fuller, ibid.

(g) University Register.

'Ireland, under Robert Earl of Essex, and Charles Baron of Montjoy, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

'He was made Baron of *Dauntsey*, and Peer of this realm, by King James the First; and by him made Lord President of *Munster*, and Governor of *Garnesey*.

'By King Charles the First, he was created Earl of *Danby*; made of his Privy Council, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter. But, declining more active employments, in his later time (by reason of his imperfect health;) full of honour, wounds, and dayes, he died at his house, in *Cornbury Park*, in the county of *Oxford*, in the 71 year of his age (8).'

(8) Dugdale, ubi supra, Vol. II. p. 417.

*Laus Deo.*

Sacred marble, safely keep  
His dust, who under thee must sleep,  
Untill the years again restore  
Their dead, and time shall be no more.  
Meane while, if he (which all things wears)  
Does ruine thee; or if thy tears  
Are shed for him: dissolve thy frame,  
Thou art requited: for his fame,  
His vertue, and his worth, shall be  
Another monument to thee.

G. Herbert.

[F] *His character is given below.*] From the Lord Clarendon (9), who delivers it in the following words: 'The other (10) was Sir John Danvers, the younger brother and heir of the Earl of Danby, who was a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to the King, and being neglected by his brother, and having, by a vain expence in his way of living, contracted a vast debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud formal weak man, between being seduced and a seducer, became so far involved in their counsels, that he suffered himself to be applied to their worst offices, taking it to be a high honour to sit upon the same bench with Cromwell, who employed and contemned him at once: nor did that party of miscreants, look upon any two men in the kingdom with that scorn and detestation as they did upon *Danvers* and *Mildmay*.'

[A] *Descended from the ancient family of the Davenants of Sible Heningham in Essex*] And of Davenant's-lands in that parish; where his father was born, and his ancestors had continued in a worshipful degree from Sir John Davenant, who lived in the time of King Henry the Third (1).

[B] *He distinguished himself, as he had already done before.*] In his youthful exercises, he gave such an earnest of his future maturity, that Dr Whitacre hearing him dispute, said, 'That he would in time prove the honour of the University;' a prediction that proved not untrue, as T. Fuller observes (2).

[C] He

(1) Fuller, ubi supra.

(2) Ibid.

(4) Catalogue of those Professors; before the Lady Margaret's Funeral Sermon, reprinted at London, 1709.

(1) College Register.

(2) G. Camdeni regni Regis Jacobi I. Annal. Apparatus. Ed. 2. 1691. 4to. p. 46. ad calcem ipsius Epistol.

(1) T. Fuller, ubi supra, Book x. p. 82.

(m) T. Fuller, ibid. p. 91. & J. Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesie Anglicane, &c. edit. 1716. fol. p. 261.

Margaret's Professor, which place he enjoyed till 1621 (b). He was also one of her Preachers in 1609 and 1612. On the 20th of October 1614, he was admitted Master of his College, and continued in that station till April 20, 1622 (i). And so considerable did he become, that he was one of those eminent English Divines, sent by King James I. to the Synod of Dort, in the year 1618 [C]. He returned to England in May 1619 (k), after having visited the most eminent cities, and other remarkable places, in the Low-Countries (l). Upon the death of his brother-in-law Dr Robert Townson, he was nominated Bishop of Salisbury; and was elected June 11, 1621, confirmed November 17. following, and consecrated the 18th of the same month (m). He continued in favour during the remainder of King James the First's reign; but in Lent 1635, he incurred the Court's displeasure, for meddling (in a Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall) with the Predestinarian controversy [D]: "all curious search" into which, his Majesty had strictly enjoined "to be laid aside (n)." For this pretended contempt of the King's Declaration, he was not only reprov'd, the same day; but also summoned to answer, two days after, before the Privy-Council. And though he was dismissed without further trouble, and even admitted to kiss the King's hand [E], yet he was never afterwards in favour at Court (o). He died of a consumption April 20. 1641 (p), to which a sense of the sorrowful times, that he saw were bad, and foresaw would be worse, did not a little contribute (q). Among other benefactions, he gave to Queen's College in Cambridge, the perpetual Advowsons of the Rectories of Cheverel Magna, and Newton Tony in Wiltshire; and a Rent-charge of thirty-one pounds ten shillings per annum, for the founding of two Bible-Clerks, and buying books for the library, in the same College (r). We shall give an account of what he published in the note [F]. As to his character; He

(n) In his Declaration prefixed to the XXXIX Articles, in 1628: which has frequently been reprinted at the head of them.

(o) Fuller, ubi supra, Book xi. p. 138, 139, 140.

(p) Godwin de Praefolibus, cum continuatione Cl. Vir. Gul. Richardson. Cantab. 1743. fol. p. 358.

(q) Fuller, ibid. p. 176.

(r) From the information of the present worthy Master.

[C] He was one of those eminent English Divines, sent by King James I, to the Synod of Dort, in the year 1618.] The others were, George Carleton, D. D. then Bishop of Landaff, and afterwards of Chichester; Joseph Hall, D. D. then Dean of Worcester, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter and Norwich; and Samuel Ward, D. D. Master of Sidney-college, Camb. and Archdeacon of Taunton. [But the air not agreeing with Dr Hall, he obtained leave to return to England about Christmas, and Thomas Goade, D. D. was sent in his room (3)] They embarked Octob. 17 (4), landed at Middleburgh the 20th; came to the Hague the 27th of the same month; and thence removed to Dort, where the Synod was opened November 3, O. S. and ended April 29 (5). They came back to England May 7 (6). During their stay in Holland, these four Divines had ten pounds a day allowed them by the States; and a present of two hundred pounds, at their departure, for their charges; besides a golden medal, to each of them, whereon was represented the Synod sitting (7).

[D] For meddling (in a Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall) with the Predestinarian controversy.] As soon as his Sermon was ended, it was signified to him, That his Majesty was much displeas'd, he had stirr'd this question which his Majesty had forbidden to be meddled withal, one way or other: the Bishop's answer was, That he had delivered nothing, but the received doctrine of our Church established in the 17th Article, and that he was ready to justify the truth of what he had then taught. He was told, The doctrine was not gainsaid, but his Majesty had given command, these questions should not be debated, and therefore he took it more offensively that any should be so bold, as in his own hearing to break his royal commands. To which he replied, That he never understood his Majesty had forbid the handling of any doctrine comprised in the Articles of our Church, but only raising of new questions, or adding of new sense thereunto, which he had not done, nor ever should do. Two days after, when he appeared before the Privy-Council, Dr Sam. Harsnet Archbishop of York made a speech near half an hour long, aggravating the boldness of Bishop Davenant's offence, and shewing many inconveniencies that it was likely to draw after it. When the Archbishop had finished his speech, the Bishop desired, That since he was called thither as an offender, he might not be put to answer a long speech upon the sudden, but that his Grace would be pleas'd to charge him point by point, and so to receive his answer; for he did not yet understand wherein he had broken any commandment of his Majesty's, which was taken for granted. After some pause, the Archbishop told him, He knew well enough the point which was urg'd against him, namely the breach of the King's declaration. Then he stood upon this defence, That the

doctrine of Predestination which he taught, was not forbidden by the Declaration: 1st, Because in the Declaration all the Articles are established, amongst which, the Article of Predestination is one. 2. Because all Ministers are urg'd to subscribe unto the truth of the Article, and all subjects to continue in the profession of that as well as of the rest. Upon these and such like grounds, he gather'd, it could not be esteem'd amongst forbidden, curious, or needless doctrines; and here he desired that out of any clause in the Declaration it might be shew'd him, that keeping himself within the bounds of the Article, he had transgress'd his Majesty's command; but the Declaration was not produced, nor any particular words in it, only this was urg'd, That the King's will was, that for the peace of the Church these high questions should be forborne. He added, That he was sorry he understood not his Majesty's intention; which if he had done before, he should have made choice of some other matter to treat of, which might have given no offence; and that for the time to come, he should conform himself as readily as any other to his Majesty's command. Whereupon he was dismissed. At his departure, he entreated the Lords of the Council, to let his Majesty understand, that he had not boldly, or wilfully and wittingly, against his Declaration, meddled with the forenamed point; and that now understanding fully his Majesty's mind, and intention, he should humbly yield obedience thereunto (8).

[E] And even admitted to kiss the King's hand] When he came into the royal presence, his Majesty declared to him his resolution, That he would not have this high point meddled withal or debated, either the one way or the other, because it was too high for the people's understanding; and other points which concern reformation and newness of life, were more needful and profitable. The Bishop promised obedience therein, and so kissing his Majesty's hand departed (9).

[F] We shall give an account of what he published.] I. A Latin Exposition on St Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. *Expositio Epistolæ D. Pauli ad Colossenses, per Reverendum in Christo Patrem Joannem Sarisburiensem Episcopum in lucem edita: Olim ab eodem, Dominae Margaretae in Academia Cantabrigiensi Professore Theologico, dictata*, fol. The third edition was printed at Cambridge in 1639. It is the substance of Lectures read by our author as Lady-Margaret-Professor. So was also the following; II *Praelectiones de duobus in Theologia controversis Capitibus: De Judice Controversiarum, primo; De Justitia habituali & actuali, altero: Per Reverendissimum Virum Joan Davenantium, S. Theol. Doctorem (nunc Episcopum Sarisburiensem) ante aliquot annos in celeberrima Academia Cantabrigiensi Theologiae professorem pro Domina Margareta, in Scholis Theologicis auditoribus suis dictatae.* Cantab. 1631. fol.

(8) This account is taken from Bishop Davenant's relation of the whole matter in a letter to Dr Ward. See Fuller, ubi supra, B. xi. p. 139, 140.

(9) Fuller, ibid.

(s) Fuller, ubi supra, p. 176.

(t) Summæ fuit eruditionis, & magni nominis theologus. Richardson, ubi supra.

(u) The History of the Reformation, &c. in the Low-Countries, fol. by Ger. Brandt, Vol. III. p. 236.

He was humble, and hospitable; painful in preaching and writing; and behaved in every station with exemplary gravity and moderation (s). He was a man of great learning, and an eminent Divine (t); but strictly attached to Calvinism, with all its absurdities of unconditionate Predestination, &c. Whilst he was at the Synod of Dort, he inclined to the doctrine of Universal Redemption; and was for a middle way between the two extremes, maintaining The Certainty of the Salvation of a certain number of the Elect; and that offers of pardon were sent not only to all that should believe and repent, but to all that heard the Gospel: that Grace sufficient to convince and persuade the impenitent (so as to lay the blame of their condemnation upon themselves) went along with these offers; that the Redemption of Christ and his Merits were applicable to these; and consequently there was a possibility of their Salvation (u). He was buried in Salisbury Cathedral.

fol. i. e. Lectures on the two controverted points, 1. The Judge of controversies; 2. Habitual and actual Righteousness, &c. III. In 1634, he published the Questions, which he had disputed upon in the schools, 49 in number, under this title, *Determinationes Quæstionum quarundam Theologicarum, per Reve-*

*rendissimum Virum Joannem Davenantium, &c.* fol. IV. The last thing he published, was, 'Animadversiones upon a treatise lately published and intitled, 'God's Love to Mankind, manifested by disproving his 'absolute Decree for their Damnation.' Cambr. 1641, 8vo. This treatise was written by S. Hoard. C

D'AVENANT or DAVENANT (WILLIAM) Poet-Laureat in the reigns of Charles the First and Charles the Second. He was the younger son of an honest citizen of Oxford, one Mr John Davenant, who kept that which was afterwards the Crown-Tavern there, and was a person of a very grave disposition, as well as unblemished reputation (a). William Davenant, of whom we are to speak, was born in the latter end of the month of February 1605, and, on the third of March following, was christened at St Martin's Church, in which parish his father's house stood (b). While he was a child he was very much taken notice of for his brisk and lively parts, and for his early inclination to letters, more especially to Poetry, hinted by some, and asserted by others, to have been owing to some very singular accidents, as to which it may not be amiss to enter into a few particulars, though the reports themselves deserve but little credit (c) [A]. He received the first rudiments of polite learning from Mr Edward Sylvester, who kept, at that time, a grammar-school in the parish of All Saints in Oxford (d), where he was so happy as to breed up several persons, who, afterwards, became eminent for their learning and abilities. In the year 1621, the same in which his father was Mayor of the city, he was entered a member of the University of Oxford in Lincoln-College, under the tuition of Mr Daniel Hough (e); but the Oxford Historian is of opinion, that he did not stay there long (f), but, being strongly affected to lighter studies, and perhaps encouraged by some of the young Noblemen and Gentlemen with whom he became acquainted there, he quitted the feat of the Muses, in hopes of making his fortune at Court, where he

(a) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 168.

(b) Langbaine's English Dramatic Poets, p. 106.

(c) Winstanley's Lives of English Poets, p. 185.

(d) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 411, 505.

(e) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 168.

(f) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 411.

[A] *Deserve but little credit.* We are obliged to Mr Wood for a double account of this celebrated Poet. In his Latin work, which was translated for him, and is thought sometimes to express the sentiments also of Dr Fell, under whose auspice that translation was performed; there is a succinct account of the different humours of John Davenant the father, and William Davenant the son (1). But in Mr Wood's English History of Oxford writers, we have his sentiments a little more at large; for, having told us who his father was, and that the tavern he kept was afterwards known by the sign of the crown, he proceeds thus (2): 'His mother was a very beautiful woman, of a good wit and conversation, in which she was imitated by none of her children, but by this William. The father, who was a very grave and discreet citizen (yet an admirer and lover of plays and play-makers, especially Shakespear, who frequented his house in his journies between Warwickshire and London) was of a melancholic disposition, and was seldom or never seen to laugh, in which he was imitated by none of his children, but by Robert his eldest son, afterwards Fellow of St John's college, and a venerable Doctor of Divinity.' That there is somewhat of mystery in this account, and more especially in the parenthesis relating to Shakespear, the reader will easily discern; but whether a modern writer has truly interpreted Mr Wood's meaning, must be left to the reader's judgment (3). 'His father's house, says Mr Jacob being frequented by the famous Shakespear in his journies to Warwickshire, his poetical genius in his youth, was, by that means, very much encouraged, and some will have it, that the handsome landlady, as well as the good wine, invited the Tragedian to those quarters.' Thus much

(1) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 168.

(2) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 411.

(3) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 58.

is certain, that our author admired Shakespear more than any English Poet, and that one of the first essays of his muse was a poem upon his death, which happened when Davenant was about ten years old. The reader perhaps will not be displeased to see it (4).

(4) Davenant's Works, P. i. p. 218.

ODE in remembrance of master William Shakespear.

I.

Beware delighted Poets! when you sing,  
To welcome nature in the early spring,  
Your num'rous feet not tread;  
The banks of Avon; for each flow'r  
As it ne'er knew or sun or show'r,  
Hangs there the pensive head.

II.

Each tree, whose spreading growth hath made  
Rather a night beneath than shade,  
(Unwilling now to grow)  
Looks like the plume a Captain wears,  
Whose rifled falls are steeped with tears,  
Which from his last rage flow.

III.

The pitious river wept itself away,  
Long since (alas! to such a swift decay,)  
That reach the map and look,  
If you a river there can spie,  
And for a river your mock'd eye,  
Will find a shallow brook.

[B] *Were*

he became first page to Frances Duchess of Richmond, a Lady very famous in those days, who had a great influence at Court, and who kept a kind of court of her own (g). He afterwards removed into the family of Sir Fulk Grevile Lord Brooke, who being himself a man of parts and learning, and much addicted to Poetry, he stood very high in his favour, and might, very probably, have made a figure in the world under his patronage, if that noble Peer had not been suddenly deprived of life by the hands of a barbarous assassin, September 30th, 1628 (b). By this unfortunate accident Mr Davenant was left quite at large, but, however, without any detriment to his fortune, since we find that the year ensuing he produced his first play to the world, which was very well received, and to which some very honourable recommendations were prefixed when it was printed [B]. He spent the next eight years of his life in a constant attendance upon the Court, where nobody was better received, or more highly caressed, being particularly intimate with Thomas Carew, Esq; Endymion Porter, Esq; Sir John Suckling, Mr Henry Jermyn, the Honourable Henry Howard, and, in a word, with all the great wits of that time; nor was he less regarded by the Earl of Dorset, the Lord Treasurer Weston, and other great men (i), notwithstanding an unlucky accident that did no small injury to his handsome face, which the Oxford Historian assures us, arose from his familiarity with a handsome black girl in Axe-yard, in Westminster (k), and which exposed him to a good deal of raillery [C]. In this space of time he wrote several plays, and many more poems, which

(g) Wilson's Reign of King James I. in the Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 777.

(b) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 443.

(i) As appears from the poems addressed to them in his Miscellanies, and from his Dedications.

(k) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

[B] Were prefixed when it was printed ] The title of this first dramatick piece of our author's runs thus:

I. ALBOVINE King of the Lombards, his Tragedy, Lond. 1629. 4to.

This work is founded upon true History, and our author seems to have drawn his materials both from ancient and modern writers (5). He imitates Shakespear in many places, and copies him in some. Mr Langbaine says it was dedicated to the Right Honourable the Duke of Somers (6), in which strange mistake he is followed by later writers; but the Play itself plainly proves, that it was addressed to the unfortunate Robert Ker, Earl of Somers (7), and it is very evident from thence, that Nobleman was not so little considered under his misfortunes as is generally imagined. It was justly esteemed a very good first Play, and as such is commended to the world by eight copies of verses, all written by eminent men, of whom we will mention three, Sir Henry Blount, Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and the honourable Henry Howard.

[C] To a good deal of raillery.] The plain fact is, that Mr Davenant, being very amorous, was so unlucky as to carry the tokens of his irregular gallantries in the depression of his nose, which afforded the satyriek wits of those times a pregnant subject for a kind of familiar abuse, which affected him as little, or perhaps less, than it would any other man (8). This accident happened pretty early in his life, since it gave occasion to the following stanzas in Sir John Suckling's *Sessions of the Poets*, which I have transcribed from a very correct copy (9).

Will Dav'nant asham'd of a foolish mischance,  
That he had got lately trav'ling in France;  
Modestly hop'd th' handsomeness of 's muse,  
Might any deformity about him excuse.

And,

Surely the company had been content,  
If they could have found any precedent;  
But in all their records, in verse or in prose,  
There was none of a Laureat who wanted a nose.

And, as if this had been a jest that could never die, in a poem written some years after with the same title, there was another bold stroke at poor Sir William Davenant's disfigured visage, but with more of ill nature, and much less of wit in it (10).

Damn'd Holden, with 's dull German Princess appear'd,  
Whom if Dav'nant begot, as some do suppose,  
Apollo said the pillory should crop off his ears,  
And make them more suitable unto his nose.

But, what is most extraordinary, Mr Davenant himself could not forget the authors of his misfortune, but has introduced her into his *Gondibert*, and, as the Critics think, a little improperly. He brings two friends, Ulfnore the elder, and Goltho the younger, on a

journey to the Court of Gondibert, but in their passage, to shew, as he would suggest, the frailty of youth, they were arrested by a very unlooked-for accident, in spite of the wise counsels which Ulfnore had just received from his father (11).

(11) Gondibert, B. iii. Cant. 6, Stanza 31.

For a black beauty did her pride display,  
Through a large window, and in jewels shone,  
As if to please the world, weeping for day,  
Night had put all her stary jewels on.

This beauty gaz'd on both, and Ulfnore  
Hung down his head, but yet did lift his eyes  
As if he fain would see a little more,  
For much, though bashful, he did beauty prize.

Goltho did like a blushless statue stare,  
Boldly her practis'd boldness did out-look,  
And ev'n for fear she would mistrust her snare,  
Was ready to cry out, That he was took!

She, with a wicked woman's prosp'rous art,  
A seeming modesty, the window clos'd;  
Wisely delay'd his eyes, since of his heart  
She thought she had sufficiently dispos'd.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
E're he could more lament, a little page,  
Clean and perfum'd, one whom this Dame did breed  
To guess at ills too many for his age,  
Steps swiftly to him, and arrests his steed:

With civil whisper cries, *My Lady, Sir!* —  
At this Goltho alights as swiftly post,  
As posterns mount by ling'ring loth to err;  
As wind-bound men, whose sloth their first wind lost.  
\* \* \* \* \*

They enter, and ascend, and enter then  
Where DALGA with black eyes does sinners draw;  
And with her voice holds fast repenting men,  
To whose warm jet light Goltho is but straw.

Nicely as bridegroom's was her chamber dress'd,  
Her bed as bride's, and richer than a throne;  
And sweeter seem'd than the Circania's nest,  
Though built in Eastern groves of cinnamon.

The price of Princes pleasure, who her love  
(Though but false ware) at rates so costly bought;  
The wealth of many, but may hourly prove  
Spoils to some one by whom herself is caught.

She, sway'd by sinful beauty's destiny,  
Finds her tyrannick pow'r must now expire,  
Who meant to kindle Goltho in her eye,  
But to her breast has brought the raging fire.

Yet

(5) Polus Diaconus de Gestis Langobardorum, Lib. ii. c. 28. Gregorius Episc. Turonensis Hist. Francorum. Lib. ii. c. 28. Belleforest Hist. Tragiques, Tom. IV. Novel 19.

(6) Langbaine's English Poets, p. 107. Jacob's Lives of English Poets, Vol. I. p. 59.

(7) Davenant's Works, P. ii. p. 414.

(8) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(9) The Works of Sir John Suckling, p. 6, 7.

(10) Dryden's Miscellanies, Vol. II. p. 95.

which he addressed to the principal persons of the Court, and was also employed in framing several masques, that were acted at Court, not only by the principal nobility of both sexes, but one in which even the Queen herself vouchsafed to take a share, though it gave very high offence to the scrupulous moralists of those times (l). By these performances he raised his poetical character to a very great height; most of his pieces, whatever may be thought of them now, being then esteemed the best of their kind, and, as such, highly applauded by those who were thought the ablest judges (m). We shall mention their titles, and a few remarkable particulars that relate to them, in the notes [D]. Upon the death of the justly celebrated Benjamin Johnson, in 1637, our Poet succeeded to his laurel; which gave very high offence to Mr Thomas May, who was his competitor; and though it was well enough known, that Mr Davenant owed his preferment to the favour of the Queen, yet his rival carried his spleen still higher, and, from being a warm courtier, became not only a warmer malecontent, but distinguished himself afterwards against his Royal Master, both as an Advocate and an Historian to the Parliament (n). As for Mr Davenant he continued very steadfast in his old road, adhered to his old principles, and his old friends, writing from time to time new poems, exhibiting new plays, and having the chief direction and management of the Court diversions, so long as the disorders of those times would permit (o). Of these pieces also we shall say so much as is necessary at the bottom of the page [E]. When the troubles began, Mr Davenant had an early share in them; for he was accused to the Parliament of being embarked in a design in May 1641, for bringing up the army for the defence of the King's person, and the support of his authority, into which he was very probably drawn by his friends, there being many of them deep in this scheme, such as Mr Henry Piercy, afterwards Lord Piercy, Mr Goring, Mr

(l) Langbaine's English Dramatic Poets, p. 110.

(m) As appears by the commendatory verses of Sir John Suckling, Mr Waller, Mr Cowley, Mr Carew, &c.

(n) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413, 414.

(o) Phillips's Theatrum Poetarum, P. ii. p. 191.

Yet even in simple love she uses art,  
Though weepings are from looser eyes but leaks,  
Yet eldest lovers scarce would doubt her heart,  
So well she weeps, and thus to Goltho speaks.

[D] *That relate to them in the notes.* We will in this note give a list of such of his works, as were written within this period, that is, before he was honoured with the title of Poet Laureat, and which, in the judgment of those times, were generally thought to have deserved it.

II. *The JUST ITALIAN, a Tragi-Comedy*, London, 1630, 4to.

This dramatick performance is dedicated to Edward Earl of Dorset, whose favourable opinion of it saved it from the condemnation of a hasty audience. It is introduced by two copies of verses, one written by Mr William Hopkins, and the other by Mr Thomas Carew; and it cannot certainly be denied to have much wit, deep contrivance, and a quick succession of busy scenes handsomely expressed. Some of our later Poets, who had read this piece, lost nothing by their reading; and if it were not an invidious task, one might shew where and what they gained.

III. *The CRUEL BROTHER, a Tragedy*, London, 1630, 4to.

This is dedicated to Richard Lord Weston, at that time Lord High Treasurer of England. The author acknowledges, in this Dedication, some errors in the piece itself; and in this, no doubt, the Criticks will allow him a sound judgment; it seems however to have been pretty well received.

IV. *COELUM BRITANNICUM, a Masque at Whitehall, in the Banqueting-House, on Shrove Tuesday night, the 18th of February 1633.*

It was attributed to our author, though the machinery, which was very fine, was contrived and executed by Inigo Jones, and part of the piece itself written by Tho. Carew (12). The King himself wore a mask in this piece, and the rest of the performers were men of the first quality in the three nations (13). This we find omitted in Mr Langbaine's catalogue.

V. *Triumphs of Prince D'Amour, a Masque, presented by his Highness at his palace in the Middle Temple the 24th of February 1635, 4to.*

This masque, at the request of the honourable society of the Middle Temple, was invented and written by our author in three days, and was presented by the members thereof as an entertainment to the Prince Elector. The musick of the songs and symphonies was composed by Mr Henry and Mr William Lawes, his Majesty's servants (14).

VI. *Platonick Lovers, a Tragi-Comedy*, London, 1636, 4to.

VII. *The Wits, a Comedy*, London, 1636, 4to.

This play is dedicated to our author's true friend, and early patron, Endymion Porter, Esq; one of the Gentlemen of the King's bed-chamber. There is a copy of verses in vindication of it, prefixed by Thomas Carew, Esq; It was favourably received by the publick after it's first performance, in which it ran some risk of being lost, and was for many years acted with great applause.

VIII. *BRITANNIA TRIUMPHANS, a Masque presented at Whitehall by the King's Majesty and his Lords, on Sunday after Twelfth night, anno 1637, 4to.*

This piece is not inserted in Mr Langbaine's catalogue, or in the folio edition of our author's works, but has been very lately printed in Ireland.

IX. *The TEMPLE of LOVE, a Masque, presented by the Queen's Majesty and her Ladies at Whitehall.*

[E] *At the bottom of the page.* Within the space prescribed to this note, his performances were but few:

X. *SALMACIDA SPOLIA, a Masque, presented to the King and Queen at Whitehall, the 21st of January 1639, London 1639, 4to.*

The subject was set down by our author and Inigo Jones; the invention, ornament, scenes, &c. by the latter, and what was spoken or sung was written by Mr Davenant, then her Majesty's servant; and the musick composed by Lewis Richard, Master of her Majesty's musick (15). This piece is likewise omitted in Mr Langbaine's catalogue, and in the collections of Davenant's works, which however is a point of injustice; for though no question can be made that Inigo Jones was a man of exalted genius, yet convincing evidence might be brought to prove, that in matters of this nature few people had a more lively imagination, or a taste more correct, than our author.

It must have been some time within this period, that he published the first edition of his *Miscellaneous Poems*, which I must confess I have never seen, but I am acquainted with their contents from later editions. These consisted of addresses to his patrons and his friends, of new years complements to the Queen, of prologues and epilogues to his own and other mens plays, and other things of a like nature. It must be confessed, that as a great part of them were written while he was a very young man, so they want this apology to palliate the roughness of some, and the want of ease and perspicuity in others; though in his succeeding works he is not at all liable to this censure. But whatever exceptions may be taken to his poetical character in these juvenile performances, we must allow, that the candour, gratitude, tenderness, friendship, and good nature, expressed in them, make sufficient amends, inasmuch as it plainly proves, that, if allowing for the state of our poetry at that time, he deserved to be admired for his parts; the many amiable qualities of his mind rendered him also very justly beloved.

[F] *Some*

(12) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

(13) Sir Wm. Davenant's Works, p. 382.

(14) Langbaine's English Poets, p. 1, 11.

(15) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

Mr Jermy, Mr Ashburnham, Sir John Suckling, and others (p). Most of these, upon the discovery of their design, sought to secure themselves by flight, and Mr Davenant among the rest; but a proclamation being published for apprehending him, he was stopped at Feversham, sent up to town, and put into the custody of a Serjeant at Arms (q). In the month of July following he was bailed, and, not long after, finding it expedient to withdraw to France, he had the misfortune to be seized again in Kent, by the Mayor of Canterbury. At last, however, he had the good luck to compleat his intention, and to retire beyond the seas, where he continued for some time (r). But the Queen sending over a considerable quantity of military stores, for the use of the Earl of Newcastle's army, Mr Davenant (s) came over with them, offered his service to that noble Peer, who was his old friend and patron, and was by him made Lieutenant-General of his Ordnance (t), to the no small dislike of some, who thought that a post very unfit for a Poet; in which, however, they made no great compliment to their General, who wrote poems and plays as well as Mr Davenant (u). It is very probable, that he took some pains to qualify himself effectually for his duty in that capacity, since, in the month of September, 1643 (w), he received the honour of knighthood from the King, at the siege of Gloucester, as a mark of the satisfaction he took in his services, at a season when he had a very fair opportunity of discovering who they were that deserved that character. His Muse, in the midst of these toils and troubles, sometimes raised her voice, and the same gratitude he had expressed to former patrons, he was inclined to shew to such as protected his fortunes now, some instances of which were made publick [F]. It does not appear how he came to leave the northern army, nor have we any accounts of his military services after the time before-mentioned; but, after the King's affairs began to decline, he judged it necessary to retire into France, where he was extremely well received by the Queen (x), and, it seems, was taken much into her confidence, since we find him embarked in a negotiation of great importance, when the King was at Newcastle, which was in the summer of 1646. Before this time Sir William had embraced the Popish Religion, which, we have reason to judge, might be a concurring, if not a principal, cause of his being employed at this time, and upon such an occasion. The noble Historian (y), who had always a particular friendship for him, has given a full account of it, though not much to his advantage, but still with all the tenderness due to his acknowledged sense of Sir William's good intentions, and of that long and intimate acquaintance that had subsisted between them; which is so much more worthy the reader's notice, as it has entirely escaped the observation of most of those, who have undertaken to give us this Gentleman's memoirs, though the most remarkable passage in his whole life (z) [G].

Upon

[F] *Some instances of which were made publick.* It is very probable, that the two following pieces were written some years earlier than they were printed, for it can hardly be supposed, that after Mr Davenant had fallen so grievously under the displeasure of the Parliament, he could have any great intercourse with his Stationer at London, so that it is more likely, these plays having been formerly acted with applause, were now printed in the absence, though not without the consent, of their author.

XI. *The unfortunate Lovers, a Tragedy*, London, 1643, and again in 1649, 4to.

This tragedy is founded upon an Italian story, was received very kindly at the time of its appearance, and was often acted after the Restoration. It is somewhat strange that this should be omitted in Mr Langbaine's catalogue of our author's works, notwithstanding it is mentioned by Winstanley (16), and which is more in Mr Langbaine's own catalogue of plays.

XII. *Love and Honour, a Tragi-Comedy*, Lond. 1649, 4to.

The scene is laid in Savoy, and after dramatick entertainments were revived again, Mr Langbaine assures us, that he has seen this play often acted with applause, at the play-house in Lincoln's-inn fields, and afterwards at the theatre in Dorset Garden (17). In point of stile it resembled Shakespear rather than Fletcher, and is more correctly finished than any of Sir William Davenant's former plays, which shews that he was not hurt by the applause that he had met with, but thought himself obliged to labour hard, and take so much the more pains to deserve it. Both these plays are without any testimonies of the author's friends before them, because published at a time, when, perhaps, there were not many who were inclined to inform the world that they were his friends.

XIII. *MADAGASCAR, with other poems*, London, 1648, 8vo, 2d edit.

His Madagascar was addressed to Prince Rupert, and must have been written many years before, since there are some commendatory verses addressed to him ex-

pressly upon this poem, by his old friend Sir John Suckling, who died about six years before the printing of this edition. There are some other commendatory verses also, that were prefixed to the first edition, and were reprinted now; and amongst these likewise there is a copy of Sir John Suckling's. We may discern from the printing of this second edition at that juncture, how much the poetick talent of Sir William Davenant was then admired, since it is plain he could then have no other patron than the publick, being himself an exile in France, and many of his friends with him. The dedicatory inscription before these poems is very singular and laudable, and as at the same time it is very short, the reader will probably be well pleased to peruse it. Thus it runs:

*If these POEMS live, may their memories by whom they were cherished,* ENDYM. PORTER, H. JERMYN, *live with them.*

[G] *Though the most remarkable passage in his whole life* The King, in retiring to the Scots, had followed the advice of the French Ambassador, who had promised on their behalf, if not more than he had authority to do, at least more than they were inclined to perform. To justify however his conduct at home, he was inclined to throw the weight in some measure upon the King, and with this view, he, by an express, informed Cardinal Mazarine, that his Majesty was too reserved in giving the Parliament satisfaction, and therefore desired that some person might be sent over, who might have a sufficient degree of credit with that Monarch, to persuade him to such compliances as were necessary for his service. 'The Queen, says the Noble Historian (18), who was never advised by those who either understood or valued his true interest, consulted with those about her, and sent Sir William Davenant, an honest man and a witty, but in all respects inferior to such a trust, with a letter of credit to the King, who knew the person well enough under another character than was like to give him much credit in the argument in which he was intrusted, although her Majesty had likewise otherwise declared

18 L.

(p) May's Hist. of the Parliament, B. i. p. 97.

(q) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(r) Sir John Manners's Poems, p. 35.

(s) May's Hist. of the Parliament, B. ii. p. 53.

(t) Life of Wm. Duke of Newcastle, written by his Dutche's, p. 130.

(u) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 235, 230.

(w) Walkeley's catalogue of the Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, Viscounts, Barons of England, Barons, Knights, &c. Lond. 1653, 8vo. p. 163.

(x) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(y) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 495.

(z) Such as Langbaine, Winstanley, &c.

(16) Lives of the most famous English Poets, p. 186.

(17) Account of the English Dramatick Poets, p. 109.

(18) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 495.

Upon his return to Paris, he fell in with that set of people, who laboured to silence the storm of their sorrows by some kind of amusement; his were literary; and the desire he had of writing an heroic poem, meeting with much leisure, and some encouragement, led him to undertake one of a new kind, the two first books of which he finished at the Louvre, where he lived with his old friend Lord Jermyn, and these, with a sensible preface, addressed to Mr Hobbes, his answer, and some commendatory poems, were published in England (a). All, however, were not captivated by Sir William's verse, or frightened into silence by the Philosopher of Malmesbury's prose, so that the worth of this work was quickly drawn into question, and, upon this, the King's little Court were extremely divided (b). Fame, however, was so thin a diet, that Sir William Davenant was willing to venture into any climate that promised a better: yet, like a worthy man, he had a view to his country's good, while he consulted his own. He had heard, that vast improvements might be made in the loyal colony of Virginia, in case they had proper artificers, and, finding there were many of these in France, who were destitute of employment, he formed a very wise and honest project of removing industrious men, who were in want of bread, to a fruitful country that was in want of them; which having, by the assistance of Queen Henrietta-Maria, brought to bear, he embarked, with his little colony, at one of the ports in Normandy (c). But, as he was a most unlucky traveller, so, before his vessel was clear of the French coast, she was met by one of the Parliament ships of war, taken and carried into the Isle of Wight, where our disappointed projector was sent close prisoner to Cowes-Castle (d), and there had leisure enough, and, which is more extraordinary, wanted not inclination to resume his heroic poem; and, having writ about half the third book, in a very gloomy prison, he thought fit to stop short again, finding himself, as he imagined, under the very shadow of death. This part of his poem was also published, and was, in those days, well received (e) [H]. In this situation

(a) Langbaine's Engl. Dramatick Poets, p. 112, 113.

(b) See certain verses written by the author's friends, to be reprinted with the second edition of Gondibert.

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(d) This appears from his own postscript to part of the third book of Gondibert.

(e) Langbaine's English Poets, p. 112.

her opinion to his Majesty, "That he should part with the Church for his peace and security." Sir William Davenant had, by the countenance of the French Ambassador, easy admission to the King, who heard him patiently all he had to say, and answered him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleased with the advice. When he found his Majesty unsatisfied, and that he was not like to consent to what was so earnestly desired by them by whose advice he was sent, who undervalued all those scruples of conscience which his Majesty himself was strongly possessed with, he took upon himself the confidence to offer some reasons to the King to induce him to yield to what was proposed, and among other things said, 'It was the opinion and advice of all his friends,' his Majesty asking 'What friends?' and he answering, said, 'that it was the opinion of the Lord Jermyn;' the King said, 'that the Lord Jermyn did not understand any thing of the Church.' The other said, 'the Lord Colepepper was of the same mind.' The King said, 'Colepepper had no religion,' and asked, 'Whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was of that mind?' to which he answered he did not know, for that he was not there, and had deserted the Prince, and thereupon said somewhat from the Queen, of the displeasure she had conceived against the Chancellor, to which the King said, 'The Chancellor was an honest man, and would never desert him, nor the Prince, nor the Church, and that he was sorry he was not with his son, but that his wife was mistaken.' Davenant then offering some reasons of his own, in which he mentioned the Church slightly, as if it were not of importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the concession, his Majesty was transported with so much indignation, that he gave him a sharper reprehension than was usual for him to give to any other man, and forbid him to presume to come again into his presence. Whereupon the poor man, who had in truth very good affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted, and returned into France to give an account of his ill success to those who sent him.

[H] And was in those days well received ] He published at Paris a discourse upon this poem by way of preface to it, in a letter to Mr Thomas Hobbes, dated from the Louvre at Paris, January 2, 1650, with the answer of Mr Hobbes, dated at Paris January 10, the same year (19). Mr Waller and Mr Cowley wrote commendatory verses on the two first books of this poem. The three first books of it were printed under the following title, GONDIBERT, an Heroic Poem, written by Sir WILLIAM DAVENANT. The seventh and last canto of the third book, was printed at London in 8vo, 1685 (20). Mr Hobbes, in his letter above-

mentioned, affirms, that he never yet saw a poem that had so much shape of art, health of morality, and vigour and beauty of expression, as this of our author. But that gentleman observes in his letter to the Honourable Edward Howard, on his intended impression of his poem of the *British Princes*, dated at Chatsworth, November 6, 1668, 'that his judgment in poetry hath been once already censured by very good wits for commending Gondibert. But yet have they not I think, continues he, disabled my testimony. For what authority is there in wit? a jester may have it; a man in drink may have it, and be fluent over-night, and wise and dry in the morning. What is it? or, Who can tell whether it be better to have it or be without it, especially if it be a pointed wit? I will take my liberty to praise what I like, as well as they do to reprehend what they do not like.' Mr Langbaine tells us, that it was designed by him to be an imitation of an English drama, it being to be divided into five books, as the other is into five acts; the cantos to be the parallel of the scenes, with this difference, that this is delivered narratively, the other dialogue-wise (21). The Honourable Edward Howard, Esq; tells us, 'that in this poem there are many remote and excellent thoughts, with apt and perspicuous expressions, the essential dignities of the Muses; whose chiefest beauties flow from the ornaments of words, and delightful variety of imagination; from which choice productions of nature, the Muses are most desirous to adopt their children, and, in no small degree, are justly acknowledged to the honour of his pen. Notwithstanding which, his heroic poem of *Gondibert*, coming into the world in a capricious time of censure, perhaps did not meet with a deserved reception, though the severest judges, I doubt not, are forced to grant, that there is in that work more to be praised than pardoned.' Mr Thomas Rymer observes (22), that our author's wit is well known, and that in the preface to this poem there appear some strokes of an extraordinary judgment; that he is for unbeaten tracks and new ways of thinking, but that certainly in his untried seas he is no great discoverer. One design of the Epic Poets before him, was to adorn their own country, there finding their heroes and patterns of virtue, whose example, as they thought, would have the greatest influence and power over posterity. 'But this Poet, says Mr Rymer, steers a different course; his heroes are all foreigners, he cultivates a country that is nothing akin to him, it is Lombardy that reaps the honour of all. Other Poets choose some action or hero so illustrious, that the name of the poem prepared the reader, and made way for it's reception. But in this poem none can divine

(21) An account of the Dramatick Poets, p. 112.

(22) Preface to his translation of Rapi's Reflections on Aristotle's treatise of Poetry.

(19) Printed for John Holden, at the sign of the anchor in the New Exchange, 1651. 12mo.

(20) Reprinted also in the folio edition of his works.

situation we find him in October 1650, and, indeed, in a worse situation no man could well be, the Parliament having delivered him over, by an ordinance, to be tried by a high commission court, where, supposing that innocence might have been safe, it was pretty difficult to know how a man should prove himself innocent (f). He was conveyed from the Isle of Wight to the Tower of London, and, for some time, his life was in the utmost hazard; nor is it well known how it was saved; some say, that two Aldermen of York, to whom he had been very kind when they were prisoners, and when he had a high command in the Marquis of Newcastle's army, interposed out of gratitude (g); others, that Milton was his friend (b), and prevented the utmost effects of party

(f) Bates's *Paradise Lost*, P. II. p. 81, 82.

(g) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(b) Explanatory Notes and Remarks on *Paradise Lost*, by J. Richardson, p. 20.

' divine what great action he intended to celebrate, nor is the reader obliged to know whether the hero be Turk or Christian. Nor do the first lines give any light or prospect into his design. Methinks, though his religion could not dispense with an invocation, he needed not have scrupled at the proposition. Yet he rather chooses to enter in at the top of the house, because the mortals of mean and satisfied minds go in at the door. And I believe the reader is not well pleased to find his poem begin with the praises of Aribert, when the title has promised a Gondibert. But before he falls on any other business, he presents the reader with a particular description of each hero, not trusting their actions to speak for them as former Poets have done. Their practice was fine and artificial, his he tells us is a new way. Many of his characters have but little of the heroick in them; Dalga is a jilt proper only for Comedy; Birtha, for a Pastoral; and Alragon, in the manner here described, yields no very great ornament to an heroick poem: nor are his battles less liable to censure than those of Homer. He dares not, as other Heroick Poets, heighten the action by making Heaven and Hell interested, for fear of offending against probability, and yet he tells us of

— Threads by patient Parca slowly spun.

And for being dead his phrase is,

Heaven call'd him where peacefully he rules a star.

And the emerald he gives to Birtha has a stronger tang of the old woman, and is a greater improbability, than all the enchantments in Tasso. A just medium reconciles the farthest extreams, and one preparation may give credit to the most unlikely fiction. In *Marino*, Adonis is presented with a diamond ring, where indeed the stone is much what of the same nature; but this present is made by Venus, and from a goddess could not be expected a gift of ordinary virtue. The same Critick afterwards tells us, that the sort of verse of which Sir William makes choice, might contribute much to the vitiating of his style, for thereby he obliges himself to stretch every period to the end of four lines. Thus the sense is broken perpetually with parentheses, the words jumbled in confusion, and a darkness spread over all; so that the sense is either not discerned, or found not sufficient, for one just verse which is sprinkled on the whole tetraslich. In the Italian and Spanish, where all the rhymes are dissyllable, and the percussion stronger, this kind of verse may be necessary; and yet, to temper that grave march, they repeat the same rhyme over again, and then they close the stanza with a couplet farther to sweeten the severity. But in French and English, where we rhyme generally with only one syllable, the stanza is not allowed, much less the alternate rhyme in long verse, for the sound of the monosyllable rhyme is either lost before we come to it's correspondent, or we are in pain by the so long expectation and suspense. This alternate rhyme, and the downright morality throughout whole canto's together, shew Davenant better acquainted with the Quatrains of Pybrach which he speaks of, than with any true models of Epick Poesy. After all, Davenant is said to have a particular talent for the manners, his thoughts are great, and there appears something roughly noble throughout this fragment, which had he been pleased to finish, it would doubtless not have been left so open to the attack of Criticks. All these objections to the measure of the verse, had been foreseen, considered, and answered, by Sir William Davenant; but instead of

troubling the reader with what he has delivered very well, but very much at large, upon this subject, we will content ourselves with saying, that his reasons had so much weight with Mr Dryden, a better Poet indeed than him, and at the same time a better Critick than Mr Rymer, that he thought fit to imitate him in the choice of his stanza, and gives the following reasons for it in a letter to Sir Robert Howard (23). 'I have says he, chosen to write my poem in quatrains or stanzas of four, in alternate rhyme, because I have ever judged them more noble, and of greater dignity, both for the sound and number, than any other verse in use amongst us, in which I am sure I have your approbation. The learned languages have certainly a great advantage over us, in not being tied to the slavery of any rhyme, and were less constrained in the quantity of every syllable, which they might vary with spondees or dactyls, besides so many other helps of grammatical figures, for the lengthening or abbreviation of them, than the modern are in the close of that one syllable, which often confines, and more often corrupts, the sense of all the rest. But in this necessity of our rhymes I have always found the couplet verse most easy, though not so proper for this occasion; for there the work is sooner at an end, every two lines concluding the labour of the Poet; but in quatrains he is to carry it farther on, and not only so, but to bear along in his head the troublesome sense of four lines together. For those who write correctly in this kind must needs acknowledge, that the last line of the stanza is to be considered in the composition of the first. Neither can we give ourselves the liberty of making any part of a verse for the sake of rhyme, or concluding with a word which is not current English, or using the variety of female rhymes, all which our fathers practised, and for the female rhymes they are still in use amongst other nations; with the Italian in every line, with the Spaniard promiscuously, with the French alternately, as those who have read the *Alarique*, the *Pucelle*, or any of their later poems; will agree with me. And besides this they write in Alexandrins, or verses of six feet, such as, amongst us, is the old translation of Homer by Chapman. All which, by lengthening of their chain, makes the sphere of their activity the larger. I have dwelt too long upon the choice of my stanza, which you may remember is much better defended in the Preface to *Gondibert*, and therefore I will hasten to acquaint you with my endeavours in the writing.' The learned Professor of Greek in the university of Aberdeen, censures the structure of the poem, but at the same time pays a compliment to the abilities of the author (24). 'It was indeed, says he, a very extraordinary project of our ingenious countryman, to write an Epick Poem without mixing allegory, or allowing the smallest fiction throughout the composition. It was like lopping off a man's limb, and then putting him upon running races, though it must be owned, that the performance shews with what ability he could have acquitted himself, had he been sound and entire.' After all, it will, in the eye of a judicious reader, pass for an incontestible proof of the merit of this poem, that it has been a subject of controversy for near a hundred years, that is, from it's first appearance to the present time: perhaps the dispute had been long ago decided, if the author's leisure or inclination had permitted him to finish it. At present we see it to great disadvantage, and if, in spite of this, it has any beauties, we may well conclude that it would have come much nearer perfection, if the story begun with so much spirit, had been brought to an end upon the author's plan.

(23) Preface to his *Annus mirabilis*, Lond. 1669: 8vo.

(24) Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, Lond. 1735: 8vo. p. 141.

rage from descending on the head of this son of the Muses. But, whoever saved his life, we find him two years after a prisoner in the Tower, where he obtained some indulgence by the favour of the Lord Keeper Whitlocke (i); upon receiving which he wrote him a letter of thanks, that would have secured him the reputation of the politest pen of those times, if nothing of his had remained besides [I]. This liberty of his left him only room to solicit further favours, which he likewise obtained, and was, at last, entirely delivered from every thing but the narrowness of his circumstances; and against these, encouraged by the interest of his friends, he likewise made a bold effort. He knew very well, that a play-house was utterly inconsistent with the purity of those times, and yet, if he could open any thing like one, it would be sure to be well filled; he managed his project with great address, by degrees brought it to bear; and, having the countenance of Lord Whitlocke, Sir John Maynard, and other persons of great rank (k), who were ashamed of the hypocrisy that then prevailed, he opened a kind of a theatre at Rutland-House, where several pieces were acted, and these, if they did not gain him reputation, brought him money, of which, at that time, he stood in great need. The first of these entertainments, for that was the name they originally bore, was performed May 21st, and published September the third, 1656 (l). As to the names and nature of these mixt compositions, we shall give the reader the best account we can in the notes [K]. After the

(i) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 546, 547.

(k) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 412.

(l) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 650.

[I] *If nothing of his had remained besides.*] This short epistle, as it regards a very essential part of his personal history, so, as we hinted in the text, it affords incontestible evidence of his writing as easy and correct prose, with as much true spirit, and as far removed either from meanness or bombast, as any that can be produced in our language, even if liberty were given to translate from Voiture, or any other of the boasted letter-writers in a neighbouring nation (25)

(25) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 546, 547.

My Lord,

I Am in suspense, whether I should present my thankfulness to your Lordship for my liberty of the Tower, because, when I consider how much of your time belongs to the publick, I conceive, that to make a request to you, and to thank you afterwards for the success of it, is to give you no more than a succession of trouble; unless you are resolved to be continually patient and courteous to afflicted men, and agree in your judgment with the late wise Cardinal, who was wont to say, *If he had not spent as much time in civilities as in business, he had undone his master.*

But whilst I endeavour to excuse this present of thankfulness, I should rather ask your pardon for going about to make a present to you of myself, for it may argue me to be incorrigible, that, after so many afflictions, I have yet so much ambition as to desire to be at liberty, that I may have more opportunity to obey your Lordship's commands, and shew the world how much I am,

My Lord,

Tower, Aug. 9, 1652, Your Lordship's most

obliged, most humble,

and obedient servant,

WILL. DAVENANT.

[K] *The best we can in the notes.*] Some of the people then in power, it seems, were lovers of Musick, and, at bottom perhaps, were wise enough to know, that there was nothing scandalous or immoral in the diversions of the theatre; but this they did not think proper to own, and therefore persecuted the poor Players who attempted to act privately, sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another, as if they had held seditious or lewd assemblies (26). Sir William Davenant therefore, when he applied for permission, called what he intended to represent an Opera; but, when he brought it upon the stage, it appeared quite another thing, which, when printed, had the following title:

XIV. *First Day's Entertainment at Rutland-House, by Declamation and Musick, after the manner of the Ancients.* Lond. 1656. 8vo.

This being an introductory piece, it required all the author's wit to make it answer different intentions;

for, first, it was to be so pleasing as to gain applause; and next, it was to be so remote from the very appearance of a play, as not to give any offence to that pretended sanctity which was then in fashion. It began with musick, then followed a prologue, in which the author banters the oddity of his own performance. The curtain being drawn up to the sound of slow and solemn musick, there followed a grave declamation by one in a gilded rostrum, who personated Diogenes, and whose business was to rail at and expose publick entertainments. Then musick in a lighter strain, after which a person in the character of Aristophanes, the old comic Poet, answered Diogenes, and shewed the use and excellency of dramattick entertainments. The whole of the grave entertainment was concluded by a song, accompanied with musick, in which the arguments on both sides are succinctly and elegantly stated. The second part of the entertainment consisted of two lighter declamations; the first, by a citizen of Paris, who wittily rallies the follies of London; the other, by a citizen of London, who takes the same liberty with Paris, and it's inhabitants. To this was tacked a song, and after that came a short epilogue. The musick, which was very good, was composed by Dr Coleman, Capt. Cook, Mr Henry Laws, Mr George Hudson.

XV. *The Play-house to be Lett.*

This was another very singular entertainment, composed of five acts, each being a distinct performance. The first act is introductory, shews the distress of the players in the time of vacation, that obliges them to lett their house, which several offer to take for different purposes, amongst the rest a Frenchman, who had brought over a troop of his countrymen to act a farce. This is performed in the second act, which is a translation of Moliere's *Sganarelle*, or, the Cuckold in Conceit; all in broken French, to make the people laugh. The third act is a sort of comic opera, under the title of the History of Sir Francis Drake. The fourth act is a serious opera, representing the cruelties of the Spaniards in Peru. The fifth act is a burlesque in Heroicks, on the amours of Cæsar and Cleopatra; has a great deal of wit and humour, and was often acted afterwards by itself (27).

XVI. *News from Plimouth*, a Comedy.

XVII. *Law against Lovers*, a Tragi-Comedy.

This is composed out of two of Shakespeare's plays; *Measure for Measure*, and *Much ado about Nothing*. Mr Langbaine gives a very good character of it (28); and, indeed, it is very smoothly and correctly written.

XVIII. *The Distresses*, a Tragedy.

In Mr Langbaine's catalogue this is stiled a Tragi-Comedy (29), merely because it is fortunate in it's catastrophe.

XIX. *The Siege*, a Tragi-Comedy.

The scene is laid at Pisa in Italy, and it derives it's title from the same cause with the former.

XX. *The Fair Favourite*, a Tragi-Comedy.

All these plays were acted in the time of Oliver and Richard, first printed in quarto, and afterwards revived, and inserted in the author's works. To these we may add,

XXI. *The Siege of RHODES*, in two parts.

These

(27) Langbaine's English Poets, p. 109, 110. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

(28) An account of the Dramatick Poets, p. 108, 109. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

(29) An account of the Dramatick Poets, p. 107.

(26) *Historia Histrionica, or an Historical Account of the English Stage*, p. 8, 9.

the ice was thus broke he grew a little bolder, and not only ventured to write, but to act, several new plays, which were also somewhat in a new taste; that is, they were more regular in their structure, and the language, generally speaking, smoother and more correct than in the old tragedies (*m*). These improvements, there is good reason to believe, were, in a great measure, owing to Sir William's long residence in France, which gave him an opportunity of reading their best writers, and hearing the sentiments of their ablest criticks upon dramattick entertainments, when they were as much admired and encouraged there as, for some years, they had been slighted and discountenanced in England. That these were really improvements, and that the publick stood greatly indebted to Sir William Davenant, as a Poet as well as Master of a theatre, may be put out of all doubt, if there be any regard due to Mr Dryden's judgment [*L*]. Upon the commotions which preceded the Restoration, and particularly upon Sir George Booth's insurrection, Sir William Davenant fell into fresh troubles, and underwent another imprisonment, from which, however, he was quickly released (*n*). He complimented General Monk upon his good designs, and the great capacity he had shewn in the execution of them, in a short poem, and his Majesty King Charles the Second, upon his return, in a very long one (*o*). Soon after the Restoration there were two companies of players formed, one under the title of the King's Servants, the other under that of the Duke's Company, both by patents from the Crown; the first granted to Henry Killigrew, Esq; and the latter to Sir William Davenant (*p*). The King's Company acted first at the Red Bull, at the upper end of St John's-street, from thence they removed to a new play-house in Vere-street, Clare-market, and, after playing a year or two there, they established themselves in the Theatre-Royal in Drury-lane. As for Sir William Davenant, it was some time before he compleated his company, into which he took all who had formerly played under Mr Rhodes, in the Cockpit in Drury-lane, and, amongst these, the famous Mr Betterton, who appeared first to advantage, under the patronage of Sir William Davenant (*q*). He opened the Duke's theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields with his own dramattick performance of *The Siege of RHODES*, the House being finely decorated, and the Stage supplied with painted scenes, which were by him introduced at least, if not invented (*r*), affording certainly a great addition of beauty to dramatic entertainments, tho' some there are who have insinuated, that fine scenes proved the ruin of fine acting [*M*].

(*m*) See the explanation in the notes.

(*n*) Whitlock's Mem. p. 684.

(*o*) These poems are inserted in the general collection of his works.

(*p*) Apology for the life of Mr Colley Cibber, p. 75.

(*q*) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

(*r*) Historia Histrionica, or an Historical Account of the English Stage. Lond. 1699. 8vo. p. 18. Life of Betterton, p. 6.

We

These were a kind of operas, and acted to musick. The author revised, altered, and augmented them, after the Restoration, when they had the honour of the King's presence: they were also printed and published in folio, with a dedication to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and very much esteemed.

[*L*] *If there be any regard due to Mr Dryden's judgment.* What we have ventured to advance in the text and notes, in favour of an author and his works, now so little regarded, seems to stand in need of some support, and therefore we shall cite what so great a Poet, and so good a judge of Poetry, has written upon this subject, with regard to heroick plays. Mr Dryden (*30*) tells us, 'The first light we had of them on the English theatre, was from the late Sir William Davenant. It being forbidden him, in the religious times, to act tragedies and comedies, because they contained some matter of scandal to those good people, who could more easily dispose their lawful Sovereign, than endure a wanton jest, he was forced to turn his thoughts another way, and to introduce the examples of moral virtue, writ in verse, and performed in recitative musick. The original of this musick, and of the scenes which adorned his work, he had from the Italian operas; but he heightened his characters, as I may probably imagine, from the examples of Corneille, and some French Poets. In this condition did this part of Poetry remain at his Majesty's return, when growing bolder, as now being owned by publick authority, Davenant reviewed his *Siege of Rhodes*, and caused it to be acted as a just drama. But, as few men have the happiness to begin and finish any new project, so neither did he live to make his design perfect. These wanted the fullness of a plot, and the variety of characters, to form it as it ought; and, perhaps, somewhat might have been added to the beauty of the stile; all which he would have performed with more exactness, had he pleased to have given us another work of the same nature. For myself, and others who come after him, we are bound, with all veneration to his memory, to acknowledge what advantage we received from that excellent ground work which he laid; and, since it is an easy thing to add to what already is invented, we ought all of us, without envy to him, or partiality to ourselves, to yield him the precedence in it.'

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[*M*] *Proved the ruin of fine acting.* It may, possibly, afford some satisfaction to the reader, to have this point briefly explained. He has heard, that, in King Charles II's time, dramattick entertainments were accompanied with rich scenery, curious machines, and other elegant embellishments, proceeding chiefly from the skill and care, the great capacity and wonderful dexterity, of that celebrated English Architect Inigo Jones. But these were employed only in masques at Court, and were too expensive for the little theatres in which plays were then acted. In them there was nothing more than a curtain, of some very coarse stuff, upon the drawing up of which the stage appeared either with bare walls on the sides, coarsly matted, or covered with tapestry, so that for the place originally represented, and all the changes successively in which the Poets of those times indulged themselves very freely, there was nothing to help the reader's understanding, or to assist the actor's performance, but bare imagination. It is true, that, while things continued in this situation, there were a great many play-houses, sometimes six or seven, open at once. Of these, some were large, and in part open, where they acted by day-light; others smaller, but better fitted up, where they made use of candles. The plainness of the theatre made the prices small, and this drew abundance of company; yet, upon the whole, it may be well doubted, whether the spectators, in all these houses, were really superior in number to those who have frequented the theatres in later times. If the spirit and judgment of the actors supplied all deficiencies, and made, as some would suggest, plays more intelligible without scenes than they afterwards were with them, it must be very astonishing at least, if not incredible; neither is it difficult to assign another cause why those, who were concerned in play-houses, were angry with scenes and decorations, which was, that, notwithstanding the advanced prices, their profits, from that time, were continually sinking. An author, who seems to be very well acquainted with the subject on which he writes, assures us, that the whole sharers in Mr Hart's company divided a thousand pounds a year apiece, before these new and expensive decorations came into fashion (*31*). Sir William Davenant considered things in another light; he was well acquainted with the alterations which the French theatre had received, under the auspice of Cardinal Rich-

(*31*) Historia Histrionica, or an Historical Account of the English Stage, p. 11.

We must not omit that, upon the King's return, and Sir William Davenant's having an interest at Court, he gave a noble instance of his gratitude to Mr Milton, who had been so instrumental in saving his life ten years before, by rendering him the like service, and preserving him from feeling the effects of that resentment which was so strong against him, that many writers have considered his as a kind of miraculous escape (s). After all the storms that he had met with, Sir William Davenant had the comfort of passing the last years of his life in credit and quiet. He transferred his company to the new and magnificent theatre built in Dorset-Gardens (t), where some of his old plays were revived, with very singular circumstances of royal kindness and favour, and a new one, when brought upon the Stage, met with great applause. The last labour of his pen was in altering a play of Shakespear's, so as to render it agreeable to that age, or rather, susceptible of those theatrical improvements which he had brought into fashion; and in this also he had as much success as he could expect; and, though he did not live to see the full effects of it, yet the highest tribute of praise has been paid, and the strictest justice done, to his memory and merit, by that excellent Poet, who succeeded to his laurel (u) [N]. He died at his house in little Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, April 7th, 1668, aged sixty-three (w); and, two days afterwards, was interred in Westminster-Abbey, when, to the great grief of honest Mr Wood, there was an inexcusable error committed in the ceremony, for, through haste, the laurel-wreath was forgot, which should have been placed upon his coffin (x). On his grave-stone is inscribed, in imitation of Ben Johnson's short epitaph, O RARE SIR WILLIAM DAVENANT! It may not be amiss to observe, that his remains rest very near the place, out of which, those of Mr Thomas May, Historian and Secretary to the Parliament, who caused him to be interred there with a fine monument and pompous inscription, were removed (y). As to the character of our author (z), the reader may easily collect it from this account of his life and works; to facilitate which still farther, some other particulars have been placed in the notes [O]. In regard to his family, we have

(s) Explanatory Notes, &c. by J. Richardson, p. xci.

(t) Life of Mr Betterton, p. 7.

(u) See this at large in the note [N].

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

(x) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 169.

(y) Antiquities of St Peter's, Westminster, Vol. II. p. 23. in the Appendix.

(z) Langbaine's English Poets, p. 115.

lieu, who had an excellent taste; and he remembered the elegant contrivances of Inigo Jones, which were not at all inferior to the designs of the best French masters; Sir William was likewise sensible, that the Monarch he served was an exquisite judge of every thing of this kind; and all these considerations, taken together, excited in him a passion for the advancement of the theatre, to which without dispute the great figure it has since made is chiefly owing. Mr Dryden acknowledged his admirable talents in this way, and very gratefully remembers the pains taken by Sir William to set a work of his in the fairest light possible, and to which he very ingenuously ascribes, in a great measure, the success with which it was received.

[N] By that excellent Poet, who succeeded to his laurel.] At the opening of the new play-house in Dorset-Gardens, Sir William Davenant's play, called *Love and Honour*, was acted before the Court; upon which occasion Mr Betterton, who played Prince Alvaro, wore the King's coronation suit; his Royal Highness of York gave Mr Harris, who played Prince Prospero, his; and Mr Price, who performed the part of Lionel Duke of Parma, had a very rich suit, that was given him by the Earl of Oxford (32). We come now to the works penned by our Laureat in the evening of his days; the last of which were,

XXII. *The Man's the Master*, a Comedy. Lond. 1669. 4to.

This play was acted in our author's life-time, with great applause, though not published till after his decease; the design, and part of the language, is borrowed from Scarron's *Jodclez, ou le Maître valet*, and part from *L'Heretier ridicule*, a Comedy of the same author's (33).

XXIII. *The Tempest, or the InCHANTED ISLAND*, altered from Shakespear by Sir William Davenant and Mr Dryden. Lond. 1676. 4to.

In the preface to this play, which is dated Dec. 1st, 1669, Mr Dryden gives the following account of the share our author had in this performance, and is that which we have hinted at in the text. 'Sir William Davenant, says he, who was a man of quick and piercing imagination, soon found that somewhat might be added to the design of Shakespear, of which neither Fletcher nor Suckling had ever thought. And, therefore, to put the last hand to it, he designed the counterpart to Shakespear's plot, namely, that of a man who had never seen a woman, that, by this means, those two characters, of Innocence and Love, might the more illustrate and commend each other. This excellent contrivance he was pleased to communicate to me, and to desire my assistance in it. I confess,

that, from the very first moment, it so pleased me, that I never writ any thing with more delight. I might likewise do him that justice to acknowledge, that my writing received daily his amendments, and that is the reason why it is not so faulty as the rest which I have done, without the help or correction of so judicious a friend. The comical parts of the sailors were also of his invention, and, for the most part, his writing, as you will easily discover by the style.'

[O] Have been placed in the notes.] We have already mentioned a poem written some years after the Restoration, under the same title with Sir John Suckling's, viz. *The Sessions of the Poets*; in this our author is a little severely, not to say rudely, handled in the following stanzas (34).

Will. Davenant would fain have been steward o' th' court,  
To have fin'd and amerc'd each man at his will,  
But Apollo, it seems, had heard a report,  
That his choice of new plays did shew h'ad no skill.

Besides, some critics had ow'd him a spite,  
And a little before had made the god fret,  
By letting him know the Laureat did write  
That damnable farce, *The House to be Lett*.

The Historian of Oxford takes some pains to inform us, that, while our author was in that University, he made but a small progress in the severer parts of learning, but striking out into the smoother road of Poetry, he at once indulged his own inclination, and discovered the force of his natural genius, which, without the assistance of any guides, and with but a very small acquaintance with the ancients, enabled him to aspire unto, and even acquire, the Laurel. This is very handsomely expressed by Dr Fell, or whoever translated Mr Wood's sentiments upon that subject (35). *Sed ingenium ipsius, tam asperis & horridis studiis semper aversum ad amœniore Poëtica campos statim properavit. In his nemo lætiori decursu, nemo feliciori volatu lauream promeruit, & quamvis omnibus veterum subsidiis destitutus solâ tamen ingenii vi, eos ita assequutus videtur, ut grande profectò rarissimique exempli documentum dederit, quantum sine arte sola natura præstare valeat.* Mr Dryden, who knew him better, and who was also a better judge, has given us a true picture of his poetick character (36). 'I found him, says he, of so quick a fancy, that nothing was proposed to him on which he could not suddenly produce a thought, extremely pleasant and surprizing, and those first thoughts of his,

(34) Dryden's Miscellanies, Vol. II. p. 90.

(32) Hist. of the Engl. Stage, p. 91.

(33) Langbaine's English Poets, p. 109.

(35) Hist. & Ant. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 168.

(36) Preface to the *Tempest*.

have not been able to collect any distinct account of it, farther than what regards two of his sons, concerning whom the reader will receive all the information we can give in the succeeding articles. Sir William Davenant's works entire were published by his widow in 1673, and dedicated to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, afterwards King James II; and, in her dedication, she tells him, that his Royal Father was not displeas'd with her husband's writings, that the Queen his Mother graciously took him into her family, was diverted by, and often smil'd upon, his endeavours; and that the latter part of his life had been spent in the study and labour to entertain his Majesty and his Royal Highness.

his, contrary to the old Latin proverb, were not always the least happy. And, as his fancy was quick, so likewise were the products of it remote and new. He borrowed not of any other, and his imaginations were such as could not easily enter into any other man. His corrections were sober and judicious, and he corrected his own writings much more severely than those of another man, bestowing twice the time and labour in polishing which he us'd in invention. Thus, with all the industry in our power, we have

collected, and, with all the care and application possible, have digested, the scattered memoirs of this once celebrated Poet; and, to justify our diligence therein, we will sum up all by putting posterity in mind, that it is to him we owe the setting our theatre upon a level with those of France and Italy (37), the preserving the greatest genius for Poetry this nation ever produced (38), and the bringing upon the stage, and instructing, the ablest actor that ever trod thereon (39).

(37) *Hist. Ant. Oxon. Lib.* p. 169.

(38) *Explanatory Notes, &c.* by J. Richardson, p. 20.

(39) *Life of Ecterton*, p. 5.

D'AVENANT (CHARLES) the eldest son of Sir William Davenant, was born some time in the year 1656 (a), and received the first tincture of letters at the grammar-school of Cheame, in the county of Surry, under the care of Mr George Aldrich, of Cambridge (b). He gave very early proofs of an active and sprightly genius; and, though it must have been a great misfortune to him to lose, as he did, his father, when scarce twelve years of age, yet care was taken to send him to Oxford to compleat his studies, where he became a Fellow-Commoner of Baliol-College in Midsummer Term 1671, but left that University without taking a degree (c). The first proof which the publick received of his parts was a dramattick composition, written when he was about nineteen years of age, and which was received with great kindness by a very polite audience, and frequently acted afterwards with just applause (d) [A]. He had a considerable share in the theatre in right of his father, which, probably, induced him to turn his thoughts so early to the stage; yet he was not long detained either by that, or by the success of his play, in the flowery road of Poetry. On the contrary, he applied himself to the study of the Civil Law, in which he had the degree of Doctor conferred upon him by the University of Cambridge (e). He was elected, with James St Amand, Esq; to represent the borough of St Ives in Cornwall, in the first Parliament of King James II, which was summoned to meet May 19th, 1685 (f); and, about the same time, he was jointly empowered, with the Master of the Revels, to inspect all plays, to preserve the decorum of the Stage, by preventing any thing that might have a tendency to immorality from appearing thereon (g). He was also appointed a Commissioner of the Excise (h), and continued in that employment for near six years, that is, from 1683 to 1689; during which space that branch of the revenue was managed with great advantage to the Crown, as well as with great honour and fidelity by such as were intrusted with it, as he demonstrated to the publick by comparing their conduct, and the consequences of it, with those of their successors; against which account, though there were some cavils raised, yet the facts contained therein could not be contradicted (i) [B]. His thorough acquaintance with

(b) *Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. 11.* col. 945.

(c) *Fast. Oxon. Vol. 11.* col. 213.

(d) *Langbaine's English Dramatick Poets*, p. 116.

(e) From private information.

(f) *Parliamentary Register*, p. 126. *Willis's Notit. Parliament.* Vol. 11. p. 130.

(g) *Langbaine's Engl. Dramatick Poets*, p. 116.

(h) *Animadversions on a late seditious book, intitled, Essays on the Balance of Power, &c.* p. 5.

(i) See this matter discussed in note [B].

[A] And frequently acted afterwards with just applause ] This single dramattick performance of our author has the following title :

I. CIRCE, a Tragedy, acted at his Royal Highness the Duke of York's theatre, Lond. 1677, 4to.

After the death of Sir William Davenant, those mischiefs, to which the theatre became expos'd in his life-time, began to threaten it's destruction. For the two companies, vying with each other, that of the Duke rather chose to make their court to the town by rich dresses, beautiful scenes, surprizing machinery, and other decorations of that sort, than play to thinner houses than usual, which served only to heighten that false taste, that has been always the bane of dramattick entertainments. To the introduction of these, this new piece was so far accommodated, that, notwithstanding it's title, Mr Langbaine says justly, that it was considered rather as an Opera, yet the subject suiting very well with the design, and the verses written with great ease and spirit, it was with all these helps generally, if not universally, admired (1). The reader must observe, that it was not printed till two years after it was first acted, upon which occasion Mr Dryden wrote a Prologue, and the Earl of Rochester an Epilogue, both beautiful pieces in their kind. In the former there was this fine apology for the author's youth and inexperience (2).

Your Ben and Fletcher in their first young flight,  
Did no *Volpone* nor no *Arbaces* write,  
But hopp'd about, and short excursions made  
From bough to bough, as if they were afraid;  
And each was guilty of some slighted maid.  
*Shakespear's* own Muse her *Pericles* first bore,  
The Prince of *Tyre* was elder than the *Moor*.  
'Tis miracle to see a first good play,  
All *hawthorns* do not bloom on *Christmas-day*.  
A slender Poet must have time to grow,  
And spread and burnish as his brothers do;  
Who still looks lean sure with some pox is curst,  
But no man can be, *Falstaff* fat at first.  
Then damn not, but indulge, his rude essays;  
Encourage him, and bloat him up with praise.  
That he may get more bulk before he dies,  
He's not yet fed enough for sacrifice.  
Perhaps if now your grace you will not grudge,  
He may grow up to write, and you to judge.

[B] Yet the facts therein could not be contradicted ] It may be reasonably believed, though, at this distance of time, it cannot be positive'y affirmed, this gentleman

(2) As appears from the time at which he died, and his age at the time of his death.

(1) *English Dramatick Poets*, p. 116.

(2) *Original Poems and Translations*, by John Dryden, Esq; Vol. 11. p. 241.

with the laws and constitution of the kingdom, joined to his great skill in figures, and his happiness in applying that skill according to the principles advanced by Sir William Petty, for the perfecting Political Arithmetick, enabled him to enter deeply in the management of affairs, and procured him great success as a political writer (k). In all his pieces he reasons entirely upon Revolution principles, and pays the highest compliments to the personal virtues, and excellent abilities, of the Prince then upon the throne; notwithstanding which such as opposed him made no scruple of disputing his principles, and of maintaining, that his real view was to subvert the government, though he pretended to support it by

(k) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 277.

man had some lesser employment in the Excise, before he was advanced to the rank of a Commissioner. It is to one of his adversaries that we are indebted for this circumstance, that Mr Davenant came to the board at Midsummer 1683, when this part of the revenue, which for many years had been let to farm, came again into the hands of the Crown, and was delegated to six Commissioners (3). The history of their management, as given by Dr Davenant himself, is what we have referred to in the text, and a small part of which we shall transcribe here, from which the reader will discern, that, when this gentleman undertook to give the publick his sentiments as to the management of the revenue, he was not either an ignorant or an impertinent pretender, but one who perfectly understood the matter which he promised to make plain, and pointed out the only method for correcting the errors of the administration that will ever be found practicable, viz. that of detecting the faults in particular departments, shewing whence they arise, and how they may be amended. Let the author now speak for himself, and tell us how that commission was executed while he remained a member (4).

(3) Remarks upon some wrong computations and conclusions, &c. p. 8.

(4) Discourses on the publick revenues and trade of England, Vol. I. p. 77.

‘ When the excise was put from a farm into a commission, the Commissioners, at their first coming in, did not make any material change of officers, deferring that till they had better knowledge of those under them, and till they were more masters of their business; and by degrees, and with great caution, they weeded out such unqualified, corrupt, or negligent officers, as had been partially brought in during the former management, which was supine enough towards the latter end. And whereas the method of keeping the flock-books, and way of charging the people, were different almost in every collection, they settled one uniform method through the whole kingdom, taking that form for a pattern which had been made use of with most success in the best managed collections, which were Yorkshire, Wales, and the four northern counties.

‘ To see which method put in execution, and to see such other directions performed as the Commissioners should afterwards give, they appointed four general Riders, and eight general Supervisors. But as a check above all, and which was indeed the life of their whole affair, the Commissioners themselves made frequent circuits round the kingdom, viewing every particular officer in his respective division, without which the inferior officers would have run into sloth, and the superior into corruption. And in these circuits they could observe who were remiss, who diligent, who deserved advancement, who wanted removing; and here they suited each man's district to his capacity, and, if their officers were corrupt, here they got true information of their proceedings.

‘ But these Commissioners had done little good abroad with their inspection, if the officers had not been sensible, that they were overlooked by persons skilful in the matter, and able to hit a fault; for that Commissioner who rides abroad not fully possessed of his business, shall be hourly imposed upon by the inferior officers, and leave things in a worse order than he found them. They rarely made any addition of officers to increase the King's charge, but upon their own view in these circuits, and upon a full conviction that such increase of expence would turn to the King's account.

‘ They took care to employ responsible men for their Collectors, by which means their accounts have been made up with very little supers upon any officer. In six years time they had got together twelve hundred Gaugers, active and skilful, and such a set of men, as perhaps no Prince had ever a better employed

in his revenue. And as to the commission itself, it was first composed of persons who all of them, some way or other, had been before conversant in the excise, and who agreed very well together; for in six years of that management, not one thing was ever put to the vote among them.

‘ They were generally persons not above their employments, and who had no other business but the King's to follow; and they had a large salary which put them beyond corruption. Their management was impartial, no man was turned out to let in another, but upon strong proof, and the report of a Commissioner or General Officer upon the spot. So that he who was skilful and diligent, looked upon himself as in for life, for which reason they were served heartily and with affection.

‘ Their management was uncorrupt; no place was sold, or suffered to be sold, under them; by which they could pick and choose the best, and were entirely masters of their inferior officers. They were steady and constant in their proceedings, not giving out general orders one week and contradicting them the next.

‘ They did not vex the people any where with unreasonable fines; and knowing the revenue in some measure to be precarious, they were not severe in London in exacting arrears, for fear that if they should bring any distress and trouble upon the London brewery, it would occasion the making ill drink, and so drive the people to brew themselves, which would destroy the duty.

‘ These Commissioners did believe, that their skill, fidelity, and diligence, would always recommend them to any government, and keep them in their employments; they therefore quitted their private business and professions, to devote themselves wholly to the King's service, managing his revenue with the same care, affection, and frugality, as the father of a family would use in the ordering his own affairs, which occasioned my Lord Rochester, (no incompetent judge in those matters) at his leaving the Treasury, to take particular notice to the late King, how well that branch had been conducted.

‘ But, after all, the success with which this management was attended, is chiefly to be attributed to the wisdom and steady conduct of those noble persons, who, while they governed at the head of the Treasury, in their several turns, did more at Whitehall towards keeping this branch in order, than was done in Broadstreet. When the principal officers and Commissioners of every revenue were in a manner of their choosing, and under their direction, they took care that the King should be well and diligently served, and the publick tasted the benefit of that great power which was trusted with them. They had notice how each person attended or understood his business; they called every month to know what Commissioners were abroad surveying in the country; they looked into all transactions weekly, and took an exact account every quarter how the duty proceeded; and, in short, the strict eye which the Treasury kept over the Commissioners, rendered them watchful over their inferior officers; all which together made the revenue flourish.’

To this high character of these Commissioners, he adds, by way of contrast, a very different one of those who succeeded them, and in respect to this he was very vigorously opposed by one, who had some particular reasons for vindicating their conduct whom the Doctor had exposed, but even this writer (5) does not at all contradict what had been advanced in reference to the behaviour of the first set of Commissioners while they were in office.

(5) Remarks upon some wrong computations and conclusions, &c. p. 4.

by exposing the errors of the Ministry (1). His performances in this kind, during the reign of King William, were very numerous; and, as they met with high approbation then, so the importance of the subjects of which they treat, and the singular and solid learning they contain, make them very much esteemed and valued even at this day. We shall give the reader the correctest catalogue we can of them in the notes [C]. It was in

(1) Animadversions on a late seditious book, intituled, *Essays on the Ballance of Power*, &c. p. 5.

one

[C] *The correctest catalogue we can of them in the notes* ] A certain writer tells us, that Dr Davenant having laid wagers that the army of the allies would not succeed in Flanders, and particularly that they would not be able to take Namur (6), his losing them provoked him to draw his pen against the government, so that, if he is believed, private pique, and particular prejudices, were the source of this gentleman's publick spirit. His books however are penned in a manner very different from this, and seem to speak the writer very heartily desirous that the war then carried on should be attended with success, and the power of France humbled, without exhausting the strength of this nation. Such is the apparent view of his first political work:

II. *An Essay upon Ways and Means of supplying the War*, Lond 1695, 8vo.

In this treatise he discovered his great capacity in the art of computation, and with much industry and pains pointed out the means of judging truly of the nature of funds, upon which important subjects he wrote with so much strength and perspicuity, as gained him great reputation, and sufficiently recommended to the publick whatever pieces came abroad by the author of *The Essay on Ways and Means*, which was the method Dr Davenant took to distinguish most of his succeeding writings, as well as if he had put his name to them, which however, for some prudential reasons, he declined.

III. *An Essay on the East India Trade*, London, 1697, 8vo.

This, which was no more than a pamphlet, wore the form of a letter to the most honourable John Lord Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamshire. In it the author gives a short and clear view of the importance of trade in general, and afterwards enters very fairly and freely into the nature of the trade to the East Indies, which he confesses to be detrimental to the inhabitants of Europe in general, but shews, that it may be advantageous to some particular nations, that it is so to England, and that the monopoly of this trade in the hands of the Dutch, might be worth to them six millions sterling annually. He likewise gives his reasons, why the prohibitions then intended of East India and Persia wrought silks, would be destructive to that trade in general, and hazard it's being utterly lost to the kingdom.

IV. *Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and of the Trade of England; by the author of the Essay on Ways and Means. Part I. To which is added, A Discourse upon improving the Revenue of the State of Athens, written originally in Greek by Xenophon, and now made English from the Original, with some Historical Notes; by another hand.* Lond. 1698, 8vo.

In this piece, the author undertakes to discover his sense upon the following very important topicks, viz. Of the use of political arithmetick, in all considerations about the revenue and trade. On credit, and the means and methods by which it may be restored. On the management of the King's revenues; Whether to farm the revenues may not, in this juncture, be most for the publick service? On the publick debts and engagements.

The Discourse on the Revenue of the State of Athens, was written by the famous Walter Moyle, Esq; and addressed by him to Dr Davenant, in which address there occurs a passage, which shews that there were some thoughts of sending over our author in quality of Director-General to the East Indies, and is also a clear testimony, what that great man's notions were in reference to the real intentions, as well as great importance, of our author's writings. Speaking of what might be expected upon the conclusion of a peace with France, he says (7), 'Trade being of such mighty consequence to the interest of the nation, will, we hope, meet with due encouragement and protection from our laws, and will be settled under the ablest management and the wisest regulation. These

branches of our commerce, which have been impaired or lost by the pyratick war, and the fatal interruption of our navigation, may be retrieved by the peace; and other trades, and particularly that with France, which the negligence, or the mistaken counsels of the last reigns, had settled upon a foot so destructive to our interest, may be established to our advantage in a new treaty of commerce. The great trade to the East Indies, with some few regulations, might be established upon a bottom more consistent with the manufactures of England, but in all appearance this is not to be compassed, unless some publick spirited man (\*), with a masterly genius, be placed at the head of our affairs in India; and tho' we, who are his friends, are loth to lose him, 'twere to be wished for the good of the kingdom, that the gentleman whom common fame, and the voice of the world, have pointed out as the ablest man for such a station, would employ his excellent judgment and talents that way, in the execution of so noble and useful a design. The general interest of a nation ought to be the care of particular men, the main bent of their studies, and the chief pursuit of their enquiries; every man ought to set his helping hand to such a work, and your own generous labours upon this subject have set an excellent pattern to the rest of the world.'

V. *Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and on the trade of England, which more immediately treat of the foreign traffick of this kingdom. By the author of the Essay on Ways and Means. Part II.* Lond. 1698, 8vo.

In this excellent work, the author has undertaken to explain four very important points, so as to render them perfectly intelligible even to common understandings; the first is the nature of foreign trade, in which he not only shews that it is really beneficial to this kingdom, but how it comes to be so, and what are the proper methods of enquiring, whether foreign trade is beneficial or not within any given period whatever. The second point is as to the care and protection of trade, in which a multitude of curious points are incidentally illustrated. The third point he labours, is that of the plantation trade, and in reference to this there are more useful observations advanced, and more important facts laid down, than are to be met with in the same compass in any book published in our language. The advantages and disadvantages which may be derived from the East India trade, or which it may be exposed to, is our author's topick in his fourth discourse, at the beginning of which he gives the following account of what he would have understood to be the scope and intention of all his writings (x). 'The author's aim is to deliver things plainly, without the disguise of hard words and terms, which rubbish being removed, the precious ore will sooner appear that is to be found in studies of this nature. His ends are compassed if he can set out intricate matters in an easy manner, hoping thereby to induce the young Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom to take a pleasure in these sort of contemplations, and he wishes this present performance did in any degree answer the desire he has of serving the publick.'

'Tis a great delight to him to observe, that many of our young Nobility and Gentry have expressed an inclination to inform themselves of the state of England, and that learning begins to be more in fashion than of late years, people being not ashamed now of understanding Greek and Latin. Nothing did more help to advance the Roman greatness, than that their youth were bred up to an early knowledge of their country's business, to which they attained by progressive steps, through several offices of the State, wherein they gained the experience that fitted them at last for the magistracies of chiefest trust and importance. They qualified themselves for the publick service, by seasoning betimes their understandings with the love of letters; for, in those days, who-

(\*) Dr Davenant himself.

(x) Discourse on the publick Revenues, and on the Trade of England, Vol. II. p. 320.

(6) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 118.

(7) In his introduction to the translation of that discourse of Xenophon.

(m) Oldmixon's  
History of the  
Stuarts, Vol. II.  
p. 222.

one of these books that the author suffered himself to be so carried away by his zeal, as to treat the Church, or, at least, some Church-men, in so disrespectful a manner, as to draw upon himself a very unusual mark of censure from one of the Houses in Convocation (m) [D].

It

ever pretended to intermeddle in matters of government, did first cultivate his mind with wisdom and the precepts of Philosophy, by which afterwards he might steer his actions, giving to the search into useful arts or sublimer studies those hours, which, in this age, are consumed in riots and vain pleasures.

The young Nobility and Gentry not yet tainted, are the best hopes of a diseased Commonwealth. The warmth and spirit of such, must assist their measures who desire and are able to promote a right administration. And in national assemblies, it has been generally observed, that the young men are least infected with corruption, and that they would always follow truth, but for the false lights which crafty guides set up with a purpose to mislead them, for, while we are young, we are either ashamed, or have not leisure, to play the knave; but we come to it as age and discretion grow upon us.

The writer's aim is to stir up the youth of the kingdom to bend their thoughts to the study of trade and the publick revenues, that, being masters of the general notions of trade thereunto relating, they may not be misled by crafty and interested Merchants, or by ambitious and designing Politicians. When the youth of a nation have well informed their own reason, they follow her dictates, deliberating well and wisely for their King and country, without being hurried to and fro by the whirlwind of a prevailing faction.

In answer to this performance, more especially to what is advanced therein concerning the excise, there was published a pamphlet under the following title:

*Remarks upon some wrong Computations and Conclusions, contained in a late tract, intituled, Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and on the trade of England, in a Letter to Mr D S.* London, 1698, 8vo

VI. *An Essay upon the Probable Methods of making the People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade.* By the author of the *Essay on Ways and Means.* London, 1699, 8vo.

In this discourse he insists upon the following heads, viz. Of the people of England. Of the land of England, and it's product. Of our payments to the publick, and in what manner the ballance of trade may be thereby affected. That a country cannot increase in wealth and power but by private men doing their duty to the publick, and but by a steady course of honesty and wisdom, in such as are trusted with the administration of affairs.

VII. *A Discourse upon GRANTS and RESUMPTIONS, shewing how our ancestors have proceeded with such Ministers, as have procured to themselves Grants of the Crown Revenue, and that the Forfeited Estates ought to be applied towards the Payment of Publick Debts.* By the author of the *Essay on Ways and Means.* London, 1700, 8vo.

In answer to this came out a very large and accurate work intituled,

*JUS REGIUM: or, The King's Right to grant Forfeitures and other Revenues of the Crown, fully set forth, and traced from the beginning. His Majesty vindicated as to his Promise, concerning his Disposal of the Forfeited Estates. The manifold Hardships of the Resumption, and the little Advantage we shall reap by it, plainly demonstrated.* London, 1701, 8vo.

VIII. *Essays upon the Ballance of Power; the Right of making War, Peace, and Alliances; Universal Monarchy. To which is added an Appendix, containing the Records referred to in the second Essay.* London, 1701, 8vo.

A very large and full answer to this work was published, under the title of

*Animadversions on a late factious book, intituled, Essays upon the Ballance of Power, &c. with a Letter containing a Censure upon the said book, wherein the King, the Ministry, and the Church of England, are cleared from the malicious Aspersions cast upon them by the Enemies of this Government.* London, 1701, 8vo.

The author of this pamphlet tells us (9), that Dr Davenant made himself conspicuous, and secured a

great party in the nation, by his early quarrel to the government, upon account of the mal-administration of affairs, which he would persuade the world to be the result of his love to his country, when we all know his spleen has no other cause, than his having no more a share in the management of one of the branches of the revenue.

IX. *A picture of a Modern Whig, in two Parts.* London, 1701, 1702, 8vo.

There is nothing but general report, founded upon the likeness of the stile and other circumstantial evidence, to prove that this bitter pamphlet fell from the pen of our author, and, if it did, he must be allowed to have been the greatest master of invective that ever wrote in our language.

[D] *From one of the Houses in Convocation.*] Our author, who is said by his enemies to have been a very warm party-man himself, and blamed for calculating most of his writings for the service of a party, makes it however the chief point in most of his books, and in that especially which drew upon him this misfortune, to shew, that no country can be happy while party subsists in it, and that government can never be well administered while in the hands of a party. To shew that this was the case at that time, more especially in the Church, he delivers himself in the following extraordinary flow of resentment (10):

As to religion, says he, 'tis notorious that many of those lately in play, have used their utmost endeavours to discountenance all Revealed Religion. They were more enraged at the Church party for believing in the Apostles Creed, than from the Tory principles some of them had advanced. Nothing but the subversion of all divine worship, could make way for that immorality which they intended to put in practice; all sort of Divines forbid the arts and ways by which they purposed to thrive, they were therefore to unsettle men in their opinions about religious matters, by which they hoped to prepare the minds, especially of the vulgar, to have different thoughts of vice and virtue than what they had heretofore entertained, which if they could have compassed, they did not doubt to be well esteemed of, as being the reverse of what honest and virtuous men ought to be, and acting quite opposite to what all religions have enjoined. They would have been safe indeed, and it would cover all their crimes, if nothing could be thought foul, treacherous, or dishonest, by which a man was to reap advantage, and if the people could have been once brought to think every thing good which they saw to prosper. Upon these grounds they have done their utmost to turn all religion to a jest. Do not we all know, that, in the midst of their prophane mirth, a modest Christian durst hardly put in a word in favour of the second person of the Trinity, without exposing himself to laughter? To hear 'em talk sometimes, one would imagine they believed a true Christian could not be a friend to the government. Good God! what a strange mixture of men have we lately seen upon the stage? irreligious Phanaticks, and arbitrary Republicans! Are not a great many of us able to point out to several persons, whom nothing has recommended to places of the highest trust, and often to rich BENEFICES and DIGNITIES, but the open enmity which they have, almost from their cradles, professed to the divinity of Christ?

What was done upon this will best appear, from transcribing part of the Journal of the Upper House of Convocation (11).

Sessio x. Die Sabbati 22 Martii.

The Most Reverend and Right Reverend Fathers being met in the Jerusalem Chamber, made their accustomed prayers to Almighty God. Which being done, the said Most Reverend produced a certain printed book, intituled, *Essays upon the Ballance of Power*, and after the reading of a certain paragraph in the fortieth page of the said book, the President and his Suffragans agreed, That the following paper should be fixed over several doors in Westminster-abbey.

March

(9) P. 5.

(10) P. 39, 40.

(11) The Hist. of the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, Lond. 1702. 4to. P. 75.

It is not at all strange that one, who wrote upon such topics, and with so much freedom as he did, who censured boldly the measures he disapproved, and had sometimes the good fortune to find his sentiments espoused by the representatives of the nation, should feel the resentments of men in power, or be exposed to very harsh treatment from those who endeavoured to refute him, in order to gain their favour (n). But a different behaviour might be expected from such as undertake to write history, and who ought therefore to be very secure of their facts, before they deliver them as such to the publick and to posterity; yet a certain writer bears very hard upon Dr Davenant, for his conduct as a Member of Parliament in the reign of King William; tells us, that his circumstances were such as would have prevented him from having a seat after the act for qualifications took place, that the narrowness of them made it more than suspected he was bribed by Count Tallard, the French Minister; and instances, in a particular vote, where Dr Davenant himself acknowledged he had given it against his conscience (o). Yet we find our author complaining in his books of being shut out of active life, and having no other way to benefit his country but by his pen (p), which would have been very strange language, if, at the same time, he had sat in Parliament; but the truth of the matter is, that he did not obtain a seat in the reign of King William till the year 1698, when he was elected, with Francis Stonehouse, Esq; for the borough of Great Bedwin, as he was afterwards in the year 1700 (q); at which time also he wrote as warmly against France as any man; so that if the French Minister really allowed him a pension, he bestowed his money very ill; and the improbability of the fact makes better evidence necessary to prove it, than the bare assertion of an author very apt to be angry, and to believe, and say, any thing of those with whom he is angry. This is farther certain, that, in 1704, Dr Davenant wrote a book, to shew the necessity of peace at home while a necessary war was carried on abroad; which he dedicated to Queen Anne (r), and which was supposed to be written at the desire of Lord Halifax; though the Historian before-mentioned tells us, that he despised the author, and would never have any confidence in him (s). This drew upon him the resentment of that party by whom he had been formerly esteemed, and who bestowed upon him as ill language, or rather worse, than he had received from his former opponents (t). He was afterwards appointed Inspector-General of the Exports and Imports (u), in which employment he gave a very high testimony of his abilities, so that, to speak with impartiality, he ought to be esteemed a person who served his country faithfully when in office, and usefully when out; as for his remaining works they will be mentioned in the notes [E]. It is presumed, that the care taken in representing fairly and fully the performances

(n) State Trials in the reign of William III. Vol. II. p. 731, 735, 740, 741, 742.

(o) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 216, 217.

(p) Discourse on Grants and Resumptions, p. 41.

(q) Parliamentary Register, p. 19.

(r) See an account of it in note [E].

(s) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 217.

(t) A Defence of the two last Parliaments, p. 35.

(u) Hist. of Europe for 1705. Appendix, p. 83.

March 22, 1700.

Whereas this day a book intituled *Essays upon I. The Ballance of Power. II. The Right of making War, Peace, and Alliances. III. Universal Monarchy, &c.* was brought into the Jerusalem Chamber, where his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of Suffragan Bishops of his Province, were assembled in Convocation: in the 40th page of which book are these words, *Are not a great many of us able to point out, &c.*

It is desired by the said Archbishop and Bishops, that the author himself whoever he be, or any one of the great many to whom he refers, would point out to the particular persons whom he or they know to be liable to that charge, that they may be proceeded against in a judicial way, which will be esteemed a great service to the Church; otherwise the abovementioned passage must be looked upon as a publick scandal.

THO. TYLLOTT,  
Clericus Superioris Domus Convocationis.

[E] They will be mentioned in the notes.] In this note we are to speak of such of our author's writings, as he published after the time that he is supposed to have reconciled himself to the Ministry.

X. *Essays upon Peace at home and War abroad, in two parts, by Charles Davenant, LL.D.* Lond. 1704, 8vo.

Whatever the motives might be which induced our author to compose and publish this piece, it is very certain that it is one of the wisest and weightiest that ever fell from his pen. That he was not ashamed in any degree of this undertaking, appears from his putting his name to the book: and that he was as far from taking shame to himself on the score of his former writings or behaviour, appears very clearly from the following paragraphs in his Dedication to the Queen, which are therefore highly deserving the reader's notice.

That for many years there have been parties in this kingdom is too evident, but 'twas what the best Pa-

triotis all along deplored, though formerly the mischief was hardly to be avoided: endeavours to keep up a great land force in times of peace, neglect of trade, general profusion, the spoils some had made upon the publick, and their alienating crown lands to an immense value both here and in Ireland, could not but provoke them who were to feel the weight of present taxes and of future debts.

In a free nation such conduct will ever inflame the minds of men, and excite all true lovers of their country to exert their utmost strength in it's rescue. These contests, to promote good government, and to carry on a bad one, divided the realm. The corruptions of the age were attacked with virtuous courage at first by thin squadrons, whose numbers increased from time to time, till at last they were strong enough to make such a stand, as prevented universal ruin. In the mean while, mismanagement was supported with more warmth than perhaps was either just or decent. And these struggles were no small interruptions to your immediate predecessor in his counsels, and in his business of the war.

And 'tis no wonder the face of the waters is not yet quite smooth, after a high storm there will remain an agitation of the waves for many hours. Ambition may be still at work, and some may yet be grasping at power, which they hope to compass by the aids and voices of their faction: but God has enriched your princely heart with such prudence, as soon discerns what most conduces to the happiness of the nations over which your sceptre is extended.

XI. *Reflections upon the Constitution and Management of the Trade to Africa, through the whole Course and Progress thereof, from the Beginning of the last Century to this Time; wherein the Nature and uncommon Circumstances of that Trade are particularly considered, and all the Arguments urged alternately, by the two contending Parties here, touching the different Methods now proposed by them, for carrying on the same to a national Advantage, impartially stated and considered. By all which a clear view is given of such a Constitution, as (if established by Act of Parliament) would in all probability render the African Trade a permanent, creditable,*

(w) *Help to History*, Vol. III. p. 296. Le Neve, *Monumenta Anglicana*, p. 293.

performances of Dr Davenant, whose merit, as a political writer, whatever his failings might be, has been always acknowledged, will prove acceptable to the publick; the rather, because hitherto such accounts as have been given of his life and writings have been but very imperfect. He died in possession of his employment November 6th, 1714 (w).

*ditable, and advantageous Trade to Britain.* Lond. 1709, fol. in three parts.

There is indeed no name to any of these treatises, but it was very well known at the time they were published by whom they were written, and therefore in a large collection of tracts, in the hands of a person perfectly well acquainted with literary history, they had this title given them (20), *Dr Davenant's Reflections on the Trade to Africa*, 3 parts, 1709. It must be acknowledged, that, exclusive of the reasonings and arguments advanced in this performance, and which have been frequently copied since; there are abundance of material facts, and curious pieces of History, which will render them always admired, and valued by those who are desirous of understanding the subject thoroughly, which they are intended to explain.

XII. *A Report to the Honourable the Commissioners*

for putting in execution the Act, intituled, an Act for the taking, examining, and stating the publick Accounts of the kingdom, from Charles Davenant, L.L.D. *Inspector-General of the Exports and Imports.* Lond. 1712, 8vo, Part I.

XIII. *A second Report to the Honourable the Commissioners, &c.* Lond. 1712, 8vo.

The last of these Reports is dated from the Inspector-General's office, Dec. 10, 1711 (13), and the design of both is, to give a general account of the trade of the kingdom from 1663 to 1710. This was the last work of our author, and contains in it a collection of facts of inestimable value to such as are willing to distinguish between rumour, or common opinion, and the true state of things, in reference to the commerce of Great Britain with her neighbours. E

(13) At the conclusion of that Report.

(12) *Catalogue of the Library of Anthony Collins, Esq;* Vol. II. p. 14.

D'AVENANT (WILLIAM) younger brother to the former, and fourth son to Sir William Davenant; was educated at Magdalen-Hall, in the University of Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, July 19th, 1677 (a). He translated into English from the French a book, intituled, *Animadversions upon the famous Greek and Latin Historians*, written by the celebrated Mr la Mothe le Vayer (b), who was Tutor to the French King Louis XIII; which was very well received. He took the degree of Master of Arts July 5th, 1680 (c), and about the same time entering into holy orders, was presented to a living in the county of Surrey, by his patron Robert Wymondsole, of Putney, Esq; with whom he travelled into France; and in the summer of the year 1681, as he was diverting himself by swimming in a river near Paris, he was unfortunately drowned in the sight of his Pupil, to the great regret of all who knew him, having added to great natural parts, by an assiduous application to study, as much sound learning and true knowledge as could be expected in a person so young. E

(a) *Wood's Fasti Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 205.

(b) Printed at Oxford, 1698. 8vo.

(c) *Fasti Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 213.

DAVIES (Sir JOHN), an eminent Lawyer and Poet [A] of the last century, was born at Chisgrove in the parish of Tisbury in Wiltshire, being the son of a wealthy Tanner

[A] *An eminent Lawyer and Poet.* In quality of a Lawyer, Sir John gave the world the following pieces: I. *A Discovery of the true Causes, why Ireland was never entirely subdued, nor brought under obedience of the crown of England, until the beginning of his Majesty's happy reign.* Lond. 1612, 4to. Dedicated to the King with this Latin verse only:

Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.

II. *A Declaration of our Sovereign Lord the King, concerning the title of his Majesty's son Charles, the Prince and Duke of Cornwall.* Lond. 1614. In 14 sheets, folio. Printed in two columns, one in French, and the other in English. III. *Le Primer Reports des cafes & matters en ley resolves & adjudges en les courts del Roy en Ireland.* Dublin 1615. Lond. 1628 and 1674, fol. To the second edition was added a table, not in the former. It was from this book chiefly, that Sir John Pettus selected matter for another, intituled, *England's Independency upon the Papal Power, historically and judiciously stated by Sir John Davies, Attorney-General in Ireland, and by Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice of England, in two Reports, selected from their great volumes, with a Preface written by Sir John Pettus.* Lond. 1674, 4to. IV. *A perfect Abridgment of the eleven books of Reports of Sir Edward Coke.* Lond. 1651, 12mo. It was written in French by Sir John Davies, and translated into English by another hand. V. *Jus imponendi Vectigalia: Or, the Learning touching Customs, Tonnage, Poundage, and Impositions on Merchandizes, &c. asserted.* London, 1656 and 1659, 8vo. Besides these, there are some manuscripts of his writing and composing; viz. *A large Epistle to Robert Earl of Salisbury of the state of the counties of Monaghan, Fennanagh, and Downe, and of Justices of Peace, and other Officers of Ireland;* written in 1607: also *A Speech* (when he was Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland) before Arthur

Lord Chichester, Viscount Belfast, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 21 May 1613. These pieces were in the library of Sir James Ware of Ireland, and afterwards (Mr Wood believes) in that of the Earl of Clarendon (1). Sir John's principal performance as a Poet, and for which he deserves the highest commendation, is his Poem on *The Original, Nature, and Immortality of the Soul.* Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. It was republished by Mr N. Tate, in 1714, with a Dedication to the Earl of Dorset and Middlesex; and the editor gives us the following just and advantageous character of it. 'As others have laboured to carry out our thoughts, and entertain them with all manner of delights abroad; 'tis the peculiar character of this author, that he has taught us (with Antoninus) to meditate upon ourselves; that he has disclosed to us greater secrets at home; self-reflection being the only way to valuable and true knowledge, which consists in the Science of a man's self.—Our author has not only placed and connected together the most amiable images of all those powers that are in our souls; but he has furnished and squared his matter like a true Philosopher; that is, he has made both body and soul, colour and shadow, of his poem, out of the store-house of his own mind, which gives the whole work a real and natural beauty: he is beholding to none but himself; and by knowing himself thoroughly, he is arrived to know very much; which appears in his admirable variety of well chosen metaphors and similitudes, that cannot be found within the compass of a narrow knowledge. For this reason the poem, on account of it's intrinsic worth, would be as lasting as the *Iliad* or *Aeneid*, if the Language 'tis wrote in were as immutable as that of the Greeks and Romans.—In the following poem are represented the various movements of the Mind. Herein, as in a mirror that will not flatter, we see how the Soul arbitrates in the Understanding upon the various reports of Sense, and all the changes of imagination: how

(1) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 506, 507.

Tanner of that place, and became a Commoner of Queen's-College in Oxford in Michaelmas Term 1585; where having laid a good foundation of academical learning, and taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he removed to the Middle-Temple, and, applying himself to the study of the Common Law, was called to the Bar. Some time after, being expelled that society for beating a Gentleman (\*) at dinner in the Common-Hall, he retired to Oxford, and prosecuted his studies there. Afterwards, by the favour of Thomas Lord Ellesmore, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, being reinstated in the Temple, he practised as a Counsellor, and became a Burgess in the Parliament held at Westminster in 1601. Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, our author, with Lord Hunsdon, went into Scotland, to congratulate King James [B], who afterwards made him his Solicitor, and then his Attorney-General in Ireland; where, in 1606, he was made one of his Majesty's Serjeants at Law, and was afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons in that kingdom. The year following, on the 11th of February, he received the honour of knighthood from the King at Whitehall. In 1612, he quitted the post of Attorney-General in Ireland, and was made one of his Majesty's English Serjeants at Law. After his settling in England, he was often appointed one of the Judges of Assize on the Circuits. He married Eleanor Touchet [C], youngest daughter of George Lord Audley, afterwards Earl of Castlehaven; by whom he had a son, an idiot, who died young, and a daughter named Lucy, married to Ferdinand Lord Hastings, afterwards Earl of Huntingdon [D]. In 1626, Sir John was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench: but, before the ceremony of his installation could be performed, he died suddenly, of an apoplexy, the seventh of December, at his house in the Strand, in the 57th year of his age; and was buried in the church of St Martin in the Fields [E], leaving behind him the character of a bold spirit, a sharp and ready wit, and of a man completely learned, but in truth more a Scholar than a Lawyer (a).

(\*) Mr Richard Martin, afterwards Recorder of London.

(a) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 505, 506, 507.

how compliant the Will is to her dictates, and obeys her as a Queen does her King, at the same time acknowledging a subjection, and yet retaining a majesty: how the Passions move at her command, like a well-disciplined army: from which regular composure of the Faculties, all operating in their proper time and place, there arises a complacency upon the whole soul, that infinitely transcends all other pleasures.— What deep Philosophy is this, to discover the process of God's art in fashioning the soul of man after his own image! — What eloquence and force of wit, to convey these profound speculations in the easiest language, expressed in words so vulgarly received, that they are understood by the meanest capacities (2). This is the same poem, which Anthony Wood (3) intitles *Nosce Teipsum*. Printed in 1599, and again in 1622. To which were added by the same hand: *Hymns of Astrea* in acrostic verse; and *Orchestra, or A Poem expressing the antiquity and excellency of Dancing, in a Dialogue between Penelope and one of her Woers*; containing 131 stanzas, unfinished. Mr Wood mentions also *Epigrams*, and a *Metaphrase of several of King David's Psalms*, written by Sir John Davies, but never published.

[B] He went into Scotland, to congratulate King James] Being introduced into his Majesty's presence, the King enquired of Lord Hunsdon the names of the gentlemen who accompanied him; and his Lordship naming among them John Davies, who stood behind, the King presently asked, whether he was *Nosce Teipsum* (\*); and being answered he was, he graciously embraced him, and assured him of his favour (4).

[C] He married Eleanor Touchet] This lady was of a very extraordinary character. She had, or pretended to have, a spirit of prophecy; and her predictions, received from a voice, which she often heard (as she used to tell her daughter Lucy, and she others) were generally wrapped up in dark and obscure ex-

pressions. It was commonly reported, that, on the Sunday before her husband's death, as she was sitting at dinner with him, she suddenly burst into tears: whereupon he asking her the occasion, she answered; *Husband, these are your funeral tears: to which he replied, Pray therefore spare your tears now, and I will be content that you shall laugh when I am dead.* After Sir John's death, she lived mostly at Parston in Hertfordshire; and, in 1649, an account was published of her *Strange and wonderful prophecies*. She died in St Bride's parish in London, the 5th of July 1652, and was buried in St Martin's church, near the remains of her husband (5).

[D] Lucy, married to Ferdinand Lord Hastings, afterwards Earl of Huntingdon] Upon that Lord's suit to his daughter, Sir John Davies made the following epigram (6):

*Lucida vis oculos teneri perstrinxit amantis,  
Nec tamen erravit, nam via dulcis erat.*

[E] He was buried in the church of St Martin in the Fields] Soon after, a monument was fixed on a pillar near his grave, with an inscription on it, giving him this character (7): *Vir ingenio compto, rara facundia, oratione cum soluta, tum numeris astricta, felicissimus: Juridicam severitatem morum elegantia, & amœniore eruditione mitigavit: Patronus fidus, Judex incorruptus, ingenue Pietatis amore, et anxie superstitionis contemptu, juxta insignis.* 'He was a man of fine abilities and uncommon eloquence, and a most excellent writer both in prose and verse: he tempered the severity of the Lawyer with the politeness and learning of the Gentleman: he was a faithful Advocate, an impartial Judge, and equally remarkable for a love of ingenuous piety, and a contempt of anxious superstition.'

(5) Wood, *ibid.* col. 507, 508. See also the History, &c. of Archbishop Laud, P. ii. lib. iv. ann. 1634.

(6) Wood. *ibid.*

(7) Wood. *ibid.*

DAVIES (JOHN) a learned Critic in the XVIIIth century, was born in London April 22, 1679. His father was a Merchant, or Tradesman, in that city, who died while his children were young; and his mother (a), a daughter of Sir John Turton, Knight [A]. Our author was educated in grammar learning at the Charterhouse-school; and admitted, June 8, 1695, into Queen's-College in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1698. He was, on the 7th of July 1701, elected Fellow of that College (b); and the year following took the degree of Master of Arts. In

(a) She was living in the year 1743.

(b) In the room of Mr Ashton, Master of Jesus-College.

1709

[A] A daughter of Sir John Turton, Knt] John Turton, Esq; was called to the degree of Serjeant at Law, April 11, 1689; constituted one of the Barons of the Exchequer, May 9, following; when he was

knighthood: and, on the 27th of June 1696, removed to the King's Bench, of which he was made one of the Justices (1).

(1) See *Chronica Juridicalia*, &c. under those years.

(c) The fifth stall; into which he was installed Sept. 24. 1711. Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, &c. by Brown Willis, Esq; edit. 1730. 4to. p. 385.

(d) For most of these particulars we are obliged to the present worthy Master of Queen's Coll. and to the learned Dr W. Richardson, Master of Emanuel.

1709 he had the honour of being one of the Proctors of the University. Having now distinguished himself by his many excellent qualifications, he was collated in 1711, by Dr John Moore, Bishop of Ely, that great patron of learning and learned men, to the rectory of Fen-Ditton near Cambridge, and to a Prebend in the church of Ely (c). The same year he took the degree of Doctor in Laws. Upon the death of Dr James, he was chosen in his room Master of Queen's-College, March 23, 1716; and created Doctor in Divinity in 1717, when King George I. was at Cambridge (d). This learned person died March 7, 1731. in the fifty-third year of his age; and was buried in the middle of Queen's-College-Chapel. Soon after, a handsome flat marble-stone was laid over his grave, with an inscription [B]. As the several things which he hath published, are in Greek, or Latin, we will, for that reason, give an account of them only in the note [C]. We shall not attempt this learned and industrious man's character, lest it should suffer from our imperfect representation. However, thus far we will venture to say, that his works have been received, in general, with great applause [D]; and most of them have passed through several editions.

[B] *A handsome flat marble stone was laid over his grave, with an inscription.*] At the top, are the Doctor's arms, viz. Or, between a chevron three mullets, sable; impaling those of his wife (Edwards) And beneath is the following inscription:

Hic sitæ sunt reliquæ  
Joannis Davies,  
L. L. et S. T. D.  
Hujus Collegii Præsidis,  
ac Eliensis Canonici.  
Natus est Londini Aprilis  
die XXII. MDCLXXIX.  
Denatus in his Ædibus  
Martii die VII. MDCCXXXI.  
Plura dici noluit vir optimus.

[C] *As the several things which he hath published, are in Greek or Latin, we will, for that reason, give an account of them only in the note.*] Ist then, he published in 1703; a new edition of Maximus Tyrius, under this title: *Maximi Tyrii Dissertationes, Gr. & Lat. ex interpretatione Heinssii, recensuit Jo. Davisus, &c.* 8vo. II. He gave a new edition of Julius Cæsar; *C. Julii Cæsaris [et A. Hirtii] quæ exstant omnia. Ex recensione Joannis Davisii, Coll. Regin. Cantab. Socii, cum ejusdem Animadversionibus, ac notis Pet. Giacconii, Fr. Hottomanni, Joan. Brantii, Dionys. Vossii, & aliorum. Accessere Metaphrasis Graeca Librorum Septem de Bello Gallico, necnon Indices necessarii.* 4to, Cantab. 1706 and 1727. III. And of Minucius Felix; *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius. Ex recensione Joannis Davisii; Cum ejusdem Animadversionibus, ac Notis integris Des. Heraldi & Nic. Rigaltii, necnon selectis aliorum. Accedit Commodianus, aevi Cypriani Scriptor, cum observationibus antebac editis, aliisque nonnullis, quæ jam primum prodeunt.* Cantab. 1707 and 1712, 8vo. IV. Next, he undertook to publish new and beautiful editions of M. T. Cicero's Philosophical pieces, by way of supplement to what the most learned Grævius had published of that excellent author, but had been hindered by death from finishing. He put out therefore in 1708, 1. his Tusculan Disputations, under this title; *M. Tullii Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri V. Cum Commentario Joannis Davisii,* 8vo, Cantab. 1709(2), and again in 1723, 1730, 1738. The 1st and the last edition have at the end Dr Ric. Bentley's *Emendationes*. The other pieces of Tully were published by our author in the following order; 2. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Natura Deorum Libri tres. Cum Notis integris Paulli Manucii, Petri Victorii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionys. Lambini, Fulv. Ursini, & Joannis Walkeri. Recensuit, suisque Animadversionibus illustravit ac emaculavit Joannes Davisus, &c.* Cantab. 1718 (3), 1723 and 1733, 8vo. 3. *M. Tullii Ciceronis libri de Divinatione & de Fato. Recensuit & suis Animadversionibus illustravit ac emendavit Joannes Davisus. Accedunt integrae Notae Paulli Manucii, Petri Victorii, Joachimi Camerarii,*

(2) The dedication of this book to Bishop Moore is dated Octob. 15. 1708.

(3) The dedication of this book to Dr Richard Bentley is dated July 26. 1717.

(a) Westcot, Description of Devonshire in Sandridge, Prince's Worthies of Devon. Exeter, 1701. p. 247.

*Dionys. Lambini, & Fulv. Ursini, una cum Hadriani Turnebi Commentario in Librum de Fato,* Cantab. 1721, 1730, 8vo. 4. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Academica. Recensuit, Variorum Notis suas immiscuit, & Hadr. Turnebi Petrique Fabri Commentarios adjunxit Joannes Davisus, &c.* Cantab. 1725, 1736, 8vo. 5. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Legibus Libri tres. Recensuit, ac Petri Victorii, Paulli Manucii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionysii Lambini, & Fulvii Ursini Notis suas adjecit Joannes Davisus, &c. Accedit Hadriani Turnebi Commentarius.* Cantab. 1727, 8vo. 6. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Finibus Bonorum & Malorum Libri quinque. Ex recensione Joannis Davisii, &c. Cum ejusdem Animadversionibus, & Notis integris Petr. Victorii, P. Manucii, Joach. Camerarii, D. Lambini, ac Fulvii Ursini.* Cantab. 1728, 1741, 8vo. He had also gone as far as the middle of the third Book of Cicero's Offices, in order for a new edition of that most valuable work: but being prevented by death from finishing it, he recommended it in his will to the care of that great patron of learning Richard Mead. M. D. who put it into the hands of Dr Thomas Bentley, that he might fit it for the press. But the house where Dr Bentley lodged (in the Strand, London) being set on fire thro' his carelessness, as 'tis said, in reading after he was in bed, Dr Davies's notes and emendations perished in the flames, and so were irrecoverably lost (4). V. Another thing published by our learned author, was, *Lactantii Firmiani Epitome Divinarum Institutionum ad Pentadium fratrem. Eam ex vetustissimo MS<sup>o</sup> Taurinensi nuper editam recensuit, & suis animadversionibus illustravit, ac emendavit Joannes Davisus.* Cantab. 1718, 8vo.

[D] *His works have been received, in general, with great applause.*] Both at home and abroad. Abbé d'Olivet in particular, the French Translator of Cicero de Natura Deorum gives our author just commendations for his beautiful edition of that book (5). But he seems afterwards to have altered his opinion, as appears from the harsh judgment he passes upon Dr Davies, in the Preface to his new edition of Tully's Works (6), which we shall here subjoin for the sake of the curious and learned reader. *Joannes Davisus Anglus.* His viginti annis pleraque Ciceronis *Philosophica* edidit, operis Græviani perfectorem se professus. Verum, ut erumpat aliquando ex me vera vox, & dicam sine circuitione quod sentio, *Homini homo quid præstat! Quæ in Grævio modestia! quam ingenuus pudor! In altero quæ confidentia! aut, ne dixerim mollius, quæ procacitas! Tamen fateor, & libenter quidem, fuit in eo ingenium perspicax, acutum, solers: itaque locos aliquot feliciter explicuit. At minime ferendus est, qui antiquis lectionibus è textu exterminatis, suis autem in earum locum somniis, si diis placet, inducendis, novum velit architectari Ciceronem: adeo ut, si qua ejus volumina secundis tertiisque curis retractata in lucem redierint, ultima editio sit etiam pessimâ: suscepto quasi certamine cum populari suo Richardo Benteio, quem suarum ad Tusculanas emendationum approbatorem amplificatoremque habuerat, uter esset in contaminandis veterum exemplaribus licentior.* C

(4) Vide Præfat. Ciceron. de Nat. Deor. edit. 1733.

(5) In the Preface to Vol. I. of his *Entretiens de Cicéron sur la Nature des Dieux.* Edit. Paris 1720. 8vo. p. xvii. See also the Letter immediately following, from Mr Le President Buhier, p. xxv. xxvi.

(6) Paris 4to. Vol. I. Præfat. p. 11.

DAVIS (JOHN) an excellent Pilot, and fortunate discoverer of unknown countries, in the XVIth century, was born at Sandridge, a pleasant seat, in the parish of Stoke-Gabriel, near Dartmouth in Devonshire (a). His birth near that eminent seaport,

port, having given him a fair opportunity, to which probably was added a strong natural disposition, he put himself early to sea: where, by the help of a good master, and his subsequent industry, knowledge, and experience, he became the most expert Pilot, and one of the ablest Navigators of his time (b). The first publick employment he had, was in the year 1585, when he undertook to discover a new Passage, by the North-west parts of America to the East-Indies. For that purpose, he sailed from Dartmouth, on the seventh of June, with two barks [A], and met, July 19th, many islands of ice floating, in 60 degrees northern latitude (c). They were soon encompassed with them; and going upon some, perceived, that the roaring noise they heard, at which they were greatly astonished, was caused only by the rolling of the ice together. The next day, they discovered the southern coast of Groenland; five hundred leagues distant from the Durseys, or Missenhead, in Ireland (d); and observed it to be extremely rocky and mountainous, and covered with snow, without any signs of wood, grafs, or earth to be seen. The shore, likewise, was so full of ice, that no ship could come near it by two leagues: and so shocking was the appearance of it, and the cracking of the ice so hideous, that they imagined it to be a quite desolate country, without a living creature, or even any vegetable substance; for which reason Captain Davis named it, *The Land of Desolation* (e). Perceiving that they were run into a very deep bay, wherein they were almost surrounded with ice, they kept coasting along the edge of it, South-south-west, till the 25th of July; when, after having gone fifty or sixty leagues, they found that the shore lay directly north. So they altered their course to the north-west, in hopes of finding their desired passage: but on the 29th they discovered land to the north-east, in 64 degr. 15 min. Latitude. Making towards it, they perceived that they were passed the ice, and were among many green, temperate, and pleasant islands, bordering upon the shore; though the hills of the continent were still covered with great quantities of snow. Among these islands were many fine bays, and good roads for shipping: they landed in some, and the people of the country came down and conversed with them [B]. By signs they made Mr Davis understand, that there was a great sea towards the north and west (f). He staid in this place till the first of August, and then proceeded in his discovery. The sixth of that month, they found land in 66 degr. 40 min. Latitude, quite free from ice; and anchored in a safe road, under a great mountain, the cliffs whereof glistered like gold. This mountain he named, *Mount Raleigh*: the road where their ships lay at anchor, *Totnes road*: the bay which encompassed the mountain, *Exeter Sound*: the foreland towards the north, *Dier's Cape*: and the foreland towards the south, *Cape Walsingham*. He departed from hence the eighth of August, coasting along the shore, which lay south-south-west, and east-north-east; and on the eleventh came to the most southerly cape of that land, which he named *The Cape of God's Mercy*, as being the place of their first entrance for the discovery. Going forward, they came into a very fine straight, or passage, in some places twenty leagues broad, in others thirty, quite free from ice, the weather in it very tolerable, and the water of the same colour and nature as the main ocean. This passage still retains the name of its first discoverer, being called to this day *Fretum Davis*, or *Davis's Straights*. Having sailed, north-west, sixty leagues (g) in this passage, they discovered several islands in the midst of it; in some of which they landed. The coast was very barren, without wood or grafs; and the rocks were like fine marble, full of veins of divers colours. Some days after they continued searching for the North-west Passage [C], but found only a great number of islands. And, on the 20th, the

(b) PRIOR, *Ibid.*

(c) *Voyager, Navigations, &c.* published by R. Hakluyt, Vol. 111. ed. t. 1670. p. 98, &c. and Purchas his Pilgrimes, Part III. Book III. c. 2. p. 461, 464.

(d) See Ledit-d's Naval History, edit. 1735. p. 222.

(e) Hakluyt, *ubi supra*, p. 99, 119.

(f) Hakluyt, *ubi supra*, p. 100, 119.

(g) Mr Davis himself says only, thirty or forty leagues. See Hakluyt, as above, p. 119.

wind

[A] *With two barks.*] One of fifty tuns, named the *Sunshine* of London, which carried twenty three persons, John Davis, Captain: the other was of thirty-five tuns, named the *Moonshine* of Dartmouth, having nineteen persons on board, William Bruton, Captain. They were fitted out at the charge of several of the Nobility and Gentry, particularly Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State, and of many Merchants of London and the West Country. The chief manager of this undertaking, was, Mr William Sanderfon, Merchant and Globe-maker in London; who recommended to the adventurers Mr John Davis, a man well grounded in the principles of Navigation, for Captain and chief Pilot in this expedition. Some attempts had been made before, by Capt. Henry Hudson, Capt. Martin Frobisher, Capt. Adrian Gilbert, and others, to discover this North-west passage; but without success (1). Mr Davis informs us, (2) that 'in his first voyage he was not experienced of the nature of those climates, and had no direction either by Chart, Globe, or other certain relation, in what altitude that passage was to be searched.'

[B] *The people came down and conversed with them.*] Namely by signs. For the English could not understand the Savages language; whose pronunciation was very hollow, through the throat. Before they would come near, they pointed to the Sun, and struck

their breast, and the English doing the like, the others ventured to trust themselves with them. They were a very tractable people, void of craft or double dealing, easy to be brought to any civility or good order, and took great care of one another. Their light garments were made of birds skins with the feathers on; and the heavier of Seals-skins. Their buskins, hose, and gloves, were neatly sewed, and well dressed. These islands had no fresh water, but pools of melted snow: And the cliffs abounded with ore, that look'd like gold. Upon the rocks, and in the moss, grew a shrub, whose fruit was very sweet, and full of red juice, like Corinths, supposed to be the Cranberry, or Bear-Berry (3).

[C] *They continued searching for the North-west passage.*] And, for the following reasons, concluded that in all probability there was such a passage, 1. Because this place was all islands, with great sounds between them. 2. The water remained of one colour with the main ocean, without altering. Whereas the colour of the water, in whatever Bay they came, was very blackish. 3. They saw to the West of those isles, three or four whales, which they judged to come from a westerly sea, not having seen any to the east-ward. 4. As they were rowing into a very great sound lying South west, from whence the Whales came, on a sudden there came a violent counter-check of a tide from the

(3) Hakluyt, *ubi supra*, p. 100, 101. See also *Voyages and Discoveries to the South and North*, by Sir John Narbrough, &c. in the Introduction, p. xvii. edit. 1694. 8vo.

(1) Hakluyt, *ubi supra*, p. 98, &c.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 119.

wind coming contrary, they altered their course and design; and returning for England, arrived at Dartmouth the 29th of September (b). The next year he undertook a *second* voyage, for the further discovery of the North-west Passage, being supported and encouraged again by Secretary Walsingham, and other adventurers (i). With a view therefore of searching the bottom of the Straights he had been in the year before, he sailed from Dartmouth, May the 7th, 1586, with four ships [D], and the 15th of June discovered land in 60 degr. Latitude, and 47 degr. Longitude west from London. The ice along the coast reached in some places ten, in some twenty, and in others fifty leagues into the sea; so that, to avoid it, they were forced to bear into 57 degr. Latitude. After many tempestuous storms, they made the land again, June the 29th, in 64 degr. of Latitude, and 58 of Longitude; and ran among the temperate islands they had been at the year before. But the water was so deep, they could not easily come to an anchor: However, they found means to go ashore, on some of the islands, where they were extremely carested and welcomed by the natives, who knew them again (k). Having finished a pinnace, which was to serve them for a scout in their discoveries; they landed, not only in that, but also in their boats, in several places [E]: and, upon the strictest search, found the land not to be a continent, as they imagined, but a collection of huge, waste, and desert isles, with great sounds and inlets passing between sea and sea (l). They pursued their voyage the 11th of July, and on the 17th in 63 degr. 8 min. Latitude, met with a most prodigious mass of ice, which they coasted till the 30th. This was a great obstacle, and discouragement to them, not having the like there the year before; and, besides, the men beginning to grow sickly; the crew of the *Mermaid*, on which he chiefly depended, forsook him, and resolved to proceed no further (m). However, not to disappoint Mr W. Sanderfon, who was the chief adventurer in this voyage, and for fear of losing the favour of Secretary Walsingham, who had this discovery much at heart, Mr Davis undertook to proceed alone in his small bark of thirty tuns. Having therefore fitted, and well victualled it, in a harbour lying in 66 degr. 33 min. Latitude, and 70 degr. Longitude; which he found to be a very hot place, and full of muscatoes; he set sail the 12th of August, and coming into a straight followed the course of it for eighty leagues, till he came among many islands, where the water ebbed and flowed six fathom deep (n). He had hopes of finding a passage there, but upon searching further in his boat, he perceived there was none. So, he returned again into the open sea, and kept coasting southward as far as 54 degr.  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Latitude: in which time he found another great inlet near forty leagues broad, between two lands, west, where the water ran in with great violence. This, he imagined, was the passage so long sought for; but the wind being then contrary, and two furious storms happening soon after, he neither thought it safe nor wise to proceed further: especially in one small bark, and when the season was so far advanced. Wherefore he sailed for England the 11th of September (o); and arrived thither in the beginning of October [F]. By what observations he made, he concluded, that the north parts of America are all islands (p). He made a *third* voyage to these parts again the year following, 1587. All the western Merchants, and most of those of London refused to be engaged further in the undertaking: but the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and Secretary

the South-west against the flood they came with, not knowing from whence it proceeded. 5. In sailing twenty leagues within the mouth of that entrance they had founding in ninety fathoms, and the farther West they ran, the deeper was the water, so that close to the shore among these isles, they could not find ground in 330 fathoms. 6. It ebbed and flowed six or seven fathoms, the flood coming from divers parts, so that they could not perceive the chief source of it (4).

[D] *With four ships.*] Namely, The *Mermaid*, of one hundred and twenty tuns: The *Sunshine*, of sixty tuns: The *Moonshine*, a bark of thirty-five tuns: and a Pinnace of ten tuns, named The *North Star*. About the beginning of June, when they came into near sixty degrees of latitude, Mr Davis divided this little fleet; sending the *Sunshine*, and the *North-Star*, to seek a passage North-ward, between Groenland and Iseland to the latitude of eighty degrees; whilst he proceeded himself, with the *Mermaid* and the *Moonshine*, in the further discovery of the North-west-passage (5). The *Sunshine* returned to England, Octob. 4. with a quantity of Seal-skins; but the Pinnace was lost.

[E] *They landed - - - - - in several places.*] And saw the habitations of the natives, which were only a kind of tents cover'd with Seal-skins. They found likewise a grave, with several buried in it, being cover'd with seal-skins, and having a cross laid over them. The people are of good stature, well proportion'd in body, have small slender hands and feet, broad visages, small eyes, wide mouths generally beardless, great lips, and are close-toothed. They are very apt to bleed, and therefore stop their noses with deer's hair, or the

hair of an elan (6). They are idolaters, and have a bundance of images. Their meat, which is mostly fish, they eat raw; and drink salt-water, and eat grass and ice with pleasure. Seldom are they out of water; except when they go to sleep on the land, in some warm corner, or under a rock. Their nets for catching fish, are made of the fin of a whale. When they grow familiar they are very thievish; and so covetous are they of iron, that they could not forbear stealing any thing that was made of that metal. Their way of kindling a fire is thus: they take a piece of board having a hole half through, in which they put the end of a round stick, (like a bed-staff,) dipped in train oil; then working it round in that hole, with a leather thong, like a turner, they soon get a fire by the violent agitation. Mr Davis got among these people copper-ore, and black and red copper (7). — Whilst he remained among these islands, he saw a whirlwind, that lasted three hours, and took up great quantities of water into the air, with incredible violence and fury (8).

[F] *And arrived thither in the beginning of October.*] Soon after his arrival, he writ a letter to Mr W. Sanderfon, dated from Exeter, 14 Octob. wherein he tells him. — ‘ I have now experience of much of the ‘ North-west part of the world, and have brought the ‘ passage to that likelihood, as that I am assured it ‘ must bee in one of foure places, or els not at all. ‘ And further I can assure you upon the perill of my ‘ life, that this voyage may be performed without further charge, nay with certain profite to the adventurers, if I may have but your favour in the action ‘ (9).’

[G] *Tavo*

(6) Or elk; a kind of stag.

(7) Hakluyt, *ibid.* p. 104, 105.

(8) P. 105.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 108.

(b) Hakluyt, p. 102, 119.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 119.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 103, 104.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 103, 105.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 119.

(n) *Ibid.* p. 120.

(o) *Ibid.* p. 107, 108, 120.

(p) *Ibid.* p. 120.

(4) Hakluyt, *ubi supra*, p. 102.

(5) Hakluyt, *ubi supra*, p. 103, 108, 109.

Secretary Wallingham, set it forwards. Mr Davis having, in his last voyage, discovered prodigious quantities of excellent cod fish, in 56 degr. of Latitude; for that reason, two ships were sent along with him for fishing, and one only for the discovery of the North-west Passage [G]. They sailed from Dartmouth the 19th of May, and discovered land the 14th of June, at sixteen leagues distance, being very mountainous, and covered with snow (q). On the 21st of June the two barks left him, and went upon the fishing, after having promised him, not to depart till his return to them about the end of August. But having finished their voyage in about sixteen days after, they set sail for England, without any regard to their promise. As for Captain Davis, he pursued his intended discovery, in the sea between America and Groenland, from 64 to 73 degr. of Latitude. Having entered the Straights which bear his name, he went on northward, from the 21st to the 30th of June; naming one part *Merchants Coast* (r); another, *The London Coast*; another *Hope-Sanderfon*, in 73 degr. Latitude, being the furthest he went that way. The wind coming northerly, he altered his course, and ran forty leagues west, without seeing any land (s). On the 2d of July, he fell in with a great bank of ice, which he coasted southward till the 19th of July, when he came within sight of Mount Raleigh on the American coast, in about 67 degrees of Latitude. Having sailed sixty leagues north-west into the gulf that lies beyond it, he anchored, July 23d, at the bottom of that gulf, among many islands, which he named *The Earl of Cumberland's Isles*. He quitted that place again the same day, and sailed back south-east, in order to recover the sea; which he did the 29th in 62 degr. of Latitude. The 30th, he passed by a great bank, or inlet, to which he gave the name of *Lumley's Inlet*; and the next day by a head land, which he called *The Earl of Warwick's Foreland*. On the first of August, he fell in with the southernmost cape, named by him *Cbudley's Cape*: and, the 12th, passed by an island which he named *Darcy's Island*. When he came in 52 degr. of Latitude, not finding the two ships that had promised to stay for him, he was in great distress, having but little wood, and only half a hoghead of water left. However, taking courage, he made the best of his way home, and arrived at Dartmouth September the 15th (t), very sanguine, that the *North-west Passage* was most probable, and the execution easy [H]. But Secretary Wallingham being otherwise engaged, and dying not long after, that design was laid aside (u). Mr Davis, notwithstanding, did not remain idle. For, August 26, 1591, he was Captain of the *Dfire*, Rear-Admiral to Mr Thomas Cavendish, in his second unfortunate expedition to the South-Sea: and is highly blamed by Mr Cavendish, for having deserted him, and thereby being the cause of his overthrow (w). After many disasters, Mr Davis arrived again at Bear-Haven in Ireland June 11, 1593 (x). He performed afterwards no less than five voyages to the East-Indies [I], in the station of a Pilot (y). One was in a Dutch ship, wherein he set out March 15, 1597, from Flushing, and returned to Middleburgh, July 23, 1600 (z). Of the rest we have no account, only of one he performed with Sir Edward Michelbourne (a), in which were spent nineteen months, from December 5, 1604, to July 9, 1606. During this voyage Mr Davis was slain, on the 27th of December 1605, in a desperate fight with some Japonese near the coast of Malacca (b). He married Faith, daughter of Sir John Fulford, of Fulford in Devonshire, Knight, by Dorothy his wife, daughter of John Lord Bouchier Earl of Bath (c); by whom probably he had issue: for some of his posterity are said to have been living some years ago, at, or near, Deptford (d). He was author of some things in the naval way [K].

(q) Ibid. p. 111, 120.

(r) Because he found people there, that merchandised with him. Hakluyt, p. 112.

(s) Ibid.

(t) Ibid. p. 114, 120.

(u) Ibid. p. 120.

(w) See above under the article CAVENDISH (THOMAS).

(x) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 342—832.

(y) Prince, ubi supra.

(z) See Collection of Voyages, &c. published by J. Harris, 2 Vols. fol. Lond. 1705. Vol. I. p. 49, &c.

(a) Purchas his Pilgrimes, Vol. I. p. 132. and Vol. III. p. 556.

(b) Harris, ibid. p. 57.

(c) Westcot Pedigree. See Prince, ubi supra.

(d) Prince, ibid.

[G] *Two ships were sent along with him for fishing, and one only for the discovery of the North-west Passage.* The two barks that were sent with him for fishing, were, *The Elizabeth*, of Dartmouth; and *The Sunshine*, of London. The Pinnace he was to proceed in, in his discoveries, was called *The Helen* of London

[H] *Very sanguine that the North-west Passage was most probable, and the execution easy.* This he declared to his great patron Mr W. Sanderfon, in a letter from Sandridge, the next day after his return to England — 'I have, faith he, made my safe returne in health, with all my company, and have sailed threescore leagues further than my determination at my departure. I have been in 73 degrees, finding the sea all open, and forty leagues betweene land and land. The passage is most probable, the execution easie, as at my coming you shall fully know (11).' — But the Spanish Invasion happening the year following, and Secretary Wallingham dying two years after, that design was laid aside, and never again attempted by Mr Davis (12).

[I] *He performed afterwards no less than five voyages to the East-Indies* [He was the first Pilot that conducted the Zealander's to that country, says Mr Prince (13): which may be true of the Zealander's in particular. But the Dutch had been once before to the East-Indies; namely in the year, 1595 (14). And

if Mr Davis set out for the East-Indies, first in 1597, as Mr Prince seems to intimate, I don't find how he could possibly perform *five voyages* thither, in that space of time; namely between, 1597, and 1605

[K] *He was author of some things in the Naval way.* I. 'The account of his second voyage, for the discovery of the North-west Passage, in 1586 (15),' seems to be of his composition; for he speaks always in it in the first person. II. There are likewise in print two letters of his (16), to Mr Sanderfon: one dated from Exeter, 14 October, 1586; and the other from Sandridge, 16 September, 1587. III. Hakluyt hath also preserved (17), 'A Traverse-Booke made by M<sup>r</sup> John Davis in his third voyage for the discovery of the North-west Passage, Anno 1587.' IV. And moreover it appears, that our author, J. Davis, composed a treatise intituled, 'The World's Hydrographical Description.' For Hakluyt hath extracted out of it, and publish'd, 'A report of Master John Davis, of his three voyages made for the discovery of the North-west Passage (18).' V. His voyage to the East-Indies in a Dutch ship, in the year 1598, was written also by himself (19). VI. We are informed, that 'There is a Rutter, [Routier.] or Brief Directions for sailing into the East-Indies, digested into a plain method, by this same person John Davis of Limehouse, (as he is there called) written upon experiment of his five voyages thither, and home again

(15) As published in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 103.

(16) Printed in the same volume, p. 108, 114.

(17) Ibid. p. 115, &c.

(18) Ibid. p. 119, 120.

(19) See Harris's Collect. ubi supra, p. 72.

(10) Ibid. p. 111.

(11) Hakluyt, p. 114.

(12) Ibid. p. 120.

(13) Ubi supra.

(14) Vide Hug. Grotii Annales & Hist. de Rebus Belgicis. fol. edit. Amst. 1657. p. 232.

(20) Prince, as above. This is printed in J. Harris's Collection of Voyages, Vol. I. p. 224.

' again (20).' But, either it was not written by the same John Davis, who is the subject of this article: or else, our John Davis was not slain in the East-Indies, as we have said above upon the authority of Purchas, and of

those that have copied from him. This point we must submit to the curious and inquisitive reader, not being able to determine it at this great distance of Time.

C

(a) Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 157.

(b) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 123.

(c) Strype's Ann. Vol. II. p. 403. Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 299.

(d) Several papers relative to this Negotiation are still in the Harleian Library of MSS, as I have been informed by the ingenious Mr W. O. of Gray's-Inn.

(e) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 328, 329.

(f) Sir James Melville's Mem. p. 158. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 395.

(1) Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 137, 138.

(2) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 395.

DAVYSON or DAVISON (WILLIAM) a very eminent Statesman, and Secretary of State, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was, if not a native of Scotland; at least, descended from those who were, as himself professed to Sir James Melville (a), which is all that we know of his family. At what time he came into the Court of Queen Elizabeth, or in what state, cannot, at this distance of time, be positively affirmed; it is most probable, that his parts and learning, together with that extraordinary diligence and wonderful address for which he was always distinguished, recommended him to Mr Killigrew, afterwards Sir Henry Killigrew, with whom he went in quality of Secretary, at the time he was sent into Scotland to compliment Queen Mary upon the birth of her son (b). This was in the year 1566, and there is good reason to believe that he remained thence forward about the Court, and was employed in several affairs of great consequence. In 1575, when the States of Brabant and Flanders assumed to themselves the administration of all affairs, till his Catholick Majesty should appoint a new Governor of the Low-Countries, Mr Davison was sent over with a publick character from the Queen to those States, under the plausible pretence of exhorting them to continue in their obedience to his Catholick Majesty, but, in reality, to see how things actually stood in that part of the world, that her Majesty might be the better able to know how to proceed in respect to the several applications made to her from the Prince of Orange, and the people of Holland (c). He executed this commission very successfully, and therefore, when things were riper, the Queen sent him over as her Minister, to pacify the troubles that had arisen at Ghent; and, when his presence was no longer necessary there, he was commissioned on her behalf to the States of Holland in 1579 (d). His conduct there gave equal satisfaction to the Queen his Mistress, and to those with whom he negotiated. He gave them great hopes of the Queen's assistance and support; but, when a sum of money was desired, as absolutely necessary towards providing for their defence, he very readily undertook to procure it, upon reasonable security; in consequence of which a very considerable sum was sent from England, for which all the valuable jewels and fine plate, that had been pledged by Matthias of Austria to the States of Holland, and which were the remains of the magnificence of the house of Burgundy, were transported to England (e). These journies, and the success attending them, gave Mr Davison great reputation at Court, insomuch that, in all matters of a nice and difficult nature, Davison was some way or other continually employed. Thus in 1583, when things were very much embroiled in Scotland, he was sent thither as the Queen's Ambassador, in order to counteract the French Ministers, and to engage the King of Scots, and the people, both to flight the offers made them from that country, and to depend wholly upon assistance from England (f) [A]. Affairs in the Low-Countries coming at last to a crisis, and the States resolving

[A] And to depend wholly upon assistance from England.] The great jealousy Queen Elizabeth had of every thing that passed in Scotland, made her extremely careful in the choice of all such persons, as in the course of her reign, she had occasion to send thither. At this time, not only Mary Queen of Scots was prisoner in England, but her son James VI, was also a prisoner to some of his own subjects in Scotland. It was to facilitate the liberty of both, that the French King sent ambassadors to England in the beginning of the year 1583, with instructions to try whether Queen Elizabeth might not be induced to consent, that Mary Queen of Scots, being released, should return home and govern jointly with her son (1). The Queen seemed not averse to this proposal, in case she had any reasonable security, that the Queen of Scots and her son, would undertake nothing to her prejudice; and, as they were to go into Scotland, to press the same thing there, she took care to join Mr Davison on her part in the same journey, and with the same commission (2). We have in the memoirs, which of those times and that country, are best esteemed, a very extraordinary, though a very short, account of this embassy, which it is necessary the reader should see. ' About this time the Lord Burleigh chief ruler in England, caused send in one Mr Davison, to be an agent here, to see what business he could brew, who was afterwards made Secretary. ' For after the decease of Walsingham, Secretary Cecil being advanced to be Lord Burleigh and Great Treasurer of England, two Secretaries were chosen, one call'd Mr Smith, and this Davison, whose predecessor was a Scotsman. Upon which consideration, he was thought more able to conquer credit here. He had been in Scotland before, and was at my house in

company with Sir Henry Killigrew, my old friend, when he was resident in Scotland. At which time he acknowledged to me that he was come of Scotsmen, and was a Scotsman in his heart, and a favourer of the King's right and title to the Crown of England. He desired me to keep all secret from Mr Killigrew, promising if he could find the means to be employed here, that he would do good offices. His Majesty was for the time at Falkland, and wrote for me to be directed to ride and meet the said Davison; whom I was commanded to convey to Coupar, there to remain till his Majesty had time to give him audience. Afterwards I convoyed him to my own house, and from that to Falkland, where his Majesty found his commission to small avail. But because Walsingham had refused at his being here to speak with the Earl of Arran; albeit, the said Earl had offered, by me, to give satisfaction to him in all his desires, so that he would confer with him, which Walsingham still refused; but Mr Davison was directed at this time to deal with the Earl of Arran, to see what advantage might be had at his hand. For my Lord Burleigh was not content that Walsingham was so precise, therefore Davison entred into familiarity with him, and was made his gossip, and heard his frank offers and liked well of them. For after that the Lords were fled to England and forfeited, the Council of England thought they had some ground to build a new faction upon, to trouble the King and his Estate. And whereas the said Davison had promised before, to shew himself a kind Scotsman, I perceived him clean altered, and a perfect practiser against the quiet of this state, whereof I advertised his Majesty. After his return to England,

not

resolving to depend upon Queen Elizabeth, in the bold design they had formed of defending their freedom by force of arms, and rendering themselves independent, Mr Davison, at this time Clerk of the Privy-Council, was chosen to manage this delicate business, and to conclude with them that alliance which was to be the basis of their future undertakings (g). In this, which, without question, was one of the most perplexed transactions in that whole reign, he conducted things with such a happy dexterity, as to merit the strongest acknowledgments on the part of the States, at the same time that he rendered the highest service to the Queen his Mistress, and obtained ample security for those expences which that Princess thought it necessary to be at (b), in order to keep danger at a distance, and to entertain the flames of war in the dominions of her enemy, whom, at that juncture, she knew to be meditating how he might transfer them into her own [B]. Upon the return of Mr Davison into England, after the conclusion of this treaty, he was declared of the Privy-Council, and appointed one of her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, in conjunction with Sir Francis Walsingham (i); so that, at this time, these offices may be affirmed to have been as well filled as in any period that can be assigned in our history, and yet by persons of very different, or rather opposite, dispositions; for Walsingham was a man of great art and intrigue, one who was not displeas'd that he was thought such a person, and whose capacity was still deeper than those who understood it best apprehended it to be (k). Davison, on the other hand, had a just reputation for wisdom and probity; and, though he had been concerned in many intricate affairs, yet preserved a character so unspotted, that, to the time he came into this office, he had done nothing that could draw upon him the least imputation (l). It is an opinion countenanced by Camden, and which has met with general acceptance, that he was rais'd in order to be ruined, and that, when he was made Secretary of State, there was a view of obliging him to go out of his depth in that matter which brought upon him all his misfortunes (m). This conjecture is very plausible, and yet there is good reason to doubt whether it is well founded. Mr Davison had attached himself, during the progress of his fortunes, to the potent Earl of Leicester, and it was chiefly to his favour and interest that he stood indebted for this high employment, in which if he was deceived by another great Statesman, it could not be said that he was rais'd and ruined by the same hands. But there is nothing more probable than that the bringing about such an event, by an instrument which his rival had rais'd, and then removing him, and rendering his parts useles to those who had

(g) Cabals, P. ii. P. 2, 3, 34.

(b) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290.

(i) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 624.

(k) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. vii.

(l) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 625.

(m) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 544, 545.

not to have such a fear as it formerly had of the Earl of Arran. For there was a meeting drawn on at the borders, betwixt the Earl of Hunfdon and the Earl of Arran, who had long and privy conference together, to keep a great friendship betwixt the two princes and countries, with a secret plot, that the Earl of Arran should keep the King unmarried for three years; under this pretext, that there was a young maid of the blood in England, who about that time would be ready for marriage, whereupon the Queen would declare his Majesty second person (3). This quotation sufficiently shews how little credit is due, even to the best memoirs, when they are plainly written from memory, and not in the strict way of journal; for in all that Sir James has set down, there is very little, if any, truth. All the world knows, that Lord Burleigh was Treasurer long before the death of Sir Francis Walsingham, and that he was Joint-Secretary with Mr Davison, who was not sent by Lord Burleigh, neither did he come after Walsingham, or treat with those with whom Walsingham refused to treat, but almost a year before him (4). The King was in the hands of the Earl of Gowry, when Mr Davison treated with him; afterwards the King made his escape, prosecuted those who had confined him, and recalled the Earl of Arran, contrary to his promise; to expostulate with him, upon all which, Queen Elizabeth, some months after, sent Sir Francis Walsingham (5); so that there is the strangest confusion in these memoirs, that ever appeared in a book written by a person of so great credit and capacity. It may be however true, that Mr Davison had at this time altered his sentiments; and there is very little reason to doubt what he says of his extraction, since it was not any evil intention that led him into these mistakes, but the fault was entirely in his memory, which here, and in many other places, betrayed him.

[B] How he might transfer them into her own.] After the taking of Antwerp by the Spaniards, it became absolutely requisite for the Queen to determine what part she would take in the concerns of the Continent, and upon what terms she would agree to assist the Dutch in the defence of their liberties. The eyes of all Europe were then fix'd upon her conduct, and many great Princes abroad, thought she had better declined than accepted the offers of the States. Some of her

own council were of that opinion, and it was the Earl of Leicester and his party who press'd her to this conjunction, that Earl himself intending to go, as he afterwards did, in a very high character to Holland (6). The treaty with the States, was negotiated between their ministers, and a Committee of the Privy-Council here, but the carrying it into execution was entirely remitted to the care of Mr Davison. The Queen's instructions to him, countersigned by Secretary Walsingham are still preserved, and consist of nine articles, but they are without date (7). It appears however, that in September 1585, his negotiation was far advanced; for upon the 5th of that month, the Queen sent him a commission to take possession of Flushing in her behalf, and to put the Brill into the hands of the Person whom General Norris should appoint (8). There are also letters extant from him to the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Walsingham, relating to these affairs; as also a very remarkable dispatch from the Commissioners, who had concluded this treaty, to Mr Davison, dated October the 3d, in which they acquaint him of her Majesty's entire approbation of his conduct, and signifying that the discontent which it seems had been already shewn about this treaty, did not in the least regard him, but referred to those who had the administration of affairs in Holland, who are said to have shewn a spirit of over-reaching; and as they were compos'd chiefly of traders and advocates, the former respecting nothing but their profit, and the latter flying naturally to quirks and tricks, there was no better to be expected from them (9). Upon the whole, it appears that no Minister could have greater trust repos'd in him, or desire a more ample approbation of his services than he met with. In one thing only he seems to have been a little uneasy, and that was the narrowness of his allowance, which made him very desirous of returning to England, that the rise of his reputation might not be purchased with the ruin of his estate (10). He was not however recalled till after the Earl of Leicester went over thither; and we find the Lord Treasurer Burleigh intreating him to give his advice to his eldest son Mr Thomas Cecil, appointed Governor of the Brill, at the same that Sir Philip Sydney succeeded Mr Davison in the command of Flushing (11).

(6) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290.

(7) Cott. Libr. Titus B. 2.

(8) Cabala, P. ii. p. 34.

(9) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290. Cabala, P. ii. p. 34.

(10) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290. Cabala, P. i. p. 2, 3.

(11) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 290.

[C] Who

(3) Sir James Melville's Memoirs, p. 157, 158.

(4) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 395, 397. Spotswood's Hist. of Scotland, p. 324—327.

(5) Saunderson's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 99.

had raised him, gave a double satisfaction to him who managed this design. The tracing the principal steps of this transaction, which was, without doubt, one of the finest strokes of political management in that whole reign, was what chiefly determined us to insert this article. When the resolution was taken, in the beginning of October 1586, to bring the Queen of Scots to a trial, and a commission was issued for that purpose, Secretary Davison's name was inserted in that commission; but it does not appear that he was present when that commission was opened at Fotheringay-Castle, on the 11th of October, or that he ever assisted there at all (n). Indeed, the management of that transaction was very wisely left in the hands of those who, with so much address, had conducted the antecedent business for the conviction of Anthony Babington, and his accomplices, upon the truth and justice of which, the proceedings against the Queen of Scots entirely depended (o). On the 25th of October the sentence was declared in the Star-Chamber, things proceeding still in the same channel, and nothing particularly done by Secretary Davison (p). On the 29th of the same month the Parliament met, in which Serjeant Puckering was Speaker of the House of Commons; and, upon an application from both Houses, Queen Elizabeth caused the sentence to be published, which, soon after, was notified to the Queen of Scots (q); yet, hitherto, all was transacted by the other Secretary, who was considered, by the nation in general, as the person who had led this prosecution from beginning to end [C]. The true meaning of this long and solemn proceeding was certainly to remove, as far as possible, any reflection upon Queen Elizabeth; and, that it might appear in the most conspicuous manner to the world, she was urged, and even constrained, to take the life of the Queen of Scots, instead of seeking or desiring it. This assertion is not founded upon conjecture, but is a direct matter of fact; for, in her first answer to the Parliament, given at Richmond the 12th of November, she complained that the late act had brought her into a great strait, by obliging her to give directions for that Queen's death; and, upon the second application, on the 24th of the same month, the Queen enters largely into the consequences that must naturally follow upon her taking that step, and, on the consideration of them, grounds her returning no definitive resolution even to this second application (r). The delay which followed after the publication of the sentence, gave an opportunity for the French King, and several other Princes, to interpose, but more especially to King James, whose Ambassadors, and particularly Sir Robert Melville, pressed the Queen very hard (s). Camden says, that his Ambassadors, unseasonably mixing threatnings with intreaties, they were not very welcome; so that, after a few days, the Ambassadors were dismissed, with small hopes of succeeding in what they came about (t). But we are elsewhere told, that, when Melville requested a respite of execution for eight days, she answered, *Not an Hour* (u). This seemed to be a plain declaration of her Majesty's final determination, and such in all probability it was, so that her death being resolved, the only point that remained under debate was, how she should die, that is, whether by the hand of an executioner, or otherwise (w). In respect to this, the two Secretaries seem to have been of different sentiments. Mr Davison thought the forms of justice should go on, and the end of this melancholy transaction correspond with the rest of the proceedings (x). Upon this Sir Francis Walsingham pretended sickness, and did not come to Court, and by this means the whole business of drawing and bringing the warrant to the Queen to sign fell upon Davison, who, pursuant to the Queen's directions, went through

[C] *Who had led this prosecution from beginning to end.*

Such as are acquainted with the history of those times, know, that the whole of Babington's conspiracy was detected by Sir Francis Walsingham, and that he suffered it to go on for some time after it was discovered, that he might the more effectually come at the bottom of it, and trace out all that were concerned in it (12). Upon this, it was resolved to remove the Queen of Scots, and to confine her closely, either in Hertford Castle, or at Fotheringay; when the last mentioned place was resolved on, orders were sent to Sir Amias Pawlet, then her keeper, for her removal, with instructions not to give her above two days warning, and not to let her know where she was going, till after she had been two or three days upon the road; at length, when she was brought to Fotheringay, Queen Elizabeth herself thought proper to write, or at least to subscribe with her own hand, the following letter to Sir Amias Pawlet, in gratitude, as Mr Strype says, for his fidelity shewn in the management of that removal, which letter was transcribed from a copy taken by Michael Hicke, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh's Secretary (13).

To my faithful Amyas.

**A**MYAS, my most careful and faithful servant, God reward thee treblefold in the double, for thy most troublesome charge so well discharged. If you knew, my Amyas, how kindly, besides dutifully, my grateful heart accepteth your double labours and faithful ac-

tions, your wife orders and safe conduct, perform'd in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would ease your travel [trouble writ over head] and rejoice your heart. And which I charge you to carry this most just thought, that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgment, the value I prize you at; and suppose no treasure to countervail such a faith, and condemn myself in that fault which I have committed, if I reward not such deserts. Yea, let me lack, when I have most need, if I acknowledge not such a merit with a reward; *non omnibus datum*.

But let your wicked mistress know how, with hearty sorrow, her vile deserts compel these orders; and bid her from me, ask God forgiveness for her treacherous dealing towards the favor of her life many years to the intolerable peril of her own. And yet, not content with so many forgivenesses, must fall again so horribly far passing a woman, much more a princess. Instead of excusing, whereof not one can serve, it being so plainly confessed by the authors of my guiltless death; let repentance take place, and let not the fiend possess, so as her best part be lost. Which I pray, with hands lifted up to him that may both save and spill, with my loving adieu, and prayer for thy long life,

Your assured and loving sovereign in heart,  
by good desert induced,

E L I Z A B E T H Regina.

[D] *In*

(n) Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1565. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 145. Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 488

(o) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 128. Carleton's thankful Remembrance of God's Mercies, p. 115.

(p) Saunderson's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 116, 117.

(q) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 161.

(r) Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1580.

(s) Spotiswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 351, 352, 353.

(t) Saunderson's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 119.

(u) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 522.

(w) See Davison's Apology in Note [H]. Osborn's traditional Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, §. iv. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 625.

(x) See this plainly asserted in his Apology.

(12) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 123. Bishop Carleton's thankful Remembrances of God's Mercies, p. 115.

Udal's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 395.

(13) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 361, 362.

through it (y) in the manner that Camden has related [D]. But it is very remarkable, that, while these judicial steps were taking, the other method, to which the Queen herself seemed to incline, proceeded also, and Secretary Walsingham, notwithstanding his sickness, wrote the very day the warrant was signed, which was Wednesday, February 1st, 1586-7, to Sir Amias Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury, to put them in mind of the association, as a thing that might countenance at least, if not justify, this other way of removing the Queen of Scots (z). It is true, that Mr Davison subscribed this letter, and wrote another to the same persons two days after; but it appears plainly from the answer, that the keepers of the Queen of Scots considered the motion as coming from Walsingham. These letters will be found in the notes [E]. The warrant being delivered to the Lords of

(y) Camd. Annal. lib. p. 532. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 372.

(z) See the letters referred to in note [E].

[D] In the manner that Camden has related.] When one considers the many and great advantages this historian had, as himself declares, and as the papers he refers to prove, one cannot but pay a very high deference to his authority; but at the same time it cannot but afford the curious reader a very high pleasure to compare his accounts of things, with the papers themselves, from which he professes to have drawn them. We have on another occasion inserted his extract from Mr Davison's apology (14), in a succeeding note we shall insert that singular paper as it fell from our author's own hand (15). At present let us see how he chose to represent the whole of this transaction (16), after weighing and considering those authentick authorities which were in his possession.

In the midst, says he, of these doubtful and perplexing thoughts which so troubled and staggered the Queen's mind, that she gave herself wholly over to solitariness, fate many times melancholy and mute, and frequently sighing, muttered this to herself, *Aufer aut feri*, that is, either bear or strike; and out of I know not what emblem, *Ne feriare feri*, that is, strike lest thou be stricken; she delivered a writing to Davison, one of her Secretaries, signed with her own hand, commanding a warrant under the Great Seal of England, to be drawn up for the execution, which should lie in readiness if any danger chanced to break forth in that time of jealousy and fear, and commanded him to acquaint no man therewith. But the next day, while fear seemed to be afraid of her own counsels and designs, her mind changed, and she commanded Davison, by William Killigrew, that the warrant should not be drawn. Davison came presently to the Queen, and told her that it was drawn and under seal already. She was somewhat moved at it, and blamed him for making such haste. He notwithstanding acquainted the Council both with the warrant and the whole matter, and easily persuaded them who were apt to believe what they desired, that the Queen had commanded it should be executed. Hereupon, without any delay, Beale, who in respect of religion, was of all others, the Queen of Scots most bitter adversary, was sent down with one or two executioners, and a warrant, wherein authority was given to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and others, to see her executed according to law, and this without any knowledge of the Queen at all. And though she at that very time told Davison, that she would take another course with the Queen of Scots, yet did not he for all that call Beale back.

[E] These letters will be found in the notes.] These I think were first published by Mr Hearne, who tells us they were copied by a friend of his in the month of September, 1717, from a manuscript folio book, containing letters to and from Sir Amias Pawlet, when the Queen of Scots's Governor at Fotheringay (17).

To Sir Amice Poulet.

AFTER our hearty commendations, we find by speech lately utter'd by her Majesty, that she doth note in you, both a lack of that care and zeal of her service that she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not in all this time, of yourselves, without other provocation, found out some way to shorten the life of that Queen, considering the great peril she is subject unto hourly, so long as the said Queen shall live. Wherein, besides a kind of lack of love towards her, she noteth greatly, that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion and the publick good, and prosperity of your

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country; that reason and policy commandeth, especially having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction of your consciences towards God and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of association which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed, and especially the matter wherewith she standeth charged, being so clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore she taketh it most unkindly, that men professing that love towards her, that you doe; should, in any kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duties, cast the burthen upon her; knowing as you do, her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said Queen is. These respects we find do greatly trouble her Majesty, who, we assure you, has sundry times protested, that if the regard of this danger of her good subjects and faithful servants, did not more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding her blood. We thought it very meet to acquaint you with these speeches lately passed from her Majesty, referring the same to your good judgments, and so we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

At London, Your most assured friends,  
Feb. 1, 1586.

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,  
WILLIAM DAVISON.

This letter was received at Fotheringay, the 2d of February, at five in the afternoon.

An abstract of a letter from Mr Secretary Davison, of the said 1st of February, 1586, as followeth

'I pray let this and the inclosed be committed to the fire, which measure shall be likewise meet to your answer, after it hath been communicated to her Majesty for her satisfaction.'

A postscript in a letter from Mr Secretary Davison, of the 3d of February, 1586.

'I intreated you in my last, to burn my letters sent unto you for the argument sake, which by your answer to Mr Secretary (which I have seen) appeareth not to have been done; I pray you, let me intreat you to make heretiques of th' one and the other, as I mean to use your's, after her Majesty hath seen it.'

In the end of the postscript.

'I pray you let me hear what you have done with my letters, because they are not fit to be kept, that I may satisfy her Majesty therein, who might otherwise take offence thereat; and if you entreat this postscript in the same manner, you shall not erre a whit.'

'(A Poulet, D. Drury.)'

A copy of a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, of the 2d of February, 1586, at 6 in the afternoon, being the answer to a letter from him, the said Sir Francis, of the 1st of February, 1586, received at Fotheringay, the 2d day of February, at five in the afternoon.

S I R,

YOUR letters of yesterday, coming to my hands this present day at five in the afternoon, I would not fail, according to your directions, to return my answer with all possible speed, which shall deliver unto you,

18 Q

(14) Biographie Britann. Vol. 11. p. 1263.

(15) See our Author's Apology in note [H].

(16) Camd. Ann. lib. p. 532.

(17) Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 673, 674, 675, 676.

of the Council, they sent it down by Mr Beale, their Clerk, a man of a four and stubborn temper, and who had always shewn a great bitterness against the Queen of Scots. The day of his departure does not appear, but Queen Mary had notice given her on the Monday to prepare for death on the Wednesday, which she accordingly suffered (a). As soon as Queen Elizabeth was informed of it, she expressed great resentment against her Council, forbid them her presence, and the Court; and caused some of them to be examined, as if she intended to call them to an account for the share they had in this transaction (b). We are not told particularly who these Counsellors were, except the Lord Treasurer Burleigh (c), who fell into a temporary disgrace about it, and was actually a witness against Mr Davison. As for the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Walsingham, they had prudently withdrawn themselves at the last act of the tragedy, and took care to publish so much by their letters into Scotland (d). As for Secretary Davison, upon whom it was resolved the whole weight of this business should fall, he was deprived of his office, and sent prisoner to the Tower, at which nobody seems to have been so much alarmed as the Lord Treasurer (e), who, though himself at that time in disgrace, wrote thereupon to the Queen in strong terms, and once intended to have written in much stronger [F]. This application had no effect; for the Queen having sent her kinsman Mr Cary, son to the Lord Hunsdon, into Scotland, to excuse the matter to King James, charged with a letter to him, under her own hand, in which she, in the strongest terms possible, asserted her own innocence (f); there was a necessity of doing something, that might carry an air of evidence, in support of the turn she had now given to the death of that Princess. On the 28th of March following, Davison, after having undergone various examinations, was brought to his trial in the Star-Chamber, for the contempt of which he had been guilty, in revealing the Queen's counsels to her Privy-Counsellors, and performing what he understood to be the duty of his office in quality of her Secretary. We have several accounts of this trial, which, in a variety of circumstances, differ from each other [G]. In this, however, they all agree, that the Judges, who fined him ten thousand marks,

(a) Gunton's Hist. of Peterborough, p. 76. Stowe's Annals, p. 742.

(b) Strype's Ann. Vol. III. p. 375.

(c) Biograph. Britan. Vol. II. p. 1263.

(d) Saunderson's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 120, 123.

(e) Strype's Ann. Vol. III. p. 372.

(f) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 539.

you, with great grief and bitterness of mind in that I am so unhappy to have lyven to see this unhappy day, in the which I am required, by direction from my most gracious sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My good livings and life are at her Majesty's disposition, and am ready to loose them this next morrow, yf it shall so please her; acknowledging that I hold them as of her meer and most gracious favour. I do not desire them, to enjoy them, but with her Highness's good liking; but God forbid that I should make so fowle a shipwracke of my conscience, or leave so great a blott to my posteritie, to shed blood without law and warrant, trusting that her Majesty, of her accustomed clemency, will take this my dutiful answer in good part (and the rather, by your good mediation) as proceeding from one who will never be inferior to any christian subject living, in duty, honour, love and obedience towards his sovereign. And thus I commit you to the mercy of the Almighty. From Fotheringhay, the 2d of February, 1586.

Your most assured poore friends,

A. POULET,  
D. DRURY.

Your letters coming in the plural number, seem to be meant as to Sir Drew Drewrye, as to myself, and yet, because he is not named in them, neither the letter directed unto him, he forbearth to make any answer, but subscribeth in heart to my opinion.

[F] *And once intended to have written in much stronger.* We have shewn in it's proper place, what degree of Queen Elizabeth's resentment fell upon the Lord Treasurer, who was not only forbid the Queen's presence and the court, but examined, when perhaps unwittingly he let fall something, as if what Mr Davison said of the Queen's intention, induced him and the rest of the Council, to send the warrant by Beale. This seems to have thrown the storm upon Davison, and to have occasioned his being committed to the Tower; the news of which so much surprized the Treasurer, that, on Monday February the 13th, he drew up a letter to the Queen, of which, as Mr Strype assures us, the last paragraph ran in the following words (18). 'And having ended that concerneth myself, I cannot in duty forbear to put you Majesty in mind, that if Mr Davison be committed to the Tower, who best knoweth his own cause, the example will be sorrowful to

(18) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 372.

all your faithful servants, and joyful to your enemies. And as I can remember many examples in your father's, your brother's, your sister's, yea your own time, of committing of counsellors, either to other men's houses, or to their own; so can I not remember any one example of a counsellor committed to the Tower, but where they are attainted afterwards of high-treason: and what your Majesty intendeth towards this your servant, I know not, but sure I am, and I presume to have some judgment therein, I know not a man in the land, so furnished universally for the place, and neither know I any that can come near him.'

Thus it was in the first minutes of this Lord's letter concerning Davison, but in his review thereof sent to the Queen, it ran in these words with more reserve.

'I beseech your Majesty pardon me, to remember to let you understand my opinion of Mr Davison; I never perceived by him, that he thought your Majesty would have misliked to have had an end of the late capital enemy. And what your Majesty minded to him in your displeasure, I hear to my grief. But for a servant in that place, I think it hard to find a like qualified person. Whom to ruin in your heavy displeasure, shall be more your Majesty's loss than his.'

W. B.

[G] *Which in a variety of circumstances, differ from each other.* The learned Camden has given a very succinct and elegant detail of the proceedings (19), besides which, there is a manuscript account of the trial in Caius College in Cambridge (20), and a third in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, taken by one William Nutt (21), who was an eye witness. Whoever shall compare these, will find the truth of what is asserted in the text; and that they very seldom agree precisely in any thing, not so much as setting down in the same order, the names of the Commissioners, a thing in itself very material, not only in regard of their precedency, but also as to their order in speaking. These commissioners were Sir Christopher Wray, Chief Justice of England, who for the time, sat as Lord Privy-Seal; the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Worcester, the Earl of Cumberland, and the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Grey and Lord Lumley, Sir James Croft the Comptroller, Sir Gilbert Gerrard Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Edmund Anderson; Sir Roger Manwood, the Lord Chief Baron, and Sir Walter Mildmay, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr Camden asserts, that the charge against him, by Popham the Attorney-General,

(19) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 540.

(20) Clafs A. 1090. 8. p. 267.

(21) Tit. Juridici 7843. 852. p. 235.

marks, and imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure, gave him a very high character, and declared him to be, in their opinions, both an able and an honest man (g). One thing is very remarkable, that, in the conclusion of this business, Sir Christopher Wray, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, told the Court, that, though the Queen had been offended with her Council, and had left them to examination, yet now she forgave them, being satisfied that they were misled by this man's suggestions (b). Sir James Melville, who wrote at that time, and who seems to have had some prejudice against Davison, said very candidly and fairly, upon this occasion, that he was deceived by the Council (i). As soon as the proceeding was over, the Queen, to put it out of doubt with the King of Scots, that his mother was put to death without her privity or intention, sent him the judgment given against Davison, subscribed by those who had given it, and exemplified under the Great Seal, together with another instrument, under the hands of all the Judges of England, that the sentence against his mother could not in the least prejudice his title to the succession (k). As for Mr Davison, now left to a strange reward for his past services, a long imprisonment, which brought upon him downright indigence, he comforted himself with the thoughts of his innocence; and, to secure his memory from being blasted by that judgment which had withered his fortune, he had long before wrote an Apology for his own conduct, which he addressed to Secretary Walsingham, as the man most interested in it, and who could best testify whether what he affirmed was truth or not. In this he gave a very clear and natural detail of the transaction, which cost him all his sufferings [H]. It is allowed by all who have written on this subject, and more especially by Camden,

(g) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 20.

(b) In the MSS. in the Bodleian Library, at the close.

(i) Memoirs of the remarkable Affairs of State in England and Scotland, p. 172.

(k) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 547, 548.

ral, was, that the Queen, from her innate clemency, never intended the Queen of Scots, though condemned, should have been put to death, notwithstanding which, she ordered the warrant to be drawn up, and committed it to Davison's trust and secrecy. Neither of the other trials come up to this, but say, only, that she committed the warrant of special care and trust, to Mr Davison, that it might be ready on any sudden occasion. Mr Davison's defence in the Cambridge manuscript, differs in several things from Camden's account of it; the Oxford manuscript differs from both, especially in this, that it asserts, Mr Davison affirmed therein, that when the Queen delivered him the warrant, she did it with this expression, 'Now you have it, let me be troubled no more with it.' It is in all the trials agreed, that the Lord Treasurer's evidence, and Davison's own examinations, were all the proofs insisted upon; but that the Queen's Counsel refused to read those examinations, as things improper to be divulged, nor is there a syllable of them in any of the trials. Yet they are still preserved, and the curious reader may have recourse to them if he pleases.

[H] Which cost him all his sufferings.] The following paper is so curious, and so difficult to be met with, that it is presumed the reader will be very well pleased to find it here, as it must be esteemed one of the most valuable pieces, which, for the illustration of History, has been inserted in this collection (22).

Secretary Davison's Apology, addressed to Sir Francis Walsingham.

On Wednesday the first of this present, about ten of the clock, came one of the Grooms of the Chamber to me, to let me understand, that her Majesty had called for me by my Lord Admiral, who was in the Privy-Chamber. I found his Lordship there, who told me the cause of my sending for. Having first summarily discoursed unto me, some speech that had passed that morning betwixt her Majesty and him, touching the execution of the Scottish Queen, the conclusion of which was, that she would no longer defer it, and therefore had commanded him to send expressly for me to bring the warrant unto her: whereupon, returning to my chamber, I took both that and divers other things to be signed for her service, and returning back, sent in Mr Brook to signify my being there to her Majesty, who immediately called for me. At my coming in, her Majesty, first asking me whether I had been abroad that fair morning? advising me to use it oftener, and reprehending me for the contrary, finally demanded, What I had in my hands? I answered, divers warrants, and other things, to be signed for her Majesty's service. She enquired whether my Lord Admiral had not sent for me, and whether I had not brought up the warrant for the Scots Queen? I answered yes, and thereupon calling for it, I delivered it into her hands. After the reading thereof, calling for pen and ink, she signed it,

and laying it from her, asked me, Whether I was not heartily sorry that it was done? mine answer was, that I was sorry a Lady so near in blood to herself, and of her place and quality, should so far forget her duty to God and her Majesty, as to give her this cause. But since this act of her Majesty was in all men's opinion of that justice and necessity, that she could not defer it without the manifest danger of her person and State, I could not be sorry to see her Majesty take this course of removing the cause of that danger, which threatened the one and the other; protesting nevertheless, that I was so far from thirsting after the blood of that unhappy Lady, that if there had been any other way to preserve her Majesty and the State from mischief, than by taking her life, I could have wished it. But the case standing so in the opinion of all men, that either her Majesty or she must die, I must confess freely, that I preferred the death of the guilty before the innocent. After this she commanded me to carry it to the Seal, and to give my Lord Chancellor order from her to use it as secretly as might be, and, by the way, to show it to Mr Secretary Walsingham, because she thought the grief thereof would kill him outright, for so it pleased her Majesty to say of him. This done, she called for the rest of the warrants, and other things I had to sign, and dispatched them all with the best disposition and willingness that could be. In the mean time, repeating unto me some reasons why she had so long deferred the matter, as, namely, for her honour's sake, that the world might see that she had not been violently or maliciously drawn unto it, she concluded, that she was never so ill advised as not to see and apprehend her own danger, and the necessity she had to proceed to this execution; and thereupon, after some intermingled speech here and there, she told me, she would have it done as secretly as might be, and mistaking that it should be executed in the open Court, or green of the castle, expressly willed, that it should be done in the hall; which I take to be a certain argument, both of her meaning it should be done, and in the form prescribed in the warrant. But after I had gathered up my papers, and was ready to depart, she fell into some complaint of Sir Amias Pawlet and others, that might have eased her of this burthen, wishing me yet to deal with Mr Secretary, and that he would jointly write to Sir Amias and Sir Drury, to sound their dispositions, aiming still at this, that it might be so done, as the blame might be removed from herself. And though I had always refused before to meddle therein, upon sundry of her Majesty's former motions, as a thing I utterly condemned, yet was I content, as I told her for her satisfaction, to let Sir Amias understand what she expected at his hands; albeit I did before-hand assure myself it should be so much labour lost, knowing the wisdom and integrity of the gentleman, who I thought would not do any unlawful act for any respect in the world; but finding her Majesty desirous to have him founded in this behalf, I departed from her Majesty with

(22) Transcribed by Mr John Urry, of his church, from the Papers of Sir Amias Pawlet.

Camden, that he was a very unhappy, though, at the same time, a very capable and honest

with promise to signify so much to Mr Secretary, and that we would both acquaint Sir Amias of her pleasure. And here repeating to me again, that she would have the matter closely handled, because of her danger, I promised to use it as secretly as I could; and so, for that time, departed. That afternoon I repaired to my Lord Chancellor, where I procured the warrant to be sealed, having in my way visited Mr Secretary, and agreed with him about the form of the letter which should be written for her Majesty's satisfying to Sir Amias Paulet and Mr Drury, which, at my returning to my Lord Chancellor, was dispatched. The next morning I received a letter from Cranmer, my servant, whom I left at Court, signifying unto me her Majesty's pleasure, that I should forbear going to my Lord Chancellor's till I had spoken with her. And within an hour after came William Killigrew, with the like message from her, whom I returned with this answer, that I would be at the Court as soon as himself, and give her Majesty an account of what I had done. At my coming to her, she asked me whether I had been at my Lord Chancellor's? I answered her, Yes; she demanded, What needed that haste? I answered, that I had done no more than she commanded, and thought it no matter to be dallied withal; but, faith she, methinks the best and safest way for me is to have it otherways handled, particularizing a form, that she, as she pretended, liked better, naming unto me some that were of that opinion, whose judgments she commended. I answered, that I took the honourable and just way to be the best and safest, if she meant to have it done at all; whereto her Majesty replying nothing for that time, left me, and went to dinner. Within a day or two after, her Majesty being in the Privy Chamber, called me unto her, and smiling told me, how she had been troubled with me that night, upon a dream she had that the Scots Queen was executed, pretending to be so troubled with the news, that if she had had a sword she could have run me through; but this being delivered in a pleasant and smiling manner, I answered her Majesty, that it was good I was not near her so long as that humour lasted; but withal, taking hold of her speech, I asked her Majesty in great earnestness, What it meant? and Whether, having proceeded thus far, she had not a meaning to go forward with the execution? Confirming this with a solemn oath, and some vehemency, she answered yes; but she thought it might receive a better form, because, faith she, this casteth the whole burthen upon myself; whereto I replied, that the form prescribed by her warrant was such as the law required, and the only form that was to be kept in honour and justice. She answered, there were wiser men than myself of another opinion; I told her I could not answer for other men, but this I was sure of, that I never heard any man give sound reason to prove it either honourable or safe for her Majesty, to take any other course than that which standeth with law and justice: so without farther replication or speech at that time, her Majesty rose up and left me.

The same afternoon (as I take it) she asked me if I had heard from Sir Amias Paulet, I told her no: but within an hour or two after, going to London, I met with letters from him in answer to those that were written to him by Mr Secretary and myself. The next morning having access to her Majesty, upon some other occasion, I told her I had letters from Mr Paulet, which her Majesty, desirous to see, took and read, but finding thereby that he was grieved with the motion made unto him, offered his life and all he had to be disposed of by her Majesty, but absolutely refusing to be an instrument in any such action as was not warranted in honour or justice. Her Majesty falling into some terms of offence, complaining of the dainty (as she called it) perjury of him and others, who, contrary to their oath of association, did cast the burthen upon herself, she rose up, and, after a turn or two, went into the gallery, whither I followed her: and there renewing her former speech, blaming the niceness of those precise fellows, who in words would do great things for her safety, but in deed perform nothing: and concluded, she would have it well enough done without them; and here, entering into particularities,

named unto me, as I remember, one Wingfield, who, she assured me, would, with some others, undertake it: which gave me occasion to shew unto her Majesty, how dishonourable, in my poor opinion, any such course would be; how far off she would be from shunning the blame and stain thereof, which she sought so much to avoid; and here, falling particularly into the case of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drew Drury, told her, that 'twas a marvellous extremity she would have exposed these two gentlemen unto, for if, in a tender care for her security, they should have done that which she desired, she must either allow their act or disallow it: if she allowed it, she took the matter upon herself, with her infinite dishonour; if she disallowed it, she overthrew those faithful gentlemen, who, she knew, did truly and faithfully love her; and not only themselves, but their whole estate and posterity; and therefore thought this a most dangerous and dishonourable course, both for herself and them; and so, after some particular speech of Mr Secretary and others, touching some matters past heretofore, her Majesty calling to understand whether it was time to go to the closet, brake off our discourse.

At my next access to her Majesty, which I take was Tuesday, the day before my coming from Court, I having certain things to be signed, her Majesty entered of herself into some earnest discourse of the danger she daily lived in, and how it was more than time this matter was dispatched, swearing a great oath, that it was a shame for them all that it was not done; and thereupon spake unto me to have a letter written to Mr Poulet for the dispatch thereof, because the longer it was deferred, the more her danger increased; whereunto (knowing what order had been taken by my Lords in sending the commission to the Earls) I answered, that I thought there was no necessity of such a letter, the warrant being so general and sufficient as it was. Her Majesty replied little else, but that she thought Mr Poulet would look for it. And this, as near as I can possibly remember, is a faithful and true report of what hath passed betwixt her Majesty and me, from the day of signing the warrant, and the commandment given unto me to carry it unto the Seal, until the hour of my departure from the Court. In all which I must protest unfeignedly before God, that I neither remember any such commandment given me by her Majesty as is pretended, neither did ever I conceive such an intent or meaning in her; and that my innocency herein may the better appear, let it be considered, first, what the commandment is; and next, upon what considerations it was granted: the commandment, as I understand it, hath two parts, one, that I should conceal it from the rest of her Majesty's Council; another, that I should retain it by myself until some tumultuary time, as a thing her Majesty meant not otherwise to put in execution; both which, I must in all duty and humbleness, under her most gracious favour, absolutely deny. And, for the first, I trust, her Majesty, in her princely and honourable nature, will not deny, but that she first sent for me by my Lord Admiral to bring the warrant unto her, which proveth that his Lordship was acquainted with her purpose; and next, that she gave me express word, both to carry it forthwith to the Seal, with a message to my Lord Chancellor, who consequently must be acquainted with it, and also, by the way, to impart it to Mr Secretary; so that these three being made privy to it with her own good liking, and myself, as I say, not restrained from the contrary by any such commandment as is pretended, what reason had I to conceal it from my Lord Treasurer, to whom my Lord Admiral had first imparted it, or from my Lord Leicester, to whom her Majesty had signified as much; as, likewise, to Mr Vice-Chamberlain; and, as they are all well acquainted with the rest of the whole proceeding, and, as far interested in the cause as myself or any of the others, unless her Majesty had a meaning that Mr Secretary and I should have dealt alone in sending of it to the Earls, which, for mine own part, I confess I never liked, knowing her Majesty's purpose was often to myself to remove as much of the burthen as she might from her own shoulders upon others, which I knew my own unfit to sustain. Now, seeing the end of signing and

honest man. As such we have seen him recommended to Queen Elizabeth by the Treasurer Burleigh (1), and as such he was strongly recommended by the Earl of Essex to King James. It seems, that noble person stuck fast by him under his misfortunes, which plainly shews the party to which he had always adhered. That Lord lost no opportunity of soliciting the Queen in his favour, and never let slip any occasion of testifying for him the warmest and the sincerest affection (2). At length, it seems, he was not altogether unsuccessful; for though, upon the death of Secretary Walsingham, the Queen absolutely rejected his motion, that Mr Davison should come into his place, yet, afterwards, it seems, that she yielded, in some degree, as plainly appears by the Earl's letter to King James, which, for that reason, is placed in the notes [1]. That we are under an incapacity of tracing him farther, is owing to the profound silence of the writers of those times, who,

(1) In the letter cited in note [P].

(2) Camd. P. p. 213.

and sealing this warrant, in all reasonable probability and judgment, was to go forward, withal that the delay thereof did infinitely increase her Majesty's peril, and thereby hazard the whole estate; seeing it was imparted to some by her Majesty's own order, and no cause or possibility being sealed to keep it from the rest, as much interested in the cause as myself; and, finally, seeing I could neither, as I take it, in law nor duty of a good subject, conceal it from them, the cause importing so greatly her Majesty's life as it did, and the disposition both of the time and the state of things at home and abroad, being such as it was, I trust it shall sufficiently appear, that I was both in reason, duty, and necessity, forced thereunto, unless I would have wilfully endangered myself, whose offence, if aught in the mean time had happened amiss unto her Majesty, must have been in my own censure, worthy of a thousand deaths; and as to my proceeding therein with the rest of my Lords, after it was resolved that it was neither fit nor convenient to trouble her Majesty any farther with it, considering that she had done all that the law required at her hands, and that she had both to myself and others signified, at other times, her indisposition to be acquainted with the particular circumstances of time, place, &c. and that to detain the warrant, in expectation of any farther directions from herself, was both needless and dangerous, considering the hourly hazards her Majesty lived in. And finally, that my Lords knowing her Majesty's unwillingness to bear all the burthen alone, were content most resolutely, honourably, and dutifully, to ease her as much as they might; with what reason and justice should I have hindered the course of justice, tending so greatly to her Majesty's safety, and preservation of the whole realm; and for the other part of keeping it by me to such ends as is before alledged, I trust the world doth not hold me so undutiful to her Majesty, or ill advised for my particular, as to take such a charge upon me, to the evident peril of her Majesty's life, subversion of the whole estate, and mine own utter overthrow; neither is there cause to think, I speak in all reverence, and under her Majesty's gracious favour, that her Majesty having proceeded so far as she had done, to the trial of that lady's fact, found her guilty, by a most honourable jury of her Nobility, assembled her Parliament only for that purpose, graciously heard their petitions, and dismissed them with so great hope, published afterwards the Proclamation for her disablement, rejected the suits both of the French and Scottish Kings for her life, and returned their Ambassadors hopeless; confirmed the imprisonment by her letters to both Princes, (some of which it pleased her to communicate with myself,) protested many hundred times her necessity and resolution to go through with all, (albeit for sundry reasons she had so long deferred it) having given her commandment to me many days before, to bring up the warrant unto her, and then voluntarily sent for it by my Lord Admiral, signing it as soon as I brought it, her express commandment given me to carry it to the Seal, and to have it secretly handled. And, finally, her particular direction, whilst she was signing other things, at the same time to have the execution done in the Hall, misliking that it should be done in the Green or open Court, with a number of other foregoing and following circumstances, my sufficiently testify her Majesty's disposition to have it proceeded in. Albeit she had to myself and others declared her unwillingness to have been made acquainted with the time, and other circumstances, having done all that the law required of her, or that in honour was fit and expedient for her to do.

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[1] Which for that reason is placed in the notes.] We will, in this note, discuss with as much a brevity as possible, what relates to the character and fortune of Secretary Davison. After his account of his trial in the Star-Chamber, Camden winds up his relation in the following words (23). 'Thus Davison, a man of good sense, but not at all skilled in court arts, having, as many thought, been introduced upon the stage purely to perform his part in this tragedy, was obliged to quit his station now it was over, and thrust behind the scene, not without general compassion, into a tedious imprisonment.' It appears plainly, that this was our author's own sentiments of the matter, tho' introduced by him, as the common opinion of the times. But if Davison was brought in only to act a part, it may be enquired who it was that recommended him as a fit person for such a purpose? In the Oxford copy of his trial (24), it is said, that Mr Davison, in his defence, affirms, that he communicated it only to the Treasurer, and the Treasurer to the rest of the Council; that Lord was also the only witness against him, and from hence one would imagine, that he thought him fit to act his part, if his own letters, which the reader has seen, did not speak a very contrary language. We have already shewn, that Davison was brought into business by the Earl of Leicester and his friends, but he was made Secretary by the Queen herself. The Earl of Essex in one of his letters to Mr Davison, writes thus (25), 'I told her how many friends and well-wishers the world did afford you, and how for the most part throughout the whole realm, her best subjects did wish, that she would do herself the honour to repair you, and restore you to that state which she had overthrown; your humble suffering of these harms, and reverend regard to her Majesty, must needs move a princess so noble and so just, to do you right; and more I had sayd, if my gift of speech had been any way comparable to my love. Her Majesty seeing her judgment opened by the story of her own actions, shewed a very feeling compassion for you; she gave you many praises, and amongst the rest, that which she seemed to please herself in, was, that you were a man of her own choice. In truth, she was so well pleased with those things, that she spake and heard of you, as I dare, if of things future there be any assurance, promise to myself, that your peace will be made to your own content, and the desires of your friends, I mean in her favour and your own fortune, to a better estate than, or at least the same you had, which with all my power I will employ myself to effect.' It is not easy to make this agree with the story of a man brought upon the stage to act a particular part, and then to be stripped and neglected. But farther still, upon the death of Sir Francis Walsingham, in 1590 (26), the Earl of Essex again represented to the Queen, that Mr Davison was the fittest person to succeed him, and that she could not find a person in England, that in the space of three or four years, would know how to settle himself, to support so great a burthen. How the Queen received this, take in his own words. 'She gave me leave to speak, heard me with patience; confessed with me, that none was so sufficient, and could not deny, but that which she lays to your charge, was done without hope, fear, malice, envy, or any respect of your own, but merely for her safety both of state and person. In the end, she absolutely denied to let you enjoy that place, and willed me to rest satisfied, for she was resolved. Thus much I write to let you know, I am more honest to my friends, than happy in their causes. What you will have

(23) Camd. Ann. L. 2. p. 544, 545.

(24) See the former reference to that MS.

(25) Cabala, P. i. p. 213.

(26) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 621.

who, while they celebrate the fortunate and great, leave the less happy in obscurity, however virtuous or worthy. But, as it is, we have not only collected the scattered materials of his memoirs into a body, and thereby added a considerable character to this extensive collection, but have also (which is one of the principal intentions of this work) detected a great deal of false history, which has been long obtruded on the world, to the prejudice of truth, and of this Gentleman's memory, who, by his contemporaries, was esteemed worthy of all honours. We see he came not suddenly or surprisngly into his high office, but easily, naturally, and gradually, in the very same way that his predecessors Cecil, Smith, and Walsingham, had done, and with the general approbation of all the Council. We see that, as he was no mean or obscure person when called to that high employment, so he was not given to serve turns at the peril of his life and reputation; and that, notwithstanding the Star-Chamber sentence, he very well knew how to make his innocence plain, both to that age and to posterity. Whatever motives those authors might have, who lived near these times, to palliate or conceal the circumstances of that action, which proved the cause of Mr Davison's fall, we lie under no temptation, and are as free from any inclination to hide or to throw a shade over truth. In removing all such obstructions, and bringing into open day these singular and interesting points, we not only rectify the partial accounts which are contained in private memoirs, and supply the necessary deficiencies of general histories, but apply to their proper use, and bring to the publick view, in an agreeable light, those remains of these busy times, which, otherwise, might lie hid in studies, and be at most known only to a very few, who, either through indolence or timidity, decline any communication of what, by a long course of reading in this way, they have discovered.

(27) Cabala, P. i. p. 213.

‘ have medo for your suit, I will as far as my credit is any thing worth. I have told most of the Council, of my manner of dealing with the Queen; my Lord Chamberlain tells me, he hath dealt for you also, and they all say, they wish as I do, but in this world that is enough.’ It may be presumed, that the principal ground of the Queen's resolution, was the consequences which she foresaw must attend making Davison again Secretary, in reference to the King of Scots, and the apprehension of this, very probably occasioned the Earl of Essex to write the following letter to that monarch (27).

‘ Most excellent King, for him that is already bound for many favours, a stile of thankfulness is much fitter than the humour of suing; but so it falls out, that he, which to his own advantage would have sought nothing in your favour, but your favour itself; doth now for another, become an humble petitioner to your Majesty: your Majesty cannot be such a stranger to the affairs of this country; but as you know what actions are done in this place, so you understand the minds of the men by whom they are done. Therefore I doubt not, but the man for whom I speak, is somewhat known to your Majesty, and being known, I presume of greater favour (Mr Secretary Davison) being fallen into her Majesty's displeasure and disgrace, beloved of the best and most religious of this land, doth stand as barred from any preferment, or restoring in his place, except out of the honour and nobleness of your own royal heart, your Majesty will

undertake his cause. To leave the nature of his fault to your Majesty's best judgment, and report of your own servant; and to speak of the man, I must say truly, that his sufficiency in Council and matters of state, is such, as the Queen confesseth, in her kingdom she hath not such another. His virtue, religion, and worth, in all degrees, is of the world taken to be so great, as no man in his good fortune hath had more general love than this gentleman in his disgrace: and if to a man so worthy in himself, and so esteemed of all men, my words might avail; I would assure your Majesty, you would get great honour and great love, not only here amongst us; but in all places of Christendom where this gentleman is any thing known, if you should now be the author of his restoring to his place, which in effect he now is, but that as a man not acceptable to her Majesty, he doth forbear to attend. I do in all humbleness, commend this cause to your Majesty, having the warrant of a good conscience, that I know to be both honourable and honest; and your Majesty to the blessed protection of that mighty God, to whom will pray, for your Majesty's happy and prosperous estate, he that will do your Majesty all humble service.’

Greenwich, April  
18th, 1589.

R. ESSEX.

E

(a) Preface to the Works of the most Rev. Father in God Sir William Dawes, Bart. in 3 Volumes, 8vo. Lond. 1733. p. i, &c.

DAWES (Sir WILLIAM) Archbishop of York in the XVIIIth century, was the youngest son of Sir John Dawes, Baronet [A], by Jane his wife, the daughter and only child of Richard Hawkins, of Braintree, in the county of Essex, Gent. He was born September 12, 1671, at Lyons (a feat which came by his mother) near Braintree (a); and received the first rudiments of learning at Merchant-Taylors-School in London, from Mr John Hartcliffe, and Mr Ambr. Bonwicke successively masters of that school: under whose care he made great proficiency in the knowledge of the Classics; and was a tolerable master of the Hebrew tongue, even before he was fifteen years of age; which was chiefly

(1) Lincolnshire.

[A] Was the youngest son of Sir John Dawes, Knt ] That family was once possess'd of a very large estate: and Sir Abraham, our author's great grand-father, was accounted one of the richest commoners in his time, and in splendor and magnificence of house-keeping liv'd up to the port of any nobleman. But, in the time of the civil wars, the family adhering to the royal cause suffer'd great losses and depredations in their fortune. An estate of theirs, particularly, in one county (1), was sequester'd to the value of 1500 l. per ann. and the family seat at Rowhampton in Surrey, where the furniture amounted to several thousand pounds, was plunder'd. To make the family some sort of amends, K. Charles II. created, in 1663, Sir John (the father of

the late Sir William, of whom we are writing) a baronet; in memory of past services and sufferings, and especially as an acknowledgment of the several considerable sums of money, transfitted by him and his father to the royal family, during their exile. Sir John was a person of excellent qualities, every way suitable to the dignity he was promoted to: but his exaltation to honour would not have so well become the depression of his fortune, had it not been his happiness to marry a lady of a very plentiful one, Jane, the daughter and only child of Richard Hawkins, Gent. as is above-mention'd; by whom he had several children, and among the rest, three sons, whereof Sir William was the youngest (2).

[B] Upon

(2) Preface, &c. as above, p. v, vi, vii, viii.

chiefly owing to the additional care that Dr Kidder, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, was pleased to take of his education (b). In Act Term 1687, he became a scholar of St John's College in Oxford, and after his continuance there two years or upwards, was made Fellow (c). But his father's title and estate soon descending to him, upon the death of his two brothers which happened about the same time [B]; he left Oxford, and entering himself a Nobleman in Catherine-Hall, Cambridge, lived in his eldest brother's chambers; and, as soon as he was of fit standing, took the degree of Master of Arts (d). His intention, from the very first, was to enter into holy orders; and therefore to qualify himself for that purpose, among other introductory works, he seems to have made some of our late eminent Divines a considerable branch of his study, even before he was eighteen years of age: And he shewed always a serious and devout temper of mind, and a true sense and love of piety and religion (e). After he had taken his Master of Arts degree, not being of age to enter into holy orders, he thought it proper to visit the estate he was now become owner of, and to make a short tour into some other parts of the kingdom, which he had not yet seen. But his intended progress was, in some measure, stopped by his happening to meet with Frances, the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Darcy, of Braxitead-Lodge, in Essex, Baronet, a fine and accomplished woman, whom he made his address to, and, not long after, married (f). As soon as he came to a competent age, he was ordained Deacon and Priest by Dr Compton, Bishop of London [C]. Shortly after, he was created Doctor in Divinity, by a Royal Mandate, in order to be qualified for the Mastership of Catherine-Hall; to which he was unanimously elected, in 1696, upon the death of Dr John Echard (g). At his coming thither he found the bare case of a new chapel, begun by his predecessor; to the finishing, and fitting up of which, he contributed very liberally (h). And, among other beneficial acts to his College, he obtained, through his interest with Queen Anne and her chief Ministers, an act of Parliament for annexing the first prebend of Norwich, which should become vacant, to the Mastership of Catherine-Hall for ever (i). Not long after his election, he became Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, and discharged that dignity with universal applause (k). In 1696, he was made one of the Chaplains in ordinary to King William; and, shortly after, was presented by his Majesty to a Prebend of Worcester (l) [D], in which he was installed August 26, 1698 (m). On the 10th of November 1698, he was collated by Archbishop Tennison to the Rectory, and, the 19th of December following, to the Deanery, of Bocking in Essex (n): and behaved in that parish in a very charitable and exemplary manner [E]. After Queen Anne's accession to the throne, he was made one of her Majesty's Chaplains, and by his excellent behaviour came to be so great a favourite with her, that he had a reasonable expectation of being advanced to some of the highest dignities in the Church. Accordingly, though he happened accidentally to miss of the Bishoprick of Lincoln [F], which became vacant in the

(b) Ibid. p. vii, lx.  
Dr Kidder was  
for some time  
Rector of Rayne  
near Braintree.

(c) Wood, Athen.  
edit. 1721.  
Vol. 11. col. 1038.

(d) Preface, &c.  
as above, p. xii,  
xiii.

(e) Ibid. p. xi, xiii.

(f) Ibid. p. xvi.

(g) Ibid. p. xxi.

(h) It was con-  
secrated Sept. 1,  
1704. Ibid.  
p. xxvi.

(i) Ibid. p. xxvi,  
xxvii, xxviii.

(k) Ibid. p. xxviii,  
xxix.

(l) Ibid. p. xx.

(m) Survey of the  
Cathedrals, &c.  
by Fr. Willis, Esq;  
Vol. 1. 1727. 4<sup>to</sup>.  
p. 674.

(n) Repertorium  
Ecclesiasticum,  
&c. by Ric. New-  
court, Vol. 11.  
Lond. 1710.  
p. 68, 70.

[B] Upon the death of his two brothers, which happened about the same time.] The elder of the two, Sir Robert, then a nobleman of Catherine-Hall in Cambridge, died unexpectedly of a violent fever; and the younger, whose name was John, then a Lieutenant of a ship belonging to a squadron commanded by Sir John Narborough, was (in waiting on some company from on board) much about the same time unhappily drown'd. Their deaths were in a manner so coincident, that one and the same post brought the news of both (3).

[C] He was ordained Deacon and Priest by Dr Compton Bishop of London.] Upon which occasion (as we are told) he was often heard to say, 'That, when he laid aside his lay-habit' (in which he was as elegant, as others of the like station) 'he did it with the greatest pleasure in the world, and look'd upon Holy Orders as the highest honour that could be conferr'd upon him (4).'

[D] Was presented by his Majesty to a prebend of Worcester.] In a sermon, preach'd at Whitehall, Nov. 5, 1696 (5), he pleas'd the King so well, that his Majesty sent for him, and without any manner of sollicitation gave him a Prebend of Worcester, with this short compliment, 'That the thing indeed was but small, and not otherwise worth his acceptance, but as it was an earnest of his future favour, and a pledge of what he intended to him (6).'

[E] And behav'd in that parish in a very charitable and exemplary manner.] The author of the preface to his sermons informs us, that 'The care of mens souls was the principal ingredient of his character; but what gave an additional lustre to this, and made him indeed the darling of the whole neighbourhood, was the respect he likewise had to men's bodily wants and infirmities, in his kind condescension and liberality to the poor. For as he was a stranger to that supercilious disdain, which a sense of superiority, either in

birth or fortune, is apt to create in weak heads, and an utter enemy to those little feuds about dues and perquisites, which are often known to embroil whole parishes, and breed confusion, wherever they are too rigidly insisted on; so, to preserve an harmony and good understanding with his people, his custom was, every Sunday, to invite a certain number of the better sort to dine with him, when, all the while, such a freedom was visible, as made every one to think himself at home, and such a plenty withal, as shew'd that his liberality was extended to many more than those, who had the honour to sit at his table (7). — He used to preach, himself, constantly, while he continued Rector of that parish. And his usual method was, to make choice of some principal passage out of the gospel for the day, in the morning, and to preach upon the same text in the afternoon, by way of repetition and improvement. His discourses were usually plain and familiar, and such as were best adapted to a country audience (8): and yet, under his management and manner of expression, they far surpass'd the most elaborate compositions of other men: for such was the comeliness of his person, the melody of his voice, the decency of his action, and the majesty of his whole appearance, that he might well be pronounced the most compleat Pulpit-Orator of his age (9).'

[F] Though he happen'd accidentally to miss of the Bishoprick of Lincoln.] The reason of his missing of it, was this; being appointed to preach before Queen Anne on the 30th of January, (whilst that Bishopric was vacant by the death of Dr James Gardiner) Sir William was not afraid to utter some bold truths, which at that time were not so well relish'd by certain persons in power, who took occasion from thence to persuade the Queen (contrary to her inclination) to give it to Dr W. Wake, late Archbishop of Canterbury. This however made no impression upon Sir William: and therefore

(3) Ibid. p. xii,  
xi.

(4) Ibid. p. xvi,  
xvii.

(5) The first in  
his posthumous  
Works, 3 Vols.  
8vo.

(6) Preface, &c.  
as above, p. xx.

(7) Ibid. p. xxiv,  
xxv.

(8) Ibid. p. xxiii.

(9) Ibid. p. xxxvi.

year 1705; yet her Majesty, of her own mere motion, named him to the see of Chester (o), in the year 1707, upon the death of Dr Nicolas Stratford: and he was consecrated February 8, 1707-8 (p). In 1713-4, he was, by the recommendation of his worthy predecessor Dr John Sharp, translated to the archiepiscopal see of York; being elected thereto February 26, and enthronized by proxy the 24th of March following (q). He continued above ten years in this eminent station [G], honoured and respected by all. At length a diarrhœa, to which he had been subject several times before, coming to be attended with a fever, and ending in an inflammation of his bowels, it put a period to his life April 30, 1724, in the fifty-third year of his age (r). He was buried in the chapel of Catherine-Hall, Cambridge, near his Lady, who died December 22, 1705, in the 29th year of her age. By her he had seven children, William, Francis, William, Thomas, who all died young; and Elizabeth, Jane, and Darcy, that survived him (s). He was author of several things; some whereof were published by himself [H], and others after his decease under this title, 'The whole Works of the most Reverend Father in God, Sir William Dawes, Baronet, late Lord Archbishop of York, Primate of England, and Metropolitan. In three Vols. 8vo. With a Preface, giving some Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of the Author. Lond. 1733.' With regard to his person and character: The figure of his body was tall, proportionable, and beautiful. There was in his look and gesture something easier to be conceived than described; that gained upon every one in his favour, even before he spoke one word. His behaviour was easy and courteous to all. His civility free from the formality of rule, flowing immediately from his good sense. His conversation lively without any tincture of levity, and chearful without betraying the dignity of his high station. He had a genius well fitted for a scholar, a lively imagination, a strong memory, and a sound judgment. He was a kind and loving Husband, a tender and indulgent Parent, and so extraordinary good a Master, that he never was observed to be in a passion; and took care of the spiritual as well as the temporal welfare of his domesticks. In his episcopal capacity, he behaved in a most worthy and exemplary manner [I]: And, in general, was a kind Friend, a generous Patron, a devout Christian, a laborious Prelate, a fine Gentleman, and a worthy Patriot. We shall give the rest of his character in the note [K].

(o) Preface, &c. as above, p. xxix, xxx, xxxi.

(p) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. as above, p. 338.

(q) Ibid. p. 63.

(r) Preface, &c. as above, p. xxxii, xxxiii.

(s) Ibid. p. li.

therefore when he was told by a certain nob'eman, that he had lost a bishopric by his preaching, his reply was, 'That, as to that he had no manner of concern upon him, because his intention was never to gain one by preaching (10).'

(10) Ibid. p. xxx, xxxi.

[G] He continued above ten years in this eminent station ] Upon his being promoted thereto, he was made a Privy-Counsellor. And after Queen Anne's demise, he was constituted one of the Lord's Justices of the kingdom, until the arrival of the late King George, by whom he was call'd again to his place in the Privy-Council (11).

(11) Ibid. p. xxxi.

[H] He was author of several things; some whereof were publish'd by himself.] Those publish'd by himself, were, I. 'An Anatomy of Atheism.' London, 1693, 4<sup>o</sup>. being a Poem in five sheets; dedicated to Sir Geo. Darcy, Bart. It has not indeed all the perfections of a poetick composition; a luculency of fancy, and pomp of expression may perhaps be thought wanting in it: but then it has this equivalent excellence, that the arguments both for and against the existence of a God, are urg'd and answer'd in a clear method, and easy diction, fitted for the comprehension of every common reader. This Poem was wrote by the author, before he was eighteen years of age (12). II. 'The Duties of the Closet,' &c. written by him before he was twenty one years of age (13). III. 'The Duty of communicating explain'd and enforc'd, &c.' compos'd for the use of his parish of Bocking, in order to introduce there a monthly celebration of the Holy Communion; which used to be ministr'd, before his coming thither, only at the three great festivals of the year (14). IV. 'Sermons preach'd upon several occasions before King William, and Queen Anne,' London, 1707, 8<sup>o</sup>. dedicated to Queen Anne. V. He also drew up the preface to the works of Offspring Blackall, D. D. late Bishop of Exeter, London, 1723, fol. 2 volumes.

(12) Preface, &c. as above, p. xi.

(13) Ibid. p. xiii, xiv.

(14) Ibid. p. xxiii.

[I] In his episcopal capacity, he behav'd in a most worthy and exemplary manner.] He visited his large diocese with great diligence and constancy, Nottinghamshire one year, and Yorkshire another; but every third year he did not hold any visitation. He perform'd all the offices of his function with becoming seriousness and gravity. He took great care and caution, to admit none but sufficient labourers into the Lord's harvest; and when admitted, to appoint them

stipends adequate to their labour. He ministr'd justice to all with an equal and impartial hand; being no respecter of persons, and making no difference between the poor and rich, but espousing all into the intimacy of his bosom, his care, his assiduity, his provision, and his prayers (15).

[K] We shall give the rest of his character in the note.] So strict an observer was he of his word, that no consideration whatever could make him break it; and so inviolable in his friendship, that without the discovery of some essential fault indeed, he never departed from it. A great point of conscience it was with him, how he made promises for fear of creating fruitless expectances: but when, upon proper considerations, he was induced to do it, he always thought himself bound to employ his utmost interest to have the thing effected; and till a convenient opportunity should present itself, was not unmindful to support the petitioner (if in mean circumstances) at his own expence: for charity indeed was the predominant quality of his soul (16). — Both as a Bishop and Peer of the realm, he consider'd himself as responsible for the souls committed to his charge in one respect, and as intrusted with the lives and fortunes of his fellow subjects, in the other. If in some parliamentary debates (wherein he made a very considerable figure) he happen'd to dissent from other great men, who might have the same common good in view, but seem'd to pursue it in a method incongruous to his sentiments; this ought to be accounted his honour, and a proof of his integrity, but cannot, with any colour of justice, be deem'd party-prejudice, or a spirit of contradiction in him; because those very men; whom he sometimes oppos'd, at other times he join'd himself to, whenever he perceiv'd them in the right. The truth is, all parties he disclaim'd. His opinion was, that whoever enters the Senate-house, should alway carry his conscience along with him; that the honour of God, the renown of his prince, and the good of his fellow-subjects should be, as it were, the Polar-star to guide him; that no multitude, though never so numerous; no faction, though never so powerful; no arguments, though never so specious; no threats, though never so frightful; no offers, though never so advantageous and alluring, should blind his eyes, or pervert him to give any the least vote, not directly answerable to the sentiments of his own breast (17).

(15) Preface, &c. p. xliiv, xlv.

(16) Ibid. p. xxxviii, xxxix.

(17) Ibid. p. xliii, xliiv.

DEE (JOHN) a person famous in the XVth century for his extensive learning, more especially in the Mathematical Sciences; but withal extremely credulous, extravagantly vain, and a most deluded enthusiast. He was descended from an ancient family of that name in Radnorshire (a): his father's name was Rowland Dee, a person in good circumstances, and, as Mr Wood tells us, a Vintner in Londer (b). He was born July 13th, 1527 (c), at London, and, after some time spent at school there, and at Chelmsford in Essex, he was, in the year 1542, sent to St John's College at Cambridge, where he applied himself, as he assures us, with wonderful diligence to his studies (d) [A]. In the month of May 1547, he went into the Low-Countries, on purpose to converse with Gemma Frisius, Gerardus Mercator, Gaspar à Mirica, Antonius Gogava, &c; and, either at the close of that year, or the beginning of the next, returned to Cambridge (e), where, upon the erecting Trinity College by King Henry the VIIIth, he was chosen one of the Fellows (f), and entered the new College with great applause; which fair reputation he held not long [B]. In 1548 he had the degree of Master of Arts (g); but, being possessed with a roving disposition, disturbed with the injurious reports that were spread of him, or desirous of making the Mathematical Knowledge he had acquired, by indefatigable diligence, more conspicuous, he again left England, the same year, and went to the University of Louvain, where he distinguished himself extremely, so that he was visited by the Duke of Mantua, by Don Lewis de la Cerda, afterwards Duke of Medina, Cœli, and other persons of great rank (h). While he remained there, Sir William Pickering was his pupil (i); and in this University, it is probable, he had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him, though it does not certainly appear. July 15th, 1550, he went from thence to Paris, where, in the College of Rheims, he read lectures upon *Euclid's Elements*, with prodigious applause, and very great offers were made him in case he would have accepted a Professorship in that University; which, however, he refused (k). In 1551 he returned into England, was well received by Sir John Cheke, introduced to Mr Secretary Cecil, and even to King Edward himself, from whom he first received a pension of one hundred crowns a year, which was afterwards exchanged for a grant of the Rectory of Upton upon Severne, his Majesty's presentation to which he received May 9th, 1553 (l). In the next reign he was, for some time, very kindly treat-

(a) Vita Joannis Dee, Mathematici Angli, Thom. Smitho scriptore, p. 41.

(b) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 142.

(c) Compendious Rehearfall of John Dee, &c. chap. i.

(d) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 142. Compendious Rehearfall, ch. i.

(e) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 4.

(f) Compendious Rehearfall, ch. i.

(g) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 5.

(h) Compendious Rehearfall, ch. ii.

(i) The same who was afterwards so great a favourite with Queen Elizabeth.

(k) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 7.

(l) Compend. Rehearfall, ch. iii.

[A] *With wonderful diligence to his studies* ] We have the life of this extraordinary person written in several languages and by various hands, which shews, that, notwithstanding all his errors and follies, it was thought a point of consequence, not to our own only, but to the literary history of all Europe, that a just account of his life and labours should be preserved (1). This may apologize for the pains taken in this article, which we dare assure the reader, is both fuller and more correct than any thing that has been yet published concerning him; but, at the same time we must readily acknowledge, that the greatest part of it is founded on that excellent Latin life of this author, published by Dr Thomas Smith, compared, however, throughout with many other writers of our own and other nations, and with Mr Dee's own writings. He appears from them, as from every thing else that relates to him, to have been a man vain and conceited in the highest degree, of which it will be judged no small proof, that he drew and exhibited to his friends an ample scheme of his pedigree, which he pretended to deduce from Roderick the Great, Prince of Wales. Anthony Wood says, that his father Rowland Dee was a Vintner, as is mentioned in the text. Dr Smith, who was much better informed, contents himself with observing, and that, perhaps, from conjecture only, this Rowland Dee was a man in good circumstances; but we are elsewhere told, which is probably the truth, that his father was a menial servant to King Henry VIII, that some way or other he had been indifferently treated at Court, which recommended his family in a peculiar manner to the descendants of this Monarch (2). A very learned person, who was acquainted with our author's person and family, tells us, that he was descended from the Dees of Nanty Groes, and that the name was originally written Du, which in the British language signifies black (3). It appears from some of our author's correspondencies, that he was sometimes stiled by others, and perhaps wrote himself, Dey instead of Dee. As to the life he led at Cambridge, take it in his own words (4): 'Anno 1542, I was sent by my father Rowland Dee to the universitie of Cambridge, there to begin with Logick, and so to proceed in the learning of good arts and scienees, for I had before been meetly well furnished with understanding of the Latin tongue, I being then somewhat above fifteen years old. In the years 1543,

1544, 1545, I was so vehemently bent to studie, that for those years I did inviolably keep this order, only to sleep four hours every night; to allow to meat and drink, and some refreshing after, two hours every day; and of the other eighteen hours, all, except the time of going to, and being at, the divine service, was spent in my studies and learning.'

[B] *Which fair reputation he held not long.*] He brought over with him from the Low Countries several mathematical instruments, made by the direction of Gemma Frisius, together with a pair of great globes made by Gerard Mercator, with other things of considerable value; of all which he not only freely granted the use to his fellow students, but made a present of them to his college at his departure (5). However, his assiduity in making astronomical observations, which, in those days, were always understood as connected with the desire of penetrating into futurity, brought some suspicion upon him, which was so far increased by a very singular accident that befel him, as to draw the imputation of a Conjuror, which he could never shake off in the space of threescore years after. As to this accident it happened soon after his removal from St John's, and being chosen one of the Fellows of Trinity, and he relates it thus (6): 'I was out of St John's college, chosen to be one of the Fellows of Trinity-college, at the first erection thereof by King Henry VIII. I was also assigned there to be the Under Reader of the Greek tongue, Mr Pember being the Chief Greek Reader then in Trinity-college. Hereupon, I did set forth, and it was seen of the university, a Greek Comedy of Aristophanes, named in Greek *Εἰρήνη*, in Latin *Pax*, with the performance of the Searabæus, or beetle, his flying up to Jupiter's palace with a man and his basket of victuals on her back, whereat was great wondering, and many vain reports spread abroad, of the means how that was effected.'—He adds—'In that college also by my advice and my endeavours divers ways used with all the other colleges, was their Christmas Magistrate, first named and confirmed an Emperor. The first was one Mr Thomas Dun, a very goodly man of person, stature, and complexion, and well learned also. They which yet live, and were hearers and beholders then, can testify more than is meet here to be written of these my boyish attempts, and exploits scholastical.'

(5) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 4.

(6) Compend. Rehearfall, ch. i.

(1) Vita Joannis Dee, Mathematici Angli, Scriptore Thomæ Smitho, S. T. D. Nicéron Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres, Vol. I. p. 346. Histoire de la Philosophie Hermetique, p. 310. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 142. Astruc's Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p. 478.

(2) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 353.

(3) Jo. Dav. Rhefous in Cambro-Britannicæ Linguae Institutionibus, &c. Lond. 1592. fo. p. 60.

(4) Compend. Rehearfall, ch. i.

(m) Vita Joannis  
Dec, p. 8.

(n) See this Memorial in note  
[D].

ed, as having, in his youth, been fellow-student with some of Queen Mary's principal Ministers; but, however, it was not long that he continued in this situation, a charge being brought against him, of a very high nature, upon which he was committed to safe custody, and in very great danger of his life (m) [C]. At length, however, through the justice and clemency of King Philip and Queen Mary, he obtained his liberty, and thought his credit so little impeached by what had happened, that, the very next year, he presented a memorial to Queen Mary, for preserving ancient writings and monuments (n), and for recovering such as were in danger of perishing; which, assuredly, was a very good design, and would have been attended with consequences very favourable to literature, if it had taken effect. By what accident it was hindered we have not any account; yet, that Mr Dee was a person well qualified to execute what he proposed, and supported his request by very weighty and rational arguments, the reader may perceive by his Memorial, which is inserted in the notes [D]. Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, at the desire

[C] *And in very great danger of his life.* At the very entrance of Queen Mary's reign, Mr Dee entered into some correspondence with several of the Lady Elizabeth's principal servants, while she was at Woodstock and at Milton, which being observed, and the nature of his correspondence not known, two informers, whose names were Ferrys and Prideaux, charged him with practising against the Queen's life by enchantments, upon which he was seized at Hampton-Court, while his lodgings in London were searched and sealed, and, after being some time in confinement, he was examined upon four articles by Sir John Bourne, then Secretary of State; afterwards upon eighteen more, before the Privy Council; next he was transferred to London, and underwent an examination before the Lord Chief-Justice Brooke of the Common-Pleas, which did not prevent his being brought into the Star-Chamber, where, after a trial, being discharged of all suspicion of treason, he was turned over to Bishop Bonner, to see if he could find any heresy in him. In the Bishop of London's prison he was bedfellow to Barthlet Green who was burned for his firm adherence to the Protestant faith; as to Mr Dee, his religious notions did not lead him to burning, so that after this tedious persecution, August 19, 1555, he was, by an order of Council, restored to his liberty; entering into a recognizance, however, to appear the first and last days in the ensuing term, and for his good behaviour (7).

(7) Vita Joannis  
Dec, p. 8.

[D] *By his memorial, which is inserted in the notes.* The reasons which may justify our inserting the following paper are mentioned in the text, to which we will add here, that, if our author may be relied upon, that famous treatise of Cicero, the loss of which is so much regretted by the learned world, was once extant in this kingdom, which is a fact not generally known. In this our author Dee followed the example of the celebrated John Leland, who was very zealous and active for the same purpose; neither is posterity barely indebted to them for their good intentions, but owes them likewise much in their private capacities, for preserving many valuable manuscripts, that have come down even to our time. But to return to the point.

A supplication to Queen Mary by John Dee, for the recovery and preservation of antient writers and monuments. Dated the fifteenth of January, 1556 (8).

(8) In the Cotton Library, Vittelius, c. vii.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

**I**N most humble wise complaining, beseecheth your Highness, your faithful and loving subject John Dee, Gent. to have in remembrance how, that among the exceeding many most lamentable displeasures that have of late happened unto this realm, through the subverting of religious houses, and the dissolution of other assemblies of godly and learned men, it hath been, and for ever, among all learned students, shall be, judged not for the least calamity, the spoil and destruction of so many and so notable libraries, wherein lay the treasure of all antiquity, and the everlasting seeds of continual excellency, within this your Grace's realm. But albeit that in those days, many a precious jewel, and antient monument, did utterly perish, as at Canterbury did that wonderful work of the sage and eloquent Cicero, *de Republica*; and in many other places the like: yet if in time great and speedy diligence be shewed, the remanents of such incredible store, as well of writers theological, as in all other liberal sciences, might be saved and recovered, which now, in your Grace's realm, being dispersed

and scattered, yea, and many of them, in the unlearned men's hands, do still yet in this time of reconciliation daily perish, and perchance of purpose by some envious person enclosed in walls, or buried in the ground, to the great injury of the famous and worthy authors, and the pitiful hindrance of the learned in this your Highness's realm, whose travailes, watchings, and pains, might greatly be relieved and eased, for that such doubts and points of learning as much cumber and vex their heads, are most pithily, in such old monuments, debated and discussed. Therefore your said suppliant maketh most humble petition unto your Majesty, that it might stand with your good will and pleasure, such order and means to take place, as your said suppliant hath devised, for the recovery and continual preservation of all such worthy monuments as are yet extant, either in this your Grace's realm of England, or elsewhere in the most part of all Christendome. Whereby your Highness shall have a most notable library, learning wonderfully be advanced, the passing excellent works of our fore-fathers from rot and worms preserved, and also hereafter, continually, the whole realm may, through your Grace's goodness, use and enjoy the whole incomparable treasure so preserved, where now no one student, no, nor any one college, hath half a dozen of those excellent jewels, but the whole stock and store thereof drawing nigh to utter destruction and extinguishing, will here and there, by private men's negligence, and sometimes malice, many a famous and excellent author's book is rent, burnt, or suffered to rot and decay. And your said suppliant is so much the more willing to move this suit unto your Highness, for that by his said device, your Grace's said library might, in very few years, most plentifully be furnished, and that without any one penny charge unto your Majesty, or doing injury to any creature. Finally, in the erecting of this your Library Royal, your Grace shall follow the footsteps of all the famous and godly Princes of old time, and also do like the worthy Governors of Christendom at these days, but far surmounting them all, both in the store of rare monuments, and likewise in the incredible fruit, which of this your Highness's act, will follow e'er it be long. The merit whereof shall redound to your Majesty's honourable and everlasting fame here on earth, and undoubtedly in Heaven be highly rewarded, as knoweth God. Whom your said suppliant most heartily beseecheth, long to preserve your Grace in all prosperity. Amen.

*Imprimis,* The Queen's Majesty's commission to be granted for the seeing and perusing of all places within this her Grace's realm, where any notable or excellent monument may be found, or is known to be. And the said monument, or monuments, so found and had by the said Commissioner, then of the former possessor in the Queen's Majesty's name to be borrowed, and so, nevertheless, to be restorable to the said former possessor, after such convenient time, wherein, of every such monument, one fair copy may be written, if the said former possessor be disposed to have his said monument or monuments again; and thereupon, either he, or his assigns, do, at the said library, the place whereof is by the Queen's Grace to be appointed, demand the said monument or monuments by bill assigned with the hand of the said Commissioner, wherein both the name or names of the said monument or monuments, is, or are, particularly expressed; and also the convenient time for the said restitution prescribed.

That

desire of Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, he delivered somewhat upon the principles of the ancient Astrologers, about the election of a fit day for the coronation of the Queen (*o*); and, as strange and ridiculous as this may seem in our times, yet it is very certain, that, by these notions, he recommended himself to the potent favourite before-mentioned, and to several others of the Nobility, nay, and to the Queen herself, in such a degree, that she promised to be kinder to him than her brother King Edward had been, and actually afforded him some very extraordinary marks of her notice and favour [*E*]. He was, by this time, become an author; but, as the learned author of his life very well observes, a little unluckily, for his books were such as scarce any pretended to understand; and though he tells us himself, that Queen Elizabeth condescended to be his scholar (*p*), and to receive his instructions, as to the concealed sense of them, yet it does not appear that she reaped any great benefit from this assiduity. As his talent lay, in a great measure, in treating mysterious subjects in so obscure a manner, that his words seem scarce to convey any meaning, so the rewards that were bestowed upon him proved of the like nature, the Queen making him a promise of the Deanery of Gloucester, which was, notwithstanding, conferred upon Mr Man, when he was sent Ambassador to Spain; and other gifts, of the like kind, to Mr Dee proved of no service to him, though it is likely that, from time to time, he had presents made him in ready money (*q*). In the spring of the year 1564, he went abroad again, to present the book which he dedicated to the then Emperor Maximilian, and returned into England in the summer (*r*); in the course of which journey he was so serviceable to the Marchioness of Northampton, that she remained his constant patroness ever after. In 1568, by the advice, as he says, of Secretary Cecil, he engaged the Earl of Pembroke to present the Queen with his *Produmata Apboristica* (*s*), which was graciously received; and, on his presenting one to the Earl himself, he gave him twenty pounds (*t*). In 1570 Sir Henry Billingsley's translation of Euclid appeared, with our author's preface before it, and enriched throughout with his notes, which did him much more honour than all his other performances, as they furnished incontestible proofs of a more than ordinary skill in the Mathematicks (*u*). In 1571 we find him in Lorraine, where falling grievously sick, and in great danger of death, the Queen was graciously pleased to send him two Physicians, and to afford him other marks of royal beneficence (*w*). After his return to England, he settled himself in his house at Mortlake, where he continued to prosecute his studies with extraordinary diligence; and with great industry, and, at a large expence, collected a noble library, consisting of the most curious books in all sciences, and a very numerous and valuable collection of manuscripts, most of which were afterwards dispersed and lost (*x*) [*F*]. In 1572 the appearance

(o) Compend. Re-  
hearfall, ch. v.

(p) Vita Joannis  
Dec, p. 11.

(q) Compend. Re-  
hearfall, ch. iv.

(r) Vita Joannis  
Dec, p. 12.

(s) See the cata-  
logue in note  
[*P*]. No. 1.

(t) Compend. Re-  
hearfall, ch. iv.

(u) See the cata-  
logue, No. v, vi.

(w) Comp. Re-  
hearfall, ch. iv.

(x) Wood's A-  
then. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 143.

That it may be referred to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and the next Synod, to conclude an order for the allowance of all necessary charges, as well toward the riding and journeying for the recovery of the said worthy monuments, as also for the copying out of the same, and framing of necessary stalls, desks, and presses, meet for the preservation and use of the said monuments, in the Queen's Majesty's library aforesaid.

That the said commission be with speed dispatched, for three causes especially: First, lest after this motion made, the spreading of it abroad might cause many of them to hide, and convey their good and ancient writers, which, nevertheless, were very ungodly done, and a certain token that such are not sincere lovers of good learning. Secondly, that by the travel of these three months, February, March, and April next, going before the Synod in May next appointed, the said Synod may have good proof, whereby to conjecture how this matter will take success. And thirdly, upon the said trial of three months, the proportion of the charges in riding and writing, may the better be weighed what they will in manner amount unto.

A meet place to be forthwith appointed for the said monuments to be sent unto, until the said library may be made apt in all points necessary; and that, in this said place, before, or at, the said Synod time, the said monuments may be viewed and perused, according to the pleasure of my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and the said next Synod.

Finally, that by farther device of your said suppliant John Dec, God granting him his life and health, all the famous and worthy monuments that are in the noblest libraries beyond the sea, (as in the Vatican at Rome, S. Marci at Venice, and the like at Bononia, Florence, Vienna, &c.) shall be procured unto the said library of our Sovereign Lady and Queen, the charges thereof, beside the journeying, to stand in the copying of them out and the carriage into this realm only. And as concerning all other authors printed, that they likewise shall be gotten, in wonderful a-

bundance, their carriage only into this realm to be chargeable.

[*E*] *Some very extraordinary marks of her notice and favour.*] That account which our author has given us of his own life, very justly claims entire credit, for reasons that will appear hereafter. In this he affirms, that William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Robert Dudley, carried him to Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall before her coronation, when she took him to her service, and promised that where her brother had given him a crown she would give him a noble. Her Majesty also gave directions to Dr Matthew Parker Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to grant Mr Dee a dispensation for enjoying the restorics of Upton and Long Lednam for ten years, as well as any other that he should obtain within that term. The Queen also promised him the Mastership of St Catherine's, upon the removal or death of Dr Mallet who was then possessed of it, notwithstanding which, however, it was afterwards given to Dr Wilson. One may from hence collect, that he had frequent employment given him, upon which these pretensions were founded, but that, notwithstanding, his credit at Court was not sufficient to overcome the publick odium he lay under, and which was the true cause of his missing these and other greater preferments (*g*).

[*F*] *Most of which were afterwards dispersed and lost.*] This library of his consisted of four thousand books, of which above a fourth part were manuscripts, he had spent near forty years in collecting them, and they had been valued by those who were good judges at two thousand pounds (*10*). Amongst his instruments there was a quadrant made by the famous Richard Chancellor, of five foot semidiameter; two globes of Mercator's, a loadstone of great value, a very curious clock, a great collection of original Irish records, the like collection of Welsh records, grants, donations, and pedigrees; a box full of seals, and other curiosities of the same kind. A great part of these he says he took out of the corner of a church, where many of them

(g) Compend. Re-  
hearfall, ch. iv.

(10) Vita Joannis  
Dec, p. 17.  
Compendious Re-  
hearfall, ch. vii.

appearance of a new star, occasioned, according to the humour of that age, many strange, and some very superstitious speculations, the true principles of Astronomy being but indifferently understood; we need not wonder, when so fair an opportunity offered, our author should make a display of his abilities among the rest (y); but it certainly deserves to be remembered to his honour, that the learned Camden, taking notice, in his history, of this phænomenon, was pleased, at the same time, to speak of Mr Dee with great respect (z) [G]. On the 16th of March, 1575, the Queen, attended by many of her Nobility, went to Mr Dee's house, in order to have seen his library, but being informed, that his wife had been buried but a few hours before, she declined going into the house, yet desired him, however, to bring out a glass, but of what kind we find no where expressed, which had occasioned much discourse; which he accordingly did; shewed her the properties of it, and explained to her Majesty their causes, in order to wipe off the aspersion under which he had so long laboured, of being a Magician (a). In 1577 a comet appeared, which struck weak minds with great apprehensions, and made way for many wild and groundless predictions, which met with much more notice than they deserved. Upon this occasion Queen Elizabeth sent for Mr Dee to Windsor, where, for three days together, according as she had leisure, she heard his discourses upon that subject (b). He made many observations of this comet, and intended to have published the result of them, but his papers are lost, and Dr Smith very truly observes, that Astronomy will not much suffer by their miscarriage (c), for, with all his learning, he was certainly one of the most superstitious and credulous men that age produced. The Queen, however, was so well pleased with the pains he took upon this occasion, that she gave him her promise he should not be interrupted in his lucubrations, and that, notwithstanding the vulgar reports to his prejudice, he might depend upon her royal protection in the prosecution of his studies (d). In the succeeding year her Majesty, being greatly indisposed, he was sent abroad to confer with the German Physicians, and upon this, and other occasions, received, as he has left incontestible evidence to prove, some very memorable tokens of the Queen's affording countenance to his endeavours; though certainly they were none of the wisest, and could be excused only by the honesty of his intention (e) [H]. In respect

to

them had been spoiled and rotted, by the falling of the rain continually upon them through the decayed roof. He does not tell us what church this was, but I have reason to believe that it was Wigmore chapel, because I find that he applied himself to Sir William Cecil afterwards Lord Burleigh, for an order to Mr Harley, Keeper of the Records in that chapel, to be allowed the liberty of examining and transcribing them (11). He had likewise a large chemical laboratory, the materials of which cost him upwards of two hundred pounds. It was upon his leaving the kingdom in 1583, as is afterwards related in the text, that the populace, who always believed him to be a conjurer, and one who dealt with the devil, broke into his house at Mortlake, where they tore and destroyed many things, and dispersed the rest, part of which, with great difficulty, and by the help of publick authority, he recover'd, but the rest were totally lost, at least to him. We may judge from the expence he was at in making and procuring this collection, that he obtained occasionally, very considerable bounties from the Queen, or from her Ministers, since it does not appear that any great fortune was left him by his father, and he was besides, as might be very easily proved, a very expensive man (12).

[G] Was pleased at the same time to speak of Mr Dee with great respect. This passage in Camden, being both singular and short, the reader will perhaps be pleased to see, as it gives us some light into our author's notions as an astronomer (13). 'I know not whether it be worth while, says he, to mention that which all Historiographers of our time have recorded, viz. That in November, a new Star appeared in Cassiopea's Chair, which, as myself observed, in brightness exceeded Jupiter in the perigee of his excentrick and epicycle. It continued in the same place full sixteen months, being carried about with the diurnal motion of the Heaven. Thomas Diggs and John Dee, two famous mathematicians amongst us, have learnedly proved by the doctrine of parallaxes, that it was in the celestial, not in the elementary region, and were of opinion, that it disappeared by a little and little, by ascending. 'Tis certain, that after eight months, all men perceived it to grow less and less. Theodore Beza, wittily applied it to the star which appeared at the birth of Christ, and the slaughter of the infants under Herod, and admonished Charles IX, King of France, who had acknowledged

himself author of the massacre of Paris, to beware in this verse,

' Tu vero, Herodes fanguinolente, time.

' Nor was he out in his conjecture. For in the 5th month after the disappearing of this star, after long and horrible pains, he died of excessive bleeding.'

[H] By the honesty of his intention.] It is certain, that, according as the manners and customs vary in several ages, people are apt to change their notions of things which must be an excuse for our venturing to censure that singular respect which was paid to our author by Queen Elizabeth, and the principal persons of her court. To justify these censures, we must have recourse to his own pen, where speaking, or rather writing, of what he did in the year 1577, and the next year, he delivers himself thus (14). 'My careful and faithful endeavour was with great speed required, as by divers messages sent to me one after another in one morning, to prevent the mischief which divers of her Majesty's Privy-Council suspected to be intended against her Majesty's person, by means of a certain image of wax, with a great pin stuck into it, about the breast of it, found in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, &c. wherein I did satisfy her Majesty's desire, and the Lords of the honourable Privy-Council within few hours, in godly and artificial manner, as the honourable Mr Secretary Wilson, whom at the least I required to have by me a witness of the proceedings, which his Honour, before me, declared to her Majesty, then sitting without the Privy Park, by the landing place at Richmond, the honourable Earl of Leicester being also by.

' My dutiful service was done in the diligent conference, which, by her Majesty's commandment, I had with Mr Dr Bayley, her Majesty's physician, about her Majesty's grievous pangs and pains, by reason of tooth-ake, and the rheume, &c. A. 1578, October.

' My very painful and winter journey, about a thousand five hundred miles by sea and land, was undertaken and performed, to consult with the learned physicians and philosophers beyond the seas, for her Majesty's health recovering and preserving, having by the Right Honourable Earl of Leicester, and Mr Secretary Walsingham, but one hundred days allowed unto me to go and come again in, A. 1578. My passport may somewhat give evidence, and the journal

(y) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 5, 6.

(z) Annal. Eliz. p. 272.

(a) Compend. Rehearfall, ch. iv.

(b) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 18.

(c) This comet was observed by Tycho Brahe very exactly.

(d) Comp. Rehearfall, ch. v.

(e) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 13.

(11) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 354.

(12) Hooke's Posthumous Works, p. 206.

(13) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 272.

(14) Compendious Rehearfall, ch. v.

to this, the Queen must have been very thoroughly satisfied; and, as she was a very wise Princess, and could judge perfectly of the dispositions of men, she knew how to dispose them to her service, of what kind soever they were; and of this it may be, that few better instances can be given than in our author, whose parts, learning, and application were equally extraordinary, and might have performed great things, if under the direction of a sound and solid judgment. This, certainly, the Queen sometimes laboured to supply; for September 17th, 1580, as she came from Richmond to London in her coach, she took Mortlake in the way, and seeing Mr Dee at his door, beckoned him to come to her, and, when he was at her coach-side, pulled off her glove, gave him her hand to kiss, desired him to come oftener to Court, and to let her know, by some of her Privy-Chamber, that he was there (f). At this time it is highly probable that she gave him a hint, of her desire to be thoroughly informed as to her title to countries discovered in different parts of the globe, by subjects of England, or persons employed in the service of any of her predecessors; to which the indefatigable Mr Dee applied himself with such vigour, that, on the 3d of October following, he presented to the Queen, in her garden at Richmond, two large rolls, in which those countries were geographically described, and historically explained; with the addition of all the testimonies and authorities necessary to support them from records, and other authentick vouchers; these the Queen very graciously received, and, after dinner, the same day, conferred with Mr Dee about them in the presence of some of her Privy-Council, and of the Lord Treasurer especially (g). That wise man seemed not to have any high opinion of them, but the Queen directed him to peruse and examine them, which he did, and then returned them to Mr Dee, on the 10th of the same month, and the same day, about five in the afternoon, the Queen came to our author's house, called for him, and told him, that the Treasurer highly approved of the pains he had taken, and of what he had performed in this respect for her service. (b). This work of his, for a copy of which, he assures us, he was offered one hundred pounds, but refused it, as a thing improper for him to grant, is still preserved in the Cotton Library (i). His next employment, of consequence enough to be remembered, was about the reformation of the Calendar, which, though it never took effect, yet was one of the best of his performances, did him the most credit with those who were the best judges (k), procured him the honour of many conversations with the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, who not only vouchsafed to read his book very carefully, but also wrote his sentiments upon it to his son Sir Robert Cecil (l), who likewise made notes upon it; and, though it was never published, yet it has passed through the hands of several of our most eminent Mathematicians with singular approbation, considering the time in which it was composed [I]. We come now to that period of Mr Dee's life, by which

(f) Compendious Rehearfall, ch. iv.

(g) See the catalogue of his Works, No. 3. Vita Joannis Dee, p. 15.

(b) Compend. Rehearfall, ch. iv.

(i) Sub Augusto I.

(k) See this fully proved in note [I].

(l) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 354, 355.

‘nal little book of every day's journey or abode for those hundred days account may suffice.’ It is not at all impossible, that Mr Dee might render other, and those too, more considerable services than any of these which he has mentioned, and which he might have his reasons for not inserting; such as are acquainted with Leicester's Common-Wealth, and other secret histories of those times, will easily allow this to be credible, and may perhaps form a shrewd guess at the nature of those services (15).

[I] Considering the time in which it was composed.] The reader will find the title of this, amongst the rest of the works of Mr Dee, in a subsequent note. It was addressed to the Lord Burleigh, but without any epistle dedicatory or apology whatever; at the end of it there was a petition to the Queen, that this reformation of his might receive the sanction of publick authority; to facilitate which, there is added a scheme of the year, 1583, as it would have stood, if, as our author flattered himself, his proposal had taken place (16). We know not by what means this learned treatise came into the hands of Mr Thomas Allen of Gloucester-Hall, but very probable it might be by gift, since Mr Dee was his particular friend, and both of them favourites with the Earl of Leicester. He disposed of it by will to Sir Kenelm Digby, who, notwithstanding he gave a large number of manuscripts to the Bodleian Library, kept this nevertheless in his own hands, till in the year 1635 he bestowed it upon Mr John Barber, from whom it was purchased by Elias Ashmole, Esq; and remains still amongst the manuscripts bestowed by him on the University of Oxford (17). At the time it was composed and presented to the Lord Treasurer, it was referred by the Privy-Council to the perusal and examination of three of the best Mathematicians in the kingdom; and their report, as it is a curiosity, the reader will perhaps be glad to see. It runs thus (18).

‘It was agreed by Mr Digges, Mr Savile, and Mr Chambers, that upon their severall perusal of

‘the book written by Mr Dee, as a discourse upon the Reformation of the Vulgar Calendar for the Civil Year, that they do allow of his opinion; that whereas in the late Roman Calendar reformed, there are ten days cut off to reduce the Civil Year to the state it was established in at the Council of Nice; the better reformation had been to have cut off eleven days, and to have reduced the Civil Year according to the state it was in at the Birth of Christ. And so they all agree, that such a reformation had been more agreeable to the account of Christ. And so they do also assent, that having regard to the Council of Nice, the subtraction of ten days is agreeable to truth: And therefore, the better to agree with all countries adjacent, that have received their reformation of subtracting ten days only, they think it may be assented unto without any manifest error: Having regard to observe certain rules hereafter, for omitting some leap-years in some hundred years. And for the subtracting of ten days, Mr Dee has compiled a form of a calendar, beginning at May and ending at August, wherein every of these four Months, May, June, July, August, shall have in the ends of them some days taken away, without changing of any feast or holiday, movable or fixed, or without altering the courses of Trinity Term, that is to say, May to consist of twenty-eight days, taking from it three days; June to have twenty-nine days, taking from it but one day; July to consist of twenty-eight days, taking from it three days; August to consist of twenty-eight days, taking from it three days; all which days subtracted, make ten days. In the which four months, no festival day is changed, but remain upon the accustomed days of their months. And because the Roman Calendar hath joined to it a great company of rules, of which only are capable the skillful computists or astronomers, it is thought good to make a short table, like an Ephemerides, to continue the certainty of all the

(15) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 31.

(16) See the Catalogue of his Works, No. 38.

(17) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 20.

(18) Smith's Manuscript Collections, Vol. XC. p. 139.

which he has been most known to the world, though for matters which have rendered him very justly least to be regarded, inasmuch as they shew, that he had not only a boundless curiosity, but likewise a depraved judgment. His ambition to surpass all men in knowledge carried him, at length, into a desire of knowing beyond the bounds of human faculties, and, in order thereto, of having recourse to methods equally contrary to the laws of God, and to the rules of right reason (*m*). In short, he suffered himself to be deluded into a firm opinion, that, by certain invocations, an intercourse or communication with spirits might be obtained, from whence he flattered himself he might gain great insight into those which are stiled occult sciences, and which, in truth, are no sciences at all. He found, very unluckily for him, a young man, who had dipped more deeply into the practice of these follies than himself, one Edward Kelley, a native of Worcestershire, and who readily undertook to be his instrument in these matters, for which he was to give him fifty pounds a year (*n*). December 2d, 1581, they began their incantations, in consequence of which Edward Kelley was, by the inspection of a certain table, consecrated for that purpose, with many superstitious ceremonies, enabled to acquaint Mr Dee with what the spirits thought fit to shew and discover; these conferences were continued for about two years, during which space he seems to have totally deserted his former studies, and to have addicted himself entirely to these specious and delusive arts, to which, though some insinuate that he was invited and encouraged by Edward Kelly, yet there seems to be no clear proof of this, but rather the contrary; for Mr Dee seems to have sought out Kelley for his purpose, retained him long afterwards when he was desirous of leaving him, and had recourse to the same methods some years after Kelley and he were parted (*o*). The subjects of these conversations he committed to writing; and they are still preserved, though they were never published [*K*]. In the mean time there came over hither a Polish Lord, one Albert Laski, Palatine of Siradia, a person distinguished by his great parts and extensive learning, no less than by his high birth, and the honourable station he held in his own country. He was very kindly received, treated with the utmost respect, and, in a very extraordinary degree, caressed by persons of the first rank during his stay in England, and, amongst the rest, by Robert Earl of Leicester, the Queen's great favourite, and our author's chief patron (*p*). To contribute more effectually to this foreigner's satisfaction, that Earl sent for Mr Dee to Court, July 31st, 1583, and

(*m*) Vita Joannis  
Dee, p. 46.

(*n*) Ashmole's  
Theatrum Chem-  
icum, p. 479.

(*o*) Vita Joannis  
Dee, p. 23.  
Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 143.

(*p*) Camd. Annal.  
Eliz. p. 400.

' feasts movable, depending only upon Easter, and agreeing with the Roman Calendar, which may serve for an hundred or two hundred years, and so easily renewed as we see yearly almanacks are, if the sins of the world do not hasten a dissolution.

' Whereupon her Majesty may please upon report to commit it to consideration of counsel, whether she will have this reformation published, which if she will, it were expedient that it were done by proclamation from her Majesty, as thereunto advised and allowed by the Archbishops and Bishops, to whose office it has always belonged to determine and establish the causes belonging to ecclesiastical government. March 25, 1583.'

I intended to have added here the sentiments of the Lord Treasurer Burleigh upon Mr Dee's project, which not only shew the great opinion that able statesman had of our author's learning; but do also much honour to that Minister's memory, as they clearly demonstrate how much attention he shewed to whatever came before him, and had any tendency to the publick benefit (19). But considering that this life has already swelled beyond the bounds which I designed it, I shall content myself with pointing out where the papers of Lord Burleigh, and of his son Sir Robert Cecil, may be still found by the inquisitive reader: I think myself however obliged to add, that whenever this matter has been in later times brought upon the carpet, we never fail of finding Mr Dee's opinion mentioned, and his treatise upon this subject consulted. As for instance, when this matter was proposed at Oxford in 1645, the celebrated Mr John Greaves, then the ablest man in these matters, considered and commended what John Dee had written; and in 1699, when most people expected that something of this kind would have been done, the very judicious Dr Wallis, though he was against any alteration, and actually hindered it, yet approved clearly of what our author had delivered (20). This abundantly shews that, with all his whims and weaknesses, Mr Dee was a man of learning and sense, and that there is no reason for burying his memory or his writings in oblivion. Yet as impartiality and truth ought ever to appear in collections of this kind, it is but just this note should be concluded with an intimation that possibly Mr Dee himself might derive great assistance from a treatise written long before

by the incomparable Roger Bacon (21) upon this subject.

[*K*] Though they were never published.] We shall have occasion hereafter to mention the collections sent abroad by the learned Meric Casaubon, out of the Cottonian Library, which begin in the month of May 1583. At present we are to take notice of what are still preserved, though not published (22). These consist of the first five books of Dr Dee's transactions with spirits, all written with his own hand, with as much care and exactness as possible; they begin with what was performed upon the 22d of December 1581, and have an appendix, in which the history is continued to the 23d of May 1583; and as Casaubon's book begins with the 28th of the same month, there is nothing more evident than that the entire history of what passed while Dee and Kelley were together, is yet in being. This first part was very near being burnt in the chest which contained it, in the great fire of London in 1666, but being preserved by accident, and without any body's knowing what the contents of that chest were, the discovery of them, when they came to be opened, made so much noise, as reached the ears of Elias Ashmole, Esq; a great collector of curious Papers, and indeed of singularities of every kind. By him they were purchased, cleansed, digested into their proper order, and, together with many more valuable monuments of the knowledge and industry of our ancestors, are repositied in his noble Museum (23). The reason of my being thus particular, in which however I follow the example of Dr Smith, is this; there has been, as the reader will be informed hereafter, a very strong suspicion (though, for my own part, I must confess I think there is little ground for it) that this regular history of Mr Dee's intercourse with spirits is a mere mummery, that we are the dupes, not he, and that the whole ought to be considered as a journal of private intelligence, which he received and transmitted to the court of Queen Elizabeth, in the space of between six and seven years, that he continued in those parts. Now if any ingenious and inquisitive person should ever be able to make this out, or so much as probable, it would become a matter of great consequence to know where the unprinted part of these transactions is, and to what period of time it extends, a due sense of which gave occasion to this note.

(21) Biographia  
Britan. Vol. I.  
P. 353.

(22) Vita Joannis  
Dee, p. 23.

(23) In the 3d  
Vol. of Papers  
written by, and  
relating to, Mr  
Dee.

(19) Strype's An-  
nals, Vol. II.  
P. 355.

(20) Philosophical  
Transactions,  
No. 257. §. 4.

and told him, that, in two days time, he would bring that Polish Lord to dine with him, which obliged Mr Dee to disclose his circumstances plainly to the Earl, importing no less than that, without selling his plate, he was not able to provide them with a dinner; which declaration procured him, that very day, upon the Queen's coming to Sion from Greenwich, a present of forty angels in gold (q). This foreigner being once introduced, became a constant visitant to Mr Dee, and, having himself a byas to those superstitious arts that, in those times, were but in too much credit in almost all the Courts in Europe, he became wonderfully taken with the company of one whom he esteemed to be so great a man, in possession of such high and valuable secrets, and who, as he persuaded himself, had a constant communication with the Angels and spiritual Beings (r). After much intreaty, he was received, by Mr Dee, into their company, and into a participation of their secrets (s). But, within a short space of time, all their affairs running into great disorder, the Palatine of Siradia proposed that they should accompany him, with their families, into his own country; to which, upon assurance of being provided for there, Mr Dee and Mr Kelley yielded; and accordingly, September the 21st, in the same year, they went all privately away from Mortlake, in order to embark for Holland (t) [L]. After running great hazards at sea, they landed at the Brill, and from thence travelled by land through Germany into Poland, where, February 3d, 1584, they arrived at the principal castle belonging to Albert Laski (u), whom, together with all his family, they miserably abused with their fanatical pretences to a conversation with spirits; but, at length, wearied with these delusions, the Palatine of Siradia found means to engage them to leave that country, to go and pay a visit to the Emperor Rodolph the II, at the city of Prague, the capital of his kingdom of Bohemia, which they accordingly did; and, in the month of August, the same year (w), by the recommendation of the Spanish Ambassador, Mr Dee had an audience of that Prince, who was thought to spend too much of his time with Chymists, and such sort of people, and to allow them a greater measure of respect than they deserved (x). It is no wonder therefore Rodolph was inclined to hear what a man, who had made so much noise over Europe, had to offer; the rather, as he pleaded the protection of his father the Emperor Maximilian, to whom he had dedicated one of his books (y); but Dee entered into such a tedious display of his own importance, and such extravagant stories of the chrystal that was brought him by an angel (z), that he was quickly disgusted, and declined all farther interviews (a). Upon this Mr Dee, who had made a tour into Poland (b), and brought away his wife and family from thence, finding himself in deep distress, and not knowing how to subsist, applied himself to his old patron Albert Laski (c), whom he prevailed upon to introduce him to Stephen King of Poland; which accordingly he did, April 17th, 1585, at Cracow (d). But that Prince, after hearing what he had to propose, detected his delusions so clearly, that, despairing of making any great figure in that Court, he resolved, in a few months, to return to Prague (e), his pride being such, that he could not bear staying long in a place, where those honours were refused which, he had the vanity to think, were due even from the greatest Potentates, to a person of his extraordinary merit. He did not remain long in that high credit he so much affected, on his return to the Emperor's Court; for the Pope's Nuncio interfering, and giving the Emperor to understand how scandalous it appeared to the Christian world, that he should entertain two such notorious Magicians as Dee and Kelley, his Imperial Majesty, at last, resolved to banish them his dominions (f), which he accordingly did; but, notwithstanding this, William Count of Rosenbergh, a young Nobleman, who had great power, and a vast estate in Bohemia, one of their pupils, gave them shelter in the castle of Trebona (g), which belonged to him, and where they not only remained in safety, but lived in splendour, Kelley having, in his possession, (as is reported) that

(q) Compend. Re-  
learLul, ch. iv.

(r) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 143.

(s) Relation of  
Dr Dee's Actions  
with Spirits,  
p. 20, 22, 25.

(t) Ashmole's  
Theatrum Chie-  
micum, p. 481.  
from Mr Dee's  
Diary.  
Relation of Dr  
Dee's Actions  
with Spirits,  
p. 33.

(u) Vita Joannis  
Dee, p. 27.

(w) Athen.  
Oxon. Vol. II.  
col. 143.

(x) Vita Joannis  
Dee, p. 28, 29.

(y) Relation of  
Dr Dee's Actions  
with Spirits,  
p. 230, 231.

(z) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 143.

(a) Vita Joannis  
Dee, p. 30.  
Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 143.

(b) Vita Joannis  
Dee, p. 31.

(c) Relation of  
Dr Dee's Actions  
with Spirits,  
p. 379.

(d) Vita Joannis  
Dee, p. 33.

(e) Relation of  
Dr Dee's Actions  
with Spirits,  
p. 403, 408.

(f) Vita Joannis  
Dee, p. 35, 36.

(g) Relation of  
Dr Dee's Actions  
with Spirits,  
p. 444.

philosophical

[L] *In order to embark for Holland* ] In this note I shall endeavour to give some particulars, as to the state and condition of the several persons in this company, as being very necessary for the better apprehending the facts stated in the text. Albert Laski was a learned man, middle aged, well shaped, of a graceful appearance, and who wore a very long beard; he had been received with all imaginable respect here in England, feasted and caressed by the University of Oxford, but after staying about four months in this kingdom, he privately withdrew, says the historian, being got deeply into debt (24). It is not at all improbable, that he might have been drawn into these bad circumstances through his acquaintance with Dee and his family, for, as we have seen, they were in extrem want when this Polish gentleman arrived. That they flattered him in a high degree is very apparent, since it is owned that they promised him the kingdom of Poland, with the addition of Moldavia, and devised a pedigree for him, as if he had descended from the noble House of Laey, allied, by their intermarriages with the Mortimers, to the Blood-royal of England (25). As for John Dee he was now in the fifty-seventh year

of his age, and on the 5th of February, 1578, had married Jane Fromond, his second wife, who had formerly lived in the family of the Lady Howard, wife to the Lord High-Admiral, his son Arthur was then in the fourth year of his age, and besides he had two or three other children (26). Edward Kelley was in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and had lately married a wife, by whom he had no children. They went in boats down to Gravesend, where they embarked on board a Danish ship bound for Holland, their household-stuff and effects being on board another ship; but meeting with very tempestuous weather, they were obliged to go on shore again at Queenborough in Kent, and in their passage from the ship, were in the utmost danger of perishing. On the 3d of October, they set out from the Brill for Rotterdam, on the 17th of the same month they came to Emden, and on the 26th to Bremen, where they staid for some time; on the 7th of November they came to Lubeck, and on the 14th of December they came to Rostoch, from thence on Christmas-day to Stetin in Pomerania, and on the 3d of February 1584, to the town of Laski (27).

(26) Vita Joannis  
Dee, p. 22, 26.

(27) These dates  
are collected from  
Dee's own Diary.

[M] *Not*

(24) Camden.  
Annales, p. 400.

(25) See the be-  
ginning of the  
Relation of Dr  
Dee's Actions  
with Spirits, pub-  
lished by Dr Ca-  
mden.

philosophical powder of projection, by which they were furnished with money, not competently only but profusely (*b*) [*M*]. While they were in this situation, Mr Dee was still very earnest in the prosecution of their commerce with spirits, notwithstanding that Kelley, from time to time, expressed great reluctance, gave him frequently to understand, that he was in a miserable state of delusion, and that those which he took for angels were evil spirits, and from the profligate actions, and scandalous impurities, which, by their suggestions, (if the whole are not downright romances) they were drawn into manifestly appeared (*i*). But Kelley, in the mean time, made frequent journies to different places, once into Poland, and often elsewhere, to confer with the most famous Chymists, of which there were many at that time in Germany; and from them it is thought he learned many things about the powder (*k*) which they brought out of England, that he did not communicate to his friend Mr Dee. This seems to be certain, that there were great quarrels and disputes between them, and such jealousies and heart-burnings in their families, as brought on, at length, an absolute rupture; but, in this transaction, Kelley seemed to have acted a much wiser part than his companion, since it appears, from an entry in Mr Dee's Diary, that he was so far intimidated, as to deliver up to Kelley, January 4th, 1589, the powder, the books, the glass, with some other things; and thereupon received his discharge in writing, under his hand and seal (*l*). This transaction, of which no footsteps remain but what is contained in the entry before-mentioned, there is good reason to believe, proved the foundation of Kelley's future fortunes, and the source of Dee's subsequent miseries (*m*). The noise that their adventures made in the world, if not some secret and more material reason, induced Queen Elizabeth and her Ministers to invite Mr Dee home, to which he was at length persuaded; and, on the first of May, 1589 (*n*), he set out from Trebona in his way to England. On the 9th of April he arrived at Breame, where he received a letter of compliment from the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, to whom, in return, he made a present of twelve Hungarian horses. November the 16th he came to Staden, where he met with Mr, afterwards Sir Edward Dyer, who was going the Queen's Ambassador to Denmark, and who had been sent the year before to him from the Court. Besides all this, he was attended by a guard of horse (*o*), whom he paid very liberally, and, besides waggons for his goods, had no less than three coaches for the use of his family; so that the whole of his charges, in this short journey, as he stated it to the Queen's Commissioners, fell short only by four of the sum of eight hundred pounds (*p*). Upon the 23d of November following he landed at Gravesend, and, on the 9th of December, presented himself to the Queen at Richmond, and was very graciously received (*q*). He retired soon after to his own house at Mortlake, which he found in a very sad condition, and, by the assistance of persons in power, began to collect together the scattered remains of his library, and the furniture belonging to it; in which he was more successful than he could well expect, since he recovered about three-fourths of his books, and did not estimate his whole loss at full four hundred pounds (*r*). It is amazing to find how soon he was in wants again, of which the Queen had quickly notice, as well as of the vexations he suffered on account of the aversion

(*b*) Ashmole's  
Theatrum Chemicum, p. 481.  
Dr Dee's Diary.

(*i*) Relation of  
Dr Dee's Actions  
with Spirits, P. ii.  
p. 16, 17, 19, 20.

(*k*) Ashmole's  
Theatrum Chemicum, p. 482.

(*l*) Vita Joannis  
Dee, p. 53.  
Theatrum Chemicum, p. 482.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 144.

(*n*) Theatrum  
Chemicum,  
p. 482.

(*o*) Compendious  
Rehearfall, ch. ix.  
Vita Joannis Dee,  
p. 39.

(*p*) Compend. Re-  
hearfall, ch. ix.

(*q*) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 144.  
Theatrum Chemicum, p. 483.

(*r*) Compend. Re-  
hearfall, ch. viii.

(28) Theatrum  
Chemicum,  
p. 482.

(29) Ath. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 142.

[*M*] *Not competently only, but profusely.*] It is very remarkable that in all Dr Dee's book of Transactions with Spirits, though there is mention more than once of the powder, and of Kelley's finding it in the earth, yet there is not the least circumstance of their making projection. But from the time of their coming to Trebona we find no more lamentations for want of money; and that before his departure Mr Dee delivered up the powder to Kelley, yet, perhaps, not without some small reserve, as we shall see hereafter reason to believe; Mr Ashmole found in Dee's private diary some hints as if Kelley (28) had communicated the great secret to him, of which, however, there is not the least probability. Anthony Wood tells us that at this time Arthur Dee, who was about eight years old, played at quoits with pieces of gold made by projection, as the young Count Rosenbergh did with pieces of silver. This is very certain, that Sir Edward Dyer, Queen Elizabeth's Minister, firmly believed that Kelley had the powder at least, if not the secret, and made Queen Elizabeth, and even the Lord Treasurer Burleigh believe it, which cost Sir Edward a short confinement at Prague; and Kelley, who was then become a Baron by the Emperor's patent, his life. Sir Thomas Brown, the famous physician of Norwich, gave the following account in a letter to Anthony Wood, of what he had learned from the mouth of Dr Arthur Dee, son to John Dee, upon this subject (29). 'That he, the said Arthur, liath affirmed to him with an oath, that he had seen projection made by his father and Kelley, and transmutation of pewter dishes and flaggons into silver, which the goldsmiths of Prague bought of them. — That the said transmutation was

' made by a small powder they had found in some  
' old place, and a book lying by it containing nothing  
' but Hieroglyphicks, which book his father bestowed  
' much time upon, but he could not hear that he could  
' make it out. He said also that Kelley dealt not  
' justly with his father, and that he went away with  
' the greatest part of the powder, and was afterwards  
' imprisoned by the Emperor in a certain castle, from  
' whence attempting an escape he fell and broke his  
' leg, and was imprisoned again. That his father, Dr  
' John Dee, presented Queen Elizabeth with a little  
' part of the powder, who having made trial thereof  
' she attempted to get Kelley out of prison, and sent  
' certain persons for that purpose, who giving opium  
' drink to the keepers, laid them so fast a sleep that  
' Kelley found an opportunity to attempt an escape,  
' and there were horses ready to carry him away, but  
' the business unhappily succeeded; Arthur Dee was a  
' youth when he saw the projection made in Bohemia,  
' with which he was so inflamed that he fell wholly  
' upon that study, and read not much all his life but  
' books of that subject.—Two years before his death  
' he contracted with John Huniades, or Hans Hungar,  
' in London, to be his operator. This Hans Hungar  
' having lived long in London, and growing in years,  
' he resolved to return to Hungary; whereupon going  
' first to Amsterdam he had orders giving him to re-  
' main there till Dr Arthur Dee came to him.—The  
' Doctor, to my knowledge, was serious in this matter,  
' and had provided all things in readiness to go, but  
' suddenly he heard that Hans Hungar was dead and  
' so desisted, &c.'

aversion the common people had conceived against him (s). To dispel the former, the Queen, in 1590, promised to give him two hundred angels to keep his Christmas; one half of which sum he received, and gives a broad hint, that the Queen and himself were cheated of the other (t); to quiet his apprehensions as to the latter, she sent him a message by Thomas Cavendish, Esq; that he might freely pursue his studies, and depend upon her protection and favour; of which indeed he received, from time to time, continual proofs (u) [N]. He yet retained as much credit as ever with such of his old friends as were living (w); for as to the Earl of Leicester, and many other of his former patrons, they were taken away by death during his absence. Of those that were left he received frequent visits, some presents, and very kind offers, particularly from Sir Thomas Jones (x), who would have given him his castle of Emlin in Wales, with all necessary accommodations to live in; which, however, he did not think fit to accept, as depending upon far greater helps from the Queen (y). At length, however, after meeting with many disappointments, his creditors growing impatient, and some of his friends less ready to grant him their assistance than he had formerly found them, he took a resolution of applying in such a manner to the Queen, as might, at last, procure him some settled subsistence. Accordingly, November 9th, 1592, he sent the Queen a memorial by the Countess of Warwick (z), in which he very earnestly pressed, that commissioners might be appointed to hear his pretensions, to see and examine the testimonies he was able to exhibit in support of his several claims, to receive a just state of his affairs, to know what would relieve, and give him satisfaction, and, finally, to report all these to her Majesty. This had a good effect; for, upon the 22d of the same month, Mr Wolley, who was the Queen's Secretary for the Latin tongue, and Sir Thomas Gorge, went, by her Majesty's command, to Mortlake (a), where Mr Dee exhibited a book, containing a distinct account of all the memorable transactions of his life, those which occurred in his last journey abroad only excepted; and as he read this historical narration, he produced all the letters, grants, and other evidences requisite to confirm them, and where these were wanting, named living witnesses (b). This original book falling into the hands of the learned Dr Thomas Smith, induced him to write his Latin life of our author (c), and, though these memoirs are but uncouthly drawn up, as, from the quotations, the reader will sufficiently discern, yet there seems to be no just ground to question the truth of the matters of fact which they contain [O]. The point he chiefly laboured to carry, by this application, was a grant

(s) Vita Joannis  
Dec, p. 39.

(t) Compend. Re-  
hearsal, ch. iv.

(u) Theatrum  
Chemicum,  
p. 483.

(w) Compend. Re-  
hearsal, ch. x.

(x) Theatrum  
Chemicum,  
p. 483.

(y) Vita Joannis  
Dec, p. 39.

(z) See that Me-  
morial at the be-  
ginning of the  
Compendious  
Rehearsal.

(a) Vita Joannis  
Dec, p. 39.

(b) All this ap-  
pears from the  
Compendious Re-  
hearsal, which  
is the book men-  
tioned.

(c) Vita Joannis  
Dec, p. 40.

[N] He received from time to time continual proofs.] The Queen graciously recommended Mr Dee to the Archbishop of Canterbury, desiring that some provision might be made for him, and signified to him at the same time that Mr Dee's last journey abroad was not without her allowance (30), which is a point worthy of remark, because the contrary seems apparent from all who have written any thing about him. In consequence of this there was a grant made to Dr Aubrey, Master of Requests, of five advowsons of rectories in the diocese of St David's, to the amount in the whole of near one hundred pounds *per Annum*, in trust for Mr Dee, which Grant served only to raise a clamour against him as if he had received vast things from the Crown, and yet this Grant, like the rest, never produced him a single penny, though he observes that he paid all the fees that were usually paid for passing it (31). It was the Archbishop also that thought of the Hospital of St Cross, affirming that it was a fit living for him, and Mr Dee a fit man to have it. This induced our author to apply himself to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, November 6, 1592, in hopes of having his assistance, who used him very civilly, and told him, That if he could procure any other friend to move it to her Majesty, he would do as much as in him lay to support his demand with the Queen, which was all he could desire; and upon these motives he resolved to petition the Queen for this Mastership of St Cross, which the Queen herself had once before promised him, and had even given him room to hope he should be made Provost of Eaton (32).

[O] To question the truth of the matters of fact which they contain.] The title of this work which he read to the Commissioners, the original of which still remains in the Cotton Library (33), and a transcript of it amongst Dr Smith's written collections, runs thus, 'The Compendious Rehearsal of John Dee, his dutiful Declaration and Proof of the Course and Race of his studious Life for the Space of half an hundred Years, now by God's Favour and Help sully spent, and of the very great Injuries, Damages, and Indignities which for these last nine Years he hath in England sustained, contrary to her Majesty's very gracious Will and express Commandment made unto the two honourable Commissioners by her most Ex-

cellent Majesty thereto assigned, according to the Intent of the most humble Supplication of the said John, exhibited to her most Gracious Majesty at Hampton Court, *Ann.* 1592, Nov. 9.'

This book is divided into fourteen chapters, with an appendix, which brings it down to the year 1593. In these he sets forth the several facts that have been recited in the text; the offers made to him by the University of Oxford, and various foreign Universities, to have engaged him to have accepted of a Professor's Chair: Letters upon particular occasions from her Majesty, the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Chancellor Hatton, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and many others; he shews in what manner he had been injured; the ways he had subsisted for several years, receiving in gifts five hundred pounds, and having run into debt to the amount of three hundred and three; the constant services he had rendered the Queen; the many disappointments he had met with, in which, to the preferments before-mentioned, he adds, the Wardenship of Winchester College and the Mastership of Sherborne; nor does he forget what offers had been made him by Princes beyond the seas, which, as a specimen of this singular memorial of his own merit, be pleased to take in his own words (34).

'It may suffice me, a poor studious gentleman, for my foreign credit for ever, that in this tract of my studious race I might have served five Christian Emperors, namely, Charles the Vth, Ferdinand, Maximilian, this Rodolph, and this present Moscovite, of every one their stipend, directly or indirectly, offered, and mounting greater each than other, as from five hundred dollars yearly stipend, to a thousand, two thousand, three thousand, and lastly, by a messenger from this Russia or Muscovite Emperor, purposely sent with a very rich present unto me at Trebona Castle, and with provision for the whole journey, (being above twelve hundred miles from the castle where I lay) of my coming to his court at Moscow, (with my wife, children, and my whole family) there to enjoy at his Imperial hands two thousand pounds sterling, yearly stipend, and of his Protector yearly, a thousand rubles, with my diet also to be allowed me free out of the Emperor's own kitchen,

(34) Compend.  
Rehearsal, ch. ii.

(30) See the letter printed at the end of Dr Cataubon's Preface.

(31) Compend. Rehearsal, ch. iv.

(32) Idem, ibid.

(33) Vitellius C. VII.

(d) *Compendiosus Rehearſal*, ch. xiii, xiv.

(e) *Vita Joannis Dee*, p. 40. *Compendiosus Rehearſal* in the Appendix.

(f) This petition is likewiſe annexed to the book laſt cited.

(g) *Theatrum Chemicum*, p. 483.

grant of the Maſterſhip of St Croſſe, then poſſeſſed by Dr Bennet, when he ſhould be promoted to a Biſhoprick; and many reaſons he alledged, why that preferment would be more convenient, as well as more acceptable, to him than any other (d). Upon the report made by the Commiſſioners to the Queen, her Majeſty deſired the Lady Howard to comfort Mrs Dee by a letter and preſent, which was brought by Mr Secretary Wolley, on the 2d of December following, with a preſent of one hundred marks from the Queen, a promiſe of his having the preferment he deſired when it ſhould become vacant, and a penſion of two hundred pounds a year out of the revenues of the Biſhoprick of Oxford, till ſuch time as he could be put in poſſeſſion of it (e). Theſe promiſes, like the former, coming to nothing, he, on the 15th of February, 1593, having firſt conſulted his friend Sir John Wolley, engaged his patroness the Counteſs of Warwick to preſent another ſhort Latin petition to the Queen; but what followed upon that does not appear (f). However, December 8th, 1594, he obtained a grant of the Chancellorſhip of St Paul's (g); but this not anſwering his end, he applied himſelf next by letter to Dr Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in which he inſerted a large account of all the books he had either publiſhed or written, of which ſome account will be given in the notes [P]. In conſequence

• kitchen, and to be in dignity with authority amongſt  
• the higheſt ſort of the Nobility there, and of his  
• Privy Councillors, &c. Of this laſt great prefer-  
• ment offered many Engliſhmen yet living, and in  
• this kingdom, be witneſſes; the Landgrave of Heſſe  
• Caſſel his letter is ready to be ſhewed, and other  
• letters of men of credit, can be ſufficient teſtimonies,  
• beſides the fore-runner to ſeek me, and the Embaſ-  
• ſadors or Meſſengers their own writings thereof here  
• lying.

• Note, That the Commiſſioners jointly read two of  
• the Teſtimonies.

The laſt line of the quotation was left on purpoſe to ſhew the manner in which Mr Dee proceeded, for he or one of his ſervants read the book, and then the letters, inſtruments, books, and other evidences were put into the Commiſſioners hands. It is indeed true, that we have only Mr Dee's word for this; but then we muſt conſider the book was not written to be publiſhed, conſequently not to impoſe upon the world, and the rewards afterwards promiſed, and more eſpecially the preferments obtained in conſequence of the Commiſſioners report, is an unexceptionable teſtimony that it was believed. One thing by the way; there was an entry of this matter in Mr Dee's Diary, copied from thence by Mr Aſhmole, but ſo as that if this work of Dee's had not remained, it might have rendered his whole hiſtory ſuſpicious; for Mr Aſhmole has ſet down (35) Secretary Walsingham inſtead of Wolley, as one of the Commiſſioners, who was dead near two years before, miſled no doubt by Mr Dee's writing only the initial letter of his name.

[P] Of which ſome account will be given in the notes.] This catalogue, is, for the moſt part, tranſcribed out of the ſixth chapter of the treatiſe mentioned in the foregoing note, with ſome explanations by Dr Smith, to which we ſhould have added ſome others, if we had not been deterred by an apprehenſion that it might draw this article into too great a length, and, as they ſtand, theſe catalogues are very curious and correct.

#### Books printed and publiſhed.

I. Propædeumata Aphoriſtica de præſtantioribus quibusdam naturæ virtutibus Aphoriſmi. 12mo, Londini, anno 1558.

II. Monas Hieroglyphica ad Regem Romanorum Maximilianum. Antwerpæ 1564.

III. Epistoſta ad eximium Ducis Urbini Mathematicum, Fredericum Commandinum, præfixa libello Machometi Bagdedini de ſuperficierum diviſionibus, edito opera Devi & ejuſdem Commandini Urbinatiſ. Piſauri 1570.

IV. *The Britiſh Monarchy, otherwiſe called The Petty Navy Royal*, 1576 (36).

V. *Preface Mathematical to the Engliſh Euclid*, publiſhed by Sir Henry Billingsley, Knt. where he ſays many more arts are wholly invented, by name, definition, property, and uſe, than either the Grecian or Roman Mathematicians have left to our knowledge, 1570.

VI. *Divers and many Annotations and Inventions diſperſed and added after the tenth book of Engliſh Euclid*, 1570.

VII. *Epistoſta præfixa Ephemeridibus Joannis Feldi*

a, 1557, cui rationem declaraverat Ephemerides conſcribendi

VIII. *Parallaticæ commentationis praxeosque Nucleus quidam*. Londini 1573.

Unpubliſhed, of which ſome were left imperfect.

I. *The great volume of famous and rich discoveries, wherein alſo is the Hiſtory of King Solomon every three years, his Ophirian voyage, the originals of Preſbyter Joannes, and of the firſt great Cham and his ſucceſſors for many years following The deſcription of divers wonderful Iſles in the northern, Scythian, Tartarian, and the other moſt northern ſeas, and near under the North Pole, by record written 1200 years ſince, with divers other rarities*, 1576. Exiſtat in Bibliotheca Cottoniana ſub Vitellio C. VII.

2. *The Britiſh complement of the perfect Art of Navigation. A great volume. In which are contained our Queen Elizabeth her tables gubernauick for navigation by the Paradoxall Compaſs, invented by him (ann. 1557) and navigation by great circles, and for Longitudes and Latitudes, and the Variation of the Compaſs, finding moſt eaſily and ſpeedily, yea, if need be, in one minute of time, and ſometimes without ſight of ſun, moon, or ſtars, with many other new and needful inventions gubernauick*. 1576.

3. *Her Majeſty's title royal to many forraigne countreys, kingdoms, and provinces, by good teſtimony, and ſufficient proof recorded, and in twelve volume ſkins of parchment, fair written for her Majeſty's uſe, and at her Majeſty's commandment*, 1578.

4. *De Imperatoris nomine auctoritate & potentia: dedicated to her Majeſty in Engliſh*, 1579.

5. *Prolegomena & Dictata Pariſienſia in Euclidis Elementorum Geometricorum, librum primum & ſecundum*, in Collegio Rhemenſi, 1550.

6. *De uſu Globi Cœleſtis, ad R. Edwardum Sextum*, 1550.

7. *The Art of Logick in Engliſh*, 1547.

8. *The thirteen Sophiſtical Fallacies, with their Discoveries, written in Engliſh meeter*, 1548.

9. *Mercurius Cœleſtis, Libri 24; written at Louwaine*, 1549.

10. *De nubium Solis, Lunæ, ac reliquorum Planetarum, imo ipſius Stelliferi Cœli, ab infimo terræ centro diſtantiis, mutuiſque intervallis, & eorundem omnium magnitudine, liber ἀποδεικτικὸς ad Edwardum Sextum, Angliæ Regem*, 1551.

11. *Aphoriſmiſt Astrologici 300*. 1553.

12. *The true cauſe and account not vulgar of Floods and Ebbs, written at the requeſt of the Right Honourable Lady, Lady Jane, Duchesſ of Northumberland*, 1553.

13. *The Philoſophical and Poetical Original occaſions of the Configurations and names of the heavenly aſterifmes: written at the requeſt of the ſame Duchesſ*, 1553.

14. *The Aſtronomical and Logiſtical Rules and Canons, to calculate the Ephemerides by, and other neceſſary accounts of heavenly motions; written at the requeſt, and for the uſe, of that excellent Mechanicien, Maſter Richard Chancellor at his laſt voyage into Moſcovia*. 1553.

(35) *Theatrum Chemicum*, p. 480.

(36) This is extant in MS. in the Aſhmolean Collection.

consequence of this letter, and, perhaps, of other applications, he obtained a grant of the Wardenship of Manchester-College, vacant by the promotion of Dr Hugh Bellot to the Bishoprick of Chester, his patent passing the Great Seal May 25th, 1595 (b); and, on the 14th of February 1596, he arrived, with his wife and family, in that town; and, on the 20th of the same month, was installed in his new charge (i). He continued there about seven years; but, whether through his own ill management and haughty behaviour, or, as he alledged, through the restless and unquiet disposition of the Fellows of that College, so it was, that the greatest part of that time he lived but an unquiet life; to which, perhaps, it might not a little contribute, that, during the whole space he remained there, he was looked upon, by the inhabitants of the place, and of all the country round, as a person who had a kind of supernatural skill, and who could afford them relief in a variety of cases that lay out of the reach of Physick (k). However this might be, so uneasy he grew, from the disputes in the College, and from the reports that prevailed abroad, that, June 5th, 1604, he presented a petition to King James, earnestly desiring him that he might be brought to a trial, that, by a judicial sentence, he might be delivered from those suspicions and surmises, under which he had now laboured for upwards of fifty years (l); and, on the eighth of the same month, he addressed the like supplication to the Parliament (m); but the King having been informed, by the Earl of Salisbury, as to the nature of his studies, was very far from giving him any mark of royal countenance (n) or favour, which must have made a very deep impression upon a man of his vain and ambitious spirit, which all his misfortunes could never alter or amend. In the month of November, in the same year, being then in a very weak and bad state of health, he quitted Manchester (o) with his family, in order to return to his house at Mortlake,

(b) Vita Joannis  
Dec. p. 41.

(i) Theatrum  
Chemicum,  
p. 423.

(k) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 144.

(l) Vita Joannis  
Dec. p. 42.

(m) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 144.

(n) Vita Joannis  
Dec. p. 42.  
Theatrum Chemicum, p. 423.

(o) Vita Joannis  
Dec. p. 42.

15. De acrobologia Mathematica volumen magnum sex decim continens libros. 1555.

16. Inventum Meechanicum paradoxum de nova ratione delineandi circumferentiam circulare unde valde rara alia excogitari percipique poterunt problemata. 1556.

17. De speculis comburentibus libri 6. 1557. Aliquantilla pars existat in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, sub Vitellio C. VII.

18. De perspectiva illa qua peritissimi utuntur Pictores. 1557.

19. Speculum unitatis, sive Apologia pro Fratre Rogero Bacone Anglo: in quo docetur nihil illum per dæmoniorum secisse auxilia, sed Philosophum fuisse maximum naturaliterque, & modis homini Christiano licitis maximas secisse res quas indoctum solet vulgus in dæmoniorum referre facinora. 1557.

20. De Annuli Astronomici multiplici usu. 1557.

21. Trochilica inventa, lib. 2. 1558.

22. Περὶ ἀναβιβασμῶν θεολογικῶν. lib. 3. 1558.

23. De tertia & præcipua perspectivæ parte quæ de radiorum fractione tractat. lib. 3. 1559.

24. De itinere subterraneo. lib. 2. 1560.

25. De triangulorum rectilineorum areis. lib. 3. demonstrati ad excellentissimum Mathematicum Petrum Nonium conscripti. 1560.

26. Cabbale Hebraicæ compendiosa tabella. 1562.

27. Reipublicæ Britannicæ Synopsis, in English, 1562.

28. De trigono circinoque analogico opusculum Mathematicum & Mechanicum, lib. 4. 1565. Existat in Bibliotheca Cottoniana, sub Vitellio C. VII.

29. De Stella admiranda in Cassiopeiæ asterismo, cœlitus demissa ad orbem usque veneris iterumque in cœlis penetrantia perpendiculariter retracta post decimum sextum suæ apparitionis mensem. 1573.

30. Hipparchus redivivus Tractulus. 1573.

31. De unico Mago & triplicæ Herode coque Antichristiano. 1570.

32. Ten sundry and very rare Heraldical blasonings of one crest or cognizance, lawfully confirmed to certain ancient armes, lib. i. 1574.

33. Atlantidis vulgariter Indiæ Occidentalis nuncupatæ emendatior descriptio Hydrographica quam ulla alia adhuc evulgata. 1580.

34. De modo Evangelii Jesu Christi publicandi, propagandi, stabiliendique, inter infideles Atlanticos volumen, magnum libris distinctum quatuor quorum primus ad Serenissimam nostram Potentissimamque Reginam Elizabetham inscribitur: secundus ad summos privati suæ sacræ Majestatis Consilii Senatores: tertius ad Hispaniarum Regem Philippum Quartus ad Pontificem Romanum. 1581.

35. Navigationis ad Cathayam per septentrionalia

Scythiæ & Tartariæ litora delineatio Hydrographica Arthuro Pett & Carolo Jackmanno Anglis versus illas partes navigaturis in manus tradita cum admirandarum quarundam insularum annotatione in illis subpolaribus partibus jacentium. 1580.

36. Hemisphærii Borealis Geographica atque Hydrographica descriptio longe à vulgaribus chartis diversa: Anglis quibusdam versus Atlantidis Septentrionalis litora navigationem instituentibus dono data. 1583.

37. The originals and chief points of our antient British Histories discoursed upon and examined. 1583.

38. An Advice and Discourse about the reformation of the vulgar Julian Year, written by her Majesty's Commandment, and the Lords of the Privy Council. 1582

39. Certain Considerations and Conferings together of these three sentences, antiently accounted as oracles, Nosce teipsum: Homo homini Deus: homo homini lupus. 1592.

40. De hominis corpore, spiritu, & anima, sive microcosmicum, totius naturalis Philosophiæ compendium. lib. 1.

41. The Compendious Rehearsal of John Dee his dutiful Declaration, and proof of the course and race of his studious life, for the space of half a hundred years, &c. 1592.

42. De horizonte æternitatis. 3. libr. 1. de horizonte: liber Mathematicus & Physicus, 2. De Æternitate: Liber Theologicus, Metaphysicus, & Mathematicus. 3. De horizonte æternitatis: liber Theologicus, Mathematicus, & Hierotechnicus.

43. Thalattocratia Britannica, sive de Britannico maris imperio Colleetanea extemporanea quatuor dieum spatio celeri conscripta calamo. Sept. 20, Manestræ.

Besides these enumerated and owned by himself, there are likewise several other pieces of his remaining, agreeable to what himself insinuates at the end of his catalogue, as well in his Compendious Rehearsal, as in his Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Amongst these there are three volumes of Miscellanies in the Ashmolean Library, in the last of which is contained that collection of papers, relating to his commerce with spirits, which precedes, in point of time, that which is to be the subject of the next note. There are likewise preserved in the Cotton Library the several treatises following, viz.

44. Correctiones & Supplementa Sigeberti ex MS. Codicibus per Joannem Dee.

45. De cono recti atque trianguli sectione illa quæ Parabola ab antiquis Geometris vocabatur.

46. Several Letters and Papers between John Dee and Roger Edwards, of a Theological Argument.

[2] In

(p) Relations of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, P. ii. p. 32.

(q) Vita Joannis Dee, p. 42.

(r) Relations of Dr Dee's Actions with Spirits, P. ii. p. 44.

(s) Idem, *ibid.*

(t) Hooke's Posthumous Works, p. 206, 207.

lake, but came first to London, where he remained but a short time; and finding himself now very old, infirm, and destitute of any powerful protector, (the Earl of Salisbury, to whom he had offered his service, having slighted him,) he had recourse to his former invocations, and so came to deal again, as he believed, with spirits (p). He pursued the same practices at Mortlake, where we find him in the year 1607, having procured one Bartholomew Hickman to serve him in the same manner as Edward Kelley had formerly done (q). His friend John Pontoys also returned out of Poland, and was admitted into his confidence (r). These transactions were continued to Monday the 7th of September 1607, which is the last date in that journal published by Casaubon (s) [2]. As this book made a very great noise upon its first publication, so many years after the credit of it was revived by one of the wisest and ablest Mathematicians of his time, the celebrated Dr Hooke, who believed, that not only Dr Casaubon but Archbishop Usher, and other learned men, were entirely mistaken in their notions about this book, and that, in reality, our author Dee never fell under any such delusions, but was a man of great art and intrigue (t), and made use of this strange method of writing to conceal things of quite another nature, as the reader shall be acquainted in the notes [R]. In the latter end

[2] In that Journal published by Casaubon.] The title of this work at large runs thus:

' A true and faithful Relation of what passed for many years between Dr John Dee, a Mathematician of great fame in Queen Elizabeth and King James their reigns, and some Spirits, tending, had it succeeded, to a general Alteration of most States and Kingdoms in the world. His private Conferences with Rodolph, Emperor of Germany: Stephen, King of Poland; and divers other Princes about it. The Particulars of his Cause, as it was agitated in the Emperor's Court by the Pope's intervention. His Banishment and Restoration in part; as also the Letters of fundry great men and Princes, some whereof were present at some of these Conferences, and Apparitions of Spirits to the said Dr Dee, out of the original Copy written with Dr Dee's own hand: kept in the Library of Sir Thomas Cotton, Knt. Baronet, with a Preface confirming the Reality (as to the point of Spirits) of this Relation, and shewing the several good uses that a sober Christian may make of all. By Meric Casaubon, D. D. Lond. 1659, fol.

We shall give the reader a short passage out of Dr Casaubon's Preface, to justify the pains we have taken in a former note to shew, that the piece which he apprehended was totally lost is still preserved, and if any use can be made of it (for which I would not be willingly bound) may be produced to publick view as well as the rest. The passage is this, which gives a fair account of what he published. ' In the year of our Lord 1584, September the 3d; being a Monday, Dr Dee first appeared, being presented by honourable persons, and expected before the Emperor Rodolph. Among other things he then told him, that, for these two years and a half, God's holy angels had used to inform him: Our book or first action here beginneth, 28 May, 1583, according to this reckoning it must be, that, above a year and three months before began the first apparition. The account then of fifteen months from the first apparition we want: How much in bulk that might come to I cannot tell, neither will I warrant all perfect from this 28 May 1583, to the fourth of April 1587, though, for the most part, the coherence is right enough to that time: but from thence to the twentieth of March 1607, there is a vast chasm or hiatus of no less than twenty years: How this hath happened I cannot tell certainly; what I guess is this, some years after Dr Dee's death, about *anno Dom.* 1608, Sir Robert Cotton bought his library (what then remained of it) with his Magical Table, and the original manuscript written with his own hand, whereof this is a copy: The book had been buried in the earth, how long years or months I know not; but so long, tho' it was carefully kept, since yet it retained so much of the earth, that it began to moulder and perish some years ago, which when Sir T. Cotton aforementioned observed, he was at the charges to have it written out before it should be too late: Now full fifty years, or not many wanting, being passed since this original came to Sir Robert, it is very likely, that, had any more in all that time been heard of, Sir Robert, or Sir Thomas his son and heir, would have

heard of it, and got it as soon as any body else: And because no more hath been heard of all this while, it is more than probable, that no more is extant not in England, nor I think any where else: haply the rest might perish some part (if not all) even whilst the Doctor lived.'

[R] Shall be acquainted in the notes.] We are told by Dr Hooke, that what first put him upon suspecting there was somewhat concealed under the strange relations contained in Dr Dee's book, was his vehement protestation, upon the peril of his soul if he lied, in his letter to the Archbishop (37), that he had never meddled with unlawful arts, or deviated into any practices unbecoming of a Christian. What confirmed him in his opinion, cannot be either better or more briefly expressed than in his own words, which are these: ' Upon turning it over, and comparing several particulars in it one with another, and with other writings of the said Dr Dee, and considering also the life, actions, and estate, of the said author, so far as I can be informed, I do conceive that the greatest part of the said book, especially all that which relates to spirits and apparitions, together with their names, speeches, shews, noises, clothing, actions, and the prayers and doxologies, &c. are all Cryptography, and that some parts also of that which seems to be a Journal of his voyage and travels into several parts of Germany, are also cryptographical, that is, that under those feigned stories which he there seems to relate as matters of fact, he hath concealed relations of quite another thing, and that he made use of this way of absconding it, that he might the more securely escape discovery if he should fall, under suspicion, as to the true designs of his travels, or that the same should fall into the hands of any spies, or such as might be employed to betray him, or his intentions concerning the inquisition that should be made, or prosecution, if discovered, would be more gentle for a pretended enthusiast than for a real spy. What his designs or business with the Emperor, the King of Poland, and others, was, is hard to determine, *i. e.* first, Whether he were sent upon some private message by the Queen, or any of the then Ministers of State, to enquire into, and discover, the secret designs or actions of that Court, is hard now to determine; but 'tis likely. For in his apology he alledges, that the Lord Treasurer had, by the Queen's orders, written to the Archbishop to signify, that he went beyond sea by her good favour and licence; and we find also, that the Queen did send several letters and messengers to call him home, and that upon his return the Queen received him kindly at Richmond, and that she used to call at his house at Mortlack, and shewed herself courteous to him upon all occasions. — When he returned he left Kelley with the Emperor, who for several years afterwards kept correspondence with Dr Dee here, which might possibly continue to execute the same design, Kelley being now grown Sir Edward Kelley, and the Emperor's Chemist. And, in probability, Dr Dee might have sufficiently furnished him with Cryptography enough to send what intelligencies he pleased without suspicion, which was easily conceived under any other feigned story. I will not determine whether this were his business I say.

(37) See this in Mr Dee's Letter before-mentioned at the end of Dr Casaubon's Preface. Hooke's Posthumous Works, p. 206, 207.

end of his life he became miserably poor, as we are told by Anthony Wood, and was obliged to dispose of his books to procure subsistence, which, at certain times, when, through his own ill management, he brought himself into such distress, might be true; but there seems to be good ground to believe he held his preferment to the last, and did not sell his house at Mortlake, which was his own, and which seems to have been of some considerable value, since, in his former distresses, he had thoughts of mortgaging it for four hundred pounds (u). It is highly probable, that he remained under these delusions to his end, and was actually providing for a new journey into Germany, when, worn out by age and distempers, he breathed his last some time in the year 1608, being in the eighty-first year of his age (w). He was buried in the chancel of the church at Mortlake, but without any tomb-stone, or other memorial; and yet the ancient inhabitants of that place were able, in 1672, to shew the very spot where he was interred (x). He left behind a numerous posterity, both male and female, and, amongst these, his eldest son Arthur, who was bred at Westminster-school under the learned Camden (y), applied himself to Physick, and became Physician in ordinary first to the Grand Duke of Muscovy, and afterwards to King Charles the First (z).

(u) Compendious  
Relicarius, ch. ii.

(w) Vita Joannis  
Dec, p. 43.

(x) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 144.

(y) Camd. Epist.  
p. 47.

(z) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 144.

‘ say, or whether it might not be upon his own account, to see if he could make a fortune under the Emperor, by means of Chemistry, or Mathematicks, or Astrology, or Mechanicks, all which I find by his writings he was well versed in, and especially in the business of Opticks, Perspective, and Mechanick contrivances, an effect of which I conceive his crystal, or angelical stone, or *Chrystallum Sacratum*, as he terms it, to have been, for that it was of a considerable bigness, and was placed upon a pedestal or table, which he calls a Holy Table, which might contain the apparatus to make apparitions, when he had a mind, to be seen in it, as likewise to produce noises and voices if there were occasion. All which might be done by art, as hath been shewn both formerly by Roger Bacon, and of late by the echoing head. — He was likewise well versed in Cabalistical learning and Cryptography, as appears by the title of a treatise written by him upon that subject, and by that book which he seems to have prized so much, and calls the book of Enoch, which I take to be of no other use than for Cryptography and Cabalisms. I will not determine, I say, whether his design might not be by these, and some other such ingenuities, as particularly a glass which he mentions, p. 256, the secret of which he opened to Dr Curtz, the Emperor’s Physician, for battering in a dark night, &c. which what he means by it I understand not, but Dr Curtz told him, that conclusion would be very acceptable to the Emperor. He had also written six books *de Speculis Comburentibus*; two books of the astronomical ring, or ring dial; and two books also of clock-work, to find entertainment and encouragement from the Emperor. But I do rather conjecture that he was employed by the Queen for some private affairs of State, and that he made use of these his inventions in order to obtain the freer and more unsuspected access to the Emperor, which having not succeeded as might have been expected, he was recalled and returned into England in November 1589. That a great part of this treatise is Cryptography, I conceive is very probable from these and divers other considerations: First, for that he took such care to preserve the book of Enoch, which I conjecture to contain the methods and keys of what was concealed in this book: next, for that the method and manner thereof is so like to that of Trithemius his Cryptography, that I conceive, were it worth while, it would not be difficult to decypher a great part of it by analogy thereunto. Now tho’ at that time the key or method of that book were not so well and commonly known, yet I do not doubt but this inquisitive man had got knowledge of it in his travels and enquiries in Germany, possibly when he presented his *Monas Hieroglyphica* to the Emperor Maximilian 1564, and possibly it might be upon the same account that he made choice of his way of invocations and revelations to conceal his meaning, that I shewed before Trithemius had done in his. Trithemius also pretended to revelation,

‘ as may be seen in the History of his Life, though not so frequent as this author has done in this book, at least if the sense thereof be understood literally, but that I conceive to be nothing but the outward form, appearance, or dress, of the substance and subject of the book, which lay absconded from common discovery under that mask or disguise, though yet I am apt to believe, he had some artificial contrivances to perform this also when he saw cause. Thirdly, for that there are very many plain instances of Cryptography, both by changing and putting some letters for others, and numbers for letters, and numbers also for words, and tables for disposing or placing letters according to several orders and methods, to be seen in the book itself: and the book which he calls the book of Enoch seems to be nothing else: Besides, the words that he sets down as delivered by his spirits, are many of them inarticulate according to the commonly accepted sounds or pronunciation of those characters they are written with, and therefore were not put to signify those letters. It would be too long to give instances out of the book itself of these particulars, and ’tis needless, since they are so very many and frequent in every part of the book. He hath likewise divers polygonal figures, as I conceive, for the same purpose, and many other such indications of Cryptography.’ There is, without doubt, something very plausible, as well as highly ingenious, in this learned gentleman’s conjectures, in which, if he had made a trial of decyphering, and had succeeded even in the smallest part, would have put his sentiment beyond contradiction. As it is, there seems to be three reasons, that, duly weighed, will scarce allow us to subscribe to his judgment of this book. The first is, that Mr Dee began these actions in England, for which, if we suppose the whole treatise to be written in cypher, there is no account can be given, any more than for pursuing the same practices in King James’s time, who cannot be imagined to have used him as a spy. The second, that he admitted Albert Laski, Francis Puccius, and William Rosenbergh (38), to be present at these consultations, which is not very reconcileable to the notion, that the whole is no more than an allegorical history, for then all that they did must have been mere artifice and imposture, which, in so long a space of time, and under the inspection of so many witnesses, would certainly have been discovered. Lastly, upon the return of Mr Dee from Bohemia, Mr Edward Kelley (39) did actually send an account to the Queen, of practices against her life, but then this was in a plain and open manner, and in consequence of his publick declarations of his unshaken loyalty towards her Majesty’s person and government, which declarations were not only unnecessary, but very inexpedient for him to make at Prague, if he had been employed there as a spy, neither would he have taken this way of informing the Queen, if there had been any such mysterious correspondence between Mr Dee and her Ministers as Dr Hooke suggests,

(38) Vita Joannis  
Dec, p. 34.

(39) Strype’s Annals,  
Vol. IV.  
p. 1.

E

DENHAM (Sir JOHN), an eminent Poet of the XVIIth century, was the only son of Sir John Denham, Knight, of Little Horfely in Effex, some time Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, and one of the Lords Justices of that kingdom, by Eleanor his wife, daughter of Sir Garret More, Knight, Baron of Mellefont in Ireland (a). He was born at Dublin in the year 1615 (b); but was brought over from thence very young, upon his father's being made one of the Barons of the Exchequer in England, in 1617. He had his education in grammar learning at London, and, in Michaelmas Term 1631, he was entered a Gentleman-Commoner in Trinity-College in Oxford, being then sixteen years of age; where (as Anthony Wood expreffes it) 'being looked upon as a slow, dreaming, young man, and more addicted to gaming than study, they could never imagine he could ever enrich the world with the issue of his brain, as he afterwards did.' After three years stay in the University, and having been examined in the publick schools for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he entered himself in Lincoln's-Inn; where he was generally thought to apply himself very closely to the study of the Common Law. But, his itch of gaming continuing, he was often stript of all his money; and, his father chiding him severely, and threatening to discard him, if he did not reform, he wrote thereupon a little *Essay against Gaming*, which he presented to his father, to convince him of his detestation of it (c). His father dying in 1638 (d), he fell to gaming again, and squandered away several thousand pounds. In the latter end of the year 1641, he published his tragedy called *The Sophy* [A]; which was greatly admired, and gave Mr Waller occasion to say of our author, that *he broke out like the Irish Rebellion, threescore thousand strong, when no body was aware, or in the least suspected it*. Soon after he was pricked for High-Sheriff of the county of Surrey, and made Governor of Farnham-Castle for the King. But, not being well skilled in military affairs, he soon quitted that post, and retired to his Majesty at Oxford, where he published his poem called *Cooper's Hill* [B]. In 1647, he was entrusted by the Queen with a message to the King, then in the hands of the army, and employed in other affairs relating to his Majesty [C]. In April 1648, he

(a) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 422.

(b) This is collected from his age at the time of his admission in the University.

(c) Wood, *ibid.*

(d) He died Jan. 6. and was buried at Egham in Surrey, where he had an estate.

[A] *His Tragedy called The Sophy.* It was acted at the private house in Black Friars, with great applause, and first printed in 4to, London 1642; afterwards in 8vo, 1667, and again in 8vo, 1671. The plot is the same with that of Baron's *Mirza*, taken from Herbert's *Travels*, in the *Life of Abbas* (1).

[B] *His Poem called Cooper's Hill.* It was printed at Oxford in 1643, in one sheet and an half, in 4to; reprinted with additions at London in 1650 and 1655, in 4to; and again in 1667 and 1668, in 8vo (2). The editions of 1667, &c. after the Restoration, differ considerably from the preceding ones; as may be seen in the *Miscellany Poems published by Mr Dryden* (3). It was translated into Latin verse by Mr Moses Pengry, of Brazen-nose college in Oxford, and published there in 1676 in 4to, under the title of, *Cooper's Hill, Latine redditum, ad nobilissimum Dominum Gulielmum Dominum Cavendish, honoratissimi Domini Gulielmi Comitiss Devonix filium unicum* (4). Mr Dryden, speaking of *Cooper's Hill* (5), says, it is *A Poem, which for majesty of the style, is, and ever will be, the exact standard of good writing*. And the noble author of an *Essay on Human Life* observes (6), that '*Cooper's Hill* has met with universal applause, though it's subject seems rather descriptive than instructing: but it is not the hill, the river, nor the stag-chace; it is the good sense, and the fine reflexions so frequently interspersed, and as it were interwoven with the rest, that gives it the value, and will make it, as was said of true wit, everlasting like the sun.' Mr Pope celebrates this poem in the following lines of his *Windfor Forest* (7).

Ye sacred Nine, that all my soul possess,  
Whose raptures fire me, and whose visions bless;  
Bear me, O bear me, to sequester'd scenes,  
The bow'ry mazes, and surrounding greens:  
To Thames's bank, which fragrant breezes fill;  
Or where ye Muses sport on *Cooper's Hill*.  
(On *Cooper's Hill* eternal wreaths shall grow,  
While lasts the mountain, or while Thames shall flow.)  
I seem thro' consecrated walks to rove,  
I hear soft musick die along the grove:  
Led by the sound, I roam from shade to shade,  
By godlike Poets venerable made:  
Here his first lays majestic *Denham* sung;  
There the last numbers flow'd from *Cowley's* tongue.

And Mr Somerville has the following lines (8) on our Poet.

—Tread, with respectful awe,  
Windfor's green glades, where *Denham*, tuneful bard,  
Charm'd once the listning Dryads with his song,  
Sublimely sweet. O! grant me, sacred shade,  
To glean submits what thy full sickle leaves.

There is in the following verses (9) a foolish insinuation that Sir John Denham was not the author of *Cooper's Hill*.

Then in came *Denham*, that limping old bard,  
Whose fame on the *Sophy* and *Cooper's Hill* stands;  
And brought many Stationers, who swore very hard,  
That nothing sold better, except 'twere his lands.  
But Apollo advised him to write something more,  
To clear a suspicion, which possess'd the Court,  
That *Cooper's Hill*, so much bragg'd on before,  
Was writ by a Vicar, who had forty pound for't.

[C] *He was intrusted by the Queen with a message to the King*—*and employed in other affairs relating to his Majesty.* Our Poet himself shall give us an account of this circumstance of his life. In his Dedication of his Poems to King Charles II, he addresses that Prince as follows. 'Sir, after the delivery of your royal father's person into the hands of the army, I undertaking to the Queen-Mother, that I would find some means to gain access to him, she was pleased to send me, and by the help of Hugh Peters I got my admittance, and coming well instructed from the Queen, (his Majesty having been long kept in the dark) he was pleased to discourse very freely with me of the whole state of his affairs. — At his departure from Hampton-Court, he was pleased to command me to stay privately in London, to send to him, and receive from him, all his letters from and to all his correspondents at home and abroad, and I was furnished with nine several cyphers in order to it. Which trust I performed with great safety to the persons with whom we corresponded: but about nine months after, being discovered by their knowledge of Mr Cowley's hand, I happily escaped both for myself and those that held correspondence with me.'

[D] *He*

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 423. and Langbaine's Account of the Dramatick Poets, Oxf. 1691, p. 128.

(2) Wood, *ubi supra*.

(3) Part v. p. 73 & 82. edit. 1727.

(4) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 188.

(5) Epistle Dedicat. before his Rival Ladies.

(6) In the Preface to the 2d edit. 1736, 4to.

(7) Works of Alex. Pope, Esq; Lond. 1736. 12mo. Vol. I. p. 98.

(8) The Chace, a Poem, Book iii. v. 366.

(9) The Session of the Poets, in the Miscell. Poems, Part ii. p. 92.

he conveyed away James Duke of York [D], then under the tuition of Algernoon Earl of Northumberland, from St James's, and carried him into France to the Prince of Wales, and the Queen-mother. Not long after, he was sent Ambassador from King Charles II. to the King of Poland [E]. In 1652, or thereabout, he returned into England; and, his paternal estate being greatly reduced by gaming and the Civil Wars, he was kindly entertained by the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton, and continued with that Nobleman about a year. At the Restoration, he entered upon the office of Surveyor of his Majesty's Buildings [F], in the room of Inigo Jones, deceased; and, at the coronation King Charles II, was created Knight of the Bath. Upon some discontent arising from a second marriage, he lost his senses: but soon recovering from that disorder, he continued in great esteem at Court, and with all persons of taste, for his Poetical Writings [G].

He

[D] He conveyed away James Duke of York.] So we are told by Anthony Wood: but my Lord Clarendon assures us, the Duke went off with Col. Bamfield only (10), who contrived the means of his escape.

[E] He was sent Ambassador from King Charles II, to the King of Poland.] William (afterwards Lord) Crofts was joined in the embassy with Sir John Denham (11). Among our author's Poems is one intitled, *On my Lord Crofts and my Journey into Poland, from whence we brought 10000*l.* for his Majesty, by the decimation of his Scottish subjects there.*

[F] He entered upon the office of Surveyor of his Majesty's Buildings.] Mr Wood pretends (12), King Charles I had granted our Poet the reversion of that place after the decease of Inigo Jones: but Sir John himself, in the Dedication of his Poems, assures us, King Charles II, at his departure from St Germain's to Jersey, was pleas'd freely, without his asking it, to confer it upon him.

[G] He was in great esteem ——— for his poetical writings.] In the Dedication of his Poems to King Charles II, he tells us, he had been discouraged by King Charles I. from writing verses. 'One morning (says he) waiting on him (the King) at Cauxham, smiling upon me, he said he could tell me some news of myself, which was that he had seen some verses of mine the evening before (being these to Sir R. Fanshaw) and asking me when I made them, I told him two or three years since: he was pleas'd to say, that having never seen them before, he was afraid I had written them since my return into England; and though he lik'd them well, he would advise me to write no more, alledging, that when men are young, and have little else to do, they might vent the overflowings of their fancy that way; but when they were thought fit for more serious employments, if they still persisted in that course, it would look as if they minded not the way to any better. Whereupon I stood corrected, as long as I had the honour to wait upon him.' But King Charles II was an encourager of our author's Muse, especially while he had the good fortune to wait upon his Majesty in Holland and Flanders; and was pleas'd sometimes to give him arguments, to divert and put off the evil hours of their banishment, which now and then, he tells us, fell not short of his Majesty's expectation. After his promotion to the office of Surveyor of the royal buildings, he gave over poetical lines, and made it his business, he says, to draw such others, as might be more serviceable to his Majesty, and, he hoped, more lasting. Then he adds: 'Since that time I never disobey'd my old master's commands, till this summer at the Wells, my retirement there tempting me to divert those melancholy thoughts, which the new apparitions of foreign invasion and domestick discontent gave us; but these clouds being now happily blown over, and our sun clearly shining out again, I have recovered the relapse, it being suspected it would have proved the epidemical disease of age, which is apt to fall back into the follies of youth: yet Socrates, Aristotle, and Cato, did the same; and Scaliger saith, that fragment of Aristotle was beyond any thing that Pindar or Homer ever wrote.' Our author's Dedication concludes with a farewell to the Muses. 'As for those latter parts, says he, speaking of his Poems, which have not yet received your Majesty's favourable aspect, if they who have seen them do not flatter me, (for I dare not trust my own judgment) they will make it appear, that it is not with me as with most of mankind, who never forsake their darling vices, till their vices forsake them; and that this divorce

' was not *Frigiditatis causa*, but an act of choice, and not of necessity. Therefore, Sir, I shall only call it an humble petition, that your Majesty will please to pardon this new amour to my old mistress, and my disobedience to his commands, to whose memory I look up with great reverence and devotion; and making a serious reflexion upon that wise advice, it carries greater weight with it now, than when it was given: for when age and experience has so ripen'd man's discretion as to make it fit for use, either in private or publick affairs, nothing blasts and corrupts the fruit of it so much as the empty, airy, reputation of being *Nimis Poeta*; and therefore I shall take my leave of the Muses, as two of my predecessors did, saying;

' Splendidis longum vale dico nugis.  
' His versus et cætera ludicra pono.'

Our author's poems are as follow: I. *Cooper's Hill* (13). (13) See the Remark [B]. II. *The Destruction of Troy: an Essay on the Second Book of Virgil's Æneis. Written in the Year 1636.* London, 1656, in four sheets and a half in 4to (14). (14) Wood, ubi supra. III. *On the Earl of Strafford's Trial and Death.* IV. *On my Lord Crofts', &c. Journey into Poland, &c.* (15). V. *On Mr Thomas Killigrew's Return from Venice, and Mr William Murrey's from Scotland.* VI. *To Sir John Mennis, being invited from Calais to Bologne, to eat a Pig.* VII. *Natura Naturata.* VIII. *Sarpedon's Speech to Glaucus, in the twelfth Book of Homer.* IX. *Out of an epigram of Martial.* X. *Friendship and Single Life, against Love and Marriage.* XI. *On Mr Abraham Cowley, his Death, and Burial amongst the antient Poets.* XII. *A Speech against Peace, at the Close Committee.* XIII. *To the Five Members of the Honourable House of Commons: The humble Petition of the Poets.* XIV. *A Western Wonder.* XV. *A Second Western Wonder.* XVI. *News from Colchester: Or, a proper new Ballad of certain carnal Passages betwixt a Quaker and a Colt, at Horsly near Colchester in Essex.* XVII. *A Song.* XVIII. *On Mr John Fletcher's Works.* XIX. *To Sir Richard Fanshaw, upon his Translation of Pastor Fido.* XX. *A Dialogue between Sir John Pooley and Mr Thomas Killigrew.* XXI. *An Occasional Imitation of a Modern Author upon the Game of Chess.* XXII. *The Passion of Dido for Æneas.* XXIII. *Of Prudence. Of Justice.* These two pieces are translated from the Latin of Mancini, a noble Italian, who was contemporary with Petrarch and Mantuan, and not long before Tasso. The author wrote upon the four Cardinal Virtues; but Sir John Denham translated only the two first, 'not (he tells us) to turn the kindness he intended the author into an injury; for the two last are little more than repetitions and recitals of the first; and (to make a just excuse for him) they could not well be otherwise, since the two last virtues are but descendants from the first, Prudence being the true mother of Temperance, and true Fortitude the child of Justice (16). XXIV. *The Progress of Learning.* XXV. *Cato Major, of Old Age, a Poem.* It is taken from the Latin of Tully, though much altered from the original, not only by the change of the style, but by addition and subtraction. Our author tells us, that intending to translate this piece into prose (where translation ought to be strict) finding the matter very proper for verse, he took the liberty to leave out what was only necessary to that age and place, and to take, or add, what was proper to this present age and occasion, by laying the sense closer, and in fewer words, according to the style and ear of these times.'

The

(10) History of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. III. P. i. p. 130. edit. Ox. 1730.

(11) Wood, ubi supra, col. 423.

(12) Ibid.

(13) See the Remark [B].

(14) Wood, ubi supra.

(15) See the Remark [E].

(16) Poems, &c. by Sir John Denham, p. 90.

He died at his office near Whitehall, in March 1688, and was interred in Westminster, near the tombs of Chaucer, Spencer, and Cowley (e).

(e) Wood, *ibid.*  
col. 423.

*The three first parts, says he, I dedicate to my old friends, to take off those melancholy reflexions, which the sense of age, infirmity, and death, may give them. The last part I think necessary for the conviction of those many, who believe not, or at least mind not, the immortality of the soul, of which the Scripture speaks only positively, as a Law-giver, with an Ipse dixit. But if a Heathen Philosopher bring such arguments from reason, nature, and second causes, which none of our atheistical Sophisters can confute, if they may stand convinced, that there is an immortality of the soul, I hope they will so weigh the consequences, as neither to talk, nor live, as if there was no such thing (17). XXVI. The Sophy, a Tragedy (18). The above pieces have been several times printed together, in one volume, in 12mo, under the title of Poems and Translations, with the Sophy, a Tragedy: Written by the Honourable Sir John Denham, Knight of the Bath. The sixth edition is of 1719. Besides these, Anthony Wood mentions A Panegyrick on his Excellency the Lord General George Monk, Commander in Chief, &c. Lond. 1659, in one sheet, in 4to. Though our author's name is not to it, it was generally ascribed to him. A Prologue to his Majesty*

(17) *Ibid.* p. 119.

(18) See the Remark [A].

*at the first play presented at the Cock-Pit in Whitehall, being part of that noble entertainment, which their Majesties received, Nov. 19, ann. 1660, from his Grace the Duke of Albemarle. This Prologue was printed at London, in 1660, on one side of a broad sheet of paper. A new Version of the Psalms of David. The True Presbyterian without disguise: or, a character of a Presbyterian's ways and actions. Lond. 1680, in half a sheet in folio. Our author's name is to this poem; but it was then questioned by many whether he was the author of it. In the year 1666, there were printed by stealth, in 8vo, certain Poems intituled, Directions to a Painter, in four copies or parts, each dedicated to King Charles II. They were very satirically written against several persons engaged in the Dutch war in 1665. At the end of them was a piece intituled, Clarendon's House-warming, and after that his Epitaph, both containing bitter reflexions on Edward Earl of Clarendon. Sir John Denham's name is to these pieces; but they were generally thought to be written by Andrew Marvel, Esq; The Printer of them, being discovered, was sentenced to stand in the pillory for the same (19).*

(19) Wood, *ibid.*  
col. 423, 424.

(a) From the pedigree of the family of the Denneys, taken by Sir M. Cary, and inserted into the *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, by Sir Henry Chauncy. Edit. fol. 1700. p. 298.

(b) See the life of Dr John Collet, &c. by Samuel Knight, D. D. 8vo. Lond. 1724. in the *Miscellanies*, at the end, No. 4. p. 392.

(c) See the life of Sir John Cheke, &c. by John Strype, M. A. 8vo. edit. 1705. p. 217.

DENNY (Sir ANTHONY) Knight, favourite, and one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, to King Henry VIII, was the second son of Thomas Denny [A], of Cheshunt, in the county of Hertford, Esq; by Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Mannock (a). He had his education in St Paul's school, London, under the famous William Lilly (b); and afterwards in St John's College in Cambridge: in both which places he so improved himself, that he became an excellent scholar, as well as a person of great worth (c). His merit having made him known at Court, he was constituted, by King Henry VIII, one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, Groom of the Stole, and a Privy-Counsellor; and likewise received the honour of Knighthood from that Prince (d): with whom being in great favour, he raised a considerable estate upon the ruins of the dissolved Monasteries. For, in 1537, King Henry gave him the Priory of Hertford, together with divers other lands and manors [B]. He further granted him, in 1539, on the 15th of December, the office of Steward of the manor of Bedwell and Little Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire [C]. Besides which, Sir Anthony also obtained the manor of Butterwick, in the parish of St Peter in St Alban's (e); the manors of the Rectory, and of the Nunnery, in the parish of Cheshunt (f); and of Great Amwell (g), all in the county of Hertford. Moreover, in 1541, there was a large grant made to him, by Act of Parliament, of several lands that had belonged to the Abbey of St Alban's, lately dissolved [D].

(d) Dugdale's *Baronage*, Vol. II. p. 419.

(e) *Hist. Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, &c. by Sir Henry Chauncy, as above, p. 460.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 301.

(g) *Ibid.* p. 283.

Not

[A] Was the second son of Thomas Denny.] The family of Denny is traced up by some as high as the year of Christ 725. About that time, the Moors having invaded France with a prodigious army, were opposed by Charles Martel: who had under him an officer named Denny, by whose bravery and conduct the French slew thirty thousand of the enemy in one battle, and got a glorious victory. Descended from him, as is supposed, was John Denny, Esq; who served King Henry V, in his wars in France, and being slain there, was buried at St Denis in Paris. His descendants were — Henry: — William, of Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, and High-Sheriff of that county in the year 1480 (1) — Edmund, [whom Sir William Dugdale by mistake calls Edward (2)] He was a Clerk in the Exchequer; and in 1504 constituted the King's Remembrancer (3): and on the 6th of May 1514, one of the Barons of the Exchequer (4). He died on the 22d of December 1520 (5). — His eldest son, John, died without issue: and his second son — Thomas, was the father of Sir Anthony, who is the subject of this article.

(1) Fuller's *Hist. of Waltham-Abbey*, p. 12.

(2) *Baronage*, Vol. II. p. 419.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Chronica Juridicalia*, under the year 1514.

(5) Chauncy, as above, p. 298.

(6) Chauncy, as above, p. 399.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 280.

[B] Together with divers other lands and manors.] Particularly the tythes issuing out of Almeshoe-manor in St Hippolits near Hitchin (6).

[C] The office of Steward of the manor of Bedwell and little Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire.] And, moreover, the office of Keeper of the park of Bedwell, and the deer; and of Keeper of the dwelling-house of Bedwell: also the herbage and pannage of the said park, and the free-warren of the rabbits, within the parishes of Effingdon and Berkhamstead (7).

[D] Moreover, in 1541, there was a large grant

made to him, by Act of Parliament, of several lands that had belonged to the abbey of St Alban's lately dissolved.] For in the Parliament begun at Westminster the 16th of January 33 Henry VIII, it was enacted, that Anthony Denny, Esq; one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, should have to him and his heirs, all the manor or lordship of the king of Parkbury in the county of Hertford, and all the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with the appurtenances in Park, called Boreham, Spirth, and Grimegate-field, late in the occupation of John Coningsby, the first crop of a meadow in Park called Mapenham-mead, seven acres of land called Cleypits next Eiwood; one annual pension or yearly rent of 26s. 8d. accustomed to be paid yearly out of the vicarage of St Stephen, all the tythes of hay in Sleep, Smalford, Thread, Husses, and Beach, the two watermills called the Park-mill and the Moor-mill, with all watercourses and profits belonging to them, the grange or farm called the Bech, and the grange or messuage called Butterwick, in the parish of St Peter's; the views of Franc-pledge, courts, profits of views of franc-pledge and courts, heriots, relieves, escheats, waifes, estraires, wards, marriages, liberties, and all other hereditaments with their appurtenances, in the parishes of St Stephens, Park, Sleep, Smalford, Thread, Husses, and Beach, Boreham, Idlestre, British, and Nafthide, belonging to the manor of Parkbury, also Stordwood, Beach-grove, Ballsgrove, Mead-grove, Butterwick-copice, Haily-grove, and Park-grove; except Cowley-mill, Stanford-mill, Sopwell-mill, and the advowsons and patronages of churches, chapels, and chauntries, to hold of the King, his heirs and successors, in chief by Knights service, to wit by

the

Not content with that, he found means to procure a thirty-one years lease, of the many large and rich demesnes, that had been possessed by Waltham-Abbey in Essex (b): of which his lady purchased afterwards the reversion [E]. In 1544, the King gave him the advantageous Wardship of Margaret, the only daughter and heir of Thomas Lord Audeley, deceased (i). On the 31st of August 1546, he was commissioned, with John Gate, and William Clerk, Esquires, to sign all warrants in the King's name (k). In this reign he did an eminent service to the great school of Sedberg in Yorkshire, belonging to the College wherein he had received his education. For, the building being fallen to decay, and the lands appropriated thereto sold and embezzled, he caused the school to be repaired, and not only recovered, but also settled the estate so firmly, as to prevent all future alienations (l). When King Henry VIII was on his death-bed, Sir Anthony had the loyalty and courage to put him in mind of his approaching end; and desired him, to raise his thoughts to heaven, to think of his past life, and to call on God for mercy through Jesus Christ (m). So great an opinion had that King of him, that he appointed him one of the executors of his will, and one of the Counsellors to his son and successor King Edward VI: and bequeathed him a legacy of three hundred pounds (n). He did not live long after this: for he died in the year 1550 (o); Dr Fuller being mistaken when he says it was in 1548 (p). By his wife Joan, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury in Devonshire, a Lady of great beauty and parts [F], he had six children; of whom Henry, the eldest, was father of Edward Denny, knighted in 1589, summoned to Parliament in 1605, and advanced, on the 24th of October 1626, to the dignity of Earl of Norwich (q). As for Sir Anthony Denny's character; one of his contemporaries informs us, that his whole time and cares were taken up with, and employed about, Religion, Learning, and the care of the Public (r): and highly commended him for his prudence and humanity. The learned Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, wrote an excellent epitaph for him, some years before his decease [G]. And Sir John Cheke, who had a great esteem for him, honoured his memory with an elegant Heroick Poem [H].

(l) Fuller, as above, & Aſcham Ep. p. 331.

(m) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, P. i. 2d edit. p. 350.

(n) Conventiones, &c. by T. Rymer, ubi supra, p. 101. Fuller's Church History, Book v. p. 243, &c.

(o) Chauncy, as above, p. 129.

(p) Fuller, Hist. of Waltham-Abbey, p. 13.

(q) Dugdale, ubi supra.

(r) Religio, Decetina, Republica, omnes curas tuas sic occupant, ut extra has tres res nullum tempus consumas. Aſcham Epistol. commend. p. 329. Edit. Oxon. 1703.

the 20th part of one whole Knight's-fee, at the yearly rent of 1*l.* 10*d.* sterling, payable at the feast of St Michael the archangel (8).

[E] Of which his Lady purchased afterwards the reversion.] She bought it of King Edward VI, for the sum of three thousand pounds and upwards; and obtained with it large privileges in Waltham-forest (9).

[F] A Lady of great beauty and parts.] And also a favourer of the Reformed Religion, in the most dangerous times. For she sent eight shillings by her man to Anne Aſcough, when she was imprisoned in the Counter (10).

[G] Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, wrote an epitaph for him, some years before his decease.] Which is as follows:

Death, and the King, did, as it were, contend,  
Which of them two bare Denny greatest love:  
The King, to shew his love can farre extend,  
Did him advance his betters farre above.  
Nere place, much wealth, great honour, eke him gave,  
To make it knowne, what power great Princes have.

But when death came with his triumphant gift,  
From worldly cake (\*) he quit his wearied ghost  
Free from the corpses, and straight to Heaven it lift.  
Now deme that can, who did for Denny most.  
The King gave welth, but fading and unfure:  
Death brought him blisse, that ever shall endure.

This epitaph, as Mr Fuller observes (11), was made by a poetical prolepsis, or antieipation. For, the noble and ingenious author of it did not survive Sir Antony; being sacrificed, in the year 1546, to the jealousy of that brutish tyrant Henry VIII.

[H] Sir John Cheke——honoured his memory with an elegant Heroick Poem.] In which he highly commends his piety, his zeal for religion, his obliging behaviour to the King his master, his readines to do good to all, his inoffensive temper, &c. Some of the verses are as follow:

*Deneius venit ad superos mortalia linquens,  
Britannos inter clarus——  
Quis dignam illius faelis vocem, quis promere verba  
Possit, & excelsas laudes aquare canendo?  
Quæ pietas, & quanta viri? Quis fervor in illo  
Religionis erat? Quam purus cultus in illo  
Cælestis patris? Quanta in Christum Fidei vis  
Extitit illius sacrata morte redempti?  
Munera quæ rursus? Quos & libavit Honores  
Justitiæque Speique Deo? Quæ Victimæ laudis  
Cæsa fuit? ——  
O quibus Illic (\*) Studiis, quo illum est amplexus amore, (\*) Hen. VIII.  
Quem sibi subiectumque bonum, servumque fidelem  
Scribat, & officia hæc haud parvo munere pensans,  
Ostendit se herumque bonum, regemque benignum.  
Consiliumque Lepos quantum superadditus auget,  
Et jurat optatas ad res bene conficiendas,  
Ille alios tantum superat, qui flectere mentem  
Henrici potuit, miscens nunc utile dulci,  
Seria nunc levibus texens, nunc grandia parvis.  
Quam facilem cursum hic aliis ad vota sequenda  
Fecerat, atque aditum multis facilem patefecit?  
Quam bona multa aliis, & quam mala nulla cuiquam  
Intulit? Et laudem summam virtutis habebat  
Hujus, qui nullos nec apertos læserat hostes, &c. (12).*

(12) Life of J. Cheke, as above, by J. Strype, p. 219, 220.

D E R H A M (W I L L I A M) a most excellent Christian Philosopher, and Divine, who flourished in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth century, was born at Stowton near Worcester, on the 26th of November 1657. He had his school-education at Blockley in his native county, under the Reverend Mr Nathaniel Collier: And, May 14, 1675, in the eighteenth year of his age, was admitted into Trinity-College, Oxon. under the tuition of the learned Dr Willes, father of the present Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts January 28, 1678-9; and by that time, had so distinguished himself by his learning, and other valuable and eminent qualifications, that he was earnestly recommended by Dr Ralph Baturst, then President of Trinity-College, to Dr Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury: By whose interest and commendation, he became Chaplain, as soon as he had entered into

(b) Fuller's Hist. of Waltham-Abbey at the end of his History of the Church. Lond. 1655. p. 12.

(i) Chauncy, as above, p. 129.

(l) Conventiones, Acta Publica, &c. published by T. Rymer. Tom. XV. p. 100.

(8) Statut. 33. II. VIII. See the Historical Antiquity of Hertfordshire, &c. as above, p. 494, 504.

(9) Fuller's History of Waltham-Abbey, p. 13.

(10) Fuller, ibid. and Fox's Acts and Monuments, edit. 1583, p. 1238, 1239.

(\*) i. e. Cares.

(11) History of Waltham-Abbey, p. 13.

(a) Most of these particulars, especially the dates, were communicated to us by his worthy son, Dr W. Derham, Fellow of St John's College, Oxon.

(b) No. 236, p. 2, &c. of the Philosophical Transactions.

(c) No. 237, p. 45, &c.

(d) Ibid. No. 249, p. 45, &c.

(e) No. 262, p. 527.

(f) No. 271, p. 832.

(g) No. 286, p. 1443.

(h) No. 288, p. 1504.

(i) No. 289, p. 1530.

(k) No. 291, p. 1586.

(l) No. 291, p. 1578.

(m) No. 294, p. 1785.

(n) No. 297, p. 1877.

(o) No. 305, p. 2220.

(p) No. 309, p. 2378.

(q) No. 310, p. 2411.

(r) No. 313, p. 2.

holy orders, to Catharine Lady Dowager Grey of Warke. He was ordained Deacon by Dr Compton, Bishop of London, May 29, 1681, and Priest by Bishop Ward, just now mentioned, July 9, 1682. On the 5th of July 1682, he was presented by Mr Neville to the Vicarage of Wargrave in Berkshire. But he did not long continue there, for, on the 31st of August 1689, he was presented by Mrs Jane Bray to the Rectory of Upminster in Essex (a), a living of above two hundred pounds value, and not more than fifteen miles from London: Which lying at so convenient a distance from that metropolis of the kingdom, gave him an opportunity of conversing, and keeping a correspondence, with the greatest virtuoso's in the nation. Being therefore placed in that quiet and retired station, suitable to his contemplative and philosophical temper, he applied himself, with great eagerness, to the study of Nature, and to Mathematicks, and Experimental Philosophy. In which he became so eminent, that he was, soon after, chose Fellow of the Royal Society. And he proved one of the most useful and industrious Members of it, frequently publishing, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, curious observations, and valuable pieces, of which the particulars follow. 'Part of a Letter — dated Dec. 6, 1697. Giving an account of some Experiments about the Height of the Mercury in the Barometer, at top and bottom of the Monument: [in London] and a Description of a portable Barometer (b). 'A Letter — dated Jan. 13, 1697-8, about a contrivance to measure the Height of the Mercury of the Barometer, by a Circle on one of the Weather-plates: With a Register, or Diary of the Weather, observed every day at Upminster, during the year 1697 (c). 'A Letter to Dr Sloane; with a Register of the Weather, Winds, Barometer's Height, and Quantity of Rain falling at Upminster in Essex, during the year 1698 (d). 'A Register of the Weather, &c. as above, for the year 1699 (e) [A]. Observations on the Death-Watch; or, that Insect which makes a Noise like the Beats of a Watch (f). Observations on the Weather, Rain, Winds, &c. for 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702. compared with other Observations made at Townley in Lancashire by Mr Townley, and communicated to our author (g). An Account of some Spots observed in the Sun in June 1703 (b). Observations on the Great Storm Nov. 26, 1703 (i). The History of the Death-Watch (k) [B]. Account of an Instrument for finding the Meridian, with a Description of the same (l). Experiments on the Motion of Pendulums *in vacuo* (m). A Prospect of the Weather, Winds, and Height of the Mercury in the Barometer, on the first day of the Month; and of the whole Rain in every Month in the year 1703, and the beginning of 1704. Observed at Townley in Lancashire by R. Townley, Esq; and at Upminster in Essex by our author (n). Account of a Glade of Light seen in the Heavens, 20 March, 1705-6 (o). Tables of the Weather, &c. for the year 1705 (p). Account of a pyramidal Appearance in the Heavens, seen in Essex April 3, 1707 (q). Experiments and Observations on the Motion of Sound: in Latin, a long and curious paper (r) [C]. On the Migration of Birds (s). Account of an Eclipse of the Sun Sept. 3, 1708, as observed at Upminster (t): And of an Eclipse of the Moon, Sept. 18, 1708 (u). Account of a strange Meteor, or *Aurora Borealis*, in Sept. or Octob. 1706 (w). An Account of a Child's crying in the Womb (x) [D]. The History of the great Frost in 1708 (y). Account of Spots observed in the Sun by our author, from 1703 to 1708 (z): and from 1707 to 1711 (a). Of subterraneous Trees found at Dagenham-Breach in Essex (b). Account of an Eclipse of the Moon, seen at Upminster

[A] *A Register of the Weather, &c.* In these Registers, he exhibits to view, in separate columns, every day at the hours of 8, 12, and 9, the *Weather, Winds, Clouds*, height of the *Barometer*, (and in that for 1699 only, of the *Thermometer*) *Rain, &c.*

[B] *The History of the Death-watch.* In treating of this insect, he gives, first, a draught of it as it appeareth to the naked eye, and as magnified with a microscope. Then he informs us, That it is very much like a louse in shape and colour, but runneth more nimble: and is common in every house in the warm months; but in the cold season of the year, they hide themselves in dry and obscure places. Their eggs, which are much smaller than the nits of lice, though shaped like them but more transparent, they lay in dry dusty places. These are hatch'd by the warmth of the approaching spring, about the beginning of March; and at the first leaving their egg-shell, are perfectly like the mites in cheese, but exceedingly small, so as scarce to be discerned by the sharpest eye, without the help of a Convex-glass. In this shape they continue six weeks, or two months, and then gradually grow to their more perfect state. Their *ticking noise* is a wooing-act, and is commonly in July, and about the beginning of August. But they do not every Year beat alike, doing it sometimes sooner, sometimes later, sometimes much, sometimes little. After they have spent some time in ticking, they copulate. Death-watches, both young and old, feed upon dead insects, and upon little crumbs of biscuit, tallow, &c. mix'd among the dust.

[C] *Experiments and observations on the motion of sound, &c.* In this curious paper, he observes, (in the first place,) the disagreement between the most eminent authors concerning the velocity of sound, that is, how many English feet a sound moves in one second of time; and gives a table of it. Then from the experiments he had made upon that subject, he deduces the following observations, That there is no variation of sound from the different elevation or direction of the gun: that the motion of sound, is not alter'd by the alterations in the air: that sounds produced from different bodies, move with the same velocity: that the motion of sound is uniform. He likewise treats therein of the following subjects; of an echo at a great distance, and in the air; and of the motion of echo's; of the ascending and descending of sounds; of the remissness and intenseness of sounds, according to the alteration of the air; of the influence of winds, on the motion of sounds; of the velocity of winds, and of sounds. Experiments on sounds made in Italy, &c.

[D] *An account of a child's crying in the womb.* 'Twas the child of one Clark of Horn-Church in Essex, who was heard to cry in his mother's womb, at times, for five weeks. And though the possibility of such a thing is question'd by Etmuller and Diemerbroek (1), yet our author proves from several matters of fact, that it is not only possible, but also has happen'd many times; although it was not of so long continuance, and with such frequent re-iterations of the crying, as it happened in this instance.

[E] *Mischief's*

(1) Etmuller *Dissertat. de aëre & spiritu respirati humanæ negotiæ* where Diemerbroek's opinion is related.

(c) No. 336,  
p. 522.

Upminster Jan. 12, 1711-12 (c). Of a Woman big with Child, and having the Small-pox, delivered of a Child having the same Distemper, Sept. 8, 1713 (d). An Account of the Rain at Upminster for eighteen Years (e). Tables of the Barometrical Altitudes for 1708, at Zurich in Switzerland; and of the Rain at Pisa in Italy, and Zurich, and Upminster, for 1707, 1708. With Remarks on the Winds, Heat, and Cold, &c (f). Mischiefs occasioned by swallowing the Stones of Bullace and Sloes (g) [E]. Extracts from Mr Gascoigne's and Mr Crabtree's Letters, proving Mr Gascoigne to have been the Inventor of the Telescopic Sights of Mathematical Instruments, and not the French (b). Observations about Wasps, and the Difference of their Sexes (i) [F]. Observations on the *Lumen Boreale*, or Streaming, on Oct. 8, 1726 (k). Tables of the Eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites, from 1700 to the Year 1727; with Remarks on those Tables (l). The Difference in Time of the Meridians of divers Places computed from Observations of the Eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites (m). A Letter to Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. R. S. Pr. &c. containing a Description of some uncommon Appearances observed in an *Aurora Borealis*, the thirteenth of October, 1728 (n). Of the Meteor called the *Ignis Fatuus* [Will of the wisp] from observations made in England, by our Author, and others in Italy, communicated by Sir Thomas Derham, Bart. (o) [G]. I have placed these several pieces here together, because they are of the same kind and nature, and were all published in the same collection, *i. e.* the Philosophical Transactions. To return now to other books composed in the mean time by our ingenious author. He published in his younger years, 'The Artificial Clock-maker. A Treatise of Watch and Clock-work, shewing to the meanest Capacities, the Art of Calculating Numbers to all Sorts of Movements; the Way to alter Clock-work; to make Chimes, and set them to Musical Notes; and to calculate and correct the Motion of Pendulums. Also Numbers for divers Movements: With the ancient and modern History of Clock-work; and many Instruments, Tables, and other Matters, never before published in any other book [H]. The fourth Edition, with large Emendations, was published in 1734, 12mo. In the years 1711 and 1712, he preached sixteen Sermons at Mr Boyle's Lecture [I], which, having put into a new form, he published in 1713, under this title, 'Physico-Theology: or, a Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God, from his Works of Creation. Being the Substance of Sixteen Sermons preached in St Mary le Bow Church, London, at the Honourable Mr Boyle's Lectures, in the year 1711 and 1712. With large Notes, and many curious Observations, 8vo [K].' And, in pursuance of the

(d) No. 337,  
p. 165.

(e) No. 341,  
p. 130.

(f) Ibid. p. 342.

(g) No. 349,  
p. 484.

(h) No. 352,  
p. 603.

(i) No. 382,  
p. 53.

(k) No. 398,  
p. 245.

(l) No. 402,  
p. 415.

(m) No. 407,  
p. 33.

(n) No. 410,  
p. 137.

(o) No. 411,  
p. 204.

Our ingenious author communicated also to the Royal Society, several pieces which he received from his learned correspondents. See Philosophical Transactions, No. 366, p. 127. No. 369, p. 250. &c. No. 382, p. 67.

[E] *Mischiefs occasioned by swallowing the stones of bullace and sloes*] There being a notion, 'that the stones of sloes, cherries, &c. are useful in preventing a surfeit from the fruit,' our ingenious author shews in this paper, the danger of that ill-grounded opinion, in the instance of a neighbouring clergyman's servant: who having in his youth been a great lover of fruit, used greedily to devour all sorts he could come at, and bullace and sloes being the easiest to be gotten, he used to swallow great quantities of them, without evacuating many of the stones by stool. But the consequence of it was, That he came to have excessive pains in his stomach, and to vomit up, whatever he eat. At length, after violent vomitings, he brought up, at divers times, above one hundred and twenty bullace and sloe-stones, besides many others of which he could not keep account.

[F] *Observations about wasps, &c.*] In these observations he shews, that there are three sorts of wasps. The *Queens*, or *Females*, which never work; the *Kings*, or *Males*; and the *common Labouring Wasps*; each of them very distinct. The Queen, or Female-Wasp (by many called the *King-Wasp*) is much longer in the body, and larger, than any other Wasp. The Male-Wasps are lesser than the Queens, but as much longer and larger than the common Wasps, as the Queen is longer and larger than these. These males also have no stings, which the Queens and common Wasps all have. And they may be known from other Wasps, by their *Antennæ*, or horns; which are longer and larger than either those of the Queen or common Wasps, and with them they seem, in running, to feel more than the others do. But the grand and chief difference, are the parts of generation of these Male-Wasps, which the curious author accurately describes (2).

[G] *Of the Meteor call'd the Ignis Fatuus, &c.*] He proves in this paper, from observations made by himself and by Sir Tho Derham, that the *Ignes Fatui* are not, as divers skilful Naturalists have imagined, only the shining of a great number of the Male-Glow worms in England, or of the *Pyraustæ* in Italy, flying together; but, are very much like that sort of *Phosphorus*, which doth indeed shine in the dark, but doth not burn any thing as common fire doth. Moreover, that they ap-

pear, in Italy, mostly in morassy grounds, in dark nights, and in cold, snowy, and even rainy weather; but not so much in summer (3).

[H] *The Artificial Clock-Maker, &c.*] In the preface the ingenious author informs us, that 'this little book was a part of the diversion of his juvenile years, and at first drawn up in a rude manner, only to please himself, and divert the vacant hours of a solitary country life. But was publish'd, purely in hopes of its doing some good in the world, among such whose genius and leisure lead them to mechanical studies, or those whose business and livelihood it is.' — Afterwards he adds, — Upon the account of the innocence of my end in publishing this book, and that it was written only as the harmless (I may add also the virtuous) sport of leisure hours; I think myself excusable to God and the world, for the expence of so much time, on a subject different from my profession.'

[I] *In the years 1711 and 1712, he preached sixteen Sermons at Mr Boyle's lecture.*] How he came to be appointed to preach that lecture, he tells us in the following words. — (4) 'Having the honour to be a member of the Royal Society, as well as a Divine, I was minded to try what I could do towards the improvement of Philosophical matters to Theological uses; and accordingly laid a scheme of what I have here published a part of, and when I had little else to do, I drew up what I had to say, making it rather the diverting exercises of my leisure hours, than more serious Theological studies. This work (altho' I made a considerable progress in it at first, whilst a novelty, yet) having no thoughts of publishing, I laid aside, until your Grace, being informed of my design by some of my learned friends both of the Clergy and laity, was pleased to call me to the unexpected honour of preaching Mr Boyle's lectures: an honour I was little aware of in my country privacy, and not much acquainted with persons in high stations, and not at all particularly, with your Grace' —

[K] *Physico-Theology, &c.*] This curious treatise, which was intended for young gentlemen at the universities (5), is divided into eleven books, subdivided into the following chapters. Book I. Of the outward works of the terraqueous globe in general. Ch. 1. Of

(3) No. 411, as above, p. 204, &c.

(4) In the Dedication of his *Physico-Theology* to Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

(5) See the Preface to that book, p. 8.

the

(1) Ubi supra,  
No. 382, p. 53,  
&c.

same noble and pious design, he published, in 1714, 'Astro-Theology: or, a Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God, from a Survey of the Heavens. Illustrated with Copper-plates, 8vo [L]. Upon the accession of the late King George I, due notice being taken of our learned author's worth and ingenuity, his present Majesty, then Prince of Wales, made him his Chaplain, and procured for him a Canonry of Windsor, into which he was installed Sept. 19, 1716. The University of Oxford, likewise, in consideration of his merit, learning, and ingenuity, conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, by diploma, the 26th of June 1730 [M]. But to return to our author's writings: When Eleazar Albin published his Natural History of Birds, and English Insects (p), with many beautiful Cuts, they appeared illustrated 'with very curious Notes and Observations by our learned Author.' And he also revised *Miscellanea Curiosa* (q). The last thing he published of his own composition, was, 'Christo-Theology: or, a Demonstration of the Divine Authority of the Christian Religion, being the Substance of a Sermon preached at Bath, on November 2, 1729, and published at the earnest Request of the Auditory. Lond. 1730, 8vo.' — It was not only with his own writings that this excellent author obliged the world, but also with those of several great and learned men. For he published some pieces of the late most worthy and ingenious Mr Ray [N], and gave new editions of others, with great additions from the author's own

(p) In four volumes, 4to.

(q) In three volumes, 8vo. 1726.

the atmosphere in general. Ch. 2. Of the winds. Ch. 3. Of the clouds and rain. Ch. 4. Of light. Ch. 5. Of gravity. Book II. Of the terraqueous globe itself in general. Ch. 1. Of the figure of the terraqueous globe. Ch. 2. Of the bulk of the terraqueous globe. Ch. 3. The motions of the terraqueous globe, in respect of the heavenly bodies. Ch. 4. Of the place and situation of the terraqueous globe, in respect of the earth and waters. Ch. 5. The distribution of the earth and waters. Ch. 6. The great variety and quantity of all things upon, and in the terraqueous globe, provided for the uses of the world. Book III. Of the terraqueous globe in particular, more especially the earth. Ch. 1. Of the soils and moulds in the earth. Ch. 2. Of the various *strata* or beds observable in the earth. Ch. 3. Of the subterraneous caverns, and the volcano's. Ch. 4. Of the mountains and vallies. Book IV. Of animals in general. Ch. 1. Of the five senses in general. Ch. 2. Of the eye. Ch. 3. Of the sense of hearing; and of sound. Ch. 4. Of the sense of smelling. Ch. 5. Of the taste. Ch. 6. Of the sense of feeling. Ch. 7. Of respiration. Ch. 8. Of the motion of animals. Ch. 9. Of the place allotted to the several tribes of animals. Ch. 10. Of the ballance of animals, or the due proportion in which the world is stocked with them. Ch. 11. Of the food of animals. The apparatus for the gathering, preparing, and digestion of the food; and the great Sagacity of animals in finding out and providing their food. Animals care of their young, and the preservation of animals in winter. Ch. 12. Of the cloathing of animals. Ch. 13. Of the houses and habitations of animals. Ch. 14. Of animals self-preservation. Ch. 15. Of the generation of animals. A survey of the particular tribes of animals. Book V. A survey of man. Ch. 1. Of the soul of man. Of man's invention. Ch. 2. Of man's body, particularly its posture. Ch. 3. Of the figure and shape of man's body. Ch. 4. Of the stature and size of man's body. Ch. 5. Of the structure of the parts of man's body. Ch. 6. Of the placing the parts of man's body. Ch. 7. Of the provision in man's body against evils. Ch. 8. Of the consent between the parts of man's body. Ch. 9. Of the variety of men's faces, voices, and hand-writing. Book VI. A survey of quadrupeds. Ch. 1. Of their prone posture. Ch. 2. Of the heads of quadrupeds. Ch. 3. Of the necks of quadrupeds. Ch. 4. Of the stomachs of quadrupeds. Ch. 5. Of the heart of quadrupeds. Ch. 6. Of the difference between man and quadrupeds in the nervous kind. Book VII. A survey of birds. Ch. 1. Of the motion of birds, and the parts ministering thereto. Ch. 2. Of the head, stomach, and other parts of birds. Ch. 3. Of the migration of birds. Ch. 4. Of the incubation of birds. Book VIII. Of insects and reptiles. Ch. 1. Of insects in general. Ch. 2. Of the shape and structure of insects. Ch. 3. Of the eyes and *antennæ* of insects. Ch. 4. Of the parts and motion of insects. Ch. 5. The sagacity of insects to secure themselves against winter. Ch. 6. Of the care of insects about their young. Book IX. Of reptiles and the inhabitants of the waters. Ch. 1. Of reptiles. Ch. 2. Of the inhabitants of the waters. Book X. Of vegetables; their anatomy. Flowers and

feeds; their support. Vegetables that are peculiarly useful. Book XI. Contains practical inferences from the foregoing survey. Wherein he shews, that God's works are great and excellent; ought to be enquired into; are manifest to all; ought to excite us to fear and obedience to God; and to thankfulness; and that we ought to pay God all due homage and worship, particularly that of the Lord's day.

This curious and valuable book hath passed through many editions (6), and been translated into French, and several other languages.

[L] *Astro-Theology*.] This treatise is divided into eight books. Book 1. The magnitude of the universe. Book 2. Number of the heavenly bodies. Book 3. The due situation of them. Book 4. The motions of the heavens. Book 5. Of the figure of the heavenly bodies. Book 6. Of attraction and gravity. Book 7. Of light and heat. Book 8. Practical inferences— It is dedicated to his present Majesty, who was, at the time of its publication, Prince of Wales.

[M] *The university of Oxford* — conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity by diploma, &c.] The diploma was as follows:

Cancellarius, Magistri, & Scholares Universitatis Oxoniensis Omnibus ad quos hæc Literæ pervenerint, salutem in Domino Sempiternam.

Cum eum in finem Honores Academici à majoribus nostris instituti fuerint, ut Viri de re literaria bene meriti Gratia quadam peculiari insignirentur; Cumq; Vir Reverendus & Doctissimus *Gulielmus Derham*, olim è Col. S. S. Trinitatis, A.M. & Ecclesiæ Windlesorienfis Canonicus, ob Libros ab ipso editos (quibus Physicam & Mathefin auctiorem reddidit, & ad religionem veramque Fidem exornandam revocavit) apud Literatos tam exteros quam nostrates in maximo pretio haberetur; Sciatis, Nos Cancellarium, Magistros, & Scholares antedictos, Virum cum primis Principi, Ecclesiæ, Orbique literato percarum, summo quo potuimus Honore prosequi volentes, eundem Reverendum Doctissimumq; *Gulielmum Derham* hoc 26 die mensis Junii A. D. 1730, in solenni & frequentissimo Doctorum & Magistrorum senatu, unanimi Suffragio, Doctorem in S. S. Theologia constituisse & renunciasse, eumque omnibus & singulis Doctoralis in S. Theologia Gradus Privilegiis & Honoribus cumulasse. In cujus rei testimonium ac fidem, Publicum Universitatis nostræ Oxon. Sigillum his literis apponi iussimus. Dat. in Domo Convocationis nostræ Die Annoq; supradict.

[N] *He published some pieces of the late most worthy and ingenious Mr Ray*.] Namely, I Mr Ray's Synopsis of Birds and Fishes, under this title, Joannis Raii *Synopsis Methodica Avium & Piscium*; *Opus Posthumum, quod vivus recensuit & perfecit ipse insignissimus autor: In quo multas species, in ipsius Ornithologia & Ichthyologia desideratas adjecit: Methodumque suam Piscium Naturæ magis convenientem reddidit. Cum Appendice & Iconibus.* Lond. 1713, 8vo. The editor informs us in his preface, that this book was finished by the learned author about the year 1693, or 1694, and lay a long time in the hands of a dishonest bookseller, who would neither publish it, nor let Mr Ray's friends have it again. II. In 1718, he published, 'Philosophical

(6) There were three editions of it within the first year. And the 8th was published in 1732.

own manuscripts [O]. To him the world is likewise indebted for the publication of the Philosophical Experiments and Observations of the late eminent Dr Robert Hooke, F. R. S. and *Geom. Prof. Gresh.* and other eminent virtuoso's in his time. *Lond.* 1726, 8vo. with copper Cuts.' Among other curiosities, of which he had great numbers, he had collected a specimen of Insects (r), and likewise nicely preserved the male and female of most kinds of Birds in this island. Thus, this good and great man, having spent his life in the most agreeable study of Nature, and made all his researches therein subservient to the glorious end of promoting the honour of God, and true piety and religion in the world [P], gave up his pious soul to his Maker on the 5th of April 1735, at Uxminster, and was buried there. Dr Derham, as to his person, was pretty tall, and seemed to be of a strong and healthful constitution. His moral character was quite amiable; and, among other instances of his bounty, he was a Physician to the Bodies as well as to the Souls of his Parishioners; none, or but few, of them, having occasion to apply to any one else but him for relief in the time of illness. Such was his skill in Physick, as well as in all other branches of Knowledge!

(r) See Philosophical Transactions, No. 291, p. 1586.

phical Letters between the late learned Mr Ray, and several of his ingenious correspondents, natives and foreigners. To which are added those of Francis Willughby, Esq; The whole consisting of many curious discoveries and improvements in the history of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, insects, plants, fossils, &c.' *Lond.* 8vo.

[O] And gave new editions of others with great additions from the author's manuscripts.] That is, of 'The Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of the Creation, &c.' the 6th edit. 8vo, 1714. And of 'Three Physico-Theological Discourses, concerning, 1. The primitive chaos, and creation of the world.

'The general deluge, its causes and effects. 3. 'The dissolution of the world, and future conflagration,' &c. The 3d edition, illustrated with copper-plates, and much more enlarged than the former editions, from the author's own MSS, 8vo, 1713.

[P] Promoting the honour of God, and true piety and religion in the world.] What he says himself of his Astro-Theology in particular (7), may in general be applied to his works; they are 'designed for the good of mankind, particularly for the conviction of infidels and irreligious, for the promotion of the fear and honour of God, and the cultivating of true religion.'

(7) In the conclusion of the Preliminary Discourse.

DEVEREUX (WALTER) the first Earl of Essex of this name and family, a General equally distinguished for his courage and conduct, and a Nobleman not more illustrious by his titles than by his birth. He was descended from a most ancient and noble family, being the son of Sir Richard Devereux, Knight, by Dorothy, daughter of George Earl of Huntingdon (a), and grandson of Walter Viscount of Hereford, so created by King Edward the VIth, with a very peculiar circumstance of honour (b) [A]. He was born about the year 1540, at his grandfather's castle in Carmarthenshire (c), educated in his youth with all the care due to his high birth, and applied himself to his studies with great diligence and success (d). He succeeded to the titles of Viscount Hereford and Lord Ferrers of Chartley, in the nineteenth year of his age (e), and being early distinguished for his modesty, learning, and loyalty, stood in high favour with his Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth (f). In the year 1569, upon the breaking out of that desperate rebellion in the north, under the potent Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, he shewed his duty by raising a considerable body of forces (g), which joining those belonging to the Lord Admiral and the Earl of Lincoln, he was declared Marshal of the Army; which did good service, in obliging the rebels to disperse, and the Earls to retire for shelter into Scotland (h). This behaviour so highly recommended him to the Queen, that, in 1572 (i), she honoured him with the Garter, and on the 4th of May, the same year, created him Earl of Essex (k), as being descended, by his great grandmother, from the noble family of Bouchier, long before honoured with the same title (l). In the preamble of his patent, his descent from that house is mentioned, as well as the service he had rendered the Queen by his assistance in the suppressing that formidable rebellion (m), and with great ceremony he was invested with his new dignity, being conducted into the Queen's presence

(e) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II, p. 177.

(f) Speed's Hist. of England, p. 842.

(g) Stowe's Annals, p. 664.

(h) Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 1212. b. n. 40.

(i) Nobilitas politica vel civilis per Thom. Milles, fol. 1608, p. 180.

(k) Vincent's Correction of Brook's Catalogue, p. 187.

(l) Catalogue of the Successions, &c. by R. Brook, p. 84.

(m) From a copy of this Earl's Patent.

[A] With a very peculiar circumstance of honour.] This family of Devereux descended from William Devereux of Bodynham in the county of Hereford, of which he was Sheriff in the forty-fifth of Edw. III (1). His grandson, Sir Walter Devereux, married Anne, sole daughter and heir of William Lord Ferrers of Chartley; and in the thirty-fourth of Henry VI, was Sheriff of Gloucestershire (2). In the first year of Edward IV, he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Ferrers, and had large grants from the Crown, out of the forfeitures of those who adhered to Henry VI (3). This Walter Lord Ferrers was slain at Bosworth field, fighting valiantly in the cause of Richard III (4). His son, John Lord Ferrers of Chartley, espoused Cecily, daughter to Henry Bouchier Earl of Essex (5), by whom he had Walter his son and heir, who in the seventeenth of Henry VIII was constituted Justice of South Wales, being then Knight of the most noble Order (6) of the Garter. It was this noble person, who, on the second of February, in the fourth of Edward VI, was advanced to the dignity of Viscount Hereford (7), with this singular clause in his patent, 'that he and his heirs male, should enjoy the rank and degree of Viscount Hereford in all Parliaments and Councils within the realm of England, and other the King's territories and kingdoms (8);' which, in the opinion of Sir Richard St George, Garter King at Arms, gave the Viscounts of Hereford a right to sit in the Parliament of Ireland. This Walter Viscount Hereford married, first, Mary, daughter of Thomas Marquis of Dorset (9), by whom he had Sir Richard Devereux, Knt. father to Walter Earl of Essex of whom we are speaking, and also Sir William Devereux, who died without issue male. By his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Robert Garnish of Kenton, in the county of Suffolk, Esq; he had one son, Sir Edward Devereux of Castle Bromwich in the county of Warwick, whose descendants were Viscounts of Hereford (10), till the title became extinct in Price, late Lord Viscount Hereford, who died July 22, 1748 (11).

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(7) Pat. 4 E. VI p. 8.

(8) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. III, p. 276.

(9) Baronagium Anglie MS. fol. 12.

(10) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II, p. 182.

(11) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. XVIII, p. 333.

(a) Baronagium Ang. x, A. D. 1596. MS. penes Author. fol. 12.

(b) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II, p. 177.

(c) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 23.

(d) From the Bishop of St David's Sermon at this Earl's Funeral. See note [G].

(1) Rot. Fin. 45 E. III. membr. 8.

(2) Rot. Fin. 34 H. VI. membr. 6.

(3) Pat. 1 E. IV. p. 5. m. 1. Pat. 10 E. IV. m. 6.

(4) Pryd. Virg. l. p. 564.

(5) Claus. 1 H. VII. in derfo. Polyd. Verg. p. 512. n. 30.

(6) Pat. 17 H. VIII. p. 2.

presence by the Earls of Suffex and Huntingdon, the cap and circle of gold being carried by the Earl of Leiceſter, the Earl of Bedford bearing the ſword of ſtate, the Queen herſelf hanging the ſword croſs his ſhoulders, and impoſing the cap and coronet with her own hand (*n*). In the month of January following, he was one of the Peers that ſat in judgment upon the Duke of Norfolk (*o*). At this time he was ſo favourably looked upon by the Queen, that ſome, who were for confining her good graces to themſelves, and to their friends; began to wiſh him at a greater diſtance, and therefore greatly encouraged an inclination he ſhewed, to adventure both his perſon and fortune for her Maſteſty's ſervice in Ireland (*p*) [*B*]. Accordingly, on the 16th of Auguſt 1573, he embarked at Liverpool, accompanied by the Lord Darcy, the Lord Rich, and many other perſons of diſtinction, together with a multitude of volunteers, whom the hopes of preferment, and his Lordſhip's known reputation, inclined to follow his fortune (*q*). His reception in Ireland was not very promiſing from the beginning; for landing at Knockfergus, on the 16th of September, he found the chiefs of the rebels profeſſing a ſtrong inclination to ſubmit, but that was only to gain time, and to accompliſh their own purpoſes; for then they withdrew again, and broke out into open rebellion (*r*). The Lord Rich was called away by his own affairs, and, by degrees, moſt of thoſe who went abroad with the Earl dropped off, and came home again, upon a variety of pretences (*s*). In this ſituation Effex deſired the Queen to carry on the ſervice in her own name, and by her own command, though he ſhould be at one half of the expence (*t*). Afterwards he applied to the Earls of Suffex and Leiceſter, and the Lord Burleigh, to induce the Queen to pay one hundred horſe and ſix hundred foot; which, however, did not take effect; but the Queen, perceiving how hardly this Nobleman was dealt with, and how, in contempt of her commands, the Lord Deputy had delayed ſending him his commiſſion, ſhe was inclined to recal him out of Ulſter, if Leiceſter and others, who found their account in his abſence, had not diſwadged her (*u*). The Lord Deputy having at laſt, in 1574, ſent him his patent, perceiving him buſy in fortifying Clandeboy, which was indeed the great end of his coming thither, diſpatched poſitive orders to him to purſue the Earl of Deſmond one way, while himſelf preſſed him another (*w*). The Earl of Effex obeyed, though with reluctance, and had the good luck to force, or to perſwade, the Earl of Deſmond to ſubmiſſion (*x*). He gained great honour by this, and, it is high probable, would have performed much higher things, if the ſame fallacious arts had not withheld his hands in the winter, which had blaſted his beſt endeavours in the ſummer [*C*]. The ſame

(*n*) Milles, de Nobilitate politica & civili, p. 71, 72.

(*o*) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 82.

(*p*) Stowe's Annals, p. 677.

(*q*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 178.

(*r*) Cox's History of Ireland, P. i. p. 341.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(*t*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 287.

(*u*) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(*w*) Chronicles of Ireland by Vowell, alias Hooker, p. 136.

(*x*) Cox's History of Ireland, P. i. p. 342.

[*B*] *For her Maſteſty's ſervice in Ireland*] It is of great conſequence to the perſonal hiſtory of this Nobleman, which very well deſerves to be known, and which nevertheleſs has been but very obſcurely repreſented, that the original cauſe of his going to Ireland ſhould be thoroughly underſtood. The troubles of Ireland were at this juncture very great, for in Ulſter, Brian Mac-Phelim, who had ſeized a great part of the country of Clandeboy, burnt the town of Knockfergus, that is, Fergus's rock, and others in thoſe parts began to raiſe tumults (12). Againſt theſe, Walter Earl of Effex craved leave to undertake an expedition, following therein the counſel of thoſe, who deſired above all things to have him farther off, and to plunge him into dangers, under pretence of procuring him honour, which he knew well enough, but being a ſtirring man, and one addiſted to a martial life, from his youth, he held his reſolution, and made an agreement with the Queen, that, upon certain conditions, the one half of Clandeboy, if he drove out the rebels, ſhould be granted to him and his ſoldiers (13). For the defence whereof, he ſhould maintain, at his own charge, two hundred horſemen, and four hundred foot; and, to furniſh himſelf for the war, he borrowed of the Queen ten thouſand pounds of Engliſh money, mortgaging his lands in Effex for the ſame (14). Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputy of Ireland, fearing leſt the name of ſo great an Earl ſhould eclipse his glory in Ireland, adviſed the Queen that he might not be ſent, feigning, ſays Camden, I know not what general revolt of all Ulſter (15). But Effex for all that was ſent, and that the Lord Deputy's honour and authority might ſtand uneclipſed, he was commanded to receive his patent from him, whereby to be made Governor of Ulſter, which he was long in procuring, and that not without very importunate ſolicitation. Dr Fuller treats this ſubject, as indeed he does all ſubjects, very facetiouſly; he ſays, the Earl of Effex mortgaged his ſine eſtate, and afterwards ſold it outright for money to buy a bear's ſkin, but that when he came to take and ſlay the bear, he found greater difficulties than he expected; and at the ſame time intimates, that as this was the firſt, ſo it was the laſt bargain of the kind made with

(12) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 280.

(13) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(14) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 178.

(15) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 286.

that Queen (16), in which he is certainly miſtaken, for bargains of that kind were common enough, tho', as he very juſtly obſerves, they very ſeldom turned to the benefit of thoſe who made them. All this ought not, however, to bring any imputation upon the underſtanding of this noble perſon, who moſt certainly acted like a very wiſe, as well as a very honeſt and brave man. He had in view the ſervice of the Queen, the nation, and himſelf, and if he had been as fairly dealt with as his fidelity deſerved, all his views would have been fully accompliſhed, that is to ſay, the rebels would have been reduced, the country planted, and his family would have derived from his labours a very large eſtate.

[*C*] *Which had blaſted his beſt endeavours.*] As ſoon as the Earl had engaged Deſmond to lay down his arms, he undertook a long march againſt Turlough Lenigh, O Donnel (17) joining with him; but from Con O Donnel, Turlough's ſon-in-law, who would not ſerve under him, he took the caſtle of Liſſer, and gave it to Hugh O Donnel: Turlough, in the mean while, ſpinning out the time with parties, till Effex was of neceſſity to return, who, as he had tired out his body with labours and cares all the ſummer, ſo, winter approaching, he conſidered ſeriouſly, by what means Ulſter, which had been ſo long neglected that it was grown wild and ſavage, might be reduced to civility. And, upon mature deliberation he ſhewed, that if three towns were built at the Queen's charge, and ten forts by the common purſe of the ſoldiers, in ſuch convenient places as he had deſigned, above ſeven thouſand pounds of Engliſh money might be gathered yearly from thoſe people, and after two years the Queen ſhould not need to maintain any more gariſons there. Whiſt he was wholly taken up about theſe projects, and other commendable endeavours, he narrowly eſcaped being ſlain by the rebel Iriſh. For Brian Mac Phelim, who had treacherouſly ſlain one Moore, an Engliſh Captain, had conſpired with Turlough and the Scots to cut him off. Which as ſoon as he underſtood, he thought it beſt not to expect their coming but to attack them. And attack them he did ſo reſolutely, that, with the ſlaughter of two hundred Iriſh, he took Brian, and Rory Oge his half

(16) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(17) Cox's History of Ireland, P. i. p. 341. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 487.

same misfortune attended his subsequent attempts; and, except the zeal of his attendants, the affection of the English soldiers, and the esteem of the native Irish, he gained nothing by all his pains. Worn out at length with these fruitless fatigues, he, the next year, desired leave to conclude, upon honourable terms, an accommodation with Turlough Oneile, which was refused him (y). He then surrendered the government of Ulster into the Lord Deputy's hands, as believing the forces allowed him altogether insufficient for its defence; but the Lord Deputy, of a sudden, obliged him to resume it, and to march against Turlough Oneile, which he accordingly did; and his enterprize being in a fair way of succeeding, he was surprized to receive instructions, which peremptorily required him to make peace (z). This likewise he concluded without loss of honour, and then turned his arms against the Scots from the western islands, who had invaded, and taken possession of his country. These he quickly drove out, and, by the help of Norris, followed them into one of their islands, and was preparing to dispossess them of other posts, when he was required to give up his command, and afterwards to serve at the head of a small body of three hundred men, with no other title than their Captain (a). These were the artifices of Leicester, to ruffle and distract him; but the Earl, notwithstanding he was inwardly grieved, continued to perform his duty punctually, without any shew of resentment, out of respect to the Queen's service (b) [D]. In the spring of the succeeding

(y) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 302.

(z) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. 11. p. 188.

(a) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 302. Strype's Annals, Vol. 11. p. 388. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. 11. p. 178.

(b) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 302.

half brother, and Brian's wife. Thus, says Camden, the year was brought to a close to no man's advantage, but to the great misfortune and loss of the Earl of Essex (18). It must, however, be observed, that this learned person is in a great mistake as to the year, for he sets it down expressly 1573, whereas it was 1574, and indeed his own relation shews it must have been so, for in the year 1574 he sets down nothing of the affairs of Ireland, because he had in reality set them down before.

[D] *Out of respect to the Queen's service.*] We find all these matters very clearly stated by Mr Camden, who wrote from good memoirs, and, so far as we are able to judge, with great candour and impartiality. He has not, however, as indeed it was not his business, cleared up this matter entirely, and shewn us how this worthy Lord was so grossly abused. It is certain that Queen Elizabeth meant nothing like it, nor is it at all probable that her Ministers, in general, had any such design; but thus the matter appears to have been managed. The Queen intended to have gratified the Earl in most of his requests, but at the same time to have done this in such a manner, as not to lessen either the dignity or the power of the Lord Deputy Fitz-Williams. She therefore directed a letter, dated March 15. 1574-5, to both of them, in which she shews what she thought reasonable in behalf of the Earl, and refers the manner and other circumstances to the Lord Deputy (19), who knowing perhaps he should make himself friends at home by such a construction, boldly took upon him, under colour of this letter, to disprove the whole enterprize, and after all the labours and losses of the Earl of Essex, to strip him of every thing. The chief reason of this seems to have been, that the Earl had intimated something, which, if well improved, might have saved the Queen great sums of money, and promoted the service of Ireland very much. What this was, will appear from the following passage in his Lordship's letter to the Queen (20). 'Your Majesty taketh hold of my words written to the Lords in October, to diminish your numbers to two thousand men of all sorts. It may please you therefore to consider of my words, which were these: And I see no reason, but if her Majesty kept two thousand soldiers (without which, obedience or profit will not be had of Irish or English in Ireland) why thirteen hundred of them should not, for the most part, reside in Ulster. This was, and is still, my opinion, and I hope cannot be construed but by these soldiers were meant English bands, and not to be extended towards officers or Kearne, which are neither at commandment, nor can be employed but in their charges. Besides, I never took upon me to set down my opinion for the government of the whole realm, wherewith I neither had to do, nor with your favour will have to do, but only of my charge, and therefore I trust my words have not procured this diminishment of your Majesty's army. But now I will say directly, that which before I spake conjecturally, that two thousand English soldiers, under bands, well maintained, will be enough to govern all the whole realm of Ireland, and to

' make all that be rebels, or that be of the Irish faction, to quake, and either to be good subjects, or to seem good subjects.' How the Earl resented this usage, will best appear from his own short and significant letter to the Council, in which, with great spirit and freedom, and yet with the utmost modesty and decorum, he very accurately states his own case (21).

(21) Sidney State Papers, Vol. 1. p. 69, 70.

' My good Lords,

' I Have of late seen a letter signed by the Queen's Majesty, and jointly endorsed to my Lord Deputy and me, concerning mine enterprize in the province of Ulster, which, although it carry a shew of a present proceeding therein, and of a consent to all my petitions, yet hath it brought forth none other effects but the present discharge of all that serve under me, and a final dissolving of my enterprize. Whereunto, what answer I have made to her Majesty, may appear unto you by the copy of my letter herein inclosed; and although it become me to stand contented with any thing that her Majesty shall signify to be her will, yet when I compare this conclusion to the course that hath been taken with me since my coming hither, I cannot but think the dealing very strange. First, I came with the good liking of all your Lordships, and with the allowance of the Council here, so as by the consents of both realms I took my journey, the matter being first thoroughly debated, and so digested, as though no scruple should at any time arise. I had not been here three months, but that it was given forth that the continuance of the enterprize was in question, and in that stay hath it remained ever since, till now, that in all appearance the proceeding therein is agreed upon, and all my petitions granted, and yet the same letter that so doth assure me of all this gracious favour, is a warrant to my Lord Deputy (as he taketh it) to overthrow the whole. My Lords, I humbly desire you to consider well of this matter: It is somewhat to me (although little to others) that my house should be overthrown, with suffering me to run myself out of breath with expences. It is more, that in the word of the Queen I have, as it were, undone, abused, and bewitched, with fair promises, Odonell Mac Mahon, and all others that pretend to be good subjects in Ulster. It is most that the Queen's Majesty shall adventure this estate, or else subdue rebellion with intolerable charge. For will not all parts of this realm take hold of this dissolution? or, can any in Ulster, or in any part of the realm, hope of defence hereafter? But to return to my own estate: let my life here, my good Lords, be examined by the strictest Commissioners that may be sent, I trust in examining my faults they will alledge this for the chief, that I have unseasonably told a plain, probable, honourable, and effectual way, how to do the country good. For of the rest they can say nothing of me, but witness my misery by plague, famine, sickness, continual toil, and continual wants of men, money, carriages, victuals, and all things meet for great attempts: and if any of these have grown by my default, then con-

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(18) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 289.

(19) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, P. 1. p. 341. Sidney State Papers, Vol. 1. p. 63. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 488.

(20) Sidney State Papers, Vol. 1. p. 68. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 488.

ing year he came over to England, where he was very far from stifling the just indignation he had conceived against the all-powerful favourite, for the inexcusable usage he had met with (c). But as it was the custom of that great man to debase his enemies by exalting them, so he procured an order for the Earl of Essex's return into Ireland, with the founding title of EARL-MARSHALL (d) of that kingdom, and with promises, that he should be left more at liberty than in times past; but, upon his arrival at Ireland, as the judicious Mr Camden tells us (e), he found his situation so little altered for the better, that he pined away with grief and sorrow, which, at length, proved fatal to him, and brought him to his end. There is nothing more certain, either from the publick histories, or private memoirs, and letters of that age, than that this noble Earl was one of the worthiest, honestest, and best of men (f); one who, in his publick capacity, shewed himself a stout Soldier, a loyal Subject, and a most disinterested Patriot, as, in his private life, he was of a very chearful temper, kind, affectionate, and beneficent to all who were about him; and, to say much in a little compass, one commended by all parties (g), and to whose prejudice there is not the slightest insinuation to be met with in all the papers of those times. He was taken ill of a flux on the 21st of August, and, in great pain and misery, languished to the 22d of September 1576, when he departed this life at Dublin, being scarcely thirty-five years old (h). There was a very strong report at the time, of his being poisoned; and, if we may judge from what the learned Camden says upon the subject, it was no easy matter to decide whether that report was without grounds (i) [E].

It

demn me in the whole. I pray you, my Lords, pardon my earnestness, I think I have reason that am thus amazed with an oversudden warning, that must take a discharge before I am made acquainted with the matter; I think it had been a better course, that I might have had time to have made some profitable peace with Tyrrel, which hath been fought at my hands, and not at one instant to lose my travail, my money, my credit, and, with the same, hazard the honour of her Majesty, and of the realm of England. I trust, my Lords, my plain dealing shall not do me hurt with you; for my own part, a solitary life is best for a disgraced person, but because there is none of you but hath professed favour towards me, and some of your Lordships are mixed with me in blood and alliance, I crave of you all, that, as I have entered into this action with your good liking and advices, so now the failing, being no way to be laid upon me, you will all be means for me to her Majesty to deal well with me for my charge, as in honour, conscience, and justice, you shall think good. What was the sense of disinterested people in those days upon these points, will most unexceptionably appear from the following passages, in a letter from Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, to the Lord Burleigh (22): 'But what good thing can be hoped for here, when a Prince's determination, touching so great an enterprize, in the hands of so sufficient and so honourable a subject to perform it, shall be so suddenly revoked. And if I might with all humility say it to her Highness, there are two things of great moment, that seem strange to us here if they be true. The one is, the letting of the realm to farm, wherein so many hearts may be alienated from the landlord to the farmer. And the other is, the casting up of the Earl's enterprize between the fallow and the seed; which will make Ulster desperate, and all the rest doubtful. And truly, if she look not back where she began, and review both the man and the matter, she shall puff up the Irish into incorrigible pride, and pull down the hearts of all good English subjects to a perpetual diffidence of any settled government in this realm. — There cannot go out of this land a man with greater fame of honour, nor can come in, whose bounty hath deserved more. And if that noble mind of his, desirous of honour, and so careless of gain, were employed with the association of grave council, I believe God hath ordained him to do great things.'

[E] Whether that report was without grounds. There were few facts that happened in this reign which have made more noise in the world than the death of this Earl of Essex; and though Camden, as a wise man and a grave historian, treats the suspicion of poison as a popular report, and takes occasion to assign the reason of such reports in a manner which does great honour to the Earl's memory; yet it is evident enough that he did not altogether disbelieve it himself, or in-

tend to make his readers disbelieve it. But let us hear what he says (23). 'The death of this Nobleman (23) carried with it a suspicion of poison among the vulgar sort, who always suspect them to be poisoned whom they esteem and love, altho' Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, after diligent inquisition made, wrote to the Council in England, that the Earl, upon his first taking his bed, said many times, that this was a thing usual and ordinary with him; that whensoever he was troubled and perplexed in mind he fell into the Bloody-flux, and that he suspected nothing at all of the poison, and that his body retained the same colour in his sickness which it had in his perfect health; no spot, no infection, no shedding of the hair or nails, and being embowelled no sign at all of poison appeared; that though the Physicians differed in their judgments, yet they applied nothing against the force of poison; and that his cupbearer was falsely accused of infusing something in water, and mixing it with wine. Yet have we seen the same man openly pointed at for a poisoner.' In a famous book, published when all the parties were living, and in which, though commonly treated as a libel, there are abundance of strange truths, we have the whole process of this execrable affair set forth to publick view, in the following terms (24). 'It was my chance to come to the understanding of divers particulars concerning that thing, both from one Lea, an Irishman, Robert Honnies, and others, that were present at Penteneis, the Merchant's house in Dublin, upon the key where the murder was committed. The matter was wrought, especially by Crompton, Yeoman of the Bottles, by the procurement of Lloyd; and there was poisoned at the same time, and with the same cup, as given of courtesy by the Earl, one Mrs Alice Draycot, a goodly gentlewoman, whom the Earl affectioned much; who departing thence towards her own house, which was eighteen miles off, the aforesaid Lea accompanying her, and waiting upon her, she began to fall sick very grievously upon the way, and continued with increase of pains, and excessive torments, by vomiting until she died, which was the Sunday before the Earl's death, ensuing the Friday after; and when she was dead her body was swolne into a monstrous bigness and deformity, whereof the good Earl hearing the day following, lamented the case greatly, and said, in the presence of his servants, Ah, poor Alice, the cup was not prepared for thee, albeit it were thy hard destiny to taste thereof; young Honnies also, whose father is master of the children of her Majesty's chapel, being at that time page to the said Earl, and accustomed to take the taste of his drink (though since entertained also, among other, by my Lord of Leicester, for better covering of matters) by his taste that he then took of the compound cup (though in very small quantity, as you know the fashion is) yet was he like to have lost his life, but escaped in the end, being young, with the loss only

(23) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 309.

(24) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 25, 26.

(c) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(d) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 178.

(e) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 308.

(f) Holinshed, Strype, Speed, &amp;c.

(g) See the letters from Sir Henry Sidney and Sir Nich. White in the notes.

(h) Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28.

(i) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 309.

(22) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 388.

It must, however, be owned, that an inquiry was immediately made by authority, and Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord-Deputy of Ireland, wrote very fully upon this subject to the Privy-Council in England (k), and to one of the members of that Council in particular (l), of which something will be said in the notes [F]. The corps of the Earl

(4) Sidney Papers, Vol. I. p. 140.

(1) The Earl of Leicester; see Note [F].

of his hair, which the Earl perceiving, and taking compassion of the youth, called for a cup of drink a little before his death, and drank to Honnies, saying, I drink to thee, my Robin, and be not afraid, for this is a better cup of drink than that whereof thou tookest the taste when we were both poisoned, and whereby thou hast lost thy hair, and I must lose my life. This, hath young Honnies reported openly in divers places, and before divers Gentlemen of worship, since his coming into England; and the aforefaid Lea, the Irishman, at his passage this way towards France, after he had been at the fore-named Mrs Draycot's death, with some other of the Earl's servants, have, and do most constantly report the same, where they may do it without the terror of my Lord of Leicester's revenge.' The same tale, with the same circumstances, is very prettily told in verse, by an anonymous writer, who took an ill natured care of preserving the Earl of Leicester's memory (25). There want not, however, authorities from writers of unsuspected credit. Sir Nicholas White (26), in his letter to the Lord Burleigh, immediately after the death of the Earl of Essex, tells him, That he was frequently with his Lordship in his last sickness, who doubted that he was poisoned, and at the same time acquitted that nation of having any hand therein, saying, with some passion, No, Turlough Oneile, himself, would have attempted no villany against my person. There is a long, full, and most instructive history of his last sickness yet extant (27); written, as, from some circumstances, I conjecture, by the Earl's faithful dependant, Sir Edward Waterhouse, the beginning of which the reader will not be displeas'd to see. 'Walter, the noble Earl of Essex and Eu, Earl Marshal of Ireland, Knight of the most honourable Order of the Garter, falling sick on a laske, as it was supposed, called *dysenteria*, thorough aduitions of choller, on Friday the 21st of August; or whether it were of any other accident, the living God knoweth, and will revenge it; he was grievously tormented by the space of twenty-two days, having such abundance of water as every day and night he had few less than twenty, thirty, or some times forty stools, through which, being fore weakened in body, and natural strength diminished, he addressed himself to that, which his friends and servants feared, that is, to finish his life, to our great sorrow, but to his everlasting joy.'

[F] Of which something will be said in the notes.] This Lord-Deputy of Ireland, Sir Henry Sydney, had shewn great civility and respect to the Earl of Essex, and gave as high testimonies to the merit of that Nobleman when deceased, as the warmest and best affected friend in the world could have done. He was not at Dublin, but in a country progress, at the time of this Nobleman's decease, which is an unlucky circumstance, as it left it out of his power to speak, otherwise than by hearsay; which might be the cause of that visible inconsistency in the following letter of his to Sir Francis Walsingham, to be laid before the Council, in which, he says, the Earl of Essex did not think himself poisoned; that those about him did not think so either, but pretended to think so to please the Earl; and yet that it was not the Earl's own thought, but was put into his head by others; so that if from the whole of his relation the council could receive any satisfaction, it must have been by relying entirely upon his sentiment in that matter, as the reader will judge from the perusal (28). 'Hearing, besides, that letters had been sent over, as well before his death as after, that he died of poison, I thought good to examine the matter as far as I could learn, and certify you, to the end you might impart the same to the Lords, and both satisfy them therein, and all others whom it might please you to participate the same unto, and would believe the truth. For in truth there was no appearance, or cause of suspicion that could be gathered, that he died of poison. For the manner of his disease was this: a flux took him on the Thursday at night, being the thirtieth of

August last past, in his own house, where he had that day both supped and dined; the day following he rid to the Archbishop of Dublin's, and there supped and lodged: the next morning following he rid to the Viscount of Baltinglas, and there did lie one night, and from thence returned back to this city: all these days he travelled hastily, fed three times a day without finding any fault, either through inflammation of his body, or alteration of taste, but often he would complain of gripes in his belly, and sometimes say, that he had never hearty grief of mind but that a flux would accompany the same. After he returned from this journey, he grew from day to day sicker and sicker, and having an Irish Physician sent to him by the Earl of Ormond, Dr Trevor, an Oxford man; and my Physician, Mr Chaloner, Secretary of this State, and not unlearned in Physick, and one that often for good will, giveth counsel to his friends in cases of sickness; and one Mr Knell, an honest Preacher in this city, and a Chaplain of his own, and a Professor of Physick, continually with him, they never ministred any thing to him against poison. The Irish Physician affirmed, before good witness, that he was not poisoned; what the other do say of that matter, by their own writings, which herewith I send you, you shall perceive. And drawing towards his end, being specially asked by the Archbishop of Dublin, whether he thought that he was poisoned or no, constantly affirmed that he thought he was not, nor that he felt in himself any cause why he should conjecture so to be. In his sickness his colour rather bettered than impaired, no hair of his body shed, no nail altered, no tooth loosed, nor any part of his skin blemished. And when he was opened, it could not appear that any entrail within his body, at any time had been infected with any poison. And yet I find a brute there was that he was poisoned, and that arose by some words spoken of by himself, and yet not originally at first conceived of himself, as it is thought by the wisest here, and those that were continually about him: but one that was very near him at that time, and whom he entirely trusted, seeing him in extrem pain with flux and gripings in his belly, by reason of the same said to him, *By the Mass, my Lord, you are poisoned.* Whereupon the Yeoman of his cellar was presently sent for to him, and mildly and lovingly he questioned with him, saying, that he sent not for him to burden him but to excuse him. The fellow constantly answered, that if he had taken any hurt by his wine he was guilty of it, for, my Lord, saith he, since you gave me warning in England to be careful of your drink, you have drank none but it passed my hands. Then it was reported, that the boiled water which he constantly drank with his wine, should be made of water wherein flux or hemp should be steeped, which the Yeoman of his cellar flatly denied, affirming, the water which he always boiled for him was perfect good. Then it was imputed to the sugar, he answered, he could get no better at the Steward's hands, and fair though it were not, yet wholesome enough, or else it had been likely that a great many should have had a shrewd turn, for my household and many more have occupied of the same almost this twelve months. The Physicians were asked what they thought? that, they spake doubtfully, saying, it might be that he was poisoned, alledging that this thing or that thing might poison him, since they never gave him medicine for it, they constantly affirm that they never thought it, but for argument's sake, and partly to please the Earl. He had two gentlewomen that night at supper with him that the disease took him, and they coming after to visit him, and he hearing that they were troubled with some looseness, said, that he feared that they and he had tasted of one drug, and his page (who was gone with his body over before I returned). The women, upon his words, were afraid, but never sick, and be in as good a state of health as they were before they supped with him.' It is to be observed,

(25) Legend of Robert Earl of Leicester, MS. has printed under the title of Leicester's Gb-j.

(26) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 464, 465.

(27) There are several copies of this MS. In some it is addressed to the Earl of Suffolk. It is printed in T. Hearne's Preface to his edition of Camden's Annals.

(28) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 140. See also the other relations of his death before-mentioned. Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 48.

(m) Holinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1263. Strype's An. Vol. II. p. 466, 467. Fuller's Worthies Wales, p. 28.

was speedily brought over to England, carried to the place of his nativity Carmarthen (m), and buried there with great solemnity, and with most extraordinary testimonies of the unfeigned sorrow of all the country round about [G]. This great and good Peer married Lettice,

that in this letter there is a fair character given of a spiritual and corporal Physician, who attended the Earl of Essex, but the Lord Deputy found cause to change his sentiments of him afterwards, as appears from the following letter written by Sir Henry Sidney to his brother-in-law the Earl of Leicester, upon this melancholy subject, dated from Dundalk, February 4, 1576 (29).

(29) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 80. Camden's Britannia, by Bishop Gibson, Folio. Vol. II. col. 1404.

My dearest Lord, I received not your letter of the 25th of November until the 24th of this January, by James Prescott, who was seven times at the sea and put back again before he could recover this coast. I trust I have satisfied your Lordship with my writing, and others by my procurement sent by Pakenham, touching the false and malicious report of the Earl of Essex's poisoning. If not, what you will have more done shall be done. I am sorry I hear not how you like of that I have done, and the more for that I am advertised of Pagnaney's arrival there. I would not have doubted to have made Knell to have retracted his inconsiderate and foolish speech and writing, but God hath prevented me by taking him away, dying of the same disease that the Earl died, which most certainly was free from poison, and a mere flux; a disease appropriated to this country, and whereof there died many in the latter part of the last year, and some out of mine own household, and yet free from any suspicion of poison. There is no question to be made, that the Lord-Deputy's care in this respect was very acceptable to the Earl of Leicester, and perhaps might have gone a great way, if not in silencing the clamour, at least in preventing the belief, which the Earl's strange illness had created of his dying by poison, if the Earl of Leicester himself had not kept the mouth of fame open, by his indiscreet marriage of the Countess of Essex, which gave occasion to such as envied him and hated him to say, that if what was suspected had not been true, there would have been no such willingness found either in him or her, so hastily, and in the midst of such rumours, to have concluded this indecent marriage (30), which by an odd accident was made doubly indecent: Sir Francis Knolles, the father of the Lady, being not able to persuade himself that the match was really made so soon, and being resolved to trust no other eyes but his own, obliged them to be married again in his presence (31), which made a fresh outcry in the nation, and kept those stories alive and in remembrance, which, in this world at least, had otherwise sunk into oblivion.

(30) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 26. Fuller's Worthies, Wales, p. 28. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 486.

(31) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 309.

[G] Of all the country round about.] The Earl's body was brought over to Wales as soon after his decease as possible, by Mr Waterhouse, but was not interred till the 26th of November, when his obsequies were performed in the parish church of Carmarthen (32), and his funeral sermon preached by Dr Richard Davies Lord Bishop of St David's. That Reverend Prelate had been long and intimately acquainted with this noble person, and from his own knowledge gave him a very high character. He said (33), that taking no pride in the nobility of his birth, he had made it the business of his life to render his titles illustrious by his actions; that, inheriting the courage of his ancestors, he had given such proofs of it upon all occasions, that her Majesty, if he had lived, might have used his service to be a terror to all enemies foreign and domestic; that his prudence and discretion were admirable from his youth; that his eloquence was natural and easy; his affability, and gentleness of behaviour, altogether unaffected; that his piety was perfectly sincere; so that religion lost in him an excellent advocate, and a zealous protector. That, from his youth, he was constantly inclined to such studies as suited his condition, to History in general, and to that of his own country in particular; and that if any thing more especially claimed his attention, it was genealogies, descents, and pedigrees, in which he was so thoroughly versed, as to be well acquainted with all the noble houses in Europe. That for his fortitude he was revered in England and Ireland, and that there was no subject could affright or corrupt him from the execution

of strict justice. That to the haughty and arrogant he was as a lion, to the humble and meek as a lamb. That he had the utmost abhorrence for oppression; and that he once remembered, when complaint was made to his Lordship of one of his men who had done a violent thing, he said that his fervant could do him no greater dishonour, than, by pretence of his authority, to do any poor man wrong; and the Bishop appealed to all who heard him for the truth of this part of his character, that he was a comfortable refuge to all in adversity, and the constant support of such as were oppressed by power: he added farther, that as in the time of King Richard II. Sir Thomas Montacute was called the good Earl of Salisbury, and in the reign of Henry VI, Sir Thomas Beauchamp was stiled the good Earl of Warwick, so in this of Queen Elizabeth he deserved, for the like qualities, to be called the good, the virtuous, and the valiant Earl of Essex. This sermon, together with a long genealogical epitaph in Latin verse, was printed and dedicated to the young Earl by Edward, afterwards Sir Edward Waterhouse (34), and was held so remarkable in those days, that Raphael Holinshed having brought his book just then to a close, inserted it at the end of his Chronicle. After all, Queen Elizabeth herself did the greatest honour to this noble Peer, when, in a letter under her hand, she stiled him (35) *the rare jewel of her realm, and the bright ornament of her nobility*.

Before we part with this subject, it may be proper to give the reader the two last paragraphs of that celebrated Dedication, because they contain matter very curious in itself, and which, though frequently mentioned elsewhere, yet always supposed to be grounded upon this indisputable authority.

To the end, says Mr Waterhouse to the young Earl, that you may know what you are by birth and blood, and that you should not by ignorance, or lack of knowledge of yourself, do any thing unworthy the noble houses from whence you are descended: a well-wisher of your's hath joined to this sermon, amongst other epitaphs containing your father's due praises, his stately descent in well-digested Latin verses, not to puff you up with any swelling vanities, but to give you a reason how you bear your armour and badges of honour, and to remember you what error you enter into, if you should blemish the virtues of your noble ancestors, or to do any thing as I said unworthy your birth and calling.

Lastly, my Lord, have always before your eyes the fear of God, and the counsel of the Earl your father at his death, namely, that you should ever be mindful of the moment of time assigned both to your father and grandfather, the eldest having attained but to fix and thirty years, to the end, that upon consideration of the short course of life that you in nature are to look for, you might so employ your tender years in virtuous studies and exercises, as you might in the prime of your youth become a man well accomplished to serve her Majesty and your country, as well in war as peace, whereunto he commanded you to bend all your endeavours, and with those conditions heaped his blessings upon you. I pray therefore that God will increase those conditional blessings, and the causes of them in you, to the end that her Majesty may think of you hereafter, as of a true servant, and humble subject, one of the pillars of her estate, her Majesty's kinsman by many alliances, and the son of a most noble father.

In order to his clearly understanding the first part of the foregoing quotation, it is necessary for the reader to see the titles given to this noble Peer, at, and after his decease. He was then stiled (36) 'The Right Honourable Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex and Eu, Earl Marshal of Ireland, Viscount Hereford, and Boucher, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Boucher, and Louvain, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter.' It does not however appear, that this noble person in his life-time ever took the title of Earl of Eu, or of Viscount Boucher, which may more clearly appear by the manner in which Garter proclaimed his title at the time of his creation, and this was in the following

(34) There is only an extract of the sermon in Holinshed.

(35) In the Dedication by Mr Waterhouse to Robert Earl of Essex.

(36) Holinshed's Chron. p. 1263.

Lettice, daughter to Sir Frances Knolles, Knight of the Garter, who survived him many years, and whose speedy marriage after his death to the Earl of Leicester, upon whom common fame threw the charge of hastening his death, did not at all contribute to discredit that report (v). By this lady he had two sons, Robert and Walter. Of the former we shall speak in the next article, and incidentally likewise of the latter; as also two daughters, Penelope, first married to Robert Lord Rich, and then to Charles Blount Earl of Devonshire; and Dorothy, who, becoming the widow of Sir Thomas Perrot, Knight, espoused for her second husband Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland (o).

(o) Baronagium Angliæ, MS. fol. 11. Vincent's Correction of Brooke's Catalogue, p. 187. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 178.

following words (37): *De tresault & puissant Seigneur Gautier d'Evereux Comte d'Essex, Viscount de Hereford, Baron Ferrers de Courtley, & Chevalier du tres noble Order de la Jarretiere.* However, as is it recited in the preamble of this noble Lord's Patent, that he was heir male of the noble family of the Bourchers, Earls of Essex; it was from thence inferred, that he was the heir of all their honours: now William Bourcher was

created by Henry V Earl of Eu in Normandy (38), and his son Henry Bourcher was, in the twenty-fifth of Henry VI, created Viscount Bourcher (39), and by that title summoned to Parliament (40); and in the first year of Edward IV, he was created Earl of Essex (41). Thus the writer sees clearly how these titles came to be attributed to the family of Devereux.

(38) Rot. Norman. 7 H. V. p. 1. m. 4.  
(39) Clauf. 25 H. VI. m. 24. in doti.  
(40) Vincent's Corrections of Brooke, p. 192.  
(41) Chart. 1 E. IV. p. 2. n. 1.

DEVEREUX (ROBERT) Earl of Essex, a gallant soldier, a great favourite, and an unhappy victim to the arts of his enemies and his own ambition, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was son to Walter Earl of Essex, of whom we have spoken in the preceding article, and Lettice, daughter to Sir Francis Knolles, who was related to Queen Elizabeth, born November 10th, 1567, at Nethewood, his father's seat in Herefordshire (a), when that noble person had attained no higher title than that of Viscount Hereford (b). In his tender years it is reported, that there did not appear any pregnant signs of an extraordinary genius; and one, who was long in his service, and could not but be well acquainted with the secrets of the family, assures us, that his father died with but a very cold conceit of him (c), which, some thought, proceeded from his extraordinary affection for his younger son Walter Devereux, who, it seems, had quicker and more lively parts in his childhood. When Walter Earl of Essex breathed his last in Ireland, he recommended this son of his, then in the tenth year of his age, to the protection of Thomas Radcliffe Earl of Suffex, and to the care of William Cecil Lord Burleigh (d), whom he appointed his guardian. Mr Waterhouse, then Secretary for Ireland, a person equally favoured by his father, and Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, had the immediate direction of his person and estate, which, though not a little injured by his father's publick spirit, was, however, very considerable; and the regard shewn for his concerns, by the most powerful persons at Court, was so remarkable, that Mr Waterhouse made no difficulty of affirming, there was not, at that time, any man so strong in friends as the little Earl of Essex (e). It was, certainly, out of respect to both families, that this Gentleman laboured earnestly to bring, to a happy conclusion, a treaty of marriage, which had been for some time on foot between Mr Philip afterwards Sir Philip Sydney, the Lord-Deputy's son, and Penelope, sister to the Earl of Essex; in which, however, he had not the success he desired (f). His application on behalf of the young Earl, that he might be preserved in the possession of those honours which his father had enjoyed in Wales, and which were attended with power and influence rather than profit, had better fortune through the assistance of the Earl of Suffex (g), who easily procured from the Queen this mark of favour for a tender youth, whose father had deserved so well [A]. In 1578, when he was about twelve years of age, he was sent to the University

(a) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 863.  
(b) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordshire, p. 38.  
(c) Reliquie Wottonianæ, p. 19, 20.  
(d) Winstanley's English Worthies, p. 221.

(e) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 147.  
(f) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 863. Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 147.  
(g) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 465.

[A] *Whose father had deserved so well.* We have mentioned Sir Edward Waterhouse in the text, as the person who took care of the young Earl of Essex immediately after his father's death. He was indeed a very extraordinary person, and deserves to be as much remembered as any man of his rank that ever lived; he was descended from an antient and honourable family seated in Hertfordshire, where King Henry VIII, dining at his father's house, that Monarch, upon a view of his children, said of Edward who was the youngest, *this will be the crown of your family* (1). His parts were so great, and his probity so generally understood, that he was at once the favourite of the Earl of Essex, Sir Henry Sydney, and the Lord Burleigh. When the first was dying he is said to have taken his leave of this gentleman with many kisses, crying out, *Oh my Ned, Oh my Ned, farewell! Thou art the faithfullest and friendliest Gentleman that ever I know* (2). His fidelity reached beyond the grave, for he immediately transported the Earl's dead corps to Wales, where he was infinitely beloved, and from thence, on the third of October, he wrote to the Earl of Suffex, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, with a request concerning the young Earl (3). 'That whereas his Lordship, for the education of his children, and payment of his legacies, by assurance in his life-time,

and by his last Will and Testament, reposed especially therein upon his Lordship, soasmuch as the late Earl had in his life-time divers offices, as the keeping of the castle of Carmarthen, stewardship of divers of her Majesty's feigneries in those parts of South Wales, the whole fees accustomed to such offices, not amounting to above one hundred marks: which fees his Lordship always bestowed upon his under officers. By occasion of which offices, the inhabitants in those feigneries did the rather depend upon his Lordship, and now would be sorry that any other than the new Earl of Essex should have commandment in such office over them: and because he well understood that the having of these small offices might be to the new Earl's great continuing of the hearts of his countrymen, and besides might be the better able, when he should come to years, to do service to his Sovereign; he therefore was, in behalf of his Lordship and my Lord Treasurer, to request, that all these offices might be bestowed upon this new Earl of Essex. Which should be as well executed as if his Lordship were of full age. And if occasion of service should require, his Lordship might, although he were an infant, have the willing hearts of many to do him service.' By this application those offices were preserved to the young Earl, who spent his youth

Camel. A. 10. p. 1. 2. Fuller's Worthies, p. 38.

(1) M. de la. Fuller's Worthies, p. 38.

(1) Fuller's Worthies, Hertfordshire, p. 21.

(2) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 337.

(3) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 465.

city of Cambridge by the Lord Burleigh, who placed him in Trinity-College, under the care of Dr Whitgift, then master of it, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (*b*). He was educated there with much strictness, and applied himself to learning with great diligence, so that, his quality considered, there were few young men of his standing more distinguished, either for solidity of judgment, or for an easy and eloquent manner of expressing their sentiments (*i*). Some bold writers have asserted, that, as Dr Whitgift rose in his preferments (*k*); he sunk in the esteem of his pupil, who, as they would have us believe, conceived an early dislike to Bishops; but such as knew the world well in those days, and had the fairest opportunities of knowing the Earl, assert the direct contrary, and that he continued always to treat the Archbishop as his particular friend, and to respect him as a parent (*l*). In 1582, having taken the degree of Master of Arts, he soon after left Cambridge (*m*), and retired to his own house at Lampfie in South Wales, where he spent some time in privacy and retirement; and was so far from having any thing of the eagerness or impetuosity natural to youth, that, instead of being displeased, he became enamoured of his rural retreat (*n*), inasmuch, that it was with difficulty he was prevailed upon to leave it (*o*). His first appearance at Court, at least as a candidate for royal favour, was in the seventeenth year of his age; when however he came thither, it is certain he could not have hoped, or even wished, a better reception (*p*) [*B*]. He brought thither, amongst other strong recommendations, a fine person, an agreeable behaviour, and an affability which procured him many friends, besides the rare qualities of true piety, unaffected zeal for the publick welfare, and a warmth and sincerity in his friendships, which entitled him to universal esteem (*q*). He, by degrees, so far overcame that reluctance which he is said to have shewn, to use the assistance of the powerful Earl of Leicester, that, towards the close of the year 1585, he accompanied him, with many others of the nobility, to Holland, where we find him the next year in the field, with the title of General of the Horse (*r*); and, in this quality, he gave the highest proofs of personal courage in the battle of Zutphen, September 22d, 1586, in which action Sir Philip Sydney was mortally wounded (*s*). It was for his gallant behaviour upon this occasion, that the Earl of Leicester conferred upon him the honour of a Knight-Banneret in his camp (*t*). On his return to England it very quickly appeared, that the Queen not only approved but was desirous also of rewarding his services; and his father-in-law the Earl of Leicester, being advanced to the office of Lord Steward of her Majesty's Household, she, on the 23d of December 1587, made the Earl of Essex Master of the Horse

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in those parts, and had a very great interest there; so that the world wondered much in the last action of his life, this Earl did not rather choose to bring over his friends into that part of the island from Ireland, where he had such numbers at his devotion; but it was his hard fate to rely upon an influence which he had not, and to slight that which he really had (4).

[*B*] Or even wished a better reception. It is a very difficult thing to give a true account of this Lord's first introduction to favour, as the best authors we have, not only contradict each other, but are frequently inconsistent with themselves, in what they have left us upon this subject. Sir Henry Wotton says (5), 'that there was, for some time, a very stiff aversion in the Earl of Essex, from applying himself to Leicester, for what secret conceits he knew not (which is not a little strange, since this writer could not be ignorant of the report that his father was poisoned by Leicester's procuring) but howsoever that humour was mollified by time, and by his mother, so to the Court he came under this Lord.' Sir Robert Naunton, who was very well acquainted with those times, seems to doubt of this; for though he agrees that Leicester might have his reasons for bringing that young Lord to Court (6), 'yet (says he) that the son of a Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Viscount Hereford, and Earl of Essex, who was of the antient Nobility, and formerly in the Queen's good grace, could not have a room in her favour without the assistance of Leicester, was beyond the rule of her nature, which, as I have elsewhere taken into observation, was ever inclinable to favour the Nobility.' Dr Fuller reckons up, in his manner, the several titles which the young Earl had to Queen Elizabeth's kindness and affection, and amongst the rest he lays great weight upon his mother's interest, who was of the Queen's kindred. But Camden tells us the Queen hated his mother, which is probable enough, her character being none of the brightest. Upon the whole, the Earl of Clarendon seems to have given the clearest and most probable account of this matter (7): 'tho' the first approach, says he, of the Earl to Court was under the shadow of the great Earl of Leicester, yet

he owed him rather for his invitation thither, than his preferment there. For no question he found advantage from the flock of his father's reputation, the people looking on his quality with reverence (for I do not find that any young Nobleman had yet surprized their hopes or drawn their eyes) and on his youth with pity, for they were nothing satisfied concerning his father's death, who had been advanced to honourable dangers, by the mediation of such as delighted not in his company. And if there were not any such compassion in the Queen, yet surely she beheld him as the son of an excellent man, that died in her service, and had left a precious fame surviving.' This agrees perfectly well with what the Earl himself says, *that he had but few friends when he first came to Court* (8), and therefore we must refer the political endeavours of Leicester to plant him in the Queen's favour, either to lessen the weight of his own attendance, and that burthen of publick hate which fell upon him as a favourite, or else to his desire of giving a counterpoise to Raleigh, who, though likewise of his own raising, had now spirit as well as strength enough to stand upon his own legs, to his return from Holland, where he had received the highest honours, behaved himself with so much courage, modesty, and generosity, upon all occasions, that the fame of his actions abroad was the harbinger that procured him so good quarter at home (9). The Queen loved to see her Nobility respected and esteemed by foreigners, more especially when these honours did not lessen a just sense of their dependance upon, and duty to, herself, which was the case of this Earl, who, at the beginning, shewed such a profound deference and submission to the Queen, as of all things wrought most upon her nature; besides, at that time, the Earl being a new man at Court, had no party that rendered him formidable, which made the Queen more easy in bestowing her favours, especially when she saw this young Nobleman was very acceptable to the people; so that she did not seem to make him so much her own, as to receive him for her favourite from their choice, which she lived afterwards to repent (10).

[*C*] That

(b) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 19. Yet his being bred under that Prelate is doubtful.

(i) Winstanley's English Worthies, p. 221.

(k) Cadrington's life of Robert the second Earl of Essex.

(l) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 19.

(m) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 136.

(n) As he tells us himself, in his Apology addressed to Mr Anthony Bacon.

(o) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 2, 3.

(p) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(q) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordshire, p. 38.

(r) Holinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1434.

(s) Stowe's Annals, p. 737.

(t) Holinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1434.

(4) Osborn's Works, Vol. II. p. 70.

(5) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 4.

(6) Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(7) Disparity between George Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Essex.

(8) See his Apology near to the beginning.

(9) Stowe's Annals, p. 736, 737.

(10) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

in his room (u). In the succeeding year, which some have held the most critical of that reign, he continued to rise, and, indeed, almost reached the summit of his fortune; for, when her Majesty thought fit to assemble an army at Tilbury, for the defence of the kingdom, in case the Spaniards had landed, she gave the command of it, under herself, to the Earl of Leicester, and created the Earl of Essex General of Horse (w), shewing him, upon that occasion, not only as much countenance [as his own high spirit could expect, but a degree of favour even superior to that of Leicester (x); so that, from this time, he was considered as the favourite declared; and, if there was any mark yet wanting to fix the peoples opinion in that respect, it was shewn, by the Queen's conferring on him the most noble of the Garter (y). We need not wonder that so quick an elevation, and to so great a height, should somewhat affect the judgment of so young a man, and therefore there will not appear any thing strange in the eagerness he is said to have shewn, in disputing the Queen's favour with Sir Charles Blount (z), who, in process of time, became Lord Montjoy and Earl of Devonshire; which, however, cost him some blood; for that brave man taking distaste at somewhat the Earl said of a favour bestowed upon him by the Queen, challenged him, and, in Marybone-Park, after a short dispute, wounded him in the knee; with which the Queen, who did not love to be controuled in her actions, was so far from being displeas'd, that she swore a round oath, it was fit that some one or other should take him down, otherwise there would be no ruling him (a). However, she reconciled the rivals, and it will remain an honour to both their memories, that, professing themselves friends, they remained such, so long as they lived together (b). In the beginning of the year 1589, the Earl of Essex took a very extraordinary step, which, how much soever it might increase the reputation of his courage, did certainly no great credit to his prudence (c). Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake had undertaken an expedition, for restoring Don Antonio to the crown of Portugal, which the Earl beheld as an action too glorious for others to perform, while he was a spectator only. He followed the fleet and army therefore to Spain, and, having joined them at Corunna, prosecuted the rest of the expedition with great vigilance and valour; which, however, was not attended with much success, at the same time that it expos'd him to the Queen's displeasure (d) [C]. At his return, however, he soon recovered her Majesty's good graces; nor

(u) Pat. 30 Eliz. p. 18.

(w) Stowe's Annals, p. 749.

(x) Earl of Clarendon's Disparity between George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Essex.

(y) Milles de Nobilitate Politica vel Civili, p. 180.

(z) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(a) See the article of BLOUNT (CHARLES) Earl of Devonshire.

(b) As appears by Bacon's Apology addressed to this Nobleman.

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 752.

(d) Reliquiae Wottonianae, p. 6, 7.

was

[C] *That it expos'd him to the Queen's displeasure.*

The reasons which induced the Earl of Essex to risk at once his life and the Queen's favour, by thrusting himself into the dangers of this expedition both by sea and land, are very differently represented; some say that it was merely from a thirst of glory that he quitted the pleasures of a Court, to expose himself first at sea, and then in the field (11); others, that his hatred to the Spaniards was what chiefly prompted him; while there want not those again, who ascribe that action to a softer passion, his pity for the unfortunate Don Antonio King of Portugal (12). Mr Camden indeed suggests, that he flattered himself with the honour of commanding in chief, because most of the officers stood indebted for his brother's assistance in obtaining their commissions (13). The truth seems to be, that he was instigated by a mixture of all these motives except the last, and chiefly by the desire of being present at settling the new King upon the throne of Portugal, which those best acquainted with the History of these times, and with the conduct of that expedition (14), acknowledge to have been feasible enough, if they had proceeded directly to Lisbon, but they failed by making an attempt upon Corunna, with which the Earl was not acquainted, and ran a great hazard by seeking the English fleet upon the coast of Portugal, while they were thus employed. His Lordship carried with him his brother Walter Devereux, Sir Philip Butler, Sir Roger Williams, and Sir Edward Wingfield (15). They joined the English fleet on the 13th of May, 1589; on the 16th they landed, and the same day the Earl skirmish'd with the Spaniards. He was present in every action that pass'd in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, and, by a trumpet, challenged the Governor, or any of equal quality with himself, to single combat (16). At length, when for want of artillery it appear'd impracticable for them to become masters of the castle, and their army, which had been much lessened by the attack upon Corunna, diminishing daily, it was found necessary to return home, which they did towards the close of the month of June (17). This may serve for a fair account of what happened to the Earl abroad in this adventure; as to the consequences of it at home, they are very concisely as well as elegantly represented by Sir Henry Wotton (18).

All his hopes of advancement, says he, had like to have been strangled almost in the very cradle, by throwing himself into the Portugal voyage without

the Queen's consent, or so much as her knowledge; whereby he left his friends and dependants near six months in desperate suspense what would become of him. And, to speak truth, not without good reason: For first, they might well consider, that he was himself not well plumed in favour for such a flight: Besides that now he wanted a Lord of Leicester at home, for he was dead the year before, to smooth his absence, and to quench the practices at Court. But above all, it lay open to every man's discourse, that though the bare offence to his Sovereign and mistress was too great an adventure, yet much more when she might, as in this case, have fairly discharged her displeasure upon her laws. Notwithstanding, a noble report coming home before him, at his return all was clear, and this excursion was esteem'd but a folly of youth: nay, he grew every day more and more in her gracious conceit. Whether such intermissions as these do sometimes foment affection, or that having committed a fault he became the more obsequious and pliant to redeem it; or that she had not received into her royal breast any shadows of his popularity. The truth of this relation, with respect to the Queen's resentment, will appear more clearly from her Majesty's own letter (19) upon his first departure from Court.

ESSEX,

YOUR sudden and undutiful departure from our presence and your place of attendance, you may easily conceive how offensive it is and ought to be unto us. Our great favours bestowed upon you without deserts, hath drawn you thus to neglect and forget your duty: for other construction we cannot make of these your strange actions. Not meaning therefore to tolerate this your disordered part, we gave directions to some of our Privy-Council, to let you know our express pleasure for your immediate repair hither, which you have not performed as your duty doth bind you, increasing thereby greatly your former offence and undutiful behaviour in departing in such sort without our privity, having so special office of attendance and charge near our person. We do therefore charge and command you forthwith, upon the receipt of these our letters, all excuses and delay set apart, to make your present and immediate repair unto us, to understand our farther pleasure. Where-

(11) Stowe's Annals, p. 752.

(12) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordshire, p. 33.

(13) Annal. Eliz. p. 603.

(14) See what the Earl himself says on this subject in his Apology.

(15) Stowe's Annals, p. 754.

(16) Winstanley's England's Worthies, p. 223.

(17) Sir William Monson's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 15, 16, 17.

(18) Reliquiae Wottonianae, p. 6, 7.

(19) Fuller's Worthies in Herefordshire, p. 33.

was it long before this was testified to the world, by his obtaining new marks of favour, in grants of a very considerable value, a circumstance in which his credit with the Queen seemed much superior to that of all her other favourites (e). He had now lost the support of his father-in-law the Earl of Leicester, who died the preceding year, and who, tho' he was supposed to act the Politician, in preferring him to the Queen's favour, (if, indeed, that was at all his work,) yet shewed the sincerity of his affection to him by several clauses in his will (f), notwithstanding which loss, he kept his ground at Court, and by caressing Mr Cartwright and others, looked upon as Puritans, seemed to affect becoming the head of that party which adhered to Leicester while living (g). About this time he ran a new hazard of the Queen's favour by a private, and, as it was then conceived, inconsiderate match with Frances, only daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, which her Majesty apprehended to be, in some measure, derogatory to the honour of the house of Essex (h); and though, for the present, this business was past by, yet it is thought that it was not so soon forgot. In 1591, Henry the Fourth of France, having demanded fresh assistance from the Queen, though he had already a body of her troops in his service, she was pleased to send the Earl of Essex with four thousand men, a small train of artillery, and a competent fleet, into Normandy, where it was proposed that he should join the French army, in order to undertake the siege of Rouen (i). The French King however, either through want of power, the distraction of his affairs, or some other cause, neglected to perform his promise, notwithstanding that Essex made a long and hazardous journey to his camp, at that Monarch's request, in order to have concerted measures for giving the Queen satisfaction (k). Upon his return from this journey, which proved of little consequence, Essex, to keep up the spirit of his officers, conferred the honour of knighthood upon many of them, a circumstance with which the Queen was much offended (l). He likewise made excursions from his camp to the very walls of Rouen; and the Earl, exposing his person very freely in these skirmishes, came off indeed unhurt himself, but lost there his only brother Walter Devereux, then in the flower of his age, being two years younger than the Earl (m). He returned some time after, to give an account of the state of things to the Queen, and then came back to his charge, the siege of Rouen being formed, and the French King expressing a great desire to become master of it. This winter service harrassing the troops exceedingly, provoked Essex not a little, who solicited King Henry for leave to proceed in his manner, promising to make a breach with his own artillery, and then to storm the place with the English troops; which the King, however, refused, as being not at all desirous of having that rich place taken and plundered by the English, in his sight (n). Essex still more displeased at this, and resolved not to continue in a place where no reputation was to be got, first challenged the Governor of Rouen, Mr Villars, and, upon his refusing to fight (o), left the command of the English troops to Sir Roger Williams, an officer of great courage and experience, and then embarked for England, where his presence was become very necessary, his enemies having represented his behaviour in a very indifferent light to the Queen his mistress (p) [D]. At this time he was exceedingly courted by very different

of see you fail not, as you will be loth to incur our indignation, and will answer for the contrary at your uttermost peril. The 15th of April, 1589.

[D] In a very indifferent light to the Queen his mistress. It is very seldom that skilful Courtiers are at a loss in framing general accusations against such as they would ruin, more especially if they have an opportunity of doing this in their absence. Against the Earl of Essex his enemies insinuated, that having carried a fine body of troops under old and experienced officers out of the kingdom, with a promise of great things, he had nevertheless done little or nothing; that with some danger to himself, and much more to the troops, he had made a long journey to the French King, which ended in no more than an audience of compliment; that his fierce and hasty spirit had led him to those useless and dangerous excursions under the walls of Rouen, where he had lost an only brother, the Queen a gallant officer, and the nation a person infinitely beloved; that whereas he was sent abroad to serve his country, by reducing Rouen, which might serve as a place of arms, and a cautionary town for the security of English auxiliaries, he had suffered himself to be deceived by the French Monarch, had served him in the accomplishment of other designs, leaving this, for which he was sent, unexecuted; and, lastly, that notwithstanding his troops had been very little in service, they had suffered so much as not to be able to keep the field without recruits; so that, in all this time, the Queen had been losing her subjects and acquiring nothing (20).

But the Earl of Essex, upon his return, defended himself with great sense and spirit against this accu-

sation. He shewed that the inaction of the troops upon their first going over was a great affliction to him, but far from being his fault, as he was continually labouring to persuade the King to comply with his agreement, and to undertake the siege of Rouen, which, if he could not bring about it was far from being a crime, though he knew it to be a misfortune; that to remove this inaction he made a hazardous journey to the King's quarters, in which he shewed his strong desire for accomplishing what he was sent for; that he had exposed himself in those excursions as much as any man, and as he was principally wounded by the loss of his brother, so the credit of the nation instead of suffering, was raised by that high esteem which the French expressed of the bravery shewn by the English in those encounters; that the assistance he had given the French King and his Generals, was to remove those obstacles which prevented the siege, and which, if not removed, it had never been undertaken; that the loss which the army had sustained was through the fortune of war, and not from any fault of his, arising chiefly from diseases, great inclemency of the weather, and the want of those conveniences which the allies ought to have furnished, and which, notwithstanding all the instances he could make, had been neglected (21).

The French Historians do all the justice imaginable to the Queen's punctuality in performing her promises, and to the zeal of the Earl of Essex in promoting the service (22). They acknowledge that the siege was chiefly retarded by the Marshal de Biron's opening the trenches before the fort of St Catherine's, they add, that having demanded the government of the place when it should be taken, and the King having told him that he was under a promise to another, the Marshal

(e) Camd. Annal. p. 862.

(f) See that Earl's Testament in the Introduction to the Sidney Papers.

(g) Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 349.

(h) Sidney State Papers, Vol. I. p. 312.

(i) Stowe's Annals, p. 462.

(k) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 628.

(l) She said his Lordship had done well to have built his almshouses before he had made his Knights.

(m) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 27.

(n) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 630.

(o) Winstanley's England's Worthies, p. 223.

(p) Camden. Annal. p. 647.

(20) Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Robert Naunton, Camden, &c.

(21) See the Earl's Apology, addressed to Mr A. Bacon, and the Authors before cited.

(22) Abregé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France, par le Sieur de Mezeray, Tom. V. p. 63.

forts of people, for many of the young Nobility, who were desirous of entering into the world under the patronage of some eminent person, preferred the Earl, as well on account of his great affability to his followers, as because of his known interest with the Queen (q). All the military men that were not of a very old standing, looked upon him as their chief, and one from whose favour they were to derive preferment; the Puritan Ministers also, and their dependants, considered him as the successor to the Earl of Leicester, and, consequently, as their Protector (r). One need not wonder therefore, that, having such power, he had so many enemies, and that these should gain advantages over him in his absence; but, upon his return, he triumphed for the most part; and the Queen, who looked upon herself as tied to him by former acts of kindness, seldom refused him any new marks of favour, for which he was importunate in his demands (s). We find him present in the Parliament which began at Westminster, February 19th, 1592-3 (t), in which session, chiefly through his interest, Sir Thomas Perrot, who had married his sister, was restored in blood, which had been corrupted by the attainder of Sir John Perrot his father, who had been Lord-Deputy of Ireland; and in this session it was, that the House of Peers paid a very extraordinary complement to the Earl of Essex (u) [E]. About this time also the Queen, who had given him so many marks of her favour, added to them a new honour, which was, at the same time, a very high testimony of her confidence, by causing him to be sworn one of the members of her most honourable Privy-Council (w). He met, however, in this, and in the succeeding years, with various causes of chagrin, partly from the loftiness of his own temper, but chiefly from the artifices of those who envied his great credit with the Queen, and were desirous of reducing his power within bounds. Occasion was taken, in this respect, from a dangerous and treasonable book, written abroad by Persons the Jesuit, and published under the name of Doleman, with intention to create dissention in England about the succession to the Crown (x); which book, as the whole design of it was most villainous, so, from a superior spirit of malice, it was dedicated to the Earl of Essex, on purpose to create him trouble; in which it had it's effect (y). But what chiefly grieved and broke his spirits, or, rather, sowed them, was his perceiving plainly, that, though he could, in most suits, prevail for himself, yet he was able to do little or nothing for his friends, as particularly appeared in the case of Sir Francis Bacon, which, though the Earl bore with some impatience, yet it gave him an opportunity of shewing the greatness of his mind, by giving that Gentleman a small estate in land, which ought to have bound him better to his fortunes (z) [F]. Indeed, the Earl of Essex was never wanting, upon any occasion, to his

(q) Fuller's Worthies, Herefordshire, p. 38.

(r) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(s) Reliquie Wottonianæ, p. 9.

(t) Dewes's Journals of the Reign of Queen Eliz. p. 456.

(u) Townsend's Historical Collections, p. 41.

(w) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 179. Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 863.

(x) A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England, 4to. 1593. The Dedication is dated the last day of that year.

(y) Sidney State Papers, p. 350, 357.

(z) See this in Bacon's Apology addressed to the Earl of Devonshire.

shall was inclined to let that enterprize fail (23), and they farther admit, which is a full justification of the Earl of Essex, that he offered with his own troops to have opened the trenches between the Mountain of St Catherine and the town (24), in which, if his advice had been followed, the place must certainly have been taken before the Duke of Parma could have marched to it's relief.

[E] Paid a very extraordinary compliment to the Earl of Essex. As this matter of fact appears to be of a very singular, as well as a very commendable nature, it was judged that the reader would not be displeas'd with seeing it taken notice of here. On Tuesday the 13th of March 1592-3, the Bishop of Worcester, took notice that several poor soldiers were seen begging in the streets, who were wounded or maimed in the service of their Queen and country, in France, in the Low Countries, or on the seas, and therefore moved, that their Lordships would condescend to a contribution for their relief. This was immediately agreed to, and it was ordered, that every Archbishop, Marquis, Earl, and Viscount, should pay forty shillings; every Bishop thirty shillings; and every Baron twenty shillings; which sums the Bishop of Worcester was appointed to receive from the Lords Spiritual, and the Lord Norris from the Temporal Peers; the distribution of the said collection being referred by their Lordships to the Earl of Essex and the Lord Willoughby of Eresby (25). On Thursday the 5th of April following, the House of Lords made a further order, reciting that beforementioned, that it had been complied with, and that the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesse, had also contributed very largely, but that the number of distressed objects being great, and the relief but small, it was farther decreed by them, That all the Lords of Parliament who had been absent, and did not contribute before the end of the session, should be required by the Lords who had their proxies, or by the Lord Keeper, to pay double the sums before-mentioned, and notice is likewise taken of an order to the same purpose by the House of Commons; it is added at the close, if any Lord Spiritual or Temporal

should refuse to do this, which it was hoped in honour none would, there should be means used to levy the same (26).

[F] Which ought to have bound him better to his fortunes. There are few circumstances relating to the life of this noble person that do greater honour to his memory, than the respect he shewed for men of parts and learning, in which he acted with so much sincerity and greatness of mind, as evidently demonstrated, that if on any occasion he had recourse to their services, they were sure to find in him not only a kind and very accessible patron, but a real friend, and, to the utmost of his power, a constant and zealous protector. It was this disposition of mind that led him to afford so many testimonies of friendship to Mr Davison, when he laboured under his misfortunes (27); to testify such kindness to his son, as appears in that admirable letter of his which is still extant, and of which it is hard to say, whether the perusal of it raises a higher idea of his parts or of his probity. It was this turn of his that induced him to cause the immortal Spenser to be interred at his expence (28). It was this that, in the latter part of his life, engaged him to take the ingenious Sir Henry Wotton, and the learned Mr Cuffe, into his service, as in his earlier days he had engaged those incomparable brothers, Anthony and Francis Bacon, to share his fortunes and his cares (29). He had a high opinion, as indeed who had not, of the eloquence, and other great abilities of the younger brother, whose pen he used, when either his want of leisure or his diffidence would not allow him to employ his own, which indeed was second to none. It was the sense he had of the great sagacity, the strong penetration, and the extensive knowledge of the elder brother, more especially in foreign affairs, that inspired him with a desire of having him for his constant companion, in order to which he gave him an apartment in his house, a plentiful pension out of his purse, besides large presents for occasional services (30). Some appearances there are, that speak neither of these brothers so hearty in his interest as might have been expected from the strong ties of gratitude they were under.

But

(26) Dewes's Journal of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 463, 464.

(27) Cabala, p. 213, 214, 215.

(28) Camd. Annæ Eliz. p. 783.

(29) See the Articles of BACON and CUFFE in this Dictionary.

(30) Reliquie Wottonianæ, p. 13, 14.

(23) Memoires de Sieur du Plessis Mornay, Tom. II. p. 95.

(24) Memoires de Sully, Tom. I. cap. cxxxiii.

(25) Townsend's Historical Collections, p. 41.

friends, as many of the writers of those times agree, and of which Camden gives a remarkable instance in the year 1595, in his attending the funeral of Sir Roger Williams, an old experienced officer, whom he had long encouraged and supported; though the roughness of his behaviour had exposed him to the dislike of Sir Walter Raleigh, and other considerable persons (a). But whatever disadvantages Essex might labour under from intrigues at Court, yet, in times of danger, the Queen had commonly recourse to his assistance. Thus, in 1596, when the Spaniards in the month of April laid siege to Calais, and the discharges from their batteries were heard at Greenwich, an army was hastily raised, and marched towards Dover, the command of which was given to the Earl of Essex (b), the Queen intending to have embarked these troops for the assistance of the French, which, however, they wisely declined, being willing rather to let the Spaniards keep Calais for a little while, than see it rescued from them by the English, who would, presuming on their old rights, probably keep it for ever (c). The Queen, however, taking advantage of that warm disposition which appeared in her people, to contribute, as far as in them lay, to keep the war at a distance, and to prevent the Spaniards from meditating a second invasion, ordered a fleet to be equipped for attacking Cadiz, best part of the expences being born by the principal persons engaged in that enterprize (d). The command of this army and fleet was, with joint authority, intrusted to Robert Earl of Essex, and Charles Lord Howard, then Lord High Admiral of England, with whom went many of the most distinguished officers, both for the land and sea service, that were then in England; the Council being composed of Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Conyers Clifford; the fleet, for its number of ships, and for the land soldiers and mariners aboard, being the most considerable that, in those times, had been seen (e). On the first of June they sailed from Plymouth, but were forced to put back by a contrary wind, which changing, they took the first opportunity of putting again to sea. On the 18th of the same month they arrived at Cape St Vincent, where they met with an Irish bark, which informed them, that the port of Cadiz was full of ships, and that they had no notice whatever of the sailing of the English fleet, or that such an expedition was so much as intended (f). After this welcome news they pursued their voyage, and, on the 20th in the morning, they anchored near St Sebastian's, on the west-side of the island of Cadiz, where the Admiral would have had the forces debarked, in order to their immediately attacking the town; which Essex caused to be attempted, but found to be impracticable, and, upon the advice of Sir Walter Raleigh, desisted (g). Camden indeed charges this rashness upon Essex, but Sir Walter Raleigh, who is certainly better authority in this point, states it the other way (h). It was then proposed by the Earl to begin with attacking the fleet, which was a very hazardous enterprize, but, at last, agreed to by the Lord Admiral; of which, when Essex received the news, he threw his hat into the sea for joy. The next day this gallant resolution was executed with all imaginable bravery, and, in point of service, none did better, or hazarded his person more, than the Earl of Essex (i), who, in his own ship, *The Due Repulse*, went to the assistance of Sir Walter Raleigh, and offered, if it had been necessary, to have seconded him in boarding the St Philip (k). The Spaniards behaved very gallantly, so long as there were any hopes, and when there were none, set fire to their ships, and retired (l). The Earl of Essex then landed eight hundred men at the Puntall, and, having first taken proper measures for destroying the bridge, next attacked the place with so much fury, that it was very quickly taken, and, the next day, the citadel surrendered upon a capitulation, by which a great ransom was stipulated for the town (m). An offer was then made of two millions of ducats to spare the ships, and more might have been obtained, but the Lord Admiral said, *He came there to consume and not to compound*; of which, when the Spaniards were informed, they resolved to have the burning of their own fleet, which they accordingly set on fire; their loss by which was computed at twenty millions (n). The Earl was very desirous of keeping Cadiz, which he offered to have done with a very small garrison, but the Council differed from him in opinion; so that, having plundered the island, and demolished the forts, they embarked on the 5th of July, and bore away for the port of Faro in Algarve, which they plundered and destroyed; thence they proceeded to Cape St Vincent, and being driven by a brisk wind out to sea, it fell under consideration, whether they should not sail for the Azores, in hopes of intercepting the Plate Fleet, which was carried in the negative; and the Earl's proposal, with two of her Majesty's ships, and ten others, to make this attempt, was rejected likewise (o); which Mr Camden attributes to the desire of some of the officers, who had made

But we must not always trust appearances, more especially in cases where direct and plain proofs might certainly be had, if the suspicion raised upon those appearances were in reality well founded. As to Anthony Bacon, we have already shewn that whatever precautions he took for his own safety, his affection to and for his noble patron followed him beyond the grave. His brother Francis was of a warmer, but at the same time of a less firm and steady temper; he was

susceptible both of hopes and fears, and still more susceptible of praise, and with much of his eloquence, had a tincture of Tully's vanity, as well as his timidity, otherwise he would never have pleaded the Queen's *taking a liking to his pen* in defence of a declamation against the memory of his friend (31). His refusal might indeed have cost him dear, but it would have preserved his reputation, which is more tarnished in this than in any other point of his private character.

[G] Gained

(31) See the beginning of his Apology addressed to the Earl of Devonshire.

made large booties, to get their treasure safe on shore (p). They looked in, however, at Corunna, and the Earl would have then proceeded to St Andero and St Sebastian; but others, thinking they had done enough, the fleet returned prosperously to Plymouth, on the 5th of August following, and the Earl, with his squadron, two days after (q). He was very well received by the Queen, and highly applauded by the people; but, as it was too common with him, not entirely satisfied in himself; which induced him to write (at a time when some faults were imputed to him) a kind of narrative of this exploit, and a censure upon other mens conduct; which gained him little credit, and did him less good (r) [G]. Yet, whatever the sentiments might be of the graver and wiser part of the Court, it appears plainly, that, upon his return from this expedition, the Earl of Essex stood very high in the favour of the Queen, and of the nation; and, perhaps, it might have gained him an accession of favour with the former, if the Earl had not enjoyed so much of the latter, or had seemed to value it less than he did; but, as he had little of dissimulation in his temper, so the warmth with which he discovered either his affection or dislike, exposed him continually to the sinister practices of his enemies, who were thoroughly skilled in those arts which he knew least about (s). They insinuated, therefore, to the Queen, that, considering the Earl's popularity, it would not be at all expedient for her service to receive such as he recommended to civil employments; and this they carried so far, as to make even his approbation destructive to mens fortunes (t), whom they had encouraged and recommended themselves; a thing hardly to be credited, if we had not the highest evidence to prove it [H]. It was a natural consequence that the

(p) Annal. Eliz. p. 728.

(q) Sir William Monson's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 33.

(r) See this explained in the Notes.

(s) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xix.

(t) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 730.

[G] Gained him little credit, and did him less good

It is commonly said, that, upon the Earl of Essex's returning from Cadiz, his glory and his power were both in their utmost splendor; the Queen and her people being equally disposed to afford the kindest reception to their joint favourite. We may, however, form some doubt of this for various reasons, of which we will mention only a few: First then, the Queen was unwilling the Earl should have gone at all, if he could have been persuaded to have staid at home; she took amiss his objections to a divided command, and gave many other testimonies of her entertaining some prejudices against him before his departure (32). Next, at his return he was blamed for his partiality to the land officers, for his countenancing opinions directly opposite to those of the majority, and for misrepresenting the reasons upon which the sentiments of the majority were grounded, which, on his first coming home, had much weight, and prevented, as will be seen in a succeeding note, his being able to provide, by his recommendations, for his best friends (33). In order to support and maintain himself, the Earl drew up a narrative in which he shewed the advantages, and displayed the beneficial consequences of this expedition, 'in which, says he, the English took two galleons, routed fifteen gallies with an unequal number of ships, freed many of their countrymen condemned to the gallies, and released several Spaniards from imprisonment; took the best fortified city in all Spain, and stayed thirteen days in their country; brought home, besides the galleons aforesaid, a hundred brass guns, with a rich booty: and the sailors, but especially the soldiers, great plunder. The enemy lost thirteen of his most serviceable ships, forty India merchant-men, and four others; besides vast quantities of ammunition, provisions, &c. rendering it almost impossible he should in some time appear again at sea in a formidable manner (34).' If he had stopped here it had been well, for as this did credit to all, so there is no doubt that all would have joined in supporting the credit which it gave them. But it fell out that the Earl, forgetting his own mistakes, and more especially making so many Knights, the far greater part from amongst his own descendants, would needs write a censure of this voyage, by setting down whatever was omitted in the prosecution of it, and then, by way of answer to those objections, imputing all miscarriages to other men, by which he raised to himself many implacable enemies, and there is too much reason to believe, did not gain him one friend. A specimen of the last objection and it's answer will abundantly confirm this observation, and at the same time give great light into his personal history, as well as a strong instance of his capacity for writing well, if he had chosen his subject better (35).

Objection. 'That since the chief of our service consisted in the taking or destroying the Spanish shipping and naval stores, Why did we not look into

their principal ports, and do them all the mischief we were able?

Answer. That my end in going to Cadiz was not only because it was a principal port, but the most likely to be held by us, in regard not only to the situation and natural strength thereof, but that also from thence we might (if some greater service did not divert us) go to all the ports betwixt that and the nethermost parts of Biscay, which seemed better to me than to have alarmed the enemy first in the midst of his country, or the nearest parts thereof to ours, in regard that by acting in that manner, our attempts would have been more difficult, and our retreat at last from those parts less safe, considering the wants, sickness, and other inconveniences, which generally attend fleets and armies in long voyages. But after we had done what we could at Cadiz, it was by all our sea officers thought a capital offence, so much as to mention the passing over the bar of St Lucar.

Between St Lucar and Lisbon there is not any good port, and from the latter I was restrained by my instructions: nay, though we had been permitted to have gone thither, yet I found our seamen of the same cast that Sir Francis Drake and his company were, when they lost the opportunity of taking that place, not earing to pass by the castle of St Julian.

From Lisbon to the Groyne there is not any port capable of containing either the King of Spain's, or other large shipping; but to the latter place I at length prevailed with them, not without great difficulty, to go, having both vowed and protested against their refusal, and even parted company with them when they offered to hold on their course; but when we came to the mouth of the harbour, and sent in some vessels, we could not discover any thing there, nor at Ferrol, for in that port we also looked.

After this we held our last council, and then I urged going to St Andrew's Passage, St Sebastian's, and all the principal ports along the coast; but the Lord Admiral absolutely refused going farther, complaining of wants, and representing the danger of being embayed, with many other inconveniences, in which opinion Sir Walter Raleigh confirmed him, so that both of them seemed desirous to have the honour of frustrating the design; and as to our landing at the Groyne, and attempting the town, they would by no means hear of it, but every one presently cried out, let us make sail homewards, since which time they have used such speed, that by my endeavouring to bring with me the St Andrew taken at Cadiz, and the fly-boat with our artillery, I have lost company with them all, except Monsieur Duvendoord and his squadron, and some small ships (36).'

[H] If we had not the highest evidence to prove it.] It is a just observation made upon these times, that the

(36) Sir Henry Wotton speaks much like a courtier, if this be the piece of which he speaks when he says, that the Cadiz Expedition was the Earl's most fortunate action, and no less modest, for there he wrote, with his own hand, a censure of his omissions.

(32) Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 94.

(33) Camd. Ann. p. 729, 730.

(34) Extracted from the Earl's Narrative by Camden.

(35) Borchet's Naval History, p. 363, 364.

the Earl, who wanted not penetration enough to see, or spirit to resent this, should behave towards those he took to be the authors of such counsels with visible marks of anger and discontent; and this conduct of his made him frequently upon bad terms even with the Queen herself, who was a Princess very jealous of her authority, and, in cases of this nature, bore but very indifferently with any expostulations (*u*). However, as well out of her natural kindness to him, as from a desire of shewing a just acknowledgment for his late service, she was pleased, on the 19th of March 1597, to appoint him Master of the Ordnance by patent (*w*). This seems to have had a good effect, in quieting the mind, and raising the spirits, of this great Nobleman, who, upon the report that the Spaniards were forming a new fleet at Ferrol and Corunna, for the invasion of Ireland at least, if not England, readily offered his service to the Queen, and cheerfully declared, as Camden assures us, that he would either defeat this new armada, which had threatened England for a year together, or perish in the attempt, as one willingly devoted for the service of his country (*x*). The Queen, well pleased with this proposal, gave it all the countenance that could be desired, and caused a considerable fleet, though not so considerable as the action required, to be equipped for this service. The Earl of Essex was appointed General, Admiral, and Commander in Chief, the Lord Thomas Howard Vice, and Sir Walter Raleigh Rear-Admirals, the Lord Montjoy was Lieutenant-General of the land-forces, and Sir Francis Vere, Marshal. We may guess at the interest which the Earl had in the success of this voyage by the number of his friends, who engaged therein as volunteers, and, amongst them of the Nobility, were the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, and the Lords Cromwell and Rich (*y*). His sanguine hopes however were, in some measure, disappointed; for failing about the 9th of July from Plymouth, they met, at sixty leagues distance, with so rough a storm, and of four days continuance, that they were obliged to put back to Plymouth, where they remained wind-bound for the space of a month (*z*), in which time a great part of their provisions was consumed. While the fleet was thus laid up, the Earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh set out post for the Court, in order to receive fresh instructions (*a*). The proposals made by Essex, even after this dis-appointment, were very bold and great, but, as Camden seems to insinuate, very difficult and dangerous, if not impracticable; so that the Queen would not countenance his projects, but rather left the direction of the expedition to the Commanders in Chief, according as the season and circumstances might encourage or permit (*b*). The same Historian, and almost all who have written upon this subject after him, speak of an old misunderstanding between Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh before they left England, which was productive of most of the mischiefs that afterwards happened; which there is good reason however to believe

(*u*) Reliquiæ Wct-tonianæ, p. 24, 25.

(*w*) Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 7.

(*x*) Annal. Eliz. p. 738.

(*y*) Stowe's Annals, p. 733.

(*z*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 738.

(*a*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1935.

(*b*) Annal. Eliz. p. 739.

great Statesmen knew how to poison with oil, and to break men's fortunes by contributing to their exaltation. The rivals of the Earl of Essex, whenever he made any proposals for the publick service, were sure to provoke him with objections, which, out of the warm sincerity of his heart, he commonly answered by promising to perform even more than he first offered, and then they were sure to find out pretences for sending those with him, who would perplex him as much in the execution, as they had done in the first contrivance of his project; but how successful soever these arts might be in the cabinet of a Princess now full of years and of suspicions, and surrounded with the enemies of Essex, yet it could not impose upon the nation, for which reason it did not in the least lessen that Nobleman's popularity; and therefore those who envied his greatness, contrived to render this criminal, by representing to the Queen, that though she might safely bestow honours and employments upon the Earl himself, in order to avail herself of his great virtues and extraordinary talents, yet nothing could be more dangerous to her tranquillity, than to receive into her service even subordinate Ministers of his recommendation; because being already master of the military, he would by that means draw the civil power into his hands. We have seen that he could not restore Davison whom the Queen had made Secretary of State, and whom she thought fitter for that office than any other man. We have seen that he could not make Sir Francis Bacon Solicitor-General, though he exerted for that purpose the whole strength of his interest. We shall now see, that a promotion being resolved his approbation was sufficient to prevent it; and, what is still more extraordinary, the person injured resents the good will of the Earl, instead of taking amiss that insolent abuse of power, which other Ministers had exercised in setting him aside, and this in breach too of their own promises. The person thus treated was Sir Thomas Bodley, and, as nobody can deserve better credit in this business, he shall tell his story himself, who having

acknowledged that the Lord Treasurer Burleigh intended to have made him Secretary of State, in case the Earl of Essex, upon the general rumour of it, had not highly commended him, tells us, that he had learned from his son the Earl of Salisbury, that they had no other motive to set him aside, but the Earl's good opinion, which was grounded only on his belief of Bodley's merit, who, upon this subject, makes these reflections (37): 'When I had thoroughly now bethought me first in the Earl, of the slender holdfast he had in the favour of the Queen, of an endless opposition of the chiefest of our Statesmen, like still to wait upon him; of his perillous, and feeble, and uncertain advice, as well in his own, as in all the causes of his friends: and when moreover for myself I had fully considered, how very untowardly these two Counsellors were affected unto me, upon whom before in cogitation I had framed all the fabric of my future prosperity, how ill it did concur with my natural disposition, to become, or to be counted, either a stickler or partaker in any publick faction; how well I was able by God's good blessing to live of myself, if I could be content with a competent livelihood; how short time of further life I was then to expect by the common course of nature. When I had, I say, in this manner represented to my thoughts my particular estate, together with the Earl's, I resolved thereupon to possess my soul in peace all the residue of my days: to take my full farewell of State employments, to satisfy my mind with that mediocrity of worldly living that I had of my own, and so to retire me from the Court, which was the epilogue and end of all my actions and endeavours of any important note, till I came to the age of fifty-three.' This event happened at the time the great persons beforementioned were at open enmity, and before that treaty was concluded, of which the reader will have an ample account in the succeeding note.

(37) Life of Sir Thomas Bodley, written by himself.

[I] Which

believe a groundless imputation upon both (c) [I]. As soon as the fleet was repaired, and the land-forces were debarked that, by the Queen's command, were to remain at home, they sailed again from Plymouth the 17th of August, having now two points in view, the one to burn the Spanish fleet in their own harbours, the other to intercept the ships they expected from the West Indies. Camden blames Essex for appearing openly within sight of the Spanish coast, and thereby alarming the enemy; but Sir William Monson acquaints us with the true reason of the Earl's conduct, which was, by making a show of a few ships to draw out the enemies fleet, it being found impossible to burn them in port (d). He also insinuates, that Sir Walter Raleigh kept at a distance from the fleet, which was another discouragement; but, from the best accounts we have, this also appears to be a groundless imagination (e). Sir Walter is afterwards said to have separated from the fleet by design, under pretence of repairing his ship; but Sir William Monson tells us plainly, that this separation was owing to an involuntary miscarriage in Essex himself (f). When they joined again at the islands it appears plainly, that Essex and Raleigh were very good friends, notwithstanding there were some, on both sides, who laboured all they could to incense them against each other. When they had refreshed at Flores, Essex commanded Raleigh to sail for Fayall, which he intended to attack with the whole fleet; but Sir Walter coming there first, and apprehending that the smallest delay might have prevented their design, very gallantly attacked, and very happily succeeded, in making himself master of the island before the arrival of Essex with the rest of the fleet (g). This gave occasion to Sir Walter's enemies to represent his vigilance and activity in the light of disobedience and contempt to Essex, which occasioned very high disputes, but, by the interposition of Lord Thomas Howard, all things were compromised, Sir Walter excused what had happened to the Earl, and the Earl accepted his excuse (h). As the relations of this, which is called the *Island Voyage*, already published, are very exact, and in themselves larger than this whole life, it cannot be expected that we should enter here into all the other particulars of this voyage; we shall therefore content ourselves with observing, that, notwithstanding the Spanish fleet escaped, and some other untoward accidents happened, in which the Earl was not altogether without blame, yet three ships from the Havannah, the cargoes of which amounted to near one hundred thousand pounds, were taken, by which the best part of the expences of the undertaking were defrayed, and so the fleet returned to England towards the close of October (i). In respect to what Camden suggests, that, after their arrival in England, Essex and Raleigh accused each other, by which great disturbances were occasioned (k), there is some reason to doubt the matter of fact, and to believe they were both wiser men, and knew their respective interests better than to act in such a manner [K]. It is very true, that the Earl of Essex, upon his return from the *Island Voyage*,

(c) See this explained in the Note.

(d) *Annal. Eliz.* p. 740. Sir Wm. Monson's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 34.

(e) *Annal. Eliz.* p. 740. See the accurate Account of this Expedition, written by Sir Arthur Gorges, in the IVth Vol. of Purchas's Pilgrims.

(f) Sir William Monson's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 34. *Annal. Eliz.* p. 740.

(g) *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 116.

(h) See the Accounts of this Voyage before referred to.

(i) *Stowe's Annals*, p. 784. Sir Wm. Monson's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 37, 38.

(k) *Annal. Eliz.* p. 745.

[I] Which there is good reason, however, to believe a groundless imputation upon both ] There seem to be few opinions better founded than that, which, with due caution, admits the private letters of persons of good sense and experience, written at the time when things were transacted, to be the best documents for such points, either of publick or of private History, as are not likely to be generally known with the same degree of certainty as facts of another species. Amongst other papers of a very curious and instructive nature, which have been published lately in a very valuable collection, are the letters of Rowland White, Esq; to Sir Robert Sydney, at that time Governor of Flushing. Mr White was Sir Robert's agent at Court, and from these letters it appears, that the Nobleman, on whose favour Sir Robert chiefly relied, was the Earl of Essex; so that we cannot well have better authority, in reference to what passed at Court in those days, than the informations of this gentleman, concerned to make the closest enquiries he could, and bound in honour to relate what proved the result of them with the utmost fidelity. We learn from him, that, in the beginning of the year 1597, there were great intrigues at Court, where Secretary Cecil was the most favoured Counsellor, had long private conferences with the Queen, and retarded or advanced mens suits at his pleasure (38). Essex at this time was in some discontent, tho' a great favourite likewise, kept or was said to keep his bed, when he was not very sick, receiving frequent messages from the Queen, and having also private audiences (39). In the beginning of the month of March, Sir Walter Raleigh had several private interviews with the Earl, in order to bring about a good understanding between him and the Secretary, which he urged would have several good consequences, such as, making the Queen easy, removing a great obstacle in the management of publick affairs, and contributing not a little to forwarding the schemes concerted for humbling the common enemy (40). It is easy to see from hence, that there could be no pique between the

Earl and Sir Walter Raleigh, for if there had, Sir Robert Cecil was too wise a man to have employed him. While this treaty was in negotiation, there was a competition for the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports, Sir Robert Cecil supporting the new Lord Cobham, and the Earl of Essex recommending Sir Robert Sydney first, and finding that would not do, standing for it himself, upon which it was proposed that he should accept of the Mastership of the Ordnance, which he did (41). Soon after this, Sir Henry Leigh was, at the recommendation of the Earl of Essex, made Knight of the Garter (42); and the Earl concurred in promoting the Lord Borows to the government of Ireland. In May the treaty was in a manner concluded, the Earl, by the mediation of Sir Walter Raleigh, was reconciled to the Secretary, and they concerted together all the measures preparatory to the *Island Expedition*, and from the same letters we learn, that Sir Walter Raleigh, who was entrusted with the care of victualling the fleet, had been remarkably civil to the Earl of Essex in what related to the provision of his own ship; and when they were obliged to return by contrary winds, Mr White represents their coming to London together, as the effects of their perfect intelligence, and does not give the least hint of any variance between them.

[K] Than to act in such a manner.] In the text we have given several instances of Mr Camden's inclination to represent the disputes between the Earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh, as the principal cause of the miscarriages in this voyage, which, from the facts contained in the last note, seem not very probable. We may add to this, that Sir Arthur Gorges, who wrote the very best account of this voyage, tells us, that when the Earl and Sir Walter met at Flores, the Earl acquainted him with the surmises that had been vented of his absence, and named to him some who had taxed him secretly, and yet pretended to love him; upon which Sir Arthur makes the following reflexion (43): ' Though the Earl had many doubts and jealousies

(41) *Ibid.* p. 31.

(42) *Ibid.* p. 47.

(43) See his Account of that Voyage in the IVth Vol. of Purchas's Pilgrims.

(38) *Sidney State Papers*, Vol. 11. p. 23.

(39) *Ibid.* p. 18.

(40) *Ibid.* p. 24.

Voyage, shewed evident signs of deep displeasure, retired to his house at Wanstead, and, under pretence of sickness, absented himself from the service of Parliament then sitting; and it is also very true which Camden reports, that his dissatisfaction arose from the Lord Admiral's being created Earl of Nottingham in his absence, with some particular clauses in the preamble of his patent, which, as they were highly honourable for that noble Peer, Essex conceived threw some disparagement upon himself (l). But as to what the same Historian insinuates, that he was no less displeas'd that Sir Robert Cecil was advanced to be Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, because he considered him as his principal antagonist, and a fast friend to Sir Walter Raleigh (m), there is some reason to question, and in the notes it will be shewn, that the first was the great if not the sole cause of the Earl's disquiet, that his distaste was very far from being peevish or unreasonable, and that those who are reputed to have been his greatest enemies, were, in reality, the very persons that procured this noble person the satisfaction he desired [L]. This satisfaction consisted in creating the Earl of Essex Earl-Marshal of England, which was done December 28th, 1597 (n), and he took his place in Parliament accordingly on Wednesday the 11th of January following; but whereas Camden reports, that this office had been suppressed, or lain dormant, from the death of the Earl of Shrewsbury, from whence it might be inferred, that it was a very extraordinary thing for the Queen to be drawn to this promotion, it is clearly a mistake, the Earl of Suffex sitting, in this very Parliament, as Earl-Marshal, and having precedence accordingly (o). We may add to this, that Camden himself had occasion to consider this point of the succession, power, and prerogative of the Earls Marshal of England, very closely; nor is it at all improbable, that it was, upon this very occasion, for the Earl of Essex is the last Marshal mentioned in his list, and he shews very fully his hereditary claim to that great honour (p). It is generally agreed, that this noble person had nothing of dissimulation in his nature, and therefore, having obtained this new favour of the Queen, he was perfectly well pleas'd, and very readily promis'd Sir Robert Cecil Secretary of State, who was appointed to execute a commission of great importance to the French King, that nothing to the prejudice of his interest should be done in his absence, without which promise the Secretary would not have gone; and this he not only performed with the utmost punctuality, but even discharged the Secretary's business, in his absence, with the utmost care and vigilance, and all this time no quarrels with Sir Walter Raleigh, or so much as the least coldness; on the contrary, Sir Walter knowing that the Earl had engaged himself to his relation Sir Robert Sydney, in reference to the post of Vice-Chamberlain, which was then vacant, he declined soliciting for it purely out of respect to Essex (q). But in the month of May 1598, Sir Robert Cecil returning to England with new notions in relation to the peace, there quickly arose fresh disputes in the Council about the expediency of that measure, which was very earnestly as well as eloquently press'd by the old and wise Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and as warmly decry'd by the Earl of Essex, who wanted not very plausible reasons

(l) Dewes's Journal of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 529, 531. Annal. Eliz. p. 746.

(m) See this explained in the Note.

(n) Spelman's Posthumous Works, p. 171.

(o) Annal. Eliz. p. 746. Dewes's Journal of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 523.

(p) See the Appendix to Camden's Letters, published by Smith, p. 96.

(q) Sidney State Papers, Vol. 11. p. 82, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93.

(44) Reliquie Wottonianæ, p. 31.

(45) Sidney State Papers, Vol. 11. p. 69.

'jealousies buzzed into his ears against him, yet I have often observed, that both in his greatest actions of service, and in the time of his chiefest recreations, he would ever accept of his counsel and company, before many others who thought themselves more in his favour.' In reference to the high dispute at Fayall, Sir Henry Wotton tells us, that when one, whose name he says he need not remember, press'd the Earl to put Sir Walter at least to a Court Martial, he answered (44), *That I would do if he were not my friend.* Some copies indeed read, *if he were my friend,* which perhaps is the true reading. We may very easily reconcile all this, by supposing that both the Earl and Sir Walter might have their reasons for not letting the world know how far they were friends. Mr White, in his Letters to Sir Robert Sydney during the Earl's absence on this expedition, observes, that the creation of Barons, which it was intended should have preceded the meeting of Parliament, was, by Secretary Cecil, put off till the Earl's return (45), and this plainly shews that he kept, or would be thought to keep, that treaty of good correspondence which he had concluded with his Lordship.

[L] *The satisfaction he desired.* In order to apprehend this matter clearly, we must first learn what was the true cause of the Earl of Essex's discontent, which was very far from being so idle or unreasonable as some have represented it. The Lord Admiral Howard had, in his absence, been rais'd from the degree of a Baron to the title of Earl of Nottingham, and in the preamble of the patent his taking of Cadiz is particularly mentioned. Now, by virtue of a regulation made in the reign of Henry VIII. the Great Chamberlain of England, the Earl Marshal, the Admiral, and the Steward of the Household, were to have precedence in Parliament of all Peers of the same rank, so

that if the Earl of Essex had attended the service of the House, the Earl of Nottingham, though created but a few days before, would have taken place of him in virtue of this regulation (46), though in the service for which he was rais'd to his new title, the Earl of Essex had the precedency, and had no reason to believe that the Queen was not perfectly satisfied with his behaviour in that expedition. It was this that occasioned his retiring from Court, and shewing such high marks of discontent, with the motives of which, when the Queen was thoroughly acquainted, she shewed herself so little pleas'd, that the Earl of Nottingham thought proper to retire, though he was Lord Steward as well as Lord Admiral, and going to his house at Chelsea gave out that he was sick (47). The Queen immediately laid the fault upon the Lord Treasurer Burleigh and Sir Robert Cecil, who, says Mr White, with infinite protestations, execrations, and vows, denied it; however, to set matters right again they had recourse to Sir Walter Raleigh, whom they sent to the Earl of Essex to dispose him to admit of some expedient (48), which is certainly a proof that Sir Walter and he were not upon bad terms, or had been accusing one another to the Queen. By his interposition the Earl was content, that his hereditary claim to the dignity of Earl Marshal being admitted, by which he recovered his precedency again, he was willing to forget what was past; and it is very remarkable, that, after this agreement was made, Mr White writes to Sir Robert Sydney, that the world exceedingly wonder'd to see the too great familiarity that was grown between the Earl of Essex, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir Walter Raleigh, none but they enjoy him, says he, and they carry him away as they list (49). This is a very singular piece of secret History, and sets the whole of these transactions in a new point of light.

(46) Camd. Ann. p. 745, 746.

(47) Sidney State Papers, Vol. 11. p. 77.

(48) Ibid. ibid.

(49) Ibid. p.

reasons in support of what he said (r). The Treasurer, at length, grew into a great heat, insomuch that he told the Earl of Essex, that he seemed to be intent upon nothing but blood and slaughter; the Earl explained himself upon this, that the blood and slaughter of the Queen's enemies might be very lawfully his intention, that he was not against a solid but a specious and precarious peace, that the Spaniards were a subtle and ambitious people, who had contrived to do England more mischief in time of peace than of war; and that as to an enemy, whose hands it was impossible to bind by treaty, it was better not to tie up our own (s). The Treasurer at last drew out a Prayer-Book, in which he shewed Essex this expression, *Men of blood shall not live out half their days* (t). Yet Camden, from whom we have all this, acknowledges, that many thought the arguments of Essex had weight, and that, in reality, his chief concern was for the honour and happiness of his native country, which he thought might be better promoted by an open war, which would always keep the King of Spain's hands full at home, than by an unsteady peace, which might give his Catholick Majesty time to recover his successive losses, and allow him leisure also to practise his usual arts for weakening us (u). As the Earl knew well enough, that various methods would be used to prejudice the common people against him, more especially such as, in any degree, got their living by trade, or thought themselves oppressed by the taxes levied for the support of the war, he resolved to write a vindication of his own proceedings, and to deliver his own arguments with all the advantages that his own pathetick eloquence could give them (w), which he addressed to his dear friend Anthony Bacon, and which still remains a memorial of his great virtues and admirable abilities [M]. About this time died the Lord Treasurer Burleigh (x), which was a great misfortune to the Earl of Essex, since the remembrance of his father, the trust reposed in him by committing this his eldest son to his care, and the respect and obedience which had been shewn him by the young Lord for several years, preserved in him a tenderness for his person, and a real concern for his fortunes; but when that great Counsellor was gone, those who hated the Earl acted without any restraint, crossed whatever he proposed, stopped the rise of every man he loved, and treated all his projects with an air of supercilious contempt, except one which they thought would be his ruin. By the death of the Lord Treasurer Burleigh the Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge became vacant, upon which, as the highest mark of their respect possible, that learned body chose the Earl of Essex (y) in his room. Upon this account he went down to pay them a visit, was entertained at Queen's College with great magnificence; and, as a proof of their general affection, the room in which he lay was, long after, distinguished by the name of Essex Chamber (z). We may account this one of the last instances of this great man's felicity, for he was now advanced too high to sit at ease; and those who longed for his honours and employments, very busily studied how they might bring about his fall. The first great shock he had given him in the Queen's favour, was on the score of the person he proposed to be sent over to Ireland, before he was drawn to have thoughts of going thither himself; and though, in appearance, he was reconciled and restored to the Queen's favour, yet there is good reason to doubt whether it was ever recovered in reality (a), or at least to the degree in which he formerly held it. The reader will find the cause, the circumstances, and the consequences of this quarrel, in the notes [N]. An event

(r) Struik's Annals, p. 789. Camden Annals, p. 765, 766, 767.

(s) Ibid. p. 771.

(t) See the article of CICIL (WILLIAM) Lord Treasurer, in this Dictionary, C. 1. P. 1. P. 344.

(u) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 771.

(w) This apology shew into the world not long after it was written, with which the Queen was exceedingly offended.

(x) Camd. Annal. p. 773.

(y) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 864.

(z) Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, p. 156.

(a) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 772, 773.

[M] *Of his great virtues and admirable abilities* The title of this work runs thus: *To Mr Anthony Bacon, an Apologie of the Earle of Essex, against those which justie and maliciouslie take him to be the only Hindrance of the Peace and Quiet of his Countrie* (50).

In it he gives a succinct and very impartial account of the undertakings and conduct of his whole life; he declares his love of peace; and his dislike of war when it is a worse evil than a bad peace; he explains the causes for suspecting the sincerity of the Spanish offers, observes, that when they treated before, they at the same time laboured to corrupt Dr Lopez, the Queen's Physician, to poison her, and even at this time he asserts, that there was one Anthony Rolles, a prisoner in the Tower, who came over with a commission from the King of Spain, to offer him, the Earl of Essex, whatever title, preferment, or pension he should desire, for taking their part (51). He next opens the political motives that might, in all probability, induce the Catholick King to conclude a peace, without any true intention of living at quiet; the great advantages that might arise from thence to Spain, and had consequences to us and our allies, more especially the States of Holland, of whose government and interests he discourses with great clearness and capacity, and shews how fit he was to manage, as he did that very year, a new treaty between the Queen his sovereign and that Republick (52).

[N] *In the notes.* We have the best, indeed the only full account of this matter from Camden, who was a very judicious man, as well as furnished with the

best memoirs of that reign that were to be procured, and therefore we will give it in his words. Having mentioned the motives alledged by Essex for carrying on the war, he proceeds thus (53): 'There followed after this, says he, a pretty warm dispute between the Queen and Essex, about the choice of some fit and able person to superintend the affairs of Ireland, at which none were present but the Lord Admiral, Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary; and Windebanke, Clerk of the Seal: for whereas the Queen looked upon Sir William Knolles, uncle to Essex, as the most proper person for that charge; and Essex contending that Sir George Carew would much better execute that office (perhaps on purpose to get rid of him), and when the Queen could by no means be persuaded to approve his choice, he quite forgot himself and his duty, and turned his back upon his Prince in a kind of contempt. The Queen, not able to bear his insolence, bestowed on him a box on the ear, and bid him go and be hanged. He immediately clapped his hand on his sword, and the Lord Admiral stepping in between, he swore a great oath he neither could nor would put up an affront of that nature, nor would he have taken it at the hands of Henry VIII himself, and in a great passion immediately withdrew from the Court. The Lord Keeper advised him, in a serious and considerate letter, to apply himself to the Queen for pardon (54), alledging, that *'twas the best way to stoop to her anger for the present, remembering that passage of Seneca, If the law punishes a guilty person he must submit to justice; if one innocent he must yield to fortune. If he had given the*

(53) Ibid. p. 771.

(54) These letters may be found at large in the Camb. P. i. p. 216, 217. As also in Winthrop's England's Worthies, p. 232, where there is a strange mistake as to the time in which the Earl's answer was written.

(50) Reprinted under the title of the Earl of Essex's Vindication of the War with Spain in 1729. 2vo.

(51) Earl of Essex's Vindication of the War with Spain, p. 24.

(52) Camd. Annal. p. 776.

event happened much about this time, which shewed the sentiments the enemies of England had of this noble person, and ought therefore to have endeared him to such as had a real affection for their country: there was one Edward Squire seized and imprisoned for treason, and his case came out to be this; he had been a groom in the Queen's stables, went afterwards to sea with Sir Francis Drake, was taken prisoner and carried to Spain, where he was persuaded by a Jesuit to undertake poisoning the Earl of Essex, and afterwards Queen Elizabeth, for performing which he had poison given him in a bladder (b). He found means to rub this, as he was directed, upon the pommel of the Queen's saddle, got himself afterwards recommended to serve on board the Earl's ship in the Island Voyage, where, in like manner, he poisoned both the arms of his great chair; yet no effect followed in either case (c). Upon this the Spanish Jesuit suspecting the man, and not his drug, caused information to be given in England against Squire, who, finding himself betrayed by his Confessor, opened the whole scene, and plainly acknowledged his endeavours to dispatch both the Queen and the Earl, for which he was deservedly executed (d). The miseries of Ireland continued all this time, or rather increased, and when proposals were made, in the Queen's Council, for sending over a new Governor, with certain restrictions, Essex took occasion of shewing, that nothing had been hitherto so expensive as an ill-timed frugality, and that the Irish rebels had been the only gainers by the restraints put upon the English Deputies (e). Those who hated this noble person were not displeased when they found him in this disposition, and, at length, took, in their turn, occasion, from his objections, to suggest, that the total reduction of that island was to be expected from none but himself; which, at first, he declined; but perceiving that he could enjoy little quiet or comfort at home, that it was with difficulty he maintained his credit, and that by failing the expectations of his friends he should gradually lose them, he consented to accept that fatal preferment, and agreed to go over into that kingdom, which had been the grave of his father's fortunes, and which his best friends foresaw would prove the gulf of his own (f). It is indeed true, that he had a great army granted him, and that due care was taken for the payment of it; that his powers were very large, and his appointments very great; but these were obtained with many struggles, and notice was taken of every thing he promised, or seemed to promise, in order to obtain them (g); and, when all things were regulated, he was so far from going with alacrity, as to a place which he had sought, and to a command which he meditated for the sake of greater things, that he seemed rather to look upon it as a banishment, and a place assigned him for a retreat from his Sovereign's present displeasure, rather than a potent government bestowed upon him by her favour [O]. On the 12th of March 1598, his commission for Lord Lieutenant passed the Great Seal (h), and, on the 27th of the same month, about

two

(b) Bishop Carleton's thankful Remembrances of God's Mercy, cap. xiv.

(c) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 779.

(d) Stowe's Annals, p. 788.

(e) This is affirmed by Bacon in his declaration of the Earl of Essex's treason.

(f) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 27.

(g) As appeared from the speeches of the Lords of the Privy-Council in the Star-Chamber.

(h) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. II. p. 1, 11.

*Queen a just offence, 'twas not in his power to make her amends; whereas if she had done him an injury, he was obliged in prudence, duty, and religion, to bear with his Sovereign, to whom he had so many obligations, for that there was a vast difference between a Prince and a subject.* He sent the Lord Keeper his answer in a long and passionate letter, which his friends afterwards unadvisedly divulged, wherein he appealed from the Queen to God Almighty, in expressions something to this purpose: 'That there is no tempest so boisterous as the resentment of an angry Prince: that the Queen was of a flinty temper: that he well enough knew what was due from him as a subject, an Earl, and Grand Marshal of England, but did not understand the office of a drudge or a porter: that to own himself a criminal was to injure truth, and the author of it, God Almighty: that his body suffered in every part of it by that blow given him by his Prince: that 'twould be a crime in him to serve a Queen who had given him so great an affront. What! was it impossible for crowned heads to wrong, and so to stand accountable to their subjects? Was any power below of an unlimited nature? And did not Solomon say, that he is a fool who laughs when he is stricken? They only that were gainers by the miscarriages of Princes were obliged to take the indignities they offered, and those who suspected the omnipotence of the Deity, might, if they pleased, place it in earthly Princes: for my part, said he, I have suffered so many and great injuries, that I cannot but resent them from my very heart.' However, in a little time he became more pliant, received his pardon, and was re-admitted into the Queen's favour, who always thought it a less crime to offend a person, than to prosecute him with a perfect hatred. However, his friends were apt to date his ruin from this unlucky circumstance, having made this remark, That fortune seldom carelesly a cast-off favourite a second time, and

Princes once disobliged are seldom heartily reconciled.

[O] *Bestowed upon him by her favour.* The truth of this may be not only probably collected, but in some measure proved, from an epistle of his to the Queen, written after his appointment to the government of Ireland, and before his going thither, of which there is a very imperfect copy in the Cabala (55), but that loss is now supplied, by the following full and correct transcript of that valuable and authentick paper, from the collections in the Harleian Library (56). If we consider the Earl's character, and how incapable he was of dissembling, the weight of this evidence will be the greater; but without taking in that, I look on the very stile of the letter to be such as will put all suspicion of artifice out of the case, which will teach the reader what to think of the Declaration of his treasons, that stands entirely upon this bottom, that he had plotted a revolution in England before he went to Ireland, and desired the Lieutenancy that he might put himself at the head of an army, and enter into a confederacy with the rebels.

(55) Cabala, P. i. p. 216.

(56) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 133.

To the Queen.

FROM a mind delighting in sorrow, from spirits wasted with passion, from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travel; from a man that hateth himself, and all things else that keep him alive; what service can your Majesty expect, since any service past deserves no more than banishment and proscription to the cursedest of all islands? It is your rebels pride and succession must give me leave to ransom myself out of this hateful prison, out of my loathed body, which, if it happen so, your Majesty shall have no cause to mislike the fashion of my death, since the course of my life could never please you.

Happy

two in the afternoon, he set out from Seething-Lane, and passing through the city in a plain habit, accompanied by many of the Nobility, he was attended by vast crowds of people out of town; and it was observed, with a view, perhaps, to prepare the world to have a bad opinion of his conduct, that the weather was exceeding fair when he took horse, but, by that time he came to Illington, there was a heavy storm of rain, attended with thunder and lightning (*i*). The like bad weather he met with at sea, so that he did not arrive at Dublin, or take upon him his charge, before April 15th, 1599 (*k*). He found things in that country in a state very different from what he expected, and perceived that there was nothing to be done, at least to any purpose, till he was well acquainted with the country in which he was to act. He found likewise, that the new-raised men he had brought over were altogether unfit for action, till they were seasoned to the country, and well acquainted with discipline (*l*). These considerations hindered him from marching directly to Ulster, for fear Tir-Oen should make any advantage of his weaknesses; and the Council desiring that he would suppress some disorders in Munster, he thought that a fair occasion of exercising his new troops, and did it effectually (*m*). On his return to Dublin, that very day two months on which he had received the government, he wrote a letter to the Queen, containing a free, fair, and full representation of the state of things in that country; which most admirable performance pointing out all the steps that were afterwards taken, and by which his successor made an end of the war, remains upon record in Ireland (*n*); but, of the contents thereof, not a syllable is mentioned in Camden, or the rest of our Historians. This letter he sent over to the Queen by his Secretary, in hopes that from thence she might have derived a just notion of the state of things in that island, but it produced no such effect; on the contrary, the Queen was exceedingly provoked that he had not marched into Ulster, in order to attack Tir-Oen, and repeated her orders upon that head in very strong terms (*o*). Before these arrived, Sir Henry Harrington, with some of the fresh troops, had been worsted by the O'Brians; which so provoked Essex, that he caused the remains of those troops to be decimated (*p*); which, with the throwing a soldier over-board in his last expedition, with his own hands, are the only instances of severity that are recorded of him (*q*). When he received the Queen's orders, and was on the point of marching into Ulster, he was prevailed upon to enter the country of Ophaly, to reduce the O'Connors and the O'Moores, which he performed; but his troops were so harrassed and diminished thereby, that, with the advice and consent of the Council of Ireland, he wrote home for a recruit of two thousand men (*r*). In the midst of these crosses in Ireland, an army was suddenly raised in England, under the command of the Earl of Nottingham; no-body well knowing why, but, in reality, from the suggestions of the Earl's enemies to the Queen, that he rather meditated an invasion on his native country, than the reduction of the Irish rebels (*s*). At length Essex, intending for Ulster, sent orders to Clifford, who commanded in Connaught, to march towards the enemy on that side, that Tir-Oen might be obliged to divide his forces; which was executed, but with such ill fortune, that the English, being surprized, were beaten, with the loss of their Commander in Chief, together with Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, and one hundred and forty men (*t*). Upon the arrival of the succours which he had demanded, the Lord Lieutenant marched, though with a small force, against Tir-Oen, in the latter end of the month of August; but, on the 8th of September following, was prevailed upon to confer with him alone at the ford of Ballaclynch; and afterwards, with counsellors on both sides, when he concluded a truce for six weeks, and so from six weeks to six weeks, till May, provided that, on a fortnight's notice, either party might be at liberty to resume the war (*u*). He was led to this by the weak and desperate resolution he had taken of returning to England, whither he had once some thoughts of transporting a body of his forces, but was dissuaded from it by his friends. However, upon receiving a sharp letter, directed to him and the Council, from the Queen, he determined to stay no longer, settled the government in the best manner he could, and, with a few of his friends, came over to England (*w*). He arrived before any notice could be received of his design, went directly to the Court at Nonsuch, and presented himself to the Queen on the 28th of September, where he met with a tolerable reception, but was, soon after, committed, treated with a mixture of kindness and severity, till, upon his absolute submission, he was brought before some of the Privy-Council, severely reprimanded, dismissed from the Board, suspended from the exercise of all his great offices, except that of Master of the Horse, and committed to a Keeper, Sir Richard Barkley, who was, not long after, withdrawn (*x*). Such was the issue of the Queen's resentments; as for what happened afterwards, it was the effects of his own ill conduct, wrought up to a degree

(i) Stowe's Annals, p. 183.

(k) Cox's History of Ireland, P. i. p. 416.

(l) Collected from the several accounts of his proceedings in that kingdom.

(m) As is acknowledged in a letter of Sir Robert Cecil's, in Wood's Memorials, Vol. 1. p. 75, 76.

(n) Cox's History of Ireland, P. ii. p. 418.

(o) Camden. Annals, p. 790.

(p) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, P. i. p. 421.

(q) Reliquie Wottonianæ, p. 30.

(r) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, P. i. p. 421.

(s) Sir William Monson's Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 39.

(t) Cox's History of Ireland, P. i. p. 421.

(u) Camden. Annals, p. 791, 792.

(w) Stowe's Annals, p. 789.

(x) Camden. Annals, p. 795—799.

*Happy he could finish forth his fate  
In some un haunted desert, most obscure  
From all society, from love and hate  
Of worldly folk; then should he sleep secure:  
Then wake again and yield God ever praise,  
Content with hips, and haws, and brambleberry,  
In contemplation passing out his days,  
And change of holy thoughts to make him merry.*

*Who when he dies his tomb may be a bush,  
Where harmless Robin dwells with gentle Thrush.*

Your Majesty's exil'd servant,

ROBERT ESSEX.

[P] F, 027

degree of madness from the artifices of his subtle enemies [P]. In the summer of the year 1600 he recovered his liberty, and, in the autumn following, he received Mr Cuffe, who had been his Secretary in Ireland, into his councils; who laboured to persuade him, that submission would never do him any good; that the Queen was in the hands of a faction, who were his enemies; and that the only way to restore his fortune, was to find a means of obtaining an audience, in which he might be able to represent his own case, let that means be what it would (y). The Earl heard this dangerous advice without consenting to it, till he found there was no hopes of getting his farm of the sweet wines renewed, then it is said that, giving a loose to his passion, he let fall many vehement expressions, and, amongst the rest, this fatal reflection (z), *That the Queen grew old and cankered, and that her mind was become as crooked as her carcase.* Camden says (a), that this was aggravated by some of the Court Ladies, whom he had disappointed in their intrigues. The Earl of Clarendon seems to suspect the truth of it (b), but another great Historian, who knew all the passages of those times well, is more clear in this respect (c). We have elsewhere traced the progress of his unlucky contrivance, in which he seemed to act rather as the instrument of his enemies, in shaping his own and his friends destruction, than as a man of abilities, (which surely he did not want) struggling with the frowns of fortune (d). Those enemies, who had exact intelligence of all that he proposed, having provided effectually against the execution of his designs, hurried him upon his fate by a message sent on the evening of the 7th of February, requiring him to attend the Council, which he declined (e). He then gave out that they sought his life, kept a watch in Essex-House all night, and summoned his friends, for his defence, the next morning. The Queen, being informed of the great resort of people of all ranks to the Earl, sent the Lord Keeper Egerton, the Earl of Worcester, Sir Francis Knolles, (his uncle by the mother's side) and the Lord Chief-Justice Popham, to know his grievances, whom, after a short and ineffectual conference, he confined; and then, attended by the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, the Lord Sands, the Lord Montague, and about two hundred Gentlemen, he went into the city, where the Earl of Bedford, the Lord Cromwell, and some other Gentlemen, joined him, but his dependance on the populace failed him; and Sir Robert Cecil prevailing upon his brother the Lord Burleigh to go with Sir Gilbert Dethick, then King at Arms, and proclaim Essex and his adherents traitors, in the principal streets, the Earl found it impossible to return to his house by land; and, therefore, sending Sir Ferdinando Gorges before to release the Chief-Justice, who, for his own sake, thought fit to extend that order to the rest of the Privy-Councillors; the Earl, with his principal attendants, returned in boats to Essex-House, which was quickly invested by the

(y) Reliquizæ Wottonianæ, p. 31.

(z) Winstanley's English Worthies, p. 230.

(a) Annal. Eliz. p. 837.

(b) Reliquizæ Wottonianæ, p. 52.

(c) Sir Walter Raleigh's Prerogative of Parliaments in England. Middleburgh, 1628. 4to. p. 43.

(d) See the article of CUFFE (HENRY) in this Dictionary.

(e) See the Declaration of Treasons of the Earl of Essex, by Sir Francis Bacon.

[P] *From the artifices of his subtle enemies.*] It may not be amiss, for the sake of preserving the connection of this great man's history, and to prevent that confusion which may easily happen from two distinct proceedings against him upon this affair, to set down the dates a little more particularly, but at the same time as concisely as possible. He was presently after his arrival, that is, on the second of October, confined in the house of the Lord Keeper Egerton very strictly, so that even his family were not permitted to see him, his friends had little countenance at Court, and the Queen spoke with more or less vehemence, but ever with displeasure (57). But her Majesty being informed that the people both in town and country took great liberty in their discourses, the Lords of the Council in the Star-chamber, at the last sitting in Michaelmas term, on the twenty-eighth of November 1599, were commanded to say, what they thought might justify what had been done, and put a stop to these murmurs; the Lord Keeper began with observing, that the Queen was an absolute Prince, and yet condescended to inform her people, that the army lately sent into Ireland was such a one as a King's son might have thought it an honour to command, and a better than our antient Kings had to conquer France, that she forgave the person she chose to command a debt of eight thousand pounds, and put into his purse a gift to the value of twenty-two thousand; that the scheme of the war was laid down in Council, which himself approved; that he followed quite another course in Ireland, and contrary to the Queen's express commandment, which was a contempt of a very high nature; and since his return, the Privy-Council of Ireland had disfavoured his actions, and of these points the Lord Keeper directed the Justices of Peace to give full information in their respective counties. The Lord Treasurer Buckhurst shewed how the Queen's treasure had been wasted; the Lord Admiral Nottingham magnified the promises the Earl made before he went, his saying that he would make the earth tremble beneath him, that notwithstanding this the army had suffered much dishonour,

(57) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144.

was greatly weakened, and such proposals of peace brought over, as, with a great oath, he swore the Queen would hazard her person, and die amongst them, before she would grant. The Lord Chamberlain Hunfdon said only, that the army was great, and that with such an officer at their head as the Earl of Essex might have endangered Spain. Sir Francis Knolles spoke to the same effect. The Secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, in a speech full of protestations, in which he stiled those who disliked the Queen's Ministers the devil's children and wicked spirits, affirmed, that in a little more than ten years the Queen had spent three millions four hundred thousand pounds upon Ireland; that the Earl had a royal army, that he had diminished it without doing any thing, that he returned contrary to her Majesty's express commands, and that if he had staid but twenty days longer the Queen had sent him a successor (58). The Earl was not present at this time, nor had any opportunity of defending himself. His confinement continued all the winter with the same severity; this threw him into a grievous fit of sickness, from which he recovered but slowly through his excessive anxiety; at length he was permitted to see his Lady, and some hopes were given him as if the Queen meant to humble and not to crush him. Last of all he was brought to a publick audience, before a Committee of the Privy-Council and others, in the Lord Keeper's house, June 5, 1600, where, for eleven hours, he heard all the speeches that were made against him with great humility, kneeling, till, upon the motion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he was allowed to stand, then to lean, and at last to sit upon a stool (59); but he knelt again when he received his sentence, and though no mention was made of his post of Master of the Horse, yet the Earl of Worcester performed the functions of it, and he had no assurance of his being restored (60). He was remanded into custody, and his keeper continued with him till the 27th of August, and then he was permitted to retire to Ewelme lodge in Oxfordshire (61).

(58) These speeches are annexed to the last edition of the Earl's Apology. Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 146.

(59) See the Proceedings upon this Commission, drawn up by Sir Francis Bacon. Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 199.

(60) Idem, ibid. p. 201.

(61) Idem, ibid. p. 213.

the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral, with a great force, to whom, after many disputes, and some blood spilt, he and his adherents, at last, surrendered (f). Essex was carried that night to the Archbishop of Canterbury's palace at Lambeth, with the Earl of Southampton, and the next day they were sent to the Tower (g). On the 19th of the same month they were arraigned before their Peers, and, after a long trial, the most material circumstances of which, we have had occasion to mention elsewhere, they were found guilty, and sentence of death pronounced by the Lord Buckhurst, who sat as Lord High Steward (h). Upon this melancholy occasion all that Essex said was, *If her Majesty had pleased, this body of mine might have done her better service; however, I shall be glad if it may prove serviceable to her any way* (i). After he was remanded to the Tower, there were great pains taken to draw from him very large and full confessions; which was the more easy, as he was truly and sincerely pious; and, after he was once persuaded, that his project was of a treasonable nature, made it a point of conscience to disclose all he knew, though it was highly prejudicial to his friends, and could do no good to himself; and, indeed, he did not appear either to design or desire it (k). Two reasons seem especially to have moved such as set on foot these practices, by which the honesty of Essex was rendered fatal even to his last breath, and they were such as became politicians, who had nothing but self-interest in view, which, if they could promote, they had not either consideration or pity for others. The first was, that, by his proper confession, they might effectually establish the truth of his plot, increase the number of it's circumstances, heighten the apparent danger of it's consequences, and thereby furnish plentiful materials for proclamations, sermons, and declarations (l), which might remove from the unhappy Earl all means of obtaining mercy, excite in the Queen the utmost horror, and, at the same time, terrify her with dismal apprehensions, while the nation in general was astonished, and their affection for the unhappy sufferer cooled, or, at least, confounded. In all which, for a time, they gained their end [Q]. The other motive was finding out evidence against the chief of his adherents, many of them of great quality, and some also of great fortune, whom they meant to let escape out of the briars, provided nevertheless that they left their fleeces behind them, in which they were likewise but too successful (m), rendering highly profitable to themselves that clemency which their Royal Mistress would have extended freely. Camden adds to this another circumstance, which wants explaining: he says, that he discovered many in Scotland, France, and the Low-Countries, who were embarked with him, besides others in England, and the Lord Montjoy, who succeeded him in the government of Ireland, so that their numbers obliged the Queen to dissemble what she knew; he adds, that he gave a confession under his hand, which his enemies shewing to King James some time after, brought him and his friends into great disesteem with that Prince (n). We shall endeavour to give some light into this in the notes [R].

(f) Stowe's Annals, p. 792.

(g) Camd. Ann. p. 846.

(h) State Trials, Vol. 1. p. 208.

(i) Camden. Ann. p. 857.

(k) See extracts of his confessions at the end of the declaration of his treasons.

(l) See the Earl of Clarendon's Disparity between the Duke Buckingham and the Earl of Essex.

(m) English Baronetage, Vol. 1. p. 319.

(n) Camd. Ann. p. 860.

After

62) History of the Presbyterians, p. 349.

[Q] *They gained their end.* What it was that in those times the enemies of this unfortunate Peer laboured to impute to him, seems to be most clearly stated by Heylyn (62), as Sir William Dugdale well observes, and his account is the true key to what was suggested by the Attorney-General Coke at the Earl's trial, and is covertly insinuated in the long Declaration of treasons, drawn at the Queen's command by Sir Francis Bacon, and much altered by direction as himself confesses. Take this passage in Heylyn's own words: 'While the Prelates of the Church were busied upon disputes, the Presbyterians found themselves some better work, in making friends, and fastening on some eminent patron to support their cause. None fitter for their purpose than the Earl of Essex, gracious amongst the military men, popular beyond measure, and as ambitious of command as he was of applause. He had his education in the house of the Earl of Leicester, and took to wife a daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, who fitted and prepared him for those applications which hitherto he had neglected, upon a just fear of incurring the Queen's displeasure. But the Queen being now grown old, the King of Scots, not much regarded by the English, and very ill obeyed by his natural subjects, he began to look up towards the crown, to which a title was drawn for him as the direct heir of Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester, one of the younger sons of King Edward III. This man the Puritans cry up with most infinite praises, both in their pulpits and in their pamphlets, telling him that he was not only great in honour and the love of the people, but *temporis expectatione major*, far greater in the expectation which his friends had of him. And he accordingly applies himself to those of the Puritan faction, admits them to places of most trust and credit about his person, keeps open house for men of those opinions to resort unto, under pretence

of hearing sermons, and hearing no sermons, with more zeal and edification than those which seemed to attribute a power to inferior Magistrates for curbing and controuling their undoubted Sovereigns. Which questionless must needs have ended in great disturbance to the Church and State, if he had not been outwitted by Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and the rest of their party in the Court by whom he was first shifted over into Ireland, and at last brought upon the scaffold, not to receive a crown but to lose his head. Which happened very opportunely for King James of Scotland, whose entrance might have been opposed, and his title questioned, if this ambitious man had prospered in his undertakings, which he conducted generally with more heat than judgment.'

[R] *In the notes.* We have elsewhere mentioned a letter written to Anthony Bacon, Esq; concerning the death and confession of this unfortunate Peer (63), and as in that we find a fair and genuine account of his Lordship's real intentions, corresponding exactly with what Camden hints, who was unwilling to speak plainer, because, as he elsewhere confessed, he knew King James's thoughts upon this matter, notwithstanding they were none of the plainest; for sometimes he stiled Essex *his martyr*, and, at others, he expressed no great kindness for him; what follows will sufficiently account for both, and fulfil all that has been promised for it in the text (64).

(63) See the article of BACON (ANTHONY) in this Dictionary.

(64) In the Appendix to the genuine edition of Camden's Annals by Thomas Hearne.

'After his Lordship's condemnation, upon his suit to the Lords, there was sent to him one Ashton, that was preacher in his house, a man base, fearful, and mercenary, but such a one, as, by a formal shew of zeal, had gotten a good opinion of that noble Lord, who that way (being himself most religious) might easily be deceived. How the man was prepared I touch not, but how he dealt, the substance of which was his own confession to a worthy person, as he well

After drawing out of Essex all that he could say, and thereby rendering death more desirable to him than life, the 25th of February was fixed for his execution, as to which the Queen was irresolute to the very last, so that she sent Sir Edward Cary to countermand it; but, as Camden says, considering afterwards his obstinacy, his refusing to ask her pardon, and declaring that his life was inconsistent with her safety, she countermanded those orders, and directed he should die (o). There is a strange story current in the world about a ring, which the Earl of Clarendon stiles a loose report, that crept into discourse (p) soon after his miserable end; yet a foreign writer, of great reputation, gives us this as an undoubted truth, and that upon the authority of an English Minister, who might be well presumed to know what he said; and therefore, in the words of that writer, we shall report

(o) Annal. Eliz.  
p. 360.

(p) Disparity between the Duke of Bucks and Earl of Essex.

‘ well knoweth, I will fully relate unto you. At his  
‘ coming to my Lord he found his Lordship exceeding  
‘ chearful, and prepared with great contentation for  
‘ his end, with whom he began to deal to this effect:  
‘ My Lord, I am unfeignedly sorry to see no more  
‘ sense in you of these great and fearful sins into  
‘ which you have fallen, whereby you have disho-  
‘ noured God, shamed your profession, offended your  
‘ Sovereign, and pulled upon yourself many notes of  
‘ infamy. You have now manifested to the world,  
‘ that all your shew of religion was mere hypocrisy;  
‘ that you are in heart either an Atheist or a Papist,  
‘ which doth plainly appear, in that all your instru-  
‘ ments, followers, and favourers, were of this qua-  
‘ lity, most of them men of no means, but either base  
‘ persons whom you had raised, or such as had lewdly  
‘ consumed their own patrimony. And if there were  
‘ any of better condition for their state, yet were they  
‘ either recusants, or such as were discontented with  
‘ the present government, so as the badness of both  
‘ your cause and action doth herein shew itself, that  
‘ not one man, but of the sort beforementioned, took  
‘ your part or liked your course. Besides, however  
‘ you would colour it with other pretences, your end  
‘ was an ambitious seeking of the crown, the hope  
‘ whereof, for their own raising, made these men so  
‘ follow, animate, and applaud you. So that if by a  
‘ true confession and unfeigned repentance you do not  
‘ unburthen yourself of these sins, you shall carry out  
‘ of the world a guilty soul before God, and leave  
‘ upon your memorial an infamous name to posterity.  
‘ Therefore I will say to you as Joshua did to Achan,  
‘ (for you have dishonoured God more than ever he  
‘ did) Give glory to God and make confession of your  
‘ faults, for, as Solomon saith, He that hides his sins  
‘ shall not prosper.

‘ Many more words of gall and bitterness to this  
‘ effect he spake, as himself confessed, wherein, tho’  
‘ peradventure I may forget in the preciseness of form,  
‘ I religiously protest I fail not in the substance and  
‘ matter. My Lord with this strange stile was much  
‘ amazed, his expectation being so greatly deceived,  
‘ as looking rather in his case for a comforter, than so  
‘ bitter and slanderous an accuser, who after a sad and  
‘ silent pause made answer to this effect: Mr Ashton  
‘ you have laid grievous things to my charge, of  
‘ which if I could not with truth free and clear my-  
‘ self, I might justly be holden one of the most un-  
‘ worthiest creatures on earth. And I assure you to  
‘ have these reports carried and believed in the world,  
‘ is more grievous to me than a thousand deaths.  
‘ First, touching my religion, I have always abhorred  
‘ atheism and superstition, believing in the true God,  
‘ and desiring to serve him in that form of his worship  
‘ professed and maintained in England, in which from  
‘ my infancy I was brought up, and have constantly  
‘ holden the profession thereof to this day. True it is,  
‘ in those publick services wherein I have been em-  
‘ ployed, I have had use of men of sundry qualities,  
‘ but howsoever I loved their valour, faithfulness, and  
‘ knowledge of service that were not religious, I was  
‘ ever grieved for the want thereof in them, and  
‘ neglected no opportunity I possibly could gain to  
‘ bring them unto it. For the crown I never af-  
‘ fected it, neither, praise I God, was I ever so care-  
‘ less of my soul, as, by seeking a crown on earth, to  
‘ which I had no manner of title, to deprive my soul  
‘ of a crown in Heaven where I have so assured hope.  
‘ Neither am I ignorant what success God, in his ju-  
‘ stice, hath laid upon such ambitious courses in ages  
‘ past. But being a principal member in this common-  
‘ wealth, I could not but see and feel what misery was

‘ near unto my country, by the great power of such as  
‘ are known indeed to be Atheists, Papists, and Pen-  
‘ sioners, to the mortal enemies of this kingdom.  
‘ I knew myself bound in conscience as a Christian to  
‘ prevent the subversion of religion; and, as an En-  
‘ glishman, to have regard of my native country.  
‘ The only means left to turn away these evils was,  
‘ to procure my access to her Majesty, with whom I  
‘ assured myself to have had that gracious hearing, that  
‘ might have tended to the infinite happiness of this  
‘ State, both in removing evil instruments from about  
‘ her person, and in settling a succession for the crown,  
‘ to the preventing of Spanish servitude, and saving of  
‘ many thousand Englishmens lives; no, no, Mr Ash-  
‘ ton, I never desired other condition than the state of  
‘ a subject, but only to my Sovereign, and not to base  
‘ and unworthy vassals under her. My Lord, saith  
‘ Ashton, these are general speeches, and not unlike  
‘ to those you used at your arraignment, and not much  
‘ more believed of me now, than they were of many  
‘ then. You must remember you are going out of the  
‘ world, you know what it is to receive sentence of  
‘ death here, but yet you know not what it is to stand  
‘ before God’s judgment seat, and to receive the sen-  
‘ tence of eternal condemnation. Leave therefore all  
‘ glorious pretences, free your conscience from the  
‘ burthen of your grievous sins, for I protest I cannot  
‘ believe that you had any other pretence than that I  
‘ have told you, or can name one man (other than  
‘ such as I have mentioned) that was either adviser,  
‘ persuader, or approver of your purposes. Neither  
‘ see I any reason why, that I being watchman over  
‘ your soul, should not as well have been advised  
‘ withal, if these things had been so, as any other.  
‘ His Lordship with infinite grief replied, Mr Ashton,  
‘ I cannot marvel though my protestations are not be-  
‘ lieved of my enemies, when they so little prevail  
‘ with a man of your quality. But I am able to tell  
‘ you that are a Minister and preacher of the Gospel,  
‘ and the messenger of God to me at this my last end,  
‘ by particulars so to confirm that which I have spoken,  
‘ as you shall no longer doubt of it. Then his Lord-  
‘ ship shewed him, as he confessed, his whole end to  
‘ tend to the settling of the succession by Act of  
‘ Parliament on the King of Scotland, as the true and  
‘ indubitate heir, after her Majesty, of this kingdom,  
‘ and named to him sundry worthy persons, both of  
‘ religion, honour, and state, that had their consents,  
‘ and were engaged with him therein. Ashton, hav-  
‘ ing very attentively marked my Lord’s words, made  
‘ this reply, These be great matters your Lordship  
‘ hath opened unto me, and the concealing of them  
‘ may touch my life. Also I hold myself bound in  
‘ allegiance to reveal them; besides, the publishing of  
‘ them may give satisfaction to many that hold the  
‘ same opinion of your courses which I did; and fur-  
‘ ther, it may be dangerous to her Majesty’s person in  
‘ some practice hereafter, by them, or some of their  
‘ instruments, the burthen whereof your soul must  
‘ bear, if you can and do not prevent it, and I will be  
‘ a witness against you that you have spoken it. Thus  
‘ being extremely urged, he made confession according  
‘ to the premises, namely, that he meant to have  
‘ established the King of Scots’s title in succession, and  
‘ that in this intention he had many of the worthiest  
‘ persons of the land in consent with him, which also  
‘ he had an earnest purpose to have revealed at his  
‘ death, as Ashton and others have confessed, but that  
‘ he was so mightily dissuaded and commanded to the  
‘ contrary as a thing that might tend to the great dan-  
‘ ger of her Majesty’s person.’

port it (q) [S]. The manner of the Earl's suffering death is so largely related in Camden, and others, that we shall not meddle with it here, farther than to observe, that, as many actions of his life spoke him a hero, so this last action shewed him a true Christian, by manifesting that he was far less careful of his body than his soul, and much more afraid of his sin than of his punishment (r). His character is very fully drawn by Sir Henry Wotton (s), very fairly by Sir Robert Naunton (t), very freely by Camden (u), and very finely touched by the masterly pen of the Noble Historian (w); neither are there wanting some useful touches in Osborne (x), Fuller (y), Lloyd (z), Winstanley (a), and other writers of less fame. It appears from the comparison of these, that, in respect to the publick, he was truly a Patriot, had a great regard to his Sovereign's honour, and no less zeal for his country's service; he valued himself on losing a father and a brother, and in spending a great part of his substance, in the cause of both; his projects were high but very honourable, and the difficulties with which they were embarrassed seemed rather to invite than to deject him. He was, however, too covetous of royal favour, and, some say, not respectful enough to the royal person; and, if there was any truth in this, his fault was inexcusable, the Queen preventing his merit by her favours, as well as rewarding it by honours; nor did he feel the Sun-shine only, but the dew of the Court, since, if the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst computed right, and he was no enemy to my Lord of Essex, he received in grants, pensions, and places, to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds; but then, as he received all this from, he spent it for, the Publick; and if he sometimes appeared covetous, it was that he might be always generous; for, to his honour be it spoke, learning never approached him ungraced, merit unrewarded, or want without receiving relief. His Sovereign's favour he lost often, the fidelity of his friends, and the affection of the people, never; yet he sometimes trusted those who had been formerly his enemies, and was not fortunate in all his enterprizes, which renders the wonder greater. As to his person, he is reported to have been tall, but not very well made, his countenance reserved, his air rather martial than courtly, very careless in dress, and very little addicted to trifling diversions. Learned he was, and a lover of learned men, wrote with that facility which is the true mark of genius, with that closeness and perspicuity which is the happiest fruit of learning, and that noble simplicity which is the characteristick of a great mind. Sincere in his friendship, but not so careful as he ought to have been in making a right choice; sound in his morals, except in the point of gallantry, and thoroughly well affected to the Protestant religion, of which he had very just notions, despising alike the meanness of Superstition, and the folly of Infidelity. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, leaving, by his wife, only one son Robert (b), of whom in the next article, and two daughters; Frances, who became the wife of William first Earl (then Marquis) of Hertford, and lastly Duke of Somersset (c); and Dorothy, who first married Sir Henry Shirley, of Stanton-Harold in the county of Leicester, Bart. and

(q) Maurier Memoires pour servir a l'histoire de Hollande, p. 215.

(r) Stowe's Annals, p. 794.

(s) In his parallel between the Earl of Essex and the Duke of Buckingham.

(t) Fragments Regalia, cap. xix.

(u) Annal. p. 261—364.

(w) Disparity between the Duke of Bucks and the Earl of Essex.

(x) In his traditional Memoirs of Q. Elizabeth, and his political deductions from the death of the Earl of Essex.

(y) Worthies, Herefordshire, p. 38.

(z) State Worthies, p. 563.

(a) England's Worthies, p. 221.

(b) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 863.

(c) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 179.

[S] *We shall report it.* There are without doubt many falsehoods and fables relating to our History, recorded very seriously in foreign writers, for want of having a due knowledge of our customs and constitution; thus the French Ambassador here, or his son (65), wrote a letter to the Duke de Rohan, in which he assures him, that Essex's eloquence put all his Judges to silence at his trial, and that the Lords were all intoxicated with drink and tobacco when they brought him in guilty. Camden has refuted a story that prevailed very early, as if Queen Elizabeth had shewn the head of the Earl of Essex to the French Ambassadors, who were sent to congratulate her upon discovering his conspiracy (66). But we know with the greatest certainty, that it was with the utmost difficulty Henry IV was brought to believe there was any truth in it, and that he told the Queen's Minister, when he assured him that the Earl desired to die in private, that he knew the contrary, and that Essex had desired earnestly that his last declarations might be made in publick (67). But to the point; the Chevalier Louis Aubery de Maurier, who was many years the French Minister in Holland, a man of great parts and unsuspected veracity, delivers this tale in the following words (68): 'It will not, I believe, be thought either impertinent or disagreeable to add here what Prince Maurice had from the mouth of Mr Carleton, Ambassador from England in Holland, who died Secretary of State; so well known under the name of my Lord Dorchester, and who was a man of great merit. He said, that Queen Elizabeth gave the Earl of Essex a ring in the height of her passion for him, ordering him to keep it, and that whatever he should commit she would pardon him when he should return that pledge. Since that time the Earl's enemies having prevailed with the Queen, who besides was exasperated against him for the contempt he shewed

for her beauty, which, through age, began to decay, she caused him to be impeached. When he was condemned, she expected that he should send her the ring, and would have granted him his pardon according to her promise. The Earl, finding himself in the last extremity, applied to Admiral Howard's Lady, who was his relation, and desired her, by a person whom he could trust, to return the ring into the Queen's own hands. But her husband, who was one of the Earl's greatest enemies, and to whom she told this imprudently, would not suffer her to acquit herself of the commission, so that the Queen consented to the Earl's death, being full of indignation against such a proud and haughty spirit, who chose rather to die than to implore her mercy. Some time after the Admiral's Lady fell sick, and being given over by her Physicians, she sent word to the Queen that she had something of great consequence to tell her before she died. The Queen came to her bedside, and having ordered all the attendants to withdraw, the Admiral's Lady returned her, but too late, that ring from the Earl of Essex, desiring to be excused that she did not return it sooner, having been prevented doing it by her husband. The Queen retired immediately, being overwhelmed with the utmost grief; she sighed continually for a fortnight following, without taking any nourishment, lying a-bed entirely dressed, and getting up an hundred times a night. At last she died with hunger and with grief, because she had consented to the death of a lover who had applied to her for mercy. This melancholy adventure shews, that there are frequent transitions from one passion to another, and that as love often changes to hate, so hate, giving place sometimes to pity, brings the mind back again into it's first state.' Sir Dudley Carleton, who is made the author of this story, was a man who deserved the

(65) This letter is printed in Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 296.

(66) Annal. p. 877.

(67) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 59.

(68) Histoire de Hollande, p. 215, 216.

and afterwards to William Stafford, of Blatherwyck in the county of Northampton, Esq;  
(d) *Idem*, *ibid.* (d). He left also, by Mrs Southwell, a natural son named Walter.

the character that is given of him, and could not but be well informed of what passed at Court; but whoever considers the age of Queen Elizabeth at the time when the Earl of Essex first entered her presence, will find it difficult to believe the Queen ever considered him in the light of a lover. This Countess of Nottingham was the daughter of the Lord Viscount Hunsdon, related to the Queen, and also by his mother to the Earl of Essex. Before we part with this subject it may not be amiss to observe, that something of truth there certainly is as to the Queen's death being hastened by an accident relating to a ring, and by her reflecting on the death of the Earl of Essex. In the ceremony of her

coronation she was wedded to the kingdom with a ring, which she always wore, till, the flesh growing over it, it was filed off a little before her decease. About the same time observing, that the loss of Essex, and the confusion of his friends, had put her entirely into the hands of those who began to neglect her, and to court her successor, she could not help saying, in an excess of passion, *They have now got me in a yoke, I have nobody left me that I can trust, my condition is the perfect reverse of what it was* (69). It is also true, that a melancholy sense of this brought her to her end about twenty-five months after the death of Essex. (69) *Annal. Eliz.* p. 910, 911.

E

DEVEREUX (ROBERT) son to the former, and the third Earl of Essex of this family. He was born some time in the year 1592, at Essex-House in the Strand (a), and, at the time of his father's unhappy death, was under the care of his grandmother, by whom he was sent to Eaton-school, where he received the first tincture of a learned education (b). In the month of January 1602, he was removed to the University of Oxford, entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Merton-College, where he had an apartment in the Warden's lodgings, then Mr Savile, afterwards the celebrated Sir Henry Savile, his father's dear friend, and who, for his sake, was exceedingly careful in seeing that he was learnedly and religiously educated (c). The very next year he was restored to his hereditary honours (d); and in 1605, King James making a visit to the University of Oxford, our young Earl of Essex was created Master of Arts on the 30th of August, for the first time, which, very probably, he had forgot, or he would not have received the same honour above thirty years afterwards (e). At this time Henry Prince of Wales, attended by his Tutor Sir Thomas Chaloner, was matriculated of this University, and, at this time also, from a supposed harmony in their tempers, we are told, that there was a great intimacy between his Royal Highness and the Earl of Essex; they were both of a serious disposition, yet much inclined to rough and robust exercises, more especially tennis, at which, it is said, a quarrel ensued between them, attended with such consequences, as made the King's interposition necessary (f) [A]. The remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next, the Earl spent in academical studies becoming his age and quality, and suitable to the gravity of his temper. In the mean time Robert Earl of Salisbury, and Lord High Treasurer of England, who had acted as Prime Minister from the time of the King's accession, perceiving that this young Nobleman was like to succeed to his father's fortune as well as titles, and to become a favourite both with Prince and People, grew very desirous that the antient enmity between their families might be extinguished; and, as he had married his son and heir-apparent to the Lady Catherine Howard, eldest daughter to the Earl of Suffolk, he projected a marriage between the Earl of Essex and Lady Frances Howard, the second daughter of the same noble Peer (g), which proving acceptable enough

[A] *As made the King's interposition necessary.* There is some cause to wonder, considering the great figure this Nobleman made in the world, we should never have any tolerable account of his life and actions. As for that written by Mr Codrington (1), it is not only entirely defective in point of method, but it is also very barren of facts, such only excepted as are collected from the news writers of those times. The same thing may with equal justice be said of Winstanley's account of this great Peer (2). Yet it is chiefly from these accounts that Mr Wood (3) has taken the memoirs he has given us of this noble person, but then they are much better ranged and digested. As to this story of the Earl's quarrel with Prince Henry it stands upon the credit of Codrington, who mentions no time when it happened, for that is supplied by the conjecture of Mr Wood, in which he has shewn great judgment, by placing it in that period, when, if there be any truth in it, this event must have happened. Take the relation in Mr Codrington's own words: 'Prince Henry and the young Earl, says he, delighting themselves one morning with the exercise and the pleasure of the tennis-court, after that a set or two were played, there did arise some difference upon a mistake: from bandying of the ball, the Prince being raised into a choler, did begin to bandy words, and was so transported with his passion, that he told the Earl of Essex that he was the son of a traitor. The Earl of Essex was then in the flourish of his youth, and full of fire and courage, and being not able to contain himself, he did strike the Prince with his

racket on the head, and that so shrewdly, that (as it is said) some drops of blood did trickle down. The news of this was presently brought to the King's ear, who having examined the business, and fully understood the manner and the occasion of it, did dismiss the Earl without any great check, and being a true peacemaker, he told his son that he who did strike him then, would be sure with more violent blows to strike his enemy in times to come.' It is surprizing that Mr Wilson, who lived many years as a domestick servant with the Earl of Essex, and who took so much pains to do justice to the Earl's actions both in his publick history, and in his private memoirs of his own life, which are now printed, should say nothing of this, more especially when he had so fair an opportunity, as in that passage where he endeavours to account for King James's dislike to the Earl (4), from that instinct, or secret prediction, that divine fate often imprints in the apprehension, whereby he did foresee in him a hand raised up against his posterity, since, without doubt, this quarrel with, and striking the Prince, had been a much more satisfactory reason. Besides, this story does not well agree with the spirit of Prince Henry, who would scarce have borne such an insult, or with that prudence for which he was so remarkable, as to be very unlikely to give any such provocation, more especially as his father, in common discourse, often styled the Earl of Essex *his martyr*, whence it is improbable the son should take him for a traitor.

[B] *That*

(a) *Life and Death of the illustrious Robert Earl of Essex*, by Robert Codrington, M. A. p. 3.

(b) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 92.

(c) *Winstanley's England's Worthies*, p. 350.

(d) *Vincent's Discovery of Errors in Brooke's Catalogue*, p. 188.

(e) *Fassi Oxoniensis*, Vol. I. col. 172, 269.

(f) *Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Essex*.

(g) *Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain*, in the second Vol. of the *Compleat Hist. of England*, of England, p. 686.

(1) *Life and Death of the illustrious Robert Earl of Essex*, by Robert Codrington, M. A. London, 1646. 4to. This piece is reprinted in the first Vol. of the *Harleian Miscellany*.

(2) *England's Worthies*, 1660. 8vo. p. 350.

(3) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 91.

(4) *History of Great Britain, &c.*

enough to both families, took place accordingly January 5th, 1606, the Lady being thirteen and the Earl fourteen years of age (b). The new-married couple being too young to cohabit together, the Earl was sent to improve himself by travel, and the young Countess of Essex remained with her mother (i). His Lordship spent about four years beyond the seas, and returned in the year 1610, with the reputation of being one of the best accomplished Noblemen of his time (k). The Countess of Essex, in this space, became distinguished for her beauty, but at the expence of her discretion, the world having made free with her reputation (l), upon which it is certain that she set too little value [B]. It does not however appear, that any of these untoward reports reached the ear of her Lord upon his coming to England, for he was very desirous of consummating the marriage, and was so indulgent as to look upon the aversion shewn by the Lady, as the effects of that modesty which ought to have been her greatest ornament. While he was soliciting her consent to go down and live with him at his seat in Staffordshire; he was surprized with the small-pox, which were either of the most malignant kind, or were rendered so by the administration of drugs, which were the very reverse of Physick (m). However, the Earl's youth, temperance, and strong constitution, got the better of the disease, and the Earl of Suffolk compelled his daughter to comply with her husband's desires, and to go down with him to Chartley (n). There her head ran upon the Viscount Rochester, who was at once the King's favourite and her's; and, in hopes of becoming one day his wife, she entered into a variety of wicked practices against the health as well as honour of her Lord; and, at length, having overcome all sense of shame, she instituted a publick suit against him, before Commissioners appointed for that purpose, in 1613 (o), which remains a blemish to our publick history [C]. In the latter end of the month of September

(i) Athen. Oxon. V. l. II. col. 93.

(j) Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, &c. p. 636.

(k) Historical Narration of the first fourteen years of King James, cap. v.

(l) Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, &c. p. 637.

(m) Historical Narration, &c. cap. vii.

(n) Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, &c. p. 647.

(o) See Archbishop Abbot's Memorial, in relation to the case between the Earl and Countess.

sentence

[B] *That she set too little value* It appears from the judicial proceedings for dissolving this marriage, that the Countess of Essex was about thirteen when she contracted it (5), the Earl returned from his travels four years after, so that her love intrigues must have commenced very early; it is not however very easy to discover with whom she had that familiarity which ruined her reputation before the Earl's return. Mr Wilson tells us (6), 'that she, growing to be a beauty of the greatest magnitude in that horizon, was an object for admirers, and every tongue grew an orator at that throne. The Prince of Wales, now in his puberty, sent many loving glances as Ambassadors of his good respects, and amorous expressions are fit subjects for jealous reproaches to work on.' What he adds soon after, in reference to Prince Henry's quitting her, and the cause of it, seems to have happened after the Earl of Essex came home. Read it in his own words: 'This Lady being taken with the growing fortunes of Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, and grounding more hope upon him than the uncertain and hopeless love of the Prince, she cast her anchor there, which the Prince soon discovered, and slighted her accordingly. For dancing one time among the ladies, and her glove falling down, it was taken up and presented to him by one that thought he did him acceptable service, but the Prince refused to receive it, saying publickly, he would not have it, it was stretched by another, meaning the Viscount: this was an aggravation of hatred between the King's son and the King's friend.' Another writer of great distinction, who dealt very much in secret history, and who is believed to have been as well versed in it as any man of his time, gives us a very plain and clear account of this, interwoven with greater matters, with which, as a curiosity, we will gratify our readers. Speaking of the Countess of Essex, he says (7), 'she was so delicate in her youth, as, notwithstanding that ineffable Prince Henry's martial desires, and initiation into the ways of godliness, she being set on by the Earl of Northampton, her father's uncle, first caught his eye and heart, and afterwards prostituted herself to him, who reaped the first fruits of her virginity. But those sparks of grace, which even then began to shew their lustre in him, with those more heroick innated qualities derived from virtue, which gave the law to his more advised actions, soon raised him out of the slumber of that distemper, and taught him to reject her following temptations with indignation and superciliousness. God best knows, whether that hastened his end; most certain it is, that some months before his Highness's death, Viscount Rochester's familiarity and her's took it's first initiation by Mrs Turner's procurement. The Scots have a constant report amongst them, as I learned from one of them, that Sir Thio-

mas Overbury, seeing divers crossings and oppositions to happen between that peerless Prince and said Rochester, by whose means only he expected to rise, and fearing it would in the end be a means to ruin Rochester himself, did first give that damn'd and fatal advice, of removing out of the way and world that royal youth by fascination, and was himself afterwards in part an instrument for the effecting of it; and therefore say they in Scotland, it happened by the just judgment of God afterwards, as a punishment upon him, that he himself died by poison.'

[C] *Which remains a blemish to our publick History.* It was without doubt a great weakness in King James to give that countenance which he did to this wicked affair, but he was at that time so much addicted to his favourite, afterwards Earl of Somerset, that he was willing to contribute in any manner whatever to his satisfaction (8). It is however highly probable, his Majesty was persuaded that the Earl of Essex gave his consent to it, neither was this altogether void of truth, for the Earl, tired with his wife's humours, displeas'd with the world's talk, and desirous to be restored to his former free and happy state of life, was willing enough, upon the persuasion of the Earl and Countess of Suffolk, to part with his Lady, supposing, at that time, it might be done without loss of reputation (9). A commission having passed the Great-Seal in the summer of the year 1613, the libel was filed in the month of June, and the Earl put in his answer on the 5th of July. The Archbishop of Canterbury was very much disturbed at this, being equally displeas'd, that, by collusion between the parties, the bond of matrimony should be dissolved, or that the new distinction which the King so much approved, that my Lord was *impotens in genere versus hanc*, should take place, the sad effects of which, with respect to the reputation of the Commissioners, and the ill consequences that must attend so bad a precedent in the face of the world, he clearly foresaw. Upon this he desired to examine the Earl of Essex more particularly, which was refused, because the Earl, hearing the outcry this matter made, and how much it touched his own character, had altered his sentiments (10). This forced the Commissioners to go on in another way, and to trust entirely to the evidence of the Lady, supported by corroborating circumstances of a very strange, or rather of a very shameful nature. At last, September 25, the sentence of nullity was pronounced, and December 26, the Lady was married again to the Earl of Somerset in the King's chapel, the foreign Ministers invited to the marriage, and the Archbishop of Canterbury in a manner compelled to honour it with his presence (11). To add to the Earl of Essex's perplexity, he was called upon to pay back his wife's fortune, which did not agree at all with his circumstances, whose quality oblig'd him to live at the very extent of his income. That

(8) See the Article of COKE, (Sir EDWARD).

(9) This appears from Archbishop Abbot's Memorial.

(10) See the Proceedings at large in this cause.

(11) As appears from his second Memorial.

5) So it is set forth in her life, and the fact admitted for truth in her case.

6) Hist. of Great Britain, &c. p. 636.

(7) Sir Simmonds Dewes in his History of his own life and times, a valuable MS. in the Harleian Library, fol. 47.

(p) Cases of Impotency and Divorce, Vol. III. p. 159.

(q) Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, &c. p. 693.

(r) Arthur Wilson's Account of his own life, printed in the first Vol. of Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, cap. iv.

(s) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Essex.

(t) Winstanley's English Worthies, p. 351.

(u) Wilson's Account of his own life, cap. v.

sentence was pronounced by the major part of these Commissioners, that the marriage was null and void with respect to the parties, because of the frigidity alledged by the Countess, and acknowledged by the Earl to be in him with respect to her; from which, however, dissented Dr Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr King, Bishop of London, Sir John Bennet, Francis James, and Thomas Edwards, Doctors of Laws (p). The Lady being thus at liberty from a husband she did not love, married with great pomp and splendor, before the close of the year, the man with whom she was so much enamoured, while the Earl of Essex, to whom the disgrace, from the thing itself, was doubled by the circumstances which attended it, endeavoured to hide himself in the country from the observance of the world, and the reproach to which he was exposed, from the bad conduct of an unhappy woman, born to be undone by that beauty for which she was so much admired (q). His own venerable castle of Chartley in Staffordshire, which descended to him from the antient family of Ferrers, was commonly the place of the Earl's residence, where he lived with great magnificence, in a friendly correspondence with all the Gentlemen of the country round about, and, in process of time, with as general affection and respect from all ranks and degrees of people as he could possibly desire. Sometimes he made a tour to Drayton, where his grandmother the Countess of Leicester resided, and sometimes he visited his brother-in-law the Earl of Hertford in Wiltshire (r). Manly sports, such as hunting, shooting, and riding long journies, made a great part of his summer recreations; in the winter, good cheer, feasting, with masks and plays, composed commonly by Arthur Wilson, who was his Groom of the Chambers, served to mitigate my Lord's melancholy, and to give the Country Gentlemen content (s). In this manner he passed near seven years, and then, in the spring of 1626, the war being hot in the Palatinate, his Lordship, at the request of his friend Henry Earl of Oxford, resolved to go thither, under the command of Sir Horatio Vere, an old soldier, and one of great reputation (t). The two Earls proposed to raise each a regiment, but carried over companies only for the present, composed however, for the most part, of Gentlemen, who went rather to acquire knowledge in the art of war, than to obtain either pay or preferment in that service (u) [D]. Though the fatigues and disappointments they met with, in

That he might answer this demand he was compelled to cut down his fine woods at Adderston, nor would this have done, if his grandmother, the Countess of Leicester, had not supplied him with a considerable sum of money to prevent his selling a part of his estate (12). We need not wonder therefore, that the Earl of Essex was not over-fond of the Court, or that King James, after buying himself so much in this matter, should not be well pleased with the sight of a man, who, in so tender a point, had been so grossly injured.

[D] *Than to obtain either pay or preferment in that service.* It is said by more writers than one, that the Earl of Essex went abroad to learn the art of discipline and arms, that he might be the more capable of doing service to his country. It is much more probable, that the accompanying the Earl of Oxford, and the diverting his own melancholy thoughts, were at this time his principal motives, rather than any foresight he could then have of what afterwards fell out. His company was to have consisted of two hundred and fifty men, but such was his interest, and the general affection borne him, that when he came to muster his company in Holland, it consisted of full three hundred, so that the pay of fifty men came out of his own pocket (13). The Marquis of Spinola, with the Austrian army under his command, being in full march for the Palatinate, Prince Henry of Nassau, with a small body of troops of which the English made a part, undertook to follow him, and to join that army which the Princes of the Union had raised for the defence of that electorate, which his Highness accordingly performed with great address. In this march the inhabitants of the town of Coblenz, very unexpectedly, and without any reason given, fired upon the English from their ramparts, when a cannon ball passed between General Vere and the Earl of Essex who were talking together, and wounded one Mr Flood who stood behind them (14). After they had with much difficulty joined the army of the Princes, who by that junction became superior in force to Spinola, the war was carried on in a very dilatory manner, till the season of the year rendered it impracticable to keep the field any longer, and then the English forces being put into garrison in the Palatinate, the Earl returned home through France, where he met with a very odd adventure, of which Mr Wilson, his Historian, gives us the following account (15): 'We had, says he, from Frankendale, a convoy of a hundred horse which brought us into Lorraine. From Mentz we travelled

by ourselves into France, and came to Compeigne in Champagne, where my Lord sent away most of his train the strait way to Bologne, and himself, with some few of us, took post, though he went three miles out of the way to come to the post road. The next stage was Gourney; where the knavish Post-Master seeing us likely to be good guests, to keep us there all night delayed, or rather indeed refused us horses, pretending he could not furnish them till morning. Which being contrary to my Lord's intention, for he took the post road to make more haste, not to hinder him, he was much troubled. And as we were wrangling for this coarse entertainment with our host, my Lord's horses (the Gentlemen and Grooms who went with them mistaking the way) came by. Which seen, his Lordship with joy presently mounted his own horses, to go the next stage. The inn-keeper, deceived of his prey, fell into raging and railing, which my Lord not brooking, ran after him with a cudgel (for his words were very provoking) to give him a parting blow. The inn-keeper's activity carried him to a garret, where, thrusting his head out at a window, he cried *murder, murder*, with a fury, not thinking there were three stories betwixt him and his danger. It seems it was enough: for before we were got twelve score yards in the street, we found ourselves barricaded with carts, and encircled with five hundred people, men, women, and children, with pitchforks, swords, and guns, smiths with iron bars, and every one with that came next to hand beset us. We had each a case of pistols, and closely stood upon our guard. The confusion and noise was great; no man knew for what. But we were very sensible of some knocks from a little hill above us, by Friars, who had filled their laps with stones, and kindly distributed them among us. Above half an hour we stood in this condition, staring on one another (no man but the virtuous Friars offering us injury) expecting what they had to lay to our charge. At last a Gentleman came to us who was a Lieutenant of horse, wishing us to put up our swords and pistols if we loved our safety. For if we had done any mischief it was impossible to escape, if we had done none we should receive none. So he went from us to examine the business, and in a quarter of an hour returned, pacified the people, and opened the way to us. My Lord commanded me to give him two English pieces, but he refused them.'

[E] Which

(12) Historical Narration of the first fourteen year of King James.

(13) History of Great Britain, &c.

(14) *Idem*, *ibid*.

(15) Arthur Wilson's Account of his own life, cap. iv.

in their first martial adventure, might have discouraged them from proceeding, yet these Lords went over again into Holland in 1621, and, in quality of volunteers, put themselves under the direction of Prince Maurice of Nassau, and, by their behaviour, merited the general applause of the whole army (w). They returned in the winter to England, where they both steered the same course, in giving some opposition to the designs of the Court in Parliament, where, though the Earl of Essex was never eloquent, yet he spoke very pertinently, and was very well heard; into the royal presence he came but seldom, perceiving that he was not very agreeable to the King; which was attributed to the roughness of his deportment, and his affecting the manner and garb of a soldier (x). An accidental affair induced King James to publish more of his mind in this respect than he intended, or indeed than it was any way fit he should. The case was this; the Nobility of England in general were much displeas'd with this Monarch's profusion of honours, so contrary to the practice of his predecessor, and which, they apprehended, lessened the dignity of the Peerage (y). Yet what troubled them most was, the vanity of some Gentlemen of large estates, who, by mere dint of money, procured to themselves either Scotch or Irish titles of Viscounts and Earls, in right of which they pretended to take place of English Barons. To remedy this grievance a petition was drawn up, and presented to the King, in which the matter was strongly but succinctly stated; which petition was subscribed by thirty-three of the Nobility, amongst whose names the Earl of Essex makes the third. King James was highly displeas'd with this application, and, as if he had considered it as flowing entirely from the Earl of Essex, discharged upon him the greatest part of his resentment, making use, as we are told, amongst others, of this expression, *I fear thee not Essex, if thou wast as well beloved as thy father, and had forty thousand men at thy heels* (z). This sower treatment at Court gave the Earl so much a greater relish for his military expeditions abroad, which, with no other reward than the increase of his reputation, he followed the two next summers; and, in 1624, when the States of the United Provinces were allowed to raise four regiments, consisting of six thousand men in England, he commanded a third, and the Lord Willoughby the fourth, which is the more remarkable, as these two noble Peers were afterwards at the head of opposite armies in our unfortunate Civil War; the Lord Willoughby, by the title of Earl of Lindsey, having the command of the King's army, as the Earl of Essex had of that of the Parliament (a). This expedition was none of the most fortunate, and a great sickness breaking out in the army carried off the Earl of Southampton and his son, and the Earl of Oxford, who died before Breda (b). In 1625 a grand supply was sent from England, but, by some ill management, the forces were kept so long on board the transports, that an epidemick distemper broke out amongst them, which differed very little from the plague, and carried off the greatest part (c). Upon the death of King James, and a Parliament being summoned to meet at Oxford, the Earl of Essex came over in the summer, and found the plague raging at home, and with no less violence at Oxford than at London (d). That Parliament breaking up abruptly, his Lordship went from Oxford to his brother the Earl of Hertford's house in Wiltshire, where he remained for some time. Out of this retirement he was drawn by an order from the King to repair to Court, with intention to employ his Lordship in an expedition against Spain; to which he was easily persuaded, as having an inclination to carry still higher that reputation which, under his noble father's happy command, the English had attained at Cadiz (e). He was not, however, so fortunate, and, indeed, there hardly ever was an attempt made by the English that did less credit either to their courage and conduct, than this naval enterprize, which, as it was badly contrived, was still worse executed [E]. At his return he waited upon the King, and gave him a short account of the disappointments they had met with, and of the causes of those disappointments; after which he did not remain long at Court, where he was, in some measure, out of his element, but returned to his old seat in Staffordshire, where, for a few weeks, his friends and his books took up all his time (f). In the summer of 1626 he returned again to his command in the Low-Countries, and marched with the rest of the army into the Duchy of Cleves, where, that year, they had no great success; and yet the English forces abroad were so miserably harrassed with fatiguing marches, and dangerous diseases, flowing from an unwholesome climate, that it was thought expedient to embody all the four regiments in one corps, under the command of General Morgan, and to march that into the country of Bremen; upon which the Earl of Essex, conceiving it not for his honour to remain abroad, thought fit to return home (g). He arrived in England at a time when it might have been expected that his martial genius,

(w) Codrington's Life of Prince Earl of Essex.

(x) Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, &c. p. 716.

(y) Annals of the Reign of King James.

(z) Wilson's Hist. of Great Britain, &c. p. 747.

(a) Wilson's Account of his own life, cap. vii.

(b) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 200.

(c) Wilson's Account of his own life, cap. vii.

(d) Annals of the Reign of Charles I.

(e) Wilson's Account of his own life, cap. viii.

(f) Winstanley's England's Worthies, p. 352.

(g) Wilson's Account of his own life, cap. viii.

[E] Which as it was badly contrived, was still worse executed.] It was a very unlucky omen, at the very beginning of a new reign, to undertake so strange an expedition as this was, of which none who were competent judges had any hopes at all. The reason assigned for it was, the ill usage received from Spain, in the negotiation for the Prince's marriage, and in the business of the Palatinate; but the truth was believed to be, that it was to gratify the Duke of Buckingham's resentment against the Condé Olivarez, and

to raise his reputation with the people; for at first it was intended that he should have commanded the fleet (16), afterwards Sir Edward Cecil was chosen for that command, and for that purpose created Viscount Wimbledon. The Earl of Essex and he were great friends, and therefore the King sent for the Earl, and prevailed upon him to go the voyage in quality of Vice-Admiral (17). The fleet and transports consisted of about one hundred and twenty sail, having about sixteen thousand seamen and soldiers on board. They failed,

(16) See Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collection of Voyages.

(17) Arthur Wilson's Account of his own life, chap. vii.

and military experience, would have recommended him to some considerable command, great preparations being made, at that juncture, for an expedition in support of the French Protestants. There is no doubt of the Earl's affection for that cause, or of his willingness to hazard his life upon such an occasion; but, as the Duke of Buckingham had formed a resolution to command in chief, we need not wonder that the Earl of Essex, who valued himself not a little on the antiquity of his family, declined serving under him, and, to avoid all invitations, retired, as usual, to his seat at Chartley (b). He came up, however, the next year, to attend his duty in Parliament, where things ran very high; and such as had no good will to the great favourite, pushed him, with much violence, to the great displeasure of his Royal Master, and by impeding the publick service to the no small detriment of the nation (i). We find the Earl of Essex again at Chartley in the summer following, when, upon the murder of the Duke of Buckingham, he dispatched Mr Wilson, now become his Secretary, to Portsmouth, who performed his journey, of near three hundred miles, in three days, which argues that he went upon some business of consequence, but of what nature is to us entirely unknown (k). The winter of that year the Earl spent at the house of his brother the Earl of Hertford, at Netley in Wiltshire, which wrought a notable change in his circumstances. There happened to be with his sister the Countess of Hertford, as a visiter, one Mrs Elizabeth Paulet, a very beautiful young Lady, daughter to Sir William Paulet, of Eddington in the same county, who was a natural son of the Marquis of Winchester's (l). With this Lady the Earl was so much taken, that she was pressed to stay the Christmas holidays; and, notwithstanding the misfortunes he had met with from his first unlucky marriage, the Earl concluded this with some precipitation, marrying his second Lady in the spring of the year following (m). It was in consequence of this marriage, and the dislike which the new Countess had to him, that the Earl was forced to part with Mr Arthur Wilson, in whom he had reposed the greatest trust and confidence (n). This shews that the Earl was far from being a morose husband; and yet, in a short time, there grew some suspicions of this Lady's behaviour; notwithstanding which the Earl owned a child of which she was brought to bed, and caused it to be baptized by his own name Robert, which son of his lived to be about five years old (o); but the Earl was divorced from his Lady in about two years, on account of her familiarity with one Mr Uvedale; and, from this time, his Lordship seems to have laid aside all thoughts of the Ladies, and to have addicted himself entirely to cares of another nature (p). His temper differed, in many things, from that of his father, who, notwithstanding he endeavoured to imitate in others, more especially in courting the favour of the people, caressing the Ministers that were looked upon as puritannically affected, professing an extraordinary friendship for military men, and being likewise a kind patron to the Poets; methods that, in those stirring and tumultuous times, raised him a great character, and enabled him to become an instrument either of much good, or of much hurt, to the publick (q). There is no notice taken in any of our Histories, publick or private, of this Nobleman's going to Ireland, so that we are absolutely strangers to the motives upon which he undertook that voyage; but that he actually went thither in 1632, and was extremely well received by the Lord-Deputy Wentworth, afterwards the famous Earl of Strafford, is very certain, as well as that this produced very strong professions of friendship on both sides (r). The Noble Historian tells us, that this was afterwards changed into an opposite disposition, from the conduct of the Earl of Strafford, in respect to the Clanrickard family, for which he informs us, that the Earl of Essex had a great regard (s); as indeed he very well might, since the Earl of St Alban's and Clanrickard married his mother (t). He passed his days after his usual manner, either at his own seat, or those of his friends, and, as occasion required, at his house in London, till the publick service called him again into the view of the world, which was in the year 1635, when King Charles resolved to vindicate his sovereignty of the seas against the French and Dutch, who had formed a design of invading it (u). It was with this view that the King equipped a stout fleet, under the command of the Earl of Lindsey, to answer the purposes before-mentioned; and, at the same time, a smaller squadron, of twenty sail, put to sea for the guard of the coasts, and protection of the trade of England, which, with the title of Vice-Admiral, was commanded by the Earl of Essex; and both fleets had all the success that could be desired; for, though the French and Dutch joined their naval forces, they were able to do nothing; and, towards the close of the year, the States sent a solemn embassy to compliment the King upon the birth of the Princess Elizabeth, which, as a judicious writer observes, was a testimony of respect, flowing purely

failed, the Admiral from Plymouth, and the Earl of Essex with his squadron from Falmouth, on the 8th of October 1635, and, after some hard weather which they had reason to expect at that season of the year, arrived upon the coast of Spain, where they performed very little. The Earl of Essex indeed took a fort, that gave the soldiers an opportunity of drinking freely of Spanish wines, and this threw them into fevers and fluxes. The Commander in Chief shewed himself every way unfit for such a charge, he was continually

consulting, giving orders, and issuing instructions, which the seamen never minded; so that after much time, and many men lost, he thought fit to return a few days before the arrival of the Plate Fleet, and came back to England at the very close of the year (18). This untoward business did not fix the least imputation upon the Earl, who did what little there was done, but was not able to engage the General to act with that spirit necessary to preserve discipline, and render an army victorious.

(18) See Roworth, France, &c.

purely from this display of his Majesty's power at sea (w). In 1639 the foreign enemies of the King and kingdom having artfully wrought upon the temper of the Scots, and excited them to rebellion, the King found himself under a necessity of employing force to reduce them, and, having raised a noble army, appointed the Earl of Arundel General, the Earl of Essex Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of Holland General of the Horse (x). Essex, with a part of the army, had orders to advance to Berwick, and, in his march thither, he met with several Scotch Noblemen, who pretending to be well affected to the King, informed him of the great strength of their countrymen, of their march towards England, and of the great hazard he must run by approaching them with so considerable a force. The Earl heard them, quickened his march, took possession of Berwick, found the Scots had, in reality, hardly any forces, and, if the King had sent him proper orders, would have marched on to Edinburgh, and reduced that people to their duty (y). The Scots, upon the approach of the King's army, addressed themselves to the King's Generals, and especially to the Earl of Essex, with great humility; the other two received their applications kindly enough, but Essex behaved with becoming dignity, sent their letters to the King, and, when his Majesty was prevailed upon to listen to an accommodation, refused to have any concern in it, or so much as to receive the visits of the Scots Commissioners till the pacification was signed (z). When there was no farther occasion for his service he was dismissed, rather with coldness than civility, which could not but disgust a man of his high spirit (a). In 1640 the Earl of Essex both received and returned mortifications, for the Scots broke through all they had promised, and raised a powerful army, which obliged the King to have, once more, recourse to a regular force, with which he marched northwards; but, in this expedition, the Earl of Essex had no command (b). Upon the death of the Lord Aston, who was Warden of Needwood Forest, close by the Earl of Essex's house at Chartley, his Lordship asked it as a favour to succeed him; and was refused in such a manner, as he could not avoid taking it for an affront (c). On the 28th of August he signed a petition to the King, with eleven other Peers, to terminate these disputes without blood, and for the speedy calling of a Parliament (d). On Michaelmas-day following the King appointed him one of the Commissioners for treating with the Scots at Rippon; and when the Long Parliament was begun, which obliged the King to think of popular measures, the Earl of Essex, together with several other Noblemen, was sworn of the Privy-Council on the third of February (e). At this time the Noble Historian is very clear, that, whatever distastes his Lordship might have conceived against certain men, or certain measures, he was perfectly well affected to the Constitution, as well in Church as in State (f) [F]. In the month of May 1641, the Earl of Essex was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household, upon the removal of the Earl of Pembroke; which was not well received by the angry men in the House of Commons, who fancied that the Earl of Pembroke had lost the King's favour by his inclination to them (g). At this season some of the wisest persons about his Majesty would have persuaded him to have declared Essex General of his army, as the most effectual means of preserving it; with which advice, however, he would not comply. On the other hand, those who were for driving things to extremities, and had framed a bill for taking the militia from the King, proposed to give the command of all the forces by land to the Earl of Essex, and to devolve the power at sea upon the Earl of Northumberland, with a view,

(w) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 23. 24.

(x) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 38.

(y) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 30. Hist. Rebellion, p. 39.

(z) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 130. Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 40, 41.

(a) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 130. Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 42.

(b) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 35.

(c) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 48.

(d) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 36.

(e) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 52. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 37.

(f) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 77.

(g) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 46.

[F] He was perfectly well affected to the Constitution as well in Church as in State. It is certainly a thing difficult enough, to come at the true character of the principal persons on both sides in this unhappy war; yet with respect to the Earl of Essex it is generally agreed, that he was a Nobleman of very upright intentions. Sir Philip Warwick (19), who speaks the least favourably of him, allows, that he was no ill soldier, and valued much among the men of that profession; he says he was a man much disoblged at Court, and of such a natural confused spirit, that he was not able to discern the ill consequences of his indifference towards the Crown, but at the same time he confesses, the Court was not artificial enough to make that right use of him, which his interest amongst the soldiers, and his blunt, plain, English nature might have been formed into, by a seeming confidence. The Noble Historian tells us plainly, he had no ambition of title, or office, or preferment, but only to be kindly looked upon, and kindly spoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own fortune; and without doubt no man in his nature more abhorred rebellion than he did, nor could he have been drawn into it by any open and transparent temptation, but by a thousand disguises and couzenages. His pride supplied his want of ambition, and he was angry to see any other man more respected than himself, because he thought he deserved it more, and did better requite it. For he was in his friendships just and constant, and would not have practised foully even against those that he took to be his enemies.

No man had credit enough with him to corrupt him in point of loyalty to the King, while he thought himself wise enough to know what treason was. But the new notions were too hard for him, and intoxicated his understanding, so that he quitted his own to follow theirs, who, as he thought, wished as well, and judged better, than himself. He adds, that when he accepted the commission to be General, he did it with a view of being the preserver, and not the destroyer, of the King and kingdom (20). We have this character fully confirmed by Denzil Lord Hollis, who could not but be well acquainted with this Nobleman's real intentions, and was too honest to misrepresent them (21). The kindness he shewed to such of the clergy as fell under the displeasure of the Bishops, was owing to the compassion in his nature, and the sincerity of his zeal for the essentials of religion, as the Earl of Clarendon tells us (22), with great candour. 'The Earl of Essex, says he, was rather displeas'd with the person of the Archbishop, and some other Bishops, than indevo'ted to the function, and towards some of them he had great reverence and kindness, as Bishop Moreton, Bishop Hall, and some other of the less formal and more popular Prelates; and he was as much devoted as any man to the Book of Common Prayer, and oblig'd all his servants to be constantly present with him at it, his household Chaplain being always a most conformable man, and a good scholar.'

(20) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 305.

(21) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 9, 21, 23, 24, 30.

(22) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 77.

(b) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 90, 91.

(i) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 47.

(k) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 96.

(l) May's Hist. of the Parliament, B. II. p. 20.

(m) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 52.

(n) May's Hist. of the Parliament, B. II. p. 41.

(o) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 156.

(p) May's Hist. of the Parliament, B. II. p. 97.

(q) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 61.

(r) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 16.

(s) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 249.

(23) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 538.

(24) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 117.

view, in all probability, to gain over those two great Peers entirely to their interests (b). When his Majesty had taken a resolution of making a journey into Scotland, and found it necessary to appoint a single person to have the chief command in the southern parts of the kingdom during his absence, he, in the beginning of August, signed a commission, appointing the Earl of Essex Lieutenant-General of all his forces on this side Trent, with a power of increasing their number if it should be found necessary (i). This mark of royal confidence could not be greater than that which was afterwards bestowed upon him, in a very unusual manner, by the House of Lords; for, having taken a resolution to adjourn themselves for a certain time, they, by an order, dated September 9th, appointed a Standing Committee, of which the Earl of Essex was Chairman (k). On the King's return from Scotland things began to run more and more into confusion, the populace assuming a most unbounded liberty, and coming in such a tumultuous manner to Whitehall and Westminster, as created no small apprehension, both to the King and to the Parliament. In order to remove this, the House of Commons, on the third of January, petitioned his Majesty for a guard out of the city, under the command of his Lord Chamberlain the Earl of Essex, of whose fidelity to the King and Commonwealth, they said, no question was ever made (l). This his Majesty thought fit to decline, and the very next day, being the 4th of the same month, he went in person to the House of Commons, and demanded the five members (m). Upon the disturbances which followed, his Majesty thought proper to retire from his Capital, and requiring, upon that occasion, his Household servants to attend him, the Earls of Essex and Holland pleaded their obligation (n) to assist in the deliberations of the House of Peers; upon which they were removed from their respective employments. We are told by the Noble Historian, that this was entirely the work of the Earl of Holland, who, when he found Essex resolved and prepared to go, assured him they should be both murdered at Hampton-Court, which engaged him to go with that Earl into the city; and this was so reported to the King, as to induce him to treat both with the same severity; which was not only a little imprudent, but proved, as the wisest men in those times thought, extremely fatal (o) [G]. By degrees, and with the mixture of a great deal of art, the Earl of Essex was wrought upon to accept the honour, or, rather, to sustain the burthen that was intended to be imposed upon him; and, about the middle of July 1642, he was declared General of the army raised for the safety of the King's person, and defence of both Houses of Parliament (p), and complimented with their votes of living and dying with him. It is believed, that the Earl accepted this office in hopes that it would have produced a speedy end of these troubles; but he was quickly undeceived in that point, by finding, that the King had an army about him, and so much resented his Lordship's behaviour, that he had caused him to be proclaimed a traitor, and refused to accept an application for peace, because it came from his hands (q). On the 9th of September following the Earl of Essex marched out of London in great pomp and splendor, attended by both Houses of Parliament, to the rendezvous of the army, which was appointed to be at Northampton, where about fifteen thousand men were assembled, and there his standard, which was orange colour, was first displayed against the King (r). He marched from thence to Worcester, his Majesty being then at Shrewsbury, where having recruited his army, and finding himself less at a loss for men than for the means of subsisting them, he began his march directly towards London (s), Octob. 14th; the Earl of Essex followed his Majesty from Worcester, but the King, being less incumbered with baggage, gained ground, and might, possibly, have accomplished what he had in view, if his Majesty, disdainful to be pursued, had not turned back, and, on Sunday, October 23d, engaged the army of the Parliament, under the Earl of Essex, between Keinton and Edgehill in Warwickshire, where both sides claimed the victory, though

[G] *Extremely fatal.*] It is very certain, that, as the Earl of Essex was coldly treated at Court, so he was never taken into the counsels or confidence of those of the other party, who resolved to hide from him as much as possible their real intentions, and to let him see nothing but fair pretences, that might induce him to become their instrument (23). The truth of this appears by the messages he carried from the King to the House of Peers, and still more from his behaviour upon the King's coming to the House of Commons, and demanding the five members, for he instantly moved the House of Lords to intercede on their behalf, supposing them to be in real danger, and that the King's resentment would have been fatal to them; at which those in the secret smiled, knowing well, that those members were to the full as secure as the King himself (24). It is indeed strange that he altered his resolution upon any thing told him by the Earl of Holland, because he was a man of whom he had formerly no good opinion. But, as the Earl of Clarendon justly observes, it was much stranger that the Court should make no difference in the punishment of their offences, where there was so wide a difference between the persons. The Earl of Holland held all that

he had by the favour and from the bounty of the Crown, which had raised him to what he was (25); whereas the Earl of Essex had received great disobligations, and even in respect to his office of Lord Chamberlain, was allowed to have done full as much favour to the Court in accepting his white staff, as was expressed by conferring it on him. Yet there is something very extraordinary, and at the same time nothing improbable, in what the Noble Historian suggests, that the taking from him that white staff, trivial as the circumstance seems, was the true source of the Civil War. He reasons thus (26): if the King had excused the attendance of the Earl of Essex, had signified to him so much, and continued him in his employment, he would never have accepted the commission to be General of the Parliament's army, from the punctuality of his temper, and the consideration of his being immediately in the King's service. If he would not have accepted that commission, there could have been no army, for it was chiefly his reputation that raised it, in which also Whitlocke agrees (27), and if no army could have been raised, an agreement must have been made, which would have prevented all the misfortunes, mischiefs, and miseries, that afterwards ensued.

(25) See the character of the Earl of Holland in Clarendon's Sir P. Warwick

(26) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 150

(27) This we find also handsomely expressed in May's History of the Parliament

[H] *Though*

though neither had any great reason [H]. He retired after this dispute with his forces to Warwick, and from thence returned in obedience to the pressing solicitations of the Parliament, with as much diligence as it was possible, to London, where he was received with all the respect and veneration possible; on the 7th of November had the thanks of the Houses given him in a very solemn resolution, and a present besides of five thousand pounds (t). These ceremonies were disturbed by the approach of the King's army, which, having taken Reading, continued their march directly to London, Prince Rupert making himself master of Brentford. The Lord-General Essex went immediately to Turnham-Green, where he assembled his forces, which were greatly augmented by the timely arrival of the city trained bands under the Earl of Warwick, who gave up his command as soon as he came to the army, which faced the King's troops all day, but suffered them, at length, to retire, without fighting (u). This was a transaction attended with much wonder on both sides: the Noble Historian says, that the Earl of Essex made the right use of the superiority of his troops, by keeping them in order of battle, the major part of them being such as he could not have relied on if he had engaged, but seems to blame the King for not attacking them (w); and Sir Philip Warwick is of the same opinion (x). On the other hand Whitlocke assures us, the King's army was in a very indifferent condition in all respects, and had not ammunition enough to have served them for a brisk charge (y). The beginning of the year 1643 was spent in a treaty, the Parliament having sent Commissioners for that purpose to Oxford, and, at the request of the King, enlarged the time originally allowed them to the 15th of April; and the very same day, the treaty breaking off abruptly, the Earl of Essex began his march with their army towards Oxford (z). It was the desire of some of the most active men in the party, that the Earl might strike at the root, as they called it, that is, besiege Oxford, and make himself master of the person of the King; but whether he found that impracticable, or was not much inclined to that service, so it was, that he turned off to Reading, which he invested on the 17th; Sir Arthur Aston commanded in it for the King, with a garrison of between three and four thousand men; but the town, being a long and irregular

(t) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 64. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. iii. p. 16.

(u) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 65. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 233.

(w) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 251.

(x) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 233.

(y) Memorials, p. 65.

(z) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. II. p. iii. p. 255.

[H] *Though neither had any great reason.* Who ever looks for truth in History will find it difficult enough to be met with in most cases, but in none more visibly than in the accounts given us of battles, where, generally speaking, they rather discover the inclinations of the writer than the real state of facts, which are also very difficult to be got at. In point of numbers the armies were not very unequal, that of the Earl of Essex would have been superior in this respect to the King's if all his forces had been with him, but some of his best regiments did not come up till the battle was in a manner over. On the other hand, if the King's army that engaged was actually more numerous, it was much worse armed; a great part of it consisted of Welshmen, who had nothing but pitchforks and cudgels, but they came to their business with a good will, and as they charged with the first, so such as returned from that field picked up arms sufficient to make a better appearance when they were next called to action. It is certain that the King was the aggressor in this battle, from a point of honour, that he would not be pursued, or rather, because he accounted it a dangerous thing to continue his march to London with such a force in his rear. In reference to the personal behaviour of the Earl of Essex, what follows is the most just and the most particular of any that I have met with (28). 'The Earl of Lindsey, with a pike in his hand, led on the main body of the army, in which was the King's own regiment, encountered by the Lord General Essex, who exposed himself to all the danger that a battle could make, first leading on his troop, then his own regiment of foot, and breathing courage into them, till, being dissuaded by divers from engaging himself too far, he returned to the rest of the army to draw them on. The chief regiments having begun the battle, Sir Philip Stapleton, with a brave troop of gentlemen (which were the General's life-guard, and commanded by him) charged the King's regiment on their right flank within their pikes, and came off without any great hurt, though those pikemen stoutly defended themselves, and the musqueteers, being good firemen, played fiercely upon them. The battle was hot at that place, and so many of the King's side slain, that the Parliament army began to be victorious there, they took the standard-royal, the bearer, Sir Edward Varney, being slain, and the General, the Earl of Lindsey, fore wounded, was taken prisoner. But the same fortune was not in every part, for the King's right wing, led by Prince Rupert, charged

fiercely upon the left wing of the other, (consisting mostly of horse) and prevailed altogether, for the Parliament troops ran almost all away in that wing, and many of their foot companies dismayed with their flight, fled all away before they had stood one charge; Colonel Essex being utterly forsaken by that whole brigade which he commanded, went himself into the van, where he performed excellent service both by direction and execution, till, at the last, he was shot in the thigh, of which he shortly after died. Some part of their disheartening was caused by the revolt of their own side, for Sir Faithful Fortescue, at the beginning of the fight, instead of charging the enemy discharged his pistol on the ground, and with his troop wheeling about ran to the King's army, to whom he had formerly given notice thereof by his Cornet. The Parliament army had undoubtedly been ruined that day, and an absolute victory gained on the King's side, if Prince Rupert and his pursuing troops had been more temperate in plundering so untimely as they did, and had wheeled about to assist their distressed friends in other parts of the army; for Prince Rupert followed the chase to Keynton town, where the carriages of the army were, which they presently pillaged, using great cruelty, as was afterwards related, to the unarmed waggoners and labouring men; a great number of the flying Parliament soldiers were slain in that chase, which lasted two miles beyond Keynton, and so far till the pursuers were forced to retire, having met with Colonel Hampden, who marched with the other brigade of the army that brought on the artillery.' As to the King's standard it was given by the General to his Secretary Mr Chambers, from whom it was taken by one Captain Smith and carried back to the King, to whom the General intended to have restored it in case it had not been thus recovered (29). The Parliament claimed the victory on account of their keeping the field of battle, for they stood all night upon the same ground where the King's army was drawn up; and as to the King's title to the victory, it consisted in taking of Banbury the next day, from whence it appears that great faults were committed on both sides. If the Earl of Essex had marched to Banbury, the reputation of his arms had been much raised, which at that time was a thing of great consequence, and if after the taking of Banbury the King had marched to London, he would have reaped all the fruits of a victory whether he had it or not (30).

(28) As appears by the relation sent to Parliament after the battle.

(30) See Warwick's Memoirs.

[I] To

(28) May's Hist. of the Parliament, B. III. p. 13, 19.

(a) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 315, 316.

(b) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 267. Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 314.

(c) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 70.

(d) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. ii. p. 291.

(e) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 322, 323.

(f) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 71.

(g) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 342.

irregular built place, would not admit of proper fortifications; and besides, the garrison wanted powder to such a degree, that, in ten days time, it was surrendered; and for this Colonel Richard Fielding, who made the capitulation, the Governor being wounded, was sentenced at Oxford to lose his head; but, however, he did not suffer (a). The articles granted by the Earl of Essex were but ill observed by his soldiers, of which he shewed his resentment in a very high degree (b). After this success great things were expected from him by the Parliament; but a sickness which prevailed in his army, and it's not being supplied so well as hitherto it had been, weakened him very much, and put it out of his power to do any thing of importance; which so much irritated some of the leading men in Parliament, that they talked of removing him, and of giving the command to Sir William Waller; but he being presently after defeated at Rowndway-Down, put an end to that scheme (c). The Lord-General Essex was not at all a stranger to what was said and thought of him at London; and, as he was a man of great plainness and sincerity, he was resolved to leave them in no doubt as to what were his real intentions; and, therefore, wrote the Parliament a letter of so extraordinary a nature (d), that we have judged it necessary to insert it in the notes. [I]. While the Earl, with his army, quartered about Thame in Oxfordshire, they suffered not a little by the continual enterprizes of Prince Rupert, who had a numerous body of horse in their neighbourhood; and his endeavours would, probably, have been more successful against any other General than the Earl of Essex, who was not only extremely vigilant, but also very ready to repair in person to any posts that were attacked, by which he prevented the ill consequences that would otherways have attended sudden impressions (e). All his care, and all his courage, expressed in their service, did not, however, entirely satisfy the House of Commons; as, on the other hand, his Lordship was very far from being well pleased with that temper which prevailed amongst them; and most of the Nobility who had hitherto concurred with them, inclined now to the Earl's opinion (f). At this juncture it appears, from the best authority, that the King and the Earl of Essex were equally desirous of putting an end to this unhappy war, and that each had it in his power, as well as will, to have accomplished this good design, if both had not suffered themselves to be fatally diverted from their intentions, and thereby lost an opportunity, the like of which never offered itself to either of them any more (g) [K]. The King, over-perswaded by those who had the

[I] To insert it in the notes.] We have in another place mentioned the disposition of the Parliament at this juncture, when two parties, that agreed in nothing else, joined in pressing the Earl to advance towards Oxford, one desiring nothing so much as to make an end of the war, and the other, with equal passion, thirsting for the destruction of the King; the Lord-General Essex knew, that the former was as much out of his power as the latter was distant from his will. It was very much against his judgment that he advanced to Thame, where the heat of the weather, and the marshiness of the soil, increased the distemper in his army, so that hundreds were disabled in a day; yet he still received the same pressing messages from London, in answer to which he wrote the following letter (31).

(31) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. P. iii. p. 290, 291.

Mr Speaker,

I Would have given you the true relation of the skirmish on Sunday last, between some of the horse and the enemy near Buckingham, but Sir Philip Stapleton and Colonel Goodwin being then upon the spot, I refer the relation thereof unto them. Since when, being informed that the King had sent more forces to Buckingham to maintain that place, and bring these parts into contribution, where the enemy stayed until the army came within two miles of them, and then made haste away towards Banbury, notwithstanding they had persuaded the people that they would not quit the place till they had beaten me out of the country: I then understanding that they were fled, held it not fit to go to the town with my army, but sent Colonel Middleton with some horse to clear that town and coast, which they did, and then advised where to quarter with most conveniency for our army, and most ready for the enemy, the Queen's forces being like to join with them very suddenly; and that our army may the better serve the Parliament and city, and counties adjacent, and be more safely supplied with money from London, and lie most conveniently to join the forces with the Lord Gray in Northamptonshire, I was advised to march to Great Brickhill, as the most fit place for all purposes, the enemies chief strength being in horse, and this army neither recruited with horse,

arms, nor saddles, it is impossible to keep the counties from being plundered, nor to fight with them but when and where they list, we being forced when we move to march with the whole army, which can be but slowly, so that the counties must suffer much wrong, and the cries of poor people are infinite. If it were thought fit to send to his Majesty, to have peace, with the settling of religion, the laws and liberties of the subject, and to bring unto just trial those chief delinquents that have brought all this mischief to both kingdoms; and as my Lord of Bristol spake once in Parliament, how we may be secured to have those things performed hereafter. Or else, if his Majesty shall please to absent himself, there may be a day set down to put a period to all these unhappy distractions by a battle, which when and where they shall choose, that may be thought any way indifferent, I shall be ready to perform that duty I owe you; and the propositions to be agreed upon between his Majesty and the Parliament, may be sent to such an indifferent place, that both armies may be drawn near the one to the other, that if peace be not concluded, it may be ended by the sword: no officers of the army to be of the committee, nor no intercourse to be between them.

S I R,

Great Brickhill,  
July 9, 1643.

I am your assured friend,

E S S E X.

[K] To either of them any more.] In order to explain this matter thoroughly, which is in itself equally curious and important, we must observe that factions ran very high both at Oxford and at Westminster, yet those who wished well to the King and kingdom had the same views in both places, that is, were very desirous of seeing peace restored, and the constitution preserved, by an agreement upon moderate terms. In order to this, the King was advised to publish the utmost concessions he was inclined to make, and to give the strongest assurances in his power with respect to their being constantly adhered to, and then to have marched with his army, which was in a very good condition, directly up to London, which if he had done, says Whitlocke

the least knowledge even, and perhaps the least affection for, his cause, having a better army than he had yet brought into the field, marched towards Gloucester, which, on the 10th of August, he invested (b). It had a numerous garrison, commanded by Colonel Malley, who made a vigorous and obstinate resistance, and this weakened the King's army exceedingly, which, without doubt, was least fit for that service. The city of London was greatly alarmed at the news of this siege, which affected them in their trade for the present, and gave them a bad prospect of their security for the future; the Parliament made an advantage of this disposition in their own people, and, on the twenty-first of the same month, published an order, forbidding any shops to be opened till Gloucester was relieved (i). In order to effect this, all ways and means were practised to settle the mind of the General, and next, part of the London trained bands and auxiliaries were ordered to recruit his army, so that, on the 29th of the same month, the Earl of Essex marched from Aylesbury with an army very little short of twenty thousand men (k). He proceeded with much caution, and though his motions were observed by General Wilmot, with a great body of horse, yet he carried his point, obliged the King to raise the siege, entered Gloucester in triumph September 15th, and, soon after, surprized Cirencester, where the King had two regiments of horse, and very considerable magazines (l). His Lordship continuing his march into Berkshire, Prince Rupert, with his horse, incommoded his rear very much; and the King, with his foot, being arrived near Newberry, the Earl found himself obliged to fight, which accordingly he did, on the 20th of September, with very great reputation to himself, in respect both to courage and conduct; though, after all, it was but a drawn battle, or if any, the King had the title to the victory, for by it he opened a passage to London, if he had lost no time in the prosecution of that design, for which, it is supposed, he fought (m). But as he let slip this opportunity, so Essex improved that negligence, and, with great diligence and dexterity, marched to Reading, and from thence nearer London. His army being quartered at Windsor, and in the neighbourhood, the Earl, with some of the great officers, went to London, where the Speaker came to compliment him at Essex-House, as did the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, in their scarlet gowns; and his behaviour at Newberry fight was magnified to as high a degree, as their eloquence could reach (n). The Earl afterwards returned to the army; but, upon receiving orders to join Sir William Waller, he sent for answer, *That he held it not for their service*; after which jealousies daily increased, and, at last, a committee was appointed for recruiting and reforming the army, which gave him a great deal of distaste (o) and uneasiness, yet his opinion, That he was bound in honour to do nothing to the prejudice of those who intrusted him, hindered him from giving any countenance to the applications he received from the Lords and Commons assembled at Oxford, while those in Parliament, who disliked his conduct, took the necessary measures for curtailing his army, and making the forces he commanded inferior to those at the head of which they had placed their own creatures (p). In the spring of the year 1644 the Earl of Essex, in obedience to the pressing solicitations of his masters, marched into Oxfordshire, and, advancing to Abingdon, General Wilmot quitted the town upon his approach, and retired towards Oxford, which gave him an opportunity of advancing within a mile of that place on one side, at the same time that Sir William Waller, with his forces, came almost as near it on the other (q). The King was thought to be effectually blocked up in that city, and this situation of his equally alarmed his own friends and the enemies of the Earl of Essex. One of the King's Privy-Council apprehended his situation to be so desperate, that he advised him to render himself into the hands of Essex; to which the King answered, *It was possible he might fall into Essex's hands, but it should be when he was dead (r)*. On the other hand, the inveterate party in the Parliament apprehended nothing so much as that this might really happen; and therefore they wrote a short and peremptory letter, directing him, in case of any application of that kind, to do nothing without their orders (s). The King, on the 29th of May, quitted Oxford in the dusk of the evening, marched all night between the two armies, and got safe

(b) Warwick's Memorials, p. 25.

(i) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 291.

(k) Codrington's Life of Robert Earl of Essex.

(l) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 292.

(m) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 73. Warwick's Memorials, p. 263.

(n) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 295. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 74.

(o) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iii. p. 653.

(p) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holdes, p. 21, 24.

(q) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 396.

(r) Warwick's Memorials, p. 270. Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 397.

(s) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 89. Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 396.

(32) Memorials, 69.

(33) In his remarks on William Lilly's life of King Charles the First.

Whitlocke (32), it is believed he might have done his business; but the King was prevailed upon by the Lord Culpepper to undertake the siege of Gloucester, which, by an obstinate resistance, ruined his army to such a degree as he could never retrieve. Sir Edward Walker, who had the best opportunity of knowing the King's real intentions (33) in such points, affirms, that he was afraid ever to comply with that advice, from an apprehension that there would be no restraining the licence of the soldiers, and that by concluding the war in this manner, he should totally destroy his capital. But without determining any thing as to the King's motive, certain it is that he lost his opportunity. As to the Earl of Essex, the zeal he shewed for the good of the nation, and the authority he had by being at the head of the army, gave many of the Lords courage to speak their minds freely, and to shew their distaste to violent measures; but finding they lost ground

in Parliament by the exorbitant stretches of power which the House of Commons assumed to themselves, and which the Republicans had with great address transferred to a Committee, where they had a constant majority, the Lords proposed to the Earl of Essex their retiring, with their friends in the House of Commons, to him and the army for protection, which they judged must soon have brought those who remained at Westminster to a compliance (34). The Earl thought this might prove a blemish to his honour, upon which the Lords, not thinking themselves safe any longer where they were, withdrew into the King's quarters. Thus this opportunity was lost of doing all that the Earl took up arms to do, while his and the King's antagonists, by considering nothing as just or unjust, but as it contributed to or clashed with their views, brought their projects to bear, and the kingdom into confusion.

(34) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 342.

(t) Warwick's  
Memoirs, p. 407.

safe out of their reach (t). Upon this the Earl of Essex sent Waller orders to follow him, as having a lighter body of troops; about this he made some scruples, but the Earl insisting upon his orders, Waller, at length, obeyed, but complained to the Parliament, who wrote in very quick terms to the Lord-General, who subscribed his answer, *Your innocent, though suspected, servant* (u).

(u) Rushworth's  
Collect. Vol. II.  
P. iii. p. 672.  
Hist. of the Re-  
bellion, p. 397.

He then marched into Dorsetshire, where he took Weymouth, and relieved Lyme, while the King, in the mean time, with great address, gave Waller the slip, and returned to Oxford on the twenty-first of June, where, in a short time, he assembled an army of ten thousand men, and, gaining some advantage over Waller, followed the Earl of Essex into the West, where all the forces he then had were

(w) Warwick's  
Memoirs, p. 272,  
273.

(w). By the persuasion of Lord Roberts, who believed he had a great interest in Cornwall, Essex was engaged to march thither, where, by degrees, the King drove him to the sea, and shut him up in such a manner, that he could neither tell how to fight, or find any thing for his soldiers to eat. In this situation the King wrote him a very kind letter, with proposals for a treaty, which he rejected, as he had done a proposal of the same sort from the King's officers, assigning, as his reason, that he had no authority (x).

(x) Whitlocke's  
Memorials, p. 98.  
Rushworth's  
Collect. Vol. II.  
P. iii. 691, 692,  
693.

In these desperate circumstances his horse, under the command of Sir William Balfour, broke through, or rather slipped by, the King's army, and, on the first of September, the Earl of Essex, with a few of the officers he most esteemed, embarked at Foy, and escaped to Plymouth, leaving his foot under Major-General Skippon, who submitted to be disarmed, gave up their artillery and ammunition, and were conducted through the King's quarters into those of the Parliament (y).

(y) Whitlocke's  
Mem. p. 102,  
103.  
Rushworth's  
Collect. Vol. II.  
P. iii. p. 699—  
711.

The Earl himself quickly embarked on board a man of war, and returned to London, where he was received with all outward marks of respect and esteem (z); which gave him, however, but very little satisfaction [L]. In the month of October, the armies under the Earl of Manchester and Sir William Waller having joined, the Earl of Essex went down again, to put himself at the head of that army which was intended to attack the King in his return from the West to Oxford (a):

(z) Hist. of the  
Rebellion, p. 409.

Great preparations were made for that purpose, and great expectations there was at London of the event; but, before this could be accomplished, the Earl of Essex fell sick; upon which a committee of Lords and Commons were appointed to visit him, and to express the affection of both Houses to him; but, if we may judge from what Whitlocke

(a) Whitlocke's  
Mem. p. 105.

has

[L] *But very little satisfaction.* We have very full accounts of the state and ceremony with which the Lord General was received by the Parliament, who were extremely well pleased with his sending them the letters written him by the King's officers, and by his Majesty himself, on the subject of peace. Perhaps some amongst them were the more ceremonious, as thinking they had him now in their power, and that, understanding as they did the art of raising money, and obliging the people to pay for a rod to scourge themselves, he might at length be laid aside like an old staff now they found their strength increase, though at their first setting out they were not able to move without leaning upon him. As for the Earl, he was very sensible of their former treatment, concerning which a Noble writer gives us a free and full detail, which cannot but prove satisfactory to the reader. Having mentioned the Earl's detaching Sir William Waller after the King, while he marched westward himself, contrary to the route that had been laid down for him, he proceeds thus (35): 'Accordingly he gave that account to the Parliament and Committee of the two kingdoms, with his desire of their directions. They were so mad to see themselves defeated of their plot, that they would not, for many days, return him any answer at all; his disobedience was blown up and trumpeted about by them and their agents: some of whom did not stick to say, It were better my Lord of Essex and his whole army were lost and ruined, than the Parliament not obeyed, and that by their consents, he nor his army should be looked after or cared for more: a maxim they have forgotten now, in the case of Sir Thomas Fairfax and his army's not disobedience, but open rebellion, but they were as good as their words then, and did most maliciously, wilfully, and treacherously, (as to the Parliament's cause, which they seemed to be zealous in) suffer General and army to be lost, and the whole west left farther out of the Parliament's reach, than at any time before. Sir Arthur Haslerigg posted up to London, breathing out nothing but ruin and destruction to the Earl of Essex, spoke it out in the hearing of several persons, that he would ruin him or be ruined himself. His malice and violence was so great at the Committee of the two kingdoms, where he and his party were prevalent, that a report was thence brought down to the House of Commons, by which

(35) Memoirs of  
Denzil Lord Hol-  
les, p. 23, 24, 25,  
26.

' Sir William Waller was taken off from following the King, and by that means the King was left at liberty to bend his whole force for the West, after my Lord of Essex, which he presently did. At last they left my Lord of Essex at liberty to proceed in that western expedition, but with a resolution to let him perish. He takes in Weymouth, and some other towns, goes on as far as Cornwall, whither the King's forces follow him at the heels, cut off all provision from him, press upon him exceedingly, and put him to very great streights. He engaged in a country enclosed with deep ditches and strong fences, that he could neither break through nor march away, but sends letter upon letter, messenger upon messenger, to the Parliament, representing his condition, and how easy it was, with a small force sent upon the back of the King's army, if but only a good party of horse, to stop their provisions and turn the tables, streighten them, and free him, than which certainly nothing had been more easy, and would have saved the kingdom a mass of treasure, and thousands of good mens lives, which the continuance of the war, after that time, did cost. But our masters did not desire then to see the war at an end, they had not the sword in those hands they would have it, for to break the King's forces, well knowing they must then have had a peace, and such a peace as had carried with it an establishment of the King's government, a keeping up the Nobility and Gentry; all things must have returned into their proper channel, and the security of the Parliament and kingdom being provided for, the law of the land must have taken place, their arbitrary empire been at an end, and their design wholly defeated. Therefore my Lord of Essex must not be relieved, but sacrificed to their ambition; the King's army must be yet preserved, to give them a colour to new model theirs, and put the power into the base hands of their creatures, which should keep the kingdom in a perpetual bondage; and though they ended the war with the King, yet never made peace, but continued to grind the faces, and break the backs of the people, with taxes and free quarter, to maintain an army when no enemy was left; in a word, they govern by the sword, the height of all misery and slavery any land can undergo.'

has written upon this subject, there was something more in the matter, and they were instructed to make him a compliment of another kind (b) [M]. However that might be, certain it is, that, when the Parliament army surrounded the King's, who was much inferior in strength, in the town of Newberry, and attacked him on the 27th of the month last mentioned, the Earl of Essex was not in that action, which the Parliament called a victory, but the King made a good retreat, put his artillery into Dunnington-Castle, and, about a week after, having recruited his forces, marched thither, and brought off his train. After this engagement the Earl of Essex gave orders for slighting Newberry, with which the Parliament was much offended (c). On his return to London he found things in great confusion, and, which was not a little extraordinary, his two rivals, the Earl of Manchester and Sir William Waller, as much dissatisfied as himself, and, in point of trust and confidence, exactly in the same situation that he was (d). The Earl, however, was very sensible of the hand that principally hurt him, and had formed a resolution of being too quick for him; in order to this he held a Council at Essex-House, at which were present the Chancellor of Scotland, and the rest of the Scots Commissioners, Mr Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, and other friends of the Earl, and to which Serjeant Maynard and Mr Whitlocke were invited (e). The point there debated was, the attacking Lieutenant-General Cromwell in Parliament, as an incendiary; which was very fully and clearly opened by the Lord Chancellor Loudon, and the Members of the House of Commons, who were present, were very hearty in the design, and thought it might be executed with all the success that could be desired (f). But the two Lawyers, though they pretended to be no friends to Cromwell, threw cold water upon the project, and represented it in such a light, as intimidated the Scots Commissioners, and so the matter ended at least there; but Whitlocke owns, that the consultation came to the knowledge of Cromwell, who treated Maynard and himself the better for it, and, no doubt, hated the Earl of Essex for it so much the more (g). The Self-denying Ordinance, by which all the Members in both Houses were to be deprived of their commands, was, by this time, brought into Parliament; and though it made a slow passage through the House of Lords, yet it was at last carried, Sir Thomas Fairfax fixed upon to be the new General, and the clause for the security of the King's person left out of his commission; which was a plain indication of what was to follow, and of the true design of new modelling the army (h). On the 2d of April 1645, the Earl of Essex surrendered his commission, but not without some visible marks of discontent (i). It was then thought proper to reduce a part of the troops that had served under him, and that too without paying them; to which some of the horse quartered in Hertfordshire were not willing to submit, and the friends of the new model proposed, as the shortest method, to cut them to pieces. Mr St John also wrote a letter to the Committee of Hertfordshire, to excite the people to fall upon them; but these extremities were prevented by the Earl of Essex interposing, and prevailing upon them to acquiesce (k). In the beginning of December, the same year, the Parliament voted, that the Earl of Essex should be made a Duke (l), as they had formerly voted him ten thousand pounds a year; but he had no benefit by these votes, nor was there any great care taken for the payment of his arrears. It is generally allowed, that, after he laid down his command, he began to have different apprehensions of things, and to have been very desirous of preventing those miseries that he plainly saw were coming upon these nations; his interest and credit were to the last very great, and some have thought, if he had lived longer, he would have endeavoured to have exerted them for the publick service (m). But, being seized with a sudden and violent illness, not without suspicion of poison, he died greatly lamented, at Essex-House in the Strand, September 14th, 1646 (n). The Parliament directed a publick funeral for him, which was performed, with great solemnity, on the 22d of October following, in the Abbey-Church of St Peter, Westminster (o), when Mr Richard Vines preached his funeral sermon to a very great audience, composed of persons of very great distinction; and the number would certainly have been much larger, if the Parliament had not made an order, that neither his brother the Marquis of Hertford, nor any who had borne arms for the King, should be present at that ceremony (p). Such was the end of this Great Man, in whom the title of Essex became extinct, and whose virtues deserved, that his memory

(b) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. 11. P. iii. p. 220. Memorials, p. 103.

(c) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 281. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. 1. P. 132.

(d) Holles Memoirs, p. 13, 19, 20.

(e) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 110.

(f) Holles Memoirs, p. 30, 31. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 117.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Holles Memoirs, p. 32. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 139.

(i) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. 11. P. iv. p. 15.

(k) Holles Memoirs, p. 32.

(l) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 132.

(m) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. 1. p. 133.

(n) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 498.

(o) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. 11. P. iv. p. 329.

(p) Whitlocke's Mem. p. 225.

[M] *A complement of another kind* ] Whoever considers the passage cited in the former note, will very easily discern what temper the dominant party were in with respect to the Earl of Essex. He had still indeed the title of General, and they were not desirous he should have any more, this was the return they made him whose reputation had first raised them an army; that was a work which he only could do, but they were now entering upon works which they very well knew he neither could nor would do. This message to him therefore had an outward form of civility (36), but withal an inward mixture of reproach, the former served to amuse the people who had a high reverence for the General, the latter was to prevent his obstructing their designs. Whitlocke gives this cautious,

and yet very intelligible account, of that Janus-faced complement, for it is observable that these three Earls of Essex were made unhappy by their virtues, flattered out of their reason, and exalted to the highest honours by those who meant to make their fall the greater. But let us hear Whitlocke (37): 'The Houses being informed that the Lord General was not well, and stayed behind the army, they sent a Committee of the Lords and Commons to visit him, and to express the affections of both Houses to him. This was not, as was given out, a piece of courtship, but I think real, and there was cause enough that it should be so, the General having so highly deserved from them. Yet there were some had designs against him, and were desirous to remove him from his command, because

(37) Memorials, p. 108.

(36) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. 11. P. iii. p. 720.

memory should be transmitted to posterity with greater care and attention than had been hitherto paid to it, and which we have endeavoured to accomplish.

' because they were jealous that he was too much inclined to peace, and favouring of the King and his party. I think I knew as much of his mind as others did, and always observed him to wish for peace, yet not upon any dishonourable or unjust terms; he was a lover of Monarchy and Nobility, which he suspected some designed to destroy, together with Gentry, Ministry, and Magistracy, which humour began then to boil up; but he resolved to support them, and wanted not advice to that end. But the jealousies upon him who was a most faithful and gallant man, and servant to the publick, gave him great trouble in his thoughts, and they did work so high with his enemies, that some gave out he was by private intimation to forbear engaging in this service, and for certain he was not in it.' E

D' E W E S (Sir SYMONDS), Knight and Baronet, an accurate Historian, a judicious Critick, an eminent Antiquary, an inquisitive searcher into many different branches of Science, and a communicative friend, as well as generous Patron of learned men (a). He was descended from a very antient family in the Low-Countries, his ancestors retiring hither very early (b), and acquiring a very considerable settlement in the county of Suffolk; by which he was born to a large paternal estate, and was well allied in that county, as may be proved from indubitable authorities [A]. He was the son of Paul D'Ewes, Esq; by his wife Cecily, daughter and sole heiress of Richard Symonds, of Coxden in the county of Dorset (c). He drew his earliest breath, as himself informs us, at the seat of his grandfather before-mentioned, December 18th, 1602 (d); and, having acquired the first tincture of letters in his father's house, the pregnancy of his parts became so apparent, that, in the sixteenth year of his age, he was sent to the University of Cambridge, and entered a Fellow-Commoner there, of St John's College, under the tuition of the famous Dr Richard Holdsworth, July the 9th, 1618 (e). It does not appear either how long he remained there, or whether he took any degree; but this is very certain, that, in return for the great acquisitions he made in that celebrated seat of the Muses, he preserved a filial reverence for the place, and expressed so warm a concern for it's reputation, as seems to have exposed him to the resentment of some peevish writers, who cannot bear that any notions should be questioned, and much less contradicted, which they have once embraced, or in favour of which they have thought fit to declare (f). His inclinations to collect the best materials, for the forming a correct and compleat History of Great Britain, shewed themselves very early, since he assures us himself, that he began to put this design in execution when he was not above eighteen years of age (g). He was no less studious in preserving the history of his own times, setting down carefully the best accounts that he was able to obtain of every memorable transaction at the time it happened (h); an instance or two of which, and those very curious in their kind, the reader will find in the notes [B]. This laudable disposition, in so young a man, recommended him to the

(a) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 698. Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, P. iii. p. 75.

(b) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 478.

(c) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 653.

(d) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes written by himself, MS. in the Harleian Library, fol. 1. a.

(e) From the information of the late Rev. and learned Mr Baker. Ward's Lives of the Professors in Gresham College, p. 57.

(f) See Hearne's Sprotti Chronica, p. 240. Nicholson's Historical Library, P. 1. p. 154.

(g) See this date fixed in note [D].

(h) But he seems to have corrected and enlarged those accounts afterwards.

[A] As may be proved from indubitable authorities.] In the parish church of St Michael Bassishaw, there was, in one of the windows, a beautiful representation of a man in compleat armour, and his wife's pourtraiture on the other side, which, by the inscription, appeared to have been in memory of Adrian D'Ewes, a lineal descendant from the very antient and noble family of Des Ewes, Lords of the district of Kessell in the duchy of Gueldres, who retired hither upon the breaking out of wars in that country (1). He died of the sweating sickness in the month of July 1551, having lived under the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. He married Alice Ravenscroft, by whom he left issue, as appears from his will (2), four sons, Gerard, James, Peter, and Andrew. His eldest son, Gerard D'Ewes, lies buried in the isle of Upminster church in Essex, having been Lord of the manour of Gains, alias Upminster; he died April 12, 1591, leaving by his wife, Grace Hinde, a son, Paul Dewes, Esq; and a daughter Alice, who married William Lathom, Esq; who repurchased this manor of Gains, alias Upminster, which he had sold to his father-in-law (3).

(1) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 698. Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 478.

(2) In Registro Curie Dom. Archidiaconi Lond. Lib. IV. fol. 34. a. & b.

(3) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 652.

(4) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, fo. 53. b.

[B] The reader will find in the notes.] In order to justify what has been asserted in the text, it will be sufficient to produce two passages from our author's work, one of which shall be his description of the great favourite Buckingham, when he was rising in his fortunes; and the other, his succinct detail of Prince Charles's voyage to Spain. As to the first, having described the tilting in the presence of the French Ambassador, brother to the great favourite of Lewis XIII, the Constable Luynes, on Monday January 8, 1620-21, in the Tilt-Yard over-against Whitehall, he proceeds thus (4): ' After this most of the tilters, except the Prince, went up to the French Lords in a large upper room of the house, standing at the lower end of the Tilt-Yard, and I crowding in after them,

' and seeing the Marquis of Buckingham discoursing with two or three French Monseurs, I joined to them, and most earnestly viewed him for about half an hour's space at the least, which I had opportunity the more easily to accomplish, because he stood all that time he talked bareheaded. I saw every thing in him full of delicacy and handsome features, yea his hand and face seemed the more accomplished, because the French Monseurs that had invested him were very swarthy hard favoured men. That he was afterwards an instrument of much mischief both at home and abroad, is so evident upon record as no man can deny, yet this I do suppose proceeded rather from some jesuited incendiaries about him, than from his own nature, which his very countenance promised to be affable and gentle.' The second passage is this (5):

' February 1622-23, there happened on Monday the 17th day of this month, so strange an accident as future ages will scarce believe it, for Charles Prince of Wales began his journey from London into Spain on Monday the 17th day of February, with the beloved Marquis of Buckingham, Sir Francis Cottington, and Mr Endymion Porter, only in his company, who, besides the King himself, were the only men acquainted with the Prince's resolution. Their going was so secretly carried, as none I believe knew of it in England till they were landed in France. Through which kingdom they passed by post-horse into Spain. The journey was thought so dangerous, being above eleven hundred English miles by land, besides the crossing the seas between Dover and Calais, as all men were generally ensaddled at the adventure, often wishing it had been better advised upon, although all knew the Spaniards durst do the Prince no harm, so long as his royal sister and her illustrious offspring survived. Soon after followed

(5) Ibid. fo. 67.

the esteem and acquaintance of persons of the first rank in the Republick of Letters, and amongst these to the celebrated Sir Robert Cotton, who introduced him likewise to the famous Mr Selden (i); which circumstances we learn from himself, together with the opinion he entertained of these great men, which the reader will not probably think unworthy of his notice [C]. In the year 1626 he married Anne, daughter to Sir William Clopton, of Essex, who, though very young, was an exquisite beauty, and, though his passion seems to have increased for her, after she became his wife, to a degree of extravagance (k), yet it did not hinder him from prosecuting his studies with equal vigour and diligence; insonmuch that, when he was little more than thirty years of age, he had, with infinite care and labour, finished that large and accurate work (l); which contributes not a little to explain the most important transactions of one of the most glorious reigns in our History, but will likewise serve to transmit his own name and memory with lustre to posterity [D]. In 1639 we find him High-Sheriff of the county of Suffolk (m), having

(i) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewe, fol. 77. b. Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 711.

(k) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewe, fol. 91 b, 94 b, 97 a, 106 a b, 108 a.

(l) He tells us of himself in his preface.

(m) Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 74.

' followed the Lord Hayes, Earl of Carlisle, and passed into France, to excuse to that King the Prince's sudden and secret passing through his kingdom without giving him a visit. All men now took it for granted, that the Prince's marriage with the Infanta Maria, the King of Spain's sister, was concluded on, and that he went over only to consummate it, no man imagining that he would take up such a resolution upon uncertainties, especially occasioning so vast an unnecessary expence, at a time when the King's wants pressed him much. But God, whose decree binds Princes as well as peasants, had otherwise disposed, so as our royal suitor arriving at Madrid in Spain on Friday the 2<sup>d</sup> of March, about three weeks after his departure from London, and taking ship for his return into England on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September then next ensuing, stayed in Spain about seven months, in all which time he seldom saw or spake with the Spanish Princess, nor could ever receive a fair and sincere denial from her brother, although her marriage had been absolutely disposed of by her father's last Will and Testament, he bequeathing her to Ferdinand, son and heir of Ferdinand II, the Emperor of Germany, who afterwards did accordingly espouse her.'

[C] *Unworthy of his notice.*] Before we give the reader this passage, it may not be amiss to observe, that our author's journal was entirely made for his own private use and advantage, and seems to have been written purely for the securing such of his own thoughts as he was desirous to review, and for preserving such informations as he received upon his enquiries (6); and as he had not any intention, or perhaps the least foresight, that these notices of his might be made publick, so nothing contained in them ought to be considered as any way derogatory from the reputation of those of whom he speaks. We will now proceed to the remarks made by our author. 'On Tuesday September 28, 1624, going, as I frequently used, to visit Sir Robert Cotton, England's prime Antiquary, I there met Mr John Selden of the Inner Temple, a man of deep knowledge, and almost incomparable learning, as his many published works do sufficiently witness, with whom Sir Robert, our joint-friend, brought me acquainted, and we held ever after a good outward correspondence, but both of them being more learned than pious, I never sought after, or ever attained, unto any great entireness with them, yet I had much more familiarity with Sir Robert Cotton than with Mr Selden, being a man exceedingly puffed up with the apprehension of his own abilities.'

We ought likewise to consider, that in those industrious times, it was the custom, amongst such eminent persons as had an opportunity of attaining extensive intelligence, to commit almost every thing to writing; thus the learned and judicious Earl of Clarendon wrote his own life (7) at large, out of which he drew a great part of his materials for his excellent History. Mr Whitlocke, in like manner, digested what occurred to him most worthy of notice into that large work of his, which has been since published; and as different men have different sentiments, so it may not be amiss to quote here a passage of his relating to Mr Selden (8).

'Divers members of both Houses, whereof I was one, were members of the Assembly of Divines, and had the same liberty with the Divines, to sit and debate, and give their votes in any matter which was in consideration amongst them. In which debates Mr Selden spake admirably, and confuted divers of

them in their own learning. And sometimes when they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, Perhaps in your little pocket Bibles with gilt leaves (which they would often pull out and read) the translation may be thus, but the Greek, or the Hebrew, signifies thus and thus; and so would totally silence them.'

[D] *With lustre to posterity.*] The title of this book runs thus: *The Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, both of the House of Lords and House of Commons, collected by Sir Symonds D'Ewe, of Stow-Hall in the County of Suffolk, Knight and Baronet. Revised and published by Paul Bowes, of the Middle-Temple, London, Esq; Lond. 1682, fol.*

It must certainly be allowed, that as this was a very great and useful, so it was also a very painful and laborious undertaking, such a one as few men would have ventured upon, and still fewer would have accomplished, with that skill and accuracy which appears in this performance, the benefits derived from which might well have restrained some splenetick persons from speaking so slightly as they do of the author's abilities (9). That account which he has given us of his motives to this undertaking, and the manner in which it is executed is very large and satisfactory, and a few paragraphs from thence will shew us what sort of a work this is, and what sort of a man he was who compiled it. These are his words,

'Because I know the original Journal Books of either House to be more judiciously observed, and more to be esteemed, than the collections of any private men, therefore I have distinguished, by some annotation or animadversion, what is taken out of them, or what out of any other material whatsoever. Nor are those animadversions of mine own at any time added, without some necessary motive, or upon some good ground. Very copious indeed they are in the two first Journals of the Upper House, and House of Commons, in *ann. 1 Regin. Eliz.* because all matters of form were to be once for all discussed. In all the other Journals they are more succinct and infrequent.

'I confess it cost me many days, besides other expences, to bring these ensuing volumes to that perfection in which I now enjoy them. In which, besides the abundance of the knowledge in this kind especially gained by it, which Sir Edward Coke, Knt. a learned writer of this age, calls *Lex Parliamentaria*, I have, as I much desired, done some honour to the memory of that glorious Queen, England's royal Elizabeth, in that I have collected in one body the sum of the agitations of all her Parliaments, or at least so much of them as could possibly be gotten, being a work not only singular, in respect that I am the sole enjoyer of it, but also because I rest confident, that never any other man attempted it, much less brought it to perfection. Which I do rather believe, because, when I was one day discoursing with Sir Robert Cotton, the Prime Antiquary of this our age, not long before his decease, touching the two aforesaid volumes he had of the Journals of this Queen's reign, that I wondered he would treasure up in his library such fragmentary and imperfect stuff, he made me no other answer but that he was compelled to store up them, because he knew not how to come by any better; and certainly, if this work, which I have now by God's providence finished, had been performed by any other,

(9) Thom. Hearne in preface. Lib. Nig. Scaccarii, p. x.

(6) This appears plainly from several of the author's reflections upon the facts set down in his life.

(7) See the advertisement prefixed to his Hist. of the Rebellion, in one Vol. in fol. Oxon. 1732.

(8) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 71.

been some time before knighted. The same year, having occasion to write to Archbishop Usher, he mentioned that History of Great Britain, in making collections for which he had already spent upwards of twenty, and, in the writing it, thirteen years; and was so unfortunate as to let fall a hint, that this History might, possibly, furnish emendations in almost every page of Camden's *Britannia* (n); which letter of his coming to light, among other epistles to that learned Prelate, has drawn upon him the heaviest censures, as if he had been prompted to this expression from a mixture of vanity and envy, without any competent capacity (o); in which, perhaps, there is as much wrong done to him, as he is supposed to have done to Camden [E]. In the Long Parliament, which was summoned to meet November the 3d, 1640, he was elected to serve as a Burgess for the town of Sudbury in Suffolk (p), and, on the 2d of January following, he made occasionally a speech in Parliament, in support of the antiquity of that University in which he was bred (q), which has exposed him to very severe usage from Anthony Wood (r), Thomas Hearne (s), and some other writers (t); but with how much reason or foundation must be left to the judgment of the reader [F]. July 15th, 1641, he was, by the favour

(n) Usher's Letters, p. 496.

(o) Vita Guliel. Camdeni a Thom. Smitho, 4to. 1691. p. xlv.

(p) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. P. iii. p. 8.

(q) Fuller's Worthies in Suffolk, p. 75.

(r) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. i. p. 30. Though, as it stands in the Latin, the language is much more civil and respectful than in the other censures of this Gentleman's performance.

(s) Thomæ Sprouti Chronica, p. 240.

(t) Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 154

' other, it could not have been hid from him, who was a very sedulous gatherer, as of other rarities, so especially of parliamentary passages, for about the space of forty years before his death.

' Touching the rarities and treasures of knowledge contained in these ensuing volumes, to omit many things, thus much it shall not be amiss to premise, that there may not only hence be gathered whatsoever almost concerns the privileges, customs, and usages of either House, but historical matter also touching the Church and State, and in the whole frame may be frequently seen the admirable wisdom of her Majesty, and this her great Council, in the happy quenching of such emergent differences as arose, and in their timely provision against the ambitious Spaniard, the restless and irreconcilable enemy of her Majesty's religion, person, and realms.

' In all Parliaments, and sessions of Parliaments, the Journals of the House of Commons, do, for the most part, much excel those of the Upper House, in variety and abundance of observable matter, and in their copious and orderly relating each day's passage.

' I shall not need further to enlarge myself, but here to shut up this present discourse, this instant Friday the 3d day of February, Anno Dom. 1631, that though through God's Providence I have finished these volumes, which are intended chiefly for my own private use and my posterity's; yet I have already entered upon other and greater labours, conceiving myself not to be born for myself alone, according to that old saying, *Melius mori, quam sibi vivere* (10).'

The greatest men may mistake in their conjectures, and this appears to have been the case of our author, in respect to his being the only person that ever thought of a work of this nature, for we find that it was not only thought of by another person, but in part executed, and it was the publication of this that brought the more ample collection of Sir Symonds D'ewes to see the light. A certain Prelate, who, upon other occasions, shews himself no great admirer of our author, has however done him all the justice imaginable with respect to this (11). His words are these:

' Heyward Townshend, an eminent Member of the House of Commons, preserved the debates in Parliament of her last fourteen years, which long after the author's death were published under the title of *Historical Collections*, &c. But this, as vast an undertaking as it seems to be, is only a part of that more comprehensive one of Sir Symonds D'ewes, whose Journal of both Houses, during her whole reign, was soon after given us in print.' This was a noble specimen of his steadiness and diligence in perfecting what he had once undertaken, and may serve to convince us, that he prosecuted with spirit his resolution of comparing the History of Great Britain with the records, which, as he himself assures us, he formed in the month of April 1620.

[E] *As he is supposed to have done to Camden.* We find the charge against this Gentleman very mildly and modestly stated by Bishop Gibson in his life of Camden, prefixed to the English translation of his *Britannia*. These are his words (12): ' In the year 1607 he put the last hand to his *Britannia*, which gained him the titles of the Varro, Strabo, and Pau-

fanias of Britain, in the writings and letters of other learned men. Nor did it ever after meet with any enemies that I know of, only Sir Simon D'Ewes encouraged us to hope for animadversions upon the work, after he had observed to a very great man, that there was not a page in it without a fault. But it was only threatening, and neither the world was the better, nor Mr Camden's reputation e'er the worse for it.' This is a very soft translation of a very harsh paragraph in Dr Smith's Life of the same author, in which he assures us (13), that this work was universally approved by all proper judges, one only, Sir Simon D'Ewes, excepted, who moved, says he, by I know not what spirit of envy, gave out that there was scarce a page, &c. In this track we find Bishop Nicholson in his account of the *Britannia*, where he says (14), ' Some early attempts were made by an envious person, one Brook or Brookmouth, to blast the deservedly great reputation of this book, but they perished and came to nothing, as did likewise the terrible threats given out by Sir Symonds D'Ewes, that he would discover errors in every page.'

Let us now consider the grounds upon which these great men have gone in prejudice to the memory of a person, who for any thing that appears, had nothing of that bad spirit which is here imputed to him. He was ambitious of holding a correspondence with Archbishop Usher, to whom, in a long Latin letter, he gives an account of himself (15), of the pains he had taken in collecting a great library of the choicest pieces that regarded the English History, and adds farther, that he had spent thirteen years in his labours to compile an accurate English History, to which he says he was principally moved, by observing the many mistakes of the common writers, and indeed, says he, *what can be expected from them, considering that even in the so much admired Britannia of Camden himself, there is not a page, at least hardly a page, without errors.* The reader will consider that this was a private letter, written to a Prelate, whose station in the learned world was not at all inferior to that which he held in the Church. One would have imagined, from what these writers have said, that this Gentleman had published his sentiments of the *Britannia* to all the world, with a view to lessen Camden's work, and exalt the merit of his own; whereas the fact, as the reader sees, is quite otherwise. Besides, amongst the letters printed by Dr Smith, there is one from Sir John Savile to Camden (16), in which there is such a number of corrections as may serve to render what our author has advanced not altogether incredible. There is without doubt a great respect due to the memory of learned men, but then this ought to be joined with a just regard for learning and truth, which qualification being admitted, Sir Symonds D'ewes will not appear either so vain or so envious a person as they would make him

[F] *Must be left to the judgment of the reader.*

It is to be observed, that this speech of Sir Symonds D'ewes was occasional, and involuntary; a bill for four subsidies, towards the relief of the King's army in the northern counties, had been twice read in the House of Commons, and the Committee who drew the bill, having placed Cambridge before Oxford, an occasion was sought to transpose those names, when the bill came to be debated in a grand Committee of the whole

(10) This sentence occurs more than once in his other writings.

(11) Nicholson's Historical Library, p. 86.

(12) Camden's Britannia, folio, the second edition, London, without any year.

(13) Vita Camdeni, p. xlv.

(14) English Historical Library, p. 4.

(15) Archbishop Usher's Letters, p. 496.

(16) Camdeni Epistolæ, p. 36

of his Sovereign, created a Baronet (u). But, upon the breaking out of the Civil War, he adhered to the Parliament; and we find his name in the list of those Members who took the Solemn League and Covenant, pursuant to an order of the House of Commons February 3d, 1643 (w). This did not hinder his having a sincere veneration for the constitution of his country, and a loyal affection to the person of his Prince; so that when things came to extremities, and it was found necessary to purge the Parliament, by turning out of it all who were of such old-fashioned principles, and, for this purpose, a guard of soldiers was sent thither, December 6th, 1648 (x). Sir Symonds D'Ewes was amongst the number (y). Those that were left in the House indeed, sent to the commanding officer to reclaim him, and the rest of the Members in his condition; but to no purpose, for he was never allowed to enter those doors again so long as he lived. When it was thus put out of his power to render any farther service to the publick, he gave himself up entirely to the prosecution of those studies which had been always the principal delight he enjoyed, in the innocent occupations of a private life. He digested into order the vast collections he had made, in reference to the antiquities of this kingdom in general, and several adjacent counties in particular; some volumes of which are yet preserved, and remain incontestible evidences of his wonderful diligence, and excellent disposition (z). He collated

(u) See Sir Wm. Dugdale's Catalogue.

(w) See that list published by order of the Parliament in that year, 4to.

(x) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. II. P. iv. p. 1353.

(y) Heath's Chronicle, p. 192, 193.

(z) These, or at least a part of them, are in the library belonging to the College of Arms.

whole House, which was on Saturday January 2, 1640, and then our author stood up to prevent the putting of a question, and spoke as follows (17):

' I stand up to persuade, if it may be, the declining of the present question, and the further dispute of this business. Yesterday we had a long debate about the putting out of a word, and now we are fallen upon the dispute of putting one word before another. I account it no honour to *Cambridge* that it got the precedence by voices at the former Committee, nor will it be any glory to *Oxford* to gain it by voices here, where we all know the multitude of borough towns of the western parts of England do send so many worthy members hither, that if we measure things by number and not by weight, *Cambridge* is sure to lose it. I would therefore propound a more noble way and means for the decision of the present controversy than by question, in which, if the university of *Oxford*, which for mine own part I do highly respect and honour, shall obtain the prize, it will be far more glory to it than to carry it by multitude of voices, which indeed can be none at all. Let us therefore dispute it by reason, and not make an idol of either place, and if I shall be so convinced, I shall readily change my vote, wishing we may find the same ingenuity in the *Oxford* men.

' There are two principal respects, besides others, in which these famous universities may claim precedence each of other.

' First, in respect of their being, as they were, places of note in the elder ages.

' Secondly, as they were ancient nurseries and seed plots of learning.

' If I do not therefore prove, that *Cambridge* was a renowned city at least five hundred years before there was a house of *Oxford* standing, and whilst brute beasts fed, or corn was sown, on that place where the same city is now seated; and that *Cambridge* was a nursery of learning before *Oxford* was known to have a grammar school in it, I will yield up the bucklers. If I should lose time to reckon up the vain allegations produced for the antiquity of *Oxford* by *Twine*, and of *Cambridge* by *Caius*, I should but repeat *Deliria senum*, for I account the most of that they have published in print to be no better. But I find my authority without exception that in the ancient catalogue of the cities of *Britain*, *Cambridge* is the ninth in number, where *London* itself is but the eleventh; and who would have thought that ever *Oxford* should have contended for precedence with *Cambridge*, which *London* gave it above twelve hundred years since? This I find in *Gildas Albanus* his British story, who died about the year 520, being the antientest domestick monument we have, page 60. And in a Saxon anonymous story written in Latin touching the Britons and Saxons, page 39. who saith of himself, that he lived in the days of *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, in the tenth year of his reign, and that he knew him well, which falls out to be near upon the year 620. And, lastly, I find the catalogue of the said British cities, with some little variation, to be set down in *Nennius* his Latin story of *Britain*, page 38, and he wrote the same, as he saith of himself, in the year 830. They

' all call it *Cair grant*, the word *Cair*, in the old *Celtique* tongue, signifying a city.

' These three stories are exotick and rare monuments remaining, yet only in antient manuscripts amongst us, not known to many, but the authority of them is irrefragable and without exception. The best and most antient copies that I have seen of *Gildas Albanus* and *Nennius*, remain in the university library of *Cambridge*, being those I have vouched, and the *Saxon* anonymous in a library here near us. This *Cair-grant* is not only expounded by *Alfred* of *Beverly* to signify *Cambridge*, but also by *William de Ramsay* Abbot of *Croyland*, in his manuscript story of the life of *Guthlacus*, ignorantly in those elder days reputed a faint. The said *William* goes further, and saith, it was so called à *Granta flumine*. This place remained still a city of fame and repute a long time under the reign of the English Saxons, and is called in divers of the old manuscript *Saxon Annals* *Грантецагрен*. And notwithstanding the great devastations it suffered, with other places, by reason of the Danish incursions, yet in the first tome or volume of the book of *Domesdei* (for now I come to cite record) it appears to have been a place of considerable moment, having in it *decem Custodias*, and a castle of great strength and extent, and so I have done with *Cambridge* as a renowned place.

' And now I come to speak to it as it hath been a nursery of learning, nor will I begin higher with it than the time of the learned Saxon Monarch King *Alfred*, because I suppose that no man will question or gainsay, but that there are sufficient testimonies of certain persons that did together in *Cambridge* study the arts and sciences much about the time. And it grew to be a place so famous for learning about the time of *William the First*, the Norman, that he sent his younger son *Henry* thither to be there instructed, who himself being afterwards King of England by the name of *Henry the First*, was also surnamed *Beauclerk*, in respect of his great and invulgar knowledge. If I should undertake to alledge and vouch the records and other monuments of good authority, which assert and prove the increase and flourishing estate of this university in the succeeding ages, I should spend more time than our great and weighty occasions at this present will permit, it shall therefore suffice to have added, that the most antient and first endowed college of England was *Valence* college in *Cambridge*, which, after the foundation thereof, as appears by one of our Parliament Rolls remaining upon record in the Tower of London, received the new name or appellation of *Pembroke Hall*. It is in *Rotu. Parliam. de ann. 38 H. VI. Numb. 31*. It appearing therefore so evidently, by all that I have said, that *Cambridge* is in all respects the elder sister, which I speak not to derogate from *Oxford*. My humble advice is, that we lay aside the present question, as well to avoid division amongst ourselves, as to entomb all further emulation between the two sisters, and that we suffer the present bill to pass as it is now penned, and the rather because I think *Oxford* had the precedence in the last bill of this nature that passed this house.'

[G] Appeared

(a) A transcript of this, with his learned notes, is in the Harleian collection.

(b) Fuller's Worthies, p. 75.

(c) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 698.

(d) Life of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, fo. 47. a.

(e) Archbishop Uther's Letters, p. 496. See likewise his preface to his Journals of the Parliaments of Q. Elizabeth.

(f) See his letter to Archbishop Uther before-cited, the Archbishop's Answer, and other letters to Sir Symonds in that collection.

(g) See this matter explained in note [I].

collated and transcribed several ancient records and monuments of past times, such as the BLACK BOOK of the EXCHEQUER (a), which he had some thoughts of publishing. He made a noble collection of Roman coins, of which, as he was a very good judge himself, in respect to their value, so he spared no expence that appeared necessary for accomplishing the ends (b) he proposed, in making that collection. He was a great patron of learned men, and very free in his communications, as appears from the acknowledgments made by the industrious Mr Weever, who received great helps (c) from him in carrying on his large and useful work. That he was not, as some have represented him, a vain man, may appear from hence, that scarce any thing of his writing appeared in his life-time [G]. He was rather desirous of being useful to the literary world in another way, that is, in the way of a collector of scarce, curious, and valuable pieces, more especially such as regarded the history, antiquities, and records of this nation; to which studies, when he had once addicted himself, he was, in a great measure, weaned from that general and indeterminate pursuit of knowledge, with the desire of which he had been before possessed (d). It was the deep sense he had of the great advantages that might arise to his country, from the application of a man of learning and fortune to things of this nature, his just conception of the deficiencies in most of the histories published in and before his time, and the great examples he had before his eyes of the learned Camden, the beneficent Sir Robert Cotton, and the judicious Mr Selden, that inspired him with a strong inclination of composing, or, at least, amassing the materials for those great works, that, we have his own authority to prove, were the principal objects of his care for many years, and which, it is highly probable, he carried to some degree of perfection (e) [H]. This disposition of his procured him very great respect and esteem from the ablest and wisest persons of his times, such as the learned Spelman, the famous Selden, and many others (f); but later writers, either for want of better knowing this gentleman's real character, or for some other reasons, have not treated his memory with that decency (g) that might have been expected; and, therefore, the reader will not be displeased to find, in the notes, a very short and modest vindication of our author and his writings from their censures [I].

He

[G] *Appeared in his life-time.*] The only piece of his which is known to deserve that title, is that the reader has seen in the foregoing note, which was printed under the following title:

*A Speech delivered in Parliament by Sir Symonds D'Ewes, touching the Antiquity of Cambridge.* Lond. 1642, 4to.

In those days, when there were some people living who were thought to know as much of our antient History and records as most folks, and but for whom certainly we had known but little of them, this speech was held so far from being idle or ridiculous, that it gave this gentleman a great reputation. We may be very well satisfied of this, since the following tract, which is commonly ascribed to John Selden, Esq; was suspected, by such as pretended to have great insight into matters of that kind, to have fallen from the pen of our learned author, and the point is left undecided by a great Critick in such learning (18).

*A Brief Discourse concerning the Power of Peers and Commons in Parliament, in point of Judicature.* Lond. 1640, 4to.

If this was really of his writing, it is a very strong proof that he was not covetous of applause, since he neither owned it publickly, nor gave any private intimation to his friends that might secure his title. On the other hand, if the supposing it to be his arises purely from conjecture, it must give us a very high opinion of his credit in those days, since the very raising a doubt whether this belonged to him or to Selden, does the highest honour to his character as an Antiquary.

[H] *To some degree of perfection.*] The reader will perceive, by what has been already quoted from his Preface to the Journals of Parliament in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that as he was far from inclining to hide them from the publick, so, on the other hand, he had no intention to acquire fame to himself in his life-time by the publication of them. His disposition was the very same with regard to his other great undertakings; he was conscious to himself of the uncertainty whether he might finish all or any of them, but this did not hinder him from beginning them, as appears from his own words, which will best express his meaning (19).

The chief of the works beforementioned, and by me intended for the publick good, are these ensuing:  
A General History of Great Britain, from the first Inhabitants to the present Times, to be drawn especially out of Record, and other abstruse and exotic

Monuments, for the reformation of all the Chronicles or Histories of this kind yet extant, which will require several volumes.

The Survey of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgehire, out of Records or Original Deeds.

The Antiquity of the Municipal or Common Laws of the Realm before the Norman Conquest, out of Record also for the greatest part, or other invulgar materials. For which I have a desire also, if my time will suffice for collection, to add a second part out of the Itinerant and Plea Books, chiefly remaining in the Treasury at Westminster.

These I have proposed to myself to labour in, besides divers other smaller works, as well Theological as Moral, like him that shoots at the sun, not in hopes to reach it, but to shoot as high as possibly his strength, art, or skill will permit. So though I know it impossible to finish all these during my short and uncertain life, having already entered into the thirtieth year of my age, and having many unavoidable employments and cares of an estate and family, yet if I can but finish a little in each kind, it may hereafter stir up some able judgments to add an end to the whole, in the same way and search I shall have waded in before them. In the mean time I shall always pray, as I do sincerely desire, that by all my endeavours GOD may be glorified, the truth divine or human vindicated, and the publick benefited.

*Sic mihi contingat vivere, sicque mori.*

SIMONDS D'EWEES.

[I] *And his writings from their censures.*] It cannot but be esteemed an action right in itself, grateful with respect to the dead, and useful to the Republick of Letters, when care is taken to revive the memory of worthy men, and to rescue them from misrepresentations, which is worse than oblivion. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, having been bred under Dr Richard Holdsworth of St John's in Cambridge, who was a man of moderate principles, though steadily attached to the Constitution in Church and State; came into the world with sentiments that did not much recommend him to Archbishop Laud, and other warm Divines. But for all this he was sincerely religious, and though his affection to liberty induced him to stay with the Parliament, where we find, by several fine speeches (20), that he was a great master in those parts of learning most useful to a Senator, yet he was far from inclining either to Anarchy or a Commonwealth. He

very

(18) Bishop Nicholson in his Historical Library, P. i. p. 195.

(20) See the speeches at 1 in the first volume of Ruworth's Collections.

He deceased April 18th, 1650, in the forty-eighth year of his age (b), and was succeeded in his estate and titles by his son Willoughby D'Ewes, to whom Sir Symonds D'Ewes's Journals of the Parliaments of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when published, were dedicated, by his cousin, and Sir Symonds's nephew, Paul Bowes, Esq; of the Middle-Temple, who was himself a Gentleman of great worth and learning.

(b) Peck's Defiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. l. 2 v. p. 23.

very well knew, that the former must make way for tyranny of some sort or other, and the latter altogether incompatible with the laws of England, and with the temper and interests of the nation. It is to be hoped therefore, that the Reverend Mr Fuller was not afraid of giving offence, when he drew up his notes concerning this worthy person, which are not only destitute of any remarkable facts, and without method, but without dates also, one only excepted, and that false (21). He might, without doubt, have been better informed, if he had taken any degree of pains, and therefore his omissions in this respect are the less excusable. Doctor Smith, a very learned and good man, to whose care we owe the best memoirs of some of the greatest men that have flourished in this kingdom, was unluckily prejudiced against the memory of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, on account of his pretending to think Camden not infallible (22), and what he has wrote upon this subject being transcribed by Mr Bayle, foreigners can have no other idea of this Gentleman than as he has painted him, a man envious of the merit of others, and having very little of his own (23). Yet it is very certain D'Ewes had the greatest honour for Camden, whom he mentions very respectfully, though he tells us in his Preface to his Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, that they will enable his reader to correct many things in the Annals written by this great man of that reign, but he gives due praises to his performance, and it was his esteem for his memory, though he did not carry that so far as to be in love with his mistakes, betrayed him into the expression, for which he has been censured. Bishop Nicholson, in his dry way, sneers at Sir Symonds D'Ewes more than once (24), and hints, that though he promised much he had performed little, which is the more extraordinary, when in his Preface he very plainly points out where the vast collections made by this painful Antiquary are to be found (25). We need however wonder the less at this, when at the same time he speaks so harshly of John Leland, *the bulkieft promises of such noted writers commonly prove the most abortive*, and the reason he gives for it is, *despair of answering the world's raised expectations, very much contributing to their miscarriage* (26). This remark provoked the laborious Mr Hearne to remark upon him in his turn, *yet the most abortive pieces of Leland, says he, are far better, and much more correct, than the most compleat performances of some writers* (27). Notwithstanding which observation, the very same Thomas Hearne has dealt most unkindly by our author. After he had undertaken to publish the Black Book of the Exchequer, he was generously supplied by the late Edward Earl of Oxford, with the copy of that valuable piece made by our fa-

mous Antiquary, bearing this title, *Liber niger parvus MS. Scaccarii ex parte rememoratoris Regis, integre transcriptus & cum Autographo accurate comparatus à meipso Simonds D'Ewes*. It was by the help of this communication Mr Hearne was enabled to add a great many curious and instructive notes from the margin of our author's book. Yet in his Preface he has expressed his gratitude in the following character (28): 'The reader will not wonder at his leaving this work unpublished, contrary, as I believe, to his original intention, when he shall understand that D'Ewes, tho' a man diligent and learned, was nevertheless vain and empty towards his sacred Majesty; like Selden, an enemy and adversary, and one, who many things (amongst the rest an English History, for the writing of which, in my judgment, he was very little fit) having promised, compleated only a very few.' This is but one passage out of many in which he depreciates this Gentleman's character, which surely is a little hard, considering he would have had no opportunity of doing so, had he not availed himself of his labours. It has been already shewn, that this reproach, with respect to his political principles, was not very well founded, and perhaps Mr Hearne would have dealt with him more softly, if he had known that in the latter part of his life he was wont to observe, not by way of compliment to the Long Parliament, *That they alone had passed more laws than all the Parliaments put together that had sat before them* (29). But whatever his principles might be with respect to Church or State, and whether these were allied to, or remote from, those of the industrious Mr Hearne, justice was certainly due to his writings, with which he ought to have been better acquainted before he pronounced so positively, that though he promised much he performed but little. Whoever considers that his promises and performances were equal secrets to the publick, till his private letters were printed, and his vast collections fallen into other hands, will be very probably of another opinion, and think that the character afforded him by a Reverend Historian, who was never suspected of being a friend to the memories of men, who in their life-times shewed themselves enemies to our Constitution in Church or State, is much more agreeable to truth, and to the real merits of the person concerned (30): 'We shall next, says he, mention Sir Symonds D'Ewes, a Gentleman educated at the university of Cambridge, celebrated for a most curious Antiquary, highly esteemed by the great Selden, and particularly remarkable for his Journals of all the Parliaments in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and for his admirable manuscript library, he left behind him, now in the hands of one of the greatest genius's (31) in the age.' E

(28) In Prefat. Lib. Nig. Stac. p. x.

(29) Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 75.

(30) Echard's Hist. of Engl. d. p. 686.

(31) The late Earl of Oxford.

DICKINSON or DICKENSON (EDMUND) a celebrated Physician and Chemist in the reigns of Charles and James II. His family were originally of Rington in Lancashire, but his father, the Reverend Mr William Dickinson, settled in Berkshire, where he was Rector of Appleton. He married Mary, the daughter of Edmund Colepeper, Esq; of Halingborne in Kent, by whom he had this son, who was born September the 26th, 1624, at Appleton in the county of Berks (a). He received the first rudiments of learning and languages at the famous College of Eaton, whence, in 1642, he came to Oxford, and was admitted of Merton-College as one of the Eaton Post-masters (b). June the 22d, 1647, he became Bachelor of Arts, and was admitted Probationer-Fellow of his College (c). On November 27th, 1649, he took the degree of Master of Arts, and was entered on the Physick line (d). July 3d, 1656 (e), he was admitted to his Bachelor's degree in that faculty, wherein he quickly distinguished himself as well as in other branches of curious and useful knowledge, and, on July 17th, 1656, took the degree of doctor (f). The first thing which made him known in the learned world, was an oration spoken by him in the Hall of Merton-College, July 10th, 1653, in defence of Freedom in Philosophizing, which was highly and justly admired (g). In 1655 he published, at Oxford, his *Delphi Phœnicizantes*, i. e. *Delphos derived from the Phœnicians*; of which most learned piece it is hard to say, whether it gained the author more

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(c) MS. Memoirs and Wood, Wood's Fast. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 59.

(d) MS. Memoirs and Wood, ubi sup. col. 70.

(e) Ibid. col. 111.

(f) MS. Memoirs.

(g) Vide Cron. Esacul. Dissert. II. p. 195. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(1) Fuller's Worthies, Suffolk, p. 75.

(2) See what is said before in [E].

(3) See the article of CAMDEN (W.M.) in the Dictionary.

(4) Historical Library, p. i. 4, 19, 23.

(5) See both at to the English and also at to the Irish Historical Library.

(6) Historical Library, p. i. 153.

(7) Thomas's Chronica, p. 238.

(8) MS. Memoirs communicated to the author of this article.

friends at home, or reputation abroad [A]. Dr Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, had so just a sense of the value of that work, and the worth of him who penned it, that he would gladly have persuaded him to have applied himself to Divinity, and to have taken orders; but our author was fixed in his choice (b). The Warden and Fellows of Merton-College, in deference to his extraordinary merit, conferred on him the place of Superior Reader of Linacre's Lectures, which he held for some years (i). He then applied himself to Chemistry with much assiduity; and about this time it was that he received the first visit from an illustrious French adept, who commended our author's skill and diligence, and encouraged him to proceed in his studies (k). At length leaving the College, that he might practise his profession more conveniently, he took a house in the High-street of Oxford, where he dwelt many years (l). In 1669 he married his first wife, Mrs Elizabeth Luddington, of an antient family, seated at Carleton-Scroop in Lincolnshire; by this Lady he had his only daughter (m). The mother dying in child-bed, was interred in St Peter's Church at Oxford, where a monument is erected to her memory (n). He wedded some time after Helena, the daughter of \* \* \* \* Mole, Esq; of Aylesbury in the county of Bucks, who dying in a short time, he continued ever after a widower (o). On the death of the famous Dr Thomas Willis, which happened in 1684 (p), our author was prevailed on to remove to London, and there he took Dr Willis's house in St Martin's-Lane, where he practised with great success many years (q). Having been so happy as to restore to health, after all hopes of recovery were lost, Henry [Bennet] Earl of Arlington, Lord Chamberlain to Charles II. that Nobleman, in gratitude, introduced him to the King, who, in 1684, appointed him one of his Physicians in Ordinary, and Physician to his Household (r). As that Prince was a great lover of Chemistry, and a considerable proficient therein (s), Dr Dickenson grew into great favour, and was honoured with much of his Majesty's conversation in the royal laboratory, which was under the King's bed-chamber, and to which he had a private stair-case from thence (t). His favour lasted as long as the life of his Royal Master; and his brother and successor King James the Second continued him in both his places (u). In 1686 our author published in Latin his Epistle to Theodore Mundanus, the illustrious French adept before-mentioned, as also his Answer, translated from the French into Latin. This is one of the most curious, as it is absolutely the most rational, piece that ever appeared on Hermetick Philosophy, and is still highly esteemed [B]. Some small time after the abdication of his unfortunate

Master,

[A] Friends at home, or reputation abroad] The title of this book at large runs thus: *Delphi Phœnicizantes, sive Tractatus in quo Græcos, quicquid apud Delphos celebre erat (seu Pythonis aut Apollinis Historiam, seu pœanica certamina & premia, seu præscam templi formam atque inscriptionem, seu Tripodem, Oraculum, spectes) è Josuæ, &c. Historia Scriptisque sacris effinxisse, rationibus haud inconcinnis ostenditur. Et quamplurimæ quæ Philologiæ studiosis apprime jucunda futura sunt, aliter ac vulgo solent, enarrantur.* The scope of this tract was to prove, that the Greeks borrowed the story of the Pythian Apollo, and all that rendered the oracle at Delphos famous, from the Holy Scriptures, and the book of Joshua in particular. In treating this very obscure subject, he shews a wonderful skill in the Hebrew, Arabick, and Greek tongues, a perfect knowledge of Antiquity, and a most penetrating judgment. The quickness of his thoughts, the probability of his conjectures, and his profound erudition, deserve the highest applause. The judicious Carpsou mentions him with much respect as a very useful Commentator on Joshua: to say the truth, there are abundance of strokes in this piece which throw light on the darkest passages in Sacred and Prophane History, which is the reason this Dissertation gave such high satisfaction to the learned world (1). To this treatise were added, I. *Diatriba de Noæ in Italiam Adventu; ejusque nominibus Ethnicis.* i. e. *A Dissertation on the coming of Noah into Italy, and of the names under which he was known to the Heathens.* In which are also a multitude of curious observations, as well Philological and Mythological, as Historical. Struvius (2), the learned German, who has written so usefully on literary History, takes notice of it, and some modern writers have borrowed from it without naming it at all. II. *De Origine Druidum.* i. e. *Of the Rise of the Druids.* This treatise, in relation to the eldest of our British Philosophers, is very concise, but discovers the author's great knowledge in our Antiquities, and is particularly mentioned by Stollus (3), and the author honoured with the title of a most learned Antiquary by Reimannus (4). III. *Oratiuncula pro Philosophia liberanda.* This is the oration mentioned in the text, as the first of our author's performances. Mr Wood (5) tells us, that this was spoken, when, according to

the statutes of his house (Merton-college) he varied from the mind of Aristotle, and so it is marked in the end of the oration. IV. *Zach. Bogan, Edmundo Dickenson.* This letter does our author as much honour as any of his own works, it is filled with citations from the most antient authors in support of his opinions, and the highest commendations of his learning, industry, and judgment. The *Delphi Phœnicizantes* came out originally at Oxford in 1655, in 12mo, with a Dedication to Dr John Goddard of the College of Physicians, London, and Warden of Merton-college at Oxford. It was printed at Franckfort in 1669, 8vo (6), of which edition Wood never heard; and at Rotterdam in 1691. By Crenius in the first Tome of his *Fasciculus Dissertationum Historico-critico-philologicarum*, in 12mo, and not in 8vo, as Wood says, which is an indication he had not seen it. He adds, *This book is much valued by foreigners, and they speak very honourably of it and it's author* (7). This must be understood of the foreigners Wood had conversed with (which were not a few) at Oxford. We have shewn the same thing from their writings; indeed what wonder, considering our author was scarce thirty when he wrote this most learned tract?

[B] *And is still highly esteemed.*] In order to give the reader a just idea of this most curious treatise, it will be necessary to observe, that Theodore Mundanus visited our author Dickenson first at Oxford, a little after the Restoration, perhaps in 1662 (8). He found him then a deep admirer of sublime Chemistry, and exhorted him to pursue his studies with such assurances, as had probably great effect upon his mind, because we find by his letter he had read Lully, Ripley, Philalethes, &c. and had actually employed much time in endeavouring to reach their sense. In 1679 (9), Theodore Mundanus paid him a visit at London, and renewed his acquaintance. It may from circumstances in the Doctor's epistle be gathered, that he was by this time not a little cooled in his inclinations towards Chemistry, at least towards Alchemy. And therefore to give him spirits to address himself again to such enquiries, Mundanus made two projections in his presence (10). This is so strange a fact, that to leave the English reader without scruple about it, we shall transcribe the words of Theod. Mundanus, writing to Dr Dickenson (11), who caused

(b) MS. Memoir.

(i) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(k) MS. Memoir. Wood, ubi supra, vide etiam Epist. Theod. Mundan. Edm. Dickenson, p. 146.

(l) MS. Memoir.

(m) Ibid.

(n) Ibid.

(o) MS. Memoir.

(p) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 158.

(q) MS. Memoir.

(r) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

(s) See the Duke of Buckinghamshire's character of K. Charles II. Memoirs of eminent persons deceased in 1712, p. 305.

(t) MS. Memoir.

(u) Ibid. Vicetiam Titul. Epistol. ad Mundan. de Quintessentia Philosophorum. Ox. 1686. 8vo.

(1) Carpsou. Intro. libr. can. Vol. I. p. 166. — Vol. II. p. 485. Fabricii Bibliogr. Antiq. p. 29, 420. Reimman. Idea System Antiq. Literar. p. 439. Spizel. de re literaria Sinensium, p. 49.

(2) Biblioth. Hist. p. 665.

(3) Intro. in Hist. Liter. p. 434.

(4) Ubi supra.

(5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946. Cren. Fasciculus Diss. Vol. I. p. 203.

(6) Corn. a Beughem Biblioth. Chrono. p. 79. Crenius in Pr. Fasciculi Diss. Tom. I. Rot. 1691.

(7) Athen. Ox. Vol. II. col. 9.

(8) De Quint. Philosoph. p. 1.

(9) Ibid.

(10) MS. M. moir.

(11) De Quint. Philosoph. p. 9.

Master, Dr Dickenson retired from practice, being in years, and very much afflicted with the stone; he continued nevertheless to apply himself to his studies, and, as he was a Gentleman of great candour, and very communicative, so, at his house in St Martin's-Lane, there were frequent assemblies of the Learned, who were willing to improve these valuable qualities in Dr Dickenson to their own advantage (w). He had long meditated a system of Philosophy, not founded on his own conjectures, or the experiments of other men, but chiefly from the lights afforded by the Mosaic History, compared with the theories of the Antients. Part of this laborious work, when he had brought it into order, was unfortunately burnt. The Doctor, however, was not discouraged; he set about the same task again, and, at length, finished and committed it to the press. It appeared in 1702, under the title of *Physica Vetus & Vera* (x). The same genius, the same learning, the same exquisite judgment, and, above all, the same modest zeal for truth, and the same pious concern for Revealed Religion, were visible in this, that had rendered his first treatise so much admired. All who had a taste for Oriental Learning, and the Corpuscularian System, which, in those days, were not a few, highly applauded Dr Dickenson's book, and with such it still is, and ever will be, in great credit [C]. The rest of his days he spent in the improvement of his mind, and in conversing with his friends, who, through the whole course of his life, were the most eminent persons in the kingdom, either for parts or preferment, for their intrinsic merit, or elevation in dignity; such as Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who loved and understood Chemistry, Dr Seth Ward, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, Archbishop Sheldon, and the worthy Archbishop Tension, &c (y). He yielded to fate, through a severe fit of the stone, on the third of April 1707, being then in the eighty-third year of his age, and was interred in the Church of St Martin's in the Fields (z). He left behind him a character every way worthy of esteem, as well as that (so justly acquired by his labours in his profession, and his curious writings) of being one of the most knowing and successful Physicians of his time; which, if we recollect he was contemporary with Willis, Sydenham, Lower, &c. we shall the better comprehend it's extent (a). Besides the pieces before-mentioned, he is supposed to have been the author of *Parabola Philosophica, seu Iter Philareti ad Montem Mercurii* (b), i. e. *A Philosophical Parable, or a Journey to the Mount of Mercury*, by PHILARETES; no way inferior to any thing he owned. If this tract be truly his, as there seems no cause to assign it any other author (c), then it may serve as a full answer to one of Anthony Wood's remarks in his usual petulant stile, and indeed worthy of no other author (d) [D]. The

(w) MS. Memoir.

(x) Lond. 1702. 4to.

(y) MS. Memoir. See also the dedications prefixed to *Delphi Pbenizantes*, and *Physica vetus & vera*.

(z) MS. Memoir.

(a) See these articles in this Dictionary.

(b) De Quintessentia Philosophorum, p. 212.

(c) This is farther explained in note [D].

(d) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 946.

caused them to be printed. ' That therefore I might, ' by an irrefragable argument, testify how high and ' how honourable an opinion I had conceived of you, ' as also that I might establish your confidence in the ' principles of our Philosophy, and encourage you in your ' enquiries, I made two projections in your presence. ' Neither know I any thing which ought to induce you ' to scruple the truth of what I affirm to you, that ' though it is now forty years since I was *Philosophus Adeptus*, i. e. an adept, or one perfect in the Alchemical science, yet, yourself excepted, there are not ' three persons, to whom, in that space, I have made ' known myself or my art.' But to strengthen the thing still farther, hear what Dr Dickenson himself says to Theodore Mundanus (12). *I heretofore thought of the transmutation of metals, just as we think of the strange accounts we hear of wonderful facts done, or odd customs which prevail, in regions at a vast distance. So should I have ever thought, as till then indeed I did think, when two years ago you had the goodness, by an illustrious demonstration, to take from me all power of doubting any longer.* It is now time to come to the book, which bore this title, *Epistola Edmundi Dickinon, M. D. & M. R. ad Theod. Mundanum, Philosophum Adeptum, de Quintessentia Philosophorum & de vera Physiologia. Una cum Questionibus Aliquot de secreta Materia Physica. His Accedunt Mundani Responsa. O X O N I Æ, E Theatro Sheldoni, anno 1686, 8vo.* i. e. Ed. Dick. to Theod. Mund. an Adept of the Quintessence of the Philosophers, and the true System of Physicks. As also certain Queries, as to the Materials in Alchemy. To which are annexed the answers of Mundanus. The letter is dated from London, July 31, 1683, and the answer of Mundanus from Paris, September 22, 1684. It was not on this account that we called him a French Philosopher in the text, but because, when Dr Dickenson wrote in Latin, he chose to answer in French. From this language his epistle was translated by H. B (13), whom I suppose to have been their common friend Dr Becket. The book was reprinted at Rotterdam 1699, 8vo (14). And there is a large account of it (as it well deserved) in the Literary Journal mentioned in the margin (15). One thing is very remarkable, that this curious piece escaped Pro-

fessor Boerhaave, who would otherwise have mentioned it in his so much esteemed *Elementa Chemicæ*. [C] *In great credit* ] The title of this book runs thus: *D. Edmundi Dickinon, M. D. Physica Vetus & Vera: sive Tractatus de naturali veritate hexæmeri Mosaicæ. Per quem probatur in historia Creationis universæ methodum atque modum, tum veræ Philosophiæ principia, striètim atque breviter a Mose traditur.* Lond. 1702, 4to. i. e. *The antient and true System of Physicks, or a Treatise concerning the natural truth of the Mosaic Creation, in six Days. In which it is proved, that the Method and Mode of the Creation of the universe, according to the Principles of True Philosophy, are striètim and concisely laid down by Moses.* It was printed again at Rotterdam 1703, 4to, and Leoburg. 1705, 12mo (16). This shews the sale it had in those parts of Europe, where such systems are most canvassed, and of consequence their value best understood. As the author was an old-fashion'd writer, and not at all inclined to adopt opinions merely for their being plausible, we need not wonder that some admirers of the moderns were but indifferently pleased with his performance. Amongst these Stollius (17) hath explained himself in the clearest terms, though he confesses him to have been a man of great learning. But this censure of his arises from his dislike of the Atomick system, for there are parties among Philosophers as well as Politicians. Fabricius (18) mentions him and it with respect; and so does the celebrated Buddeus in many places with due commendations (19). But what sufficiently demonstrates the wisdom, judgment, and penetration of Dr Dickenson, is, that the famous Leibnitz, and the most learned Wolfius, have, in many things, followed his track. [D] *Worthy of no other author* ] That we may not be suspected of slandering the Oxford Antiquary, let his own words be produced. After mentioning our author's being appointed Superior Reader of Linacre's Lecture in his own college, he goes on (20), *and about that time spent much labour and money in the art of Chymistry, kept an Operator, and gave out to his acquaintance that he would publish a book thereof, but as yet there is nothing of that sort extant by him.* We must understand this of Mr Wood's knowledge, which, in

(12) Ibid. p. 4.

(13) Ibid. p. 145.

(14) Cern. a Beughem. Biblioth. Eruditiorum curiosæ. Amst. 1701. 12mo. p. 85.

(15) Ephem. Erudit. Belg. An. Dom. 1699. Mens. Maj. & seq.

(16) Struv. Biblioth. Philosoph. p. 161.

(17) Introd. in Hist. Liter. p. 661, 663.

(18) Bibliogr. Antiq. p. 282.

(19) Magog. Vol. I. p. 245. Compend. Hist. Philosoph. p. 300, 301, 391, 496, 497.

(20) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 546.

reader is to know, that this splenetick person, having contracted a dislike to our author during his residence in the University, could never mention him, on any occasion, without suffering somewhat of his bitterness to appear, by which, without perceiving it, he destroys what he proposes to effect, inasmuch as shewing his partiality equally abates the credit of his testimony as a witness, and takes away all pretence for passing any censure upon him as a judge. Of this more at large in a note [E]. Our learned Physician left also behind him, in manuscript, a treatise in Latin, on the *Grecian Games*, which, without question, was extremely worthy of seeing the light, and hath been lately published (e). Before we dismiss this article it will be proper to observe, that, as our author wrote altogether in Latin, so he is among the number of those British writers better known abroad than in his own country (f). To this also the subjects on which he wrote did, without doubt, contribute not a little, being since his death, less the objects of young peoples studies, or of the notice of the learned. But, as there seems to be a spirit of inquiry reviving, and as the Oriental Languages begin to be again considered, the bringing this life (hitherto shamefully neglected) into a work of this sort, will certainly be approved; as also the large accounts given of his writings in the notes. This we the rather hope, because, though no English writer is better known by his performances, through the northern parts of Europe, than Dr Dickenson, yet no foreigner has touched one circumstance of his life, because (his works being all published in his life-time) they had no opportunity of acquainting themselves with his character: a thing carefully provided against on their side, no writer of such eminence dying in any other country of Europe, but immediate care is taken of his memory; of which, were it in this place proper, numerous instances might be produced.

(e) Annexed to an account of the life and writings of Edmund Dickenson, M. D. Lond. 1739. 8vo.

(f) As appears by the authorities cited in the notes.

his own opinion, was extensive, though I much doubt it deceived him here. For if the *Parabola Philosophica* was our author's, as I am thoroughly persuaded it was, for reasons that I shall presently mention, then, without question, it was the very treatise Dr Dickenson mentioned to his friends; but because Anthony à Wood was not of the number, he was peevish enough to advance a false fact of his own shewing (though to be sure he over-looked it) for our author's letter to Mundanus (22) is mentioned in the same place, and therein is a concise system of chemical principles. The arguments which induce me to believe he wrote the *Parabola Philosophica* are these: 1. The judgment of Mundanus, who tells him he is sure it is his. 2. The conformity of the stile and method. 3. Dr Dickenson publishing Mundanus's letter without disowning the book.

(21) De Quintess. Philosoph. p. 212.

[E] *At large in a note.* The point discussed in the foregoing note, sufficiently demonstrates what an inclination the Oxford Antiquary had to strike at Dr Dickenson, and, as far as in him lay, to lessen that great reputation which he had raised by his successful labours in his profession, and his learned writings. But the Doctor being living, it might not be expedient to proceed to greater lengths, at least openly. However, he has sufficiently vented his spleen, without naming the person against whom his envious shafts are directed, and yet so plainly pointing him out, as to leave no scruple or doubt upon the peruser's mind who it is he means (22). The story is too long to be inserted here, and will fall in with greater propriety hereafter, in the mean time it may not be amiss to observe, whence the distaste of Wood arose, and indeed it is so strange a one from his own account of the matter, which had he not committed to writing the world could never have known, that it is not easy to conceive any thing more extravagant (23). Dr Dickenson was much Mr Wood's senior in Merton-college, and, as himself says, very kind to him when he first

(22) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 160, 161.

(23) The late Earl of Oxford received, from John Anstis, Esq; Mr Wood's DIARY, in his own hand, whence the author drew that life of his printed by Tho. Hearne.

came thither (24). In process of time, however, Dr Dickenson being Fellow of his college, of which what little estate Wood's family had was held, the money taken for fines on renewing of leases, which was paid to Dr Dickenson as Bursar or Treasurer, were, in Mr Wood's opinion, very high, and though he does not ascribe this expressly to the Doctor, yet it seems to be the true ground of all his misconstructions of his conduct. There was a long dispute in the college between the Fellows and their Warden, Sir Thomas Clayton, in which, though Dr Dickenson was of the same side with Mr Wood, yet because they did not succeed in their opposition, and the college was obliged to pay a very large debt contracted by the Warden, Mr Wood will have it, that Dr Dickenson was gained by Sir Thomas Clayton's artifices and flattery, of which, except his own suspicion, he offers no kind of evidence whatever (25). Hence however we may judge of his temper and disposition, which ought to render us very cautious in giving an implicit credit to whatever he is pleased to say of his contemporaries. It must indeed be owned, that what he says of those gentlemen who have distinguished themselves by their writings, in another work of his, is, for the most part, free from any of these objections (26), but then it is very well known that work received many castigations from Bishop Fell, by whose care it was translated into Latin and published, and it is as well known, that Mr Wood complained loudly of this, and was highly displeased that any thing he had written should be omitted or softened on any account whatever (27). These remarks were in justice due to the character of this learned and excellent person, and are by no means intended to lessen that obligation which the publick certainly owes to the indefatigable diligence of the Oxford Antiquary, whose labours, notwithstanding his prejudices and peevishness, are highly useful, and ought therefore to be justly valued.

(24) Life of Anthony à Wood, written by himself, at the close of Thom. Cuius *Vindiciar. Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis*, p. 472.

(25) Wood's Life, p. 552.

(26) Hist. & Antiquit. Oxon. Vol. II.

(27) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 799

DIGBY (Sir EVERARD) was descended from a very antient and honourable family, distinguished by the confidence, and honoured with many testimonies, of royal favour, by several of our Monarchs, as well for the eminent abilities of their mind, as for the gallant exploits performed by them in the field (a) [A]. His father Everard Digby, of Drystoke

(a) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 436.

[A] *As for the gallant exploits performed by them in the field.* In order to do justice to this family it is requisite to observe, that though the Digbys of Warwickshire were, and are still, noble, yet the Digbys of the county of Rutland were of the elder house, which appears thus: Sir Everard Digby of Tilton in the county of Leicester, to take the family no higher, though that might be done from record, was slain at Towton field, fighting there on the side of Hen-

ry VI (1). This Sir Everard, by Jaquetta, daughter of Sir John Ellis, left issue six sons, of whom the eldest, Sir Everard Digby, was the ancestor of this family, as Simon Digby, the second son, was of the Digbys of Colchill in Warwickshire, now represented by the Lord Digby, Baron of Geafhill in the kingdom of Ireland, from whence, as the reader will see in the text, descended the Earls of Bristol (2). This Sir Everard Digby just mentioned, married Mary, the daughter

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 436.

(2) See a large account of this family in Dugdale's Warwickshire.

Drystoke in Rutlandshire, Esq; was a person of great worth and learning, had his education at St John's College in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Master of Arts; and, though a man of an independent fortune (b), gave very signal marks of his inclination to, and his great success in, his studies [B]. This Gentleman, of whom we are speaking, was born some time in the year 1581, educated with great care, but under the tuition of some Popish Priests; for, when he was about eleven years of age, he had the misfortune to lose his father, who, as he was a man of sound knowledge, and extensive capacity, would, very probably, have given him better impressions, and have taught him to act rather by the light of his own reason, than merely according to the dictates of those, who, by having the care of him in his infancy, had assumed a despotic empire over his spirit. In respect to his parts, however, he was very far from being at all deficient, abating his blind zeal for Popery, and his servile submission to the Priests (c). In his person he was remarkably handsome, very expert in his exercises, extremely modest and affable in his behaviour, so that he was justly reputed one of the finest Gentlemen in England (d). He was brought very early to the Court of Queen Elizabeth, where he was much taken notice of, and received several marks of her Majesty's favour. On the coming in of King James he went likewise to pay his duty, as others of his religion did, was very graciously received, and had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, being looked upon as a man of a fair fortune, pregnant abilities, and a court-like behaviour (e). These accomplishments, assisted by the influence of the Priests, who were perfectly satisfied, that, in pursuing his interest, they consulted their own, procured his marriage to Mary, daughter and sole heiress of William Multho, Esq; of Gothurst in Buckinghamshire, with whom he had a great fortune (f); which gave occasion for his settlement of that, and of his own estate, upon the children of that marriage (g). One would have imagined, that, considering his mild temper, and happy situation in the world, he might have passed his days in honour and peace, without running the smallest hazard of meeting that dreadful and disgraceful death, which has introduced his name into all our histories. It happened, however, unfortunately for him, that, having a great acquaintance with Sir Thomas Tresham, a very active and zealous Papist, he possessed his mind with such disaffection to his Prince, such false notions of the ill usage that those who stiled themselves Catholicks had met with, and such apprehensions of still greater mischiefs ready to befall them, that he was ripe to receive any counsels that should be given him, for redressing these pretended grievances, and preventing those threaten'd evils, of how dangerous and desperate a nature soever they might be (b) [C]. His intimate friendship with Robert Catesby, Esq; proved the means of his being drawn in to act against that government, towards which he had so long borne the utmost dislike. This Mr Catesby was a man of determined courage, as well as great parts; he had been, for several years, very deep in all the plots

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(c) See the preface to Sir Everard Digby's private papers.

(d) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

(e) The Earl of Northampton's speech to him at his conviction. State Trials. Vol. I. p. 245.

(f) Wright's Hist. and Antiquities of Rutlandshire, p. 114.

(g) Coke's Rep. Lib. viii. fo. 165. b.

(b) This Sir Everard Digby himself alledged, in answer to the Earl of Northampton's speech.

formed

daughter of Sir John Heydon, by whom he had Knelm Digby, Esq; of Dry Stoke, or Stoke Dry, for so it is now commonly called, in the county of Rutland, who, by Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cope, Knt. had Everard Digby, Esq; who married Mary, daughter and coheiress of Francis Neal and the Widow of Samson Erderstwick, Esq; by whom he had three sons and two daughters, the eldest of which sons was Sir Everard Digby, who is the subject of this article (3).

[B] *And his great success in his studies.*] This gentleman published several treatises, some of them upon learned, and others on curious subjects, and of these the following titles may possibly gratify the reader's curiosity (4).

- I. *Theoria Analytica viam ad Monarchiam scientiarum demonstrans.* Lond. 1579. 4to.
- II. *De Duplici Methodo libri duo, Rami Methodum refutantes.* Lond. 1580. 8vo.
- III. *De Arte Natandi, libri duo.* Lond. 1587.
- IV. *A Dissuasive from the taking away the Goods and Livings of the Church, &c.* Lond. 4to (5).

[C] *And desperate a nature soever they might be*] It is very remarkable, that the far greatest part of the persons embarked in this treason were Gentlemen of family and fortune; Robert Catesby, Esq; was a Gentleman of an antient family, whose ancestor was a Privy-Counsellor and favourite to Richard III. Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, Esquires, were men of large estates, and the latter undertook to advance two thousand pounds upon this occasion. Mr Thomas Piercy was related to the Earl of Northumberland, and the King's servant: in short, except Robert Keys, who had spent his fortune, and Thomas Bites, who was Mr Catesby's man, they were all persons in such circumstances, as nothing but their furious zeal could have driven into such a conspiracy (6). The means by which Sir Everard Digby was wrought upon, himself affirmed to be these: First, he was told that the King

had broke his promises to the Catholicks, for which, however there was no foundation, since Watson the Priest, who was executed in the first year of the King for treason, confessed, that having had access to his Majesty at Edinburgh twice, he told him plainly what those of his religion had to expect, and this put him upon plotting against him. Mr Piercy, a principal instrument in this conspiracy, went likewise into Scotland upon the same errand, and had the like answer. He was next told, that severer laws against Popery would be made in the next Parliament, that husbands would be made liable for their wives offences, and that it would be made a præmunire only to be a Catholick. But the main point was, that the restoring of the Catholick religion was the duty of every member, and that, in consideration of this, he was not to regard any favours received from the Crown, the tranquillity of his country, or the hazards that might be run in respect to his life, his family, or his fortune (7). All this himself and very probably many of his companions believed, or otherwise it is not easy to account for their involving themselves in such a series of dangers, or for their adhering to each other with such fidelity, that, in the course of several years intrigue, there was nothing divulged (8). But what is yet a stronger, and indeed an invincible proof, that it was a mistaken notion of religion which guided them throughout, was the exceeding care they took to the very last, to prevent those Priests from coming into any trouble by their means, who had brought all this destruction upon themselves, for attaining which they scrupled nothing; Sir Everard Digby valuing himself in his private papers, upon affirming falsehoods to the Lords for this purpose; and Francis Tresham taking it upon his death, that he had not for several years seen Father Garnet, upon account of a difference between them, the direct contrary of which was afterwards confessed by Garnet himself (9).

(7) The arraignment and execution of the late late traitors. Lond. 1666. 8vo. In which it is affirmed, that Sir Everard declared, that, to restore Popery, he cared not if he rooted out all his posterity.

(8) See the Attorney-General Coke's speech at Garnet's arraignment.

(9) Proceedings against the traitors in the Powder Plot, p. 105.

1) Wright's Hist. and Antiq. of Rutland, p. 115.

4) Hyde Catalog. in the Libror. Bodleian. p. 220.

5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 354.

6) Discourse of the manner of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, p. 62, 63.

formed by the Jesuits; and, notwithstanding that which had miscarried in the beginning of this reign, he ventured to frame a new one in his own mind, which he communicated only to a few of his intimate friends, in the close of the year 1604 (i); and this was, blowing up the Parliament-House with gunpowder. When they had taken all the methods for putting this abominable scheme in execution, they began to reflect, that they could make no use even of their success, if they did not provide, at the same time, for an insurrection, and the establishment of a new government. It was therefore, upon mature deliberation, agreed by the confederates, at a meeting they held in the city of Bath, that Mr Catesby should take in to their assistance whom he should think fit, provided they were bound by the oath of Secrecy which themselves had taken (k). In pursuance of this resolution, Mr Catesby applied himself to his friend Sir Everard Digby, whom he acquainted with the whole affair, and with their resolution of seizing the Princess Elizabeth, and proclaiming her Queen, upon the execution of the Powder-treason at London; in which his assistance was particularly necessary, as she was then at the Lord Harrington's, at Comb-Abbey in Warwickshire (l). To this Sir Everard willingly assented, and offered fifteen hundred pounds towards defraying the expences of this dark design, entertained Mr Fawkes afterwards at his house (m), and, the weather being rainy, advised him, upon his return to London, to be very careful in observing that the powder was not damp; so industrious and indefatigable he was, that, when the rest of the conspirators, upon the discovery of their design, at the very point of execution, fled down into the country, they found him at Dunchurch, as had been concerted, and, in company with him, they retired towards Staffordshire, where, after a desperate defence, in which some of these unhappy men were slain (n) [D], Sir Everard Digby, and others, were taken (o). Upon the commitment of Sir Everard to the Tower, he persisted steadily to maintain his own innocence as to the Powder-treason, and absolutely denied his having knowledge of any other persons being embarked in this design, than such as were either killed or taken; in which, notwithstanding all the arguments that could be used by those noble persons before whom he was examined, he continued obstinately firm (p). This resolution of his did not proceed from any hopes of escaping, but from an earnest desire of avoiding, if possible, being the instrument of other mens ruin, or disclosing more than was already discovered, being still satisfied, that he was engaged in a good cause, and having much less concern about his life, than about the bad effects to that cause which the detection of this plot might produce (q). This, which is the strongest proof of the infatuation that may be brought upon minds naturally virtuous, appears fully from a paper of his, written under his confinement, and sent privately to his family [E]. When

he

[D] *In which some of these unhappy men were slain* ]

In this note we will give the reader a succinct account of the proceedings of the conspirators in town and country, which will shew how perfectly they had concerted their measures, and how punctual they were in executing each the part that had been assigned him. The 4th of November fell that year upon a Sunday, and it was past twelve at night when search was made under the Parliament-house, and Mr Guy Fawkes seized there booted and spurred (10). Mr Piercy had early notice of this, and set out of town about four in the morning. Mr Catesby was gone the night before. Mr Winter and the two Wrights soon followed (11). We come now to another part of the conspiracy, still stranger than any of the rest, which is this: there was one John Grant, Esq; a zealous Papist, who lived near Warwick, who having collected several persons of his own principles, and determined courage, went on Monday night, about the very time that Fawkes was seized in London, broke open the stables of one Mr Bennock at Warwick, who made it his business to break horses for the menage, and took those of several gentlemen that were in his hands, and coming well armed, and being now well mounted, made the best of their way to Dunchurch, where they found Sir Everard Digby and his party ready (12), and, on Wednesday the 7th of November, being joined by their accomplices from London, and knowing all their hopes had failed them there, they resolved, as their last resource, openly to take up arms, and Father Tesmond, *alias* Greenwell, a Jesuit, went into Lancashire to excite those of their religion to join them (13). They had flattered themselves with a great appearance in their favour, but they could never assemble above fourscore, nor could they depend upon many of those, or even upon their own servants (14). Sir Fulk Grevil, Deputy-Lieutenant, though an old and infirm man, seized the horses and arms of several gentlemen in his neighbourhood in Warwickshire, and made about sixteen of their followers prisoners (15). Sir Richard Verney, High-Sheriff of the county, likewise took some of them (16).

On Thursday they were at Robert Winter's house, where they had absolution given them by Father Hammond, though in open rebellion (17). They were pursued through Worcestershire by Sir Richard Walsli, which forced them to take shelter at Holbitch, the seat of Stephen Lyttleton, in Staffordshire, where Sir Richard, who was Sheriff of Worcestershire, with the people who came in to his assistance, surrounded them (18). He sent a trumpet to summon them to surrender, promising to intercede with the King to spare their lives, for as yet they had no notice of the Powder Treason; but the conspirators rejected this offer with contempt, and prepared to defend themselves as well as they could. This was on the Friday, and finding their powder damp, they placed a small parcel in a pan before the fire, upon a bag which held seventeen or eighteen pounds; a servant, who knew nothing of this, throwing some wood upon the fire, a spark flew out into the pan, which blew up all the powder, together with the roof of the house, and at the same time wounded Catesby, Rookwood, and Grant (19). About eleven o'clock the Sheriff, and those with him, attacked the house, when Thomas Winter was shot in the shoulder, both the Wrights were killed, Ambrose Rookwood fell soon after; then as Winter, Catesby, and Piercy, were standing together, the two last were shot through by the same ball, Winter, being hurt in the belly by a pike, was taken (20), and upon this the rest submitted and were sent up to London, excepting Robert Winter and Stephen Lyttleton, who for some weeks hid themselves (21). Francis Tresham stayed in town, and for some time preserved his liberty, but was at length seized, made an ample confession, but finding himself in a dying condition with the strangury, denied again what he had said that it might be of no use (22).

[E] *And sent privately to his family.* While Sir Everard Digby was prisoner in the Tower, he wrote in juice of lemon or otherwise, upon slips of paper, as opportunity offered, and got these conveyed to his Lady, by such as had permission to see him.

These

(i) Discourse of the manner of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, p. 40, 41—47.

(k) Hist. of the Powder Treason, Lond. 1681. 4to. p. 9.

(l) See Sir Everard Digby's own account of this matter in note [F].

(m) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 247.

(n) Discourse of the manner of the discovery of the Powder Plot, p. 69, 70.

(o) Hist. of the Powder Treason, p. 18.

(p) See the preface to Sir Everard Digby's private papers.

(q) This manifestly appears from the whole substance of his private papers, written by him under his condemnation.

(10) Discourse of the manner of the discovery, &c. p. 36.

(11) See Thomas Winter's confession, dated 23d Nov. 1605. annexed to the manner of the discovery.

(12) Hist. of the Gunpowder Treason, p. 16, 17.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Discourse of the manner of the discovery, &c. p. 64.

(15) Ibid. p. 65.

(16) Hist. of the Powder Treason, p. 17.

(17) Echard's Hist. England, p. 383.

(18) Proceedings against the Treasons, p. 123.

(19) Discourse of the manner of the discovery, p. 69, 70.

(20) Hist. of Powder Treason, p. 18.

(21) But the King's proclamation was first sent down into the country, reciting they should be taken alive.

(22) Proceedings against the Treasons, p. 147.

he was brought to his trial at Westminster, January 27th, 1605-6; he was indicted for being acquainted with and concealing the Powder-treason, taking the double oath of Secrecy and Constancy, and acting openly, with other traytors, in rebellion; to which indictment he pleaded guilty (r). After this he endeavoured to extenuate his offence, by shewing the motives to it, which have been before explained; then requested, that, as he had been alone in the crime, he might alone bear the punishment, without extending it to his family, that his debts might be paid, and that he might be beheaded; to which he received no favourable answer (s). Yet the Earls of Northampton and Salisbury, of whom the latter owned him for his relation, spoke mildly to him, and shewed him how very little service his behaviour had done him, since Fawkes confessed, that he was acquainted with the Powder-treason; and many other things, which he had laboured to conceal, were, by other means, found out (t). But, whatever he might say in his examinations, certain it is, that, upon his having some notice of it's being thought, by his own party, a very wild and ill-concerted enterprize, in which he engaged, he could write a very clear defence against this imputation, though he refused to make any when his life was at stake; so much more did he fear reproach amongst those of his own communion, than a violent and ignominious death [F]. Yet, after sentence of death was passed,

(r) State Trials, Vol. 1. p. 244.

(s) See the Attorney-General Coke's answer to his petition.

(t) See their speeches at his trial.

These notes, or advertisements, were preserved by the family as precious relicks, till, in the month of September 1675, they were found at the house of Charles Cornwallis, Esq; executor to Sir Kenelm the son of Sir Everard Digby, by Sir Rice Rudd, Baronet, and William Wogan, of Gray's-Inn, Esq; (23). The first of these papers runs thus:

I have not named any, either living or dead, that should have hurt my Lord Salisbury, and only intended these general informations, to procure me access of some friend, that I might inform my knowledge, for I never intended to hurt any creature, though it would have gained me all the world. As yet they have not got of me the affirming that I know any Priest particularly, nor shall ever do to the hurt of any but myself. At my first examination the Earl of Salisbury told me, that some things should be affirmed against me by Gerrat the Priest, who, saith he, I am sure you know well. My answer was, if I might see him I would tell him whether I knew him or no, but by that name I did not know him; nor at Mrs Vauxe's, as he said I did, for I never saw a Priest there. Yesterday I was before Mr Attorney and my Lord Chief-Justice, who asked me if I had taken the sacrament to keep secret the plot as others did? I said that I had not, because I would avoid the question of at whose hands it were. They told me that five had taken it of Gerard, and that he knew of the plot, which I said was more than I knew.

Now for my intention, let me tell you, that if I had thought there had been the least sin in the plot, I would not have been of it for all the world, and no other cause drew me to hazard my fortune and life, but zeal to God's religion. For my keeping it secret it was caused by certain belief, that those which were best able to judge of the lawfulness of it, had been acquainted with it, and given way unto it. More reasons I had to persuade me to this belief than I dare utter, which I will never to the suspicion of any, though I should to the rack for it, and as I did not know it directly that it was approved by such, so did I hold it in my conscience the best not to know any more if I might.

I have, before all the Lords, cleared all the Priests in it for any thing that I know, but now let me tell you what a grief it hath been to me, to hear that so much condemned, which I did believe would have been otherwise thought on by Catholicks; there is no other cause but this which hath made me desire life, for when I came into prison death would have been a welcome friend unto me, and was most desired, but when I heard how Catholicks and Priests thought of the matter, and that it should be a great sin that should be the cause of my end, it called my conscience in doubt of my very best actions and intentions in question, for I knew that myself might easily be deceived in such a business, therefore I protest unto you, that the doubts I had of my own good state, which only proceeded from the censure of others, caused more bitterness of grief in me, than all the miseries that ever I suffered, and only this caused me to wish life, till I might meet with a ghostly friend. For some good space I could do nothing, but

with tears ask pardon at God's hands for all my errors, both in actions and intentions, in this business, and in my whole life, which the censure of this, contrary to my expectation, caused me to doubt. I did humbly beseech that my death might satisfy for my offence, which I should and shall offer most gladly to the giver of my life. I assure you, as I hope in God, that the love of all my estate and worldly happiness did never trouble me, nor the love of it since my imprisonment did ever move me to wish life. But if that I may live to make satisfaction to God and the world, where I have given any scandal, I shall not grieve if I should never look living creature in the face again. And besides that deprivations endure all worldly misery, I shall not need to clear any living body either private or publick, for I never named any body, but reported that those that are dead did promise that all forces in those parts about Mr Talbot would assist us, but this can hurt nothing, for they openly spoke it. You must be careful how you send, for Mr Lieutenant hath stayed the \* \* \* \* book, but take no notice of it. Let my brother see this, or know the contents; tell him I love his sweet comforts as my greatest jewel in this place. If I can I will convey in the tables a copy of a letter which I sent yesterday, it is, as near as I can understand, the meaning of the instruction; I perceive it works with the Lords, for I shall be sent to them. Oh how full of joy should I die, if I could do any thing for the cause which I love more than my life. Farewell my \_\_\_\_\_.

[F] *Than a violent and ignominious death.*] This, which is the last of Sir Everard's papers, is also the most material, and must appear, to every impartial reader, an incontestible proof of what the Attorney-General Coke affirmed at the trial of these conspirators, That their scheme was no more than an appendix to the plots framed by their party in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and, in a great measure, an improvement upon the scheme of Watson and Clarke on King James's coming to the throne: it runs thus (24).

My dearest, the \* \* \* \* I take at the uncharitable taking of these matters, will make me say more than ever I thought to have done. For, if this design had taken place, there could have been no doubt of other success: for that night, before any other could have brought the news, we should have known it by Mr Catesby, who should have proclaimed the heir-apparent at Charing-Cross, as he came out of town; to which purpose there was a proclamation drawn, if the Duke had not been in the House, then was there a certain way laid for the possessing him; but, in regard of the assurance they should have been there, therefore the greatest of our business stood in the possessing the Lady Elizabeth, who, lying within eight miles of Dunchurch, we would have easily surprized before the knowledge of any doubt: this was the cause of my being there. If she had been in Rutland, then Stoaks was near, and, in either place, we had taken sufficient order to have been possessed of her; there was also courses taken for the satisfying the people if the first had taken effect, as the speedy notice of liberty and freedom

(24) The same papers, No. 9.

(21) Annexed to the Proceedings against the Traytors, and other pieces relating to the Popish Plot, printed by the orders of Mr Secretary Coventry, dated December 12th, 1678. No. 1.

passed, he seemed to be very much affected; for, making a low bow to those upon the bench, he said, *If I could bear any of your Lordships say you forgave me, I should go the more cheerfully to the gallows.* To this all the Lords answered, *God forgive you, and we do (u).* On Thursday the 30th of January Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates, were executed, pursuant to their sentence, at the west-end of St Paul's church, when Sir Everard is said to have expressed a very different sense of his crime from that which he had written concerning it after his confinement (w). But of this, and of a much more extraordinary circumstance attending his tragical departure out of this life, some notice will be taken in the notes [G]. He left at his death two young sons, who were afterwards Sir Kenelm Digby and Sir John Digby, and expressed his affection towards them by a well written and paterick paper, which he desired might be communicated to them at a fit time, as the last advice of their father. We shall take occasion, in another place, to shew how the Powder-treason was really discovered, and by whom (x); at present it may not be amiss to observe, that even this second part of the design, in which Sir Everard Digby was to have acted, was likewise timely discovered, and, as the plot proved the ruin of Sir Everard, so that discovery was the rise of his relation. For the Lord Harrington, who had the care of the Princess Elizabeth, having received some intimation of an intention to seize her, immediately sent up John Digby, a younger son of the Lord Digby's, to Court, with an account of all he knew; where the young Gentleman told his tale so well, as to acquire thereby the King's good graces, who, not long after, knighted him (y), employed him in a long negotiation in Spain, and, September 15th, 1622, created him Earl of Bristol. His son was the famous George Lord Digby, who, while he bore that title, made so great a figure in the House of Commons, was Secretary of State afterwards to King Charles I, and, succeeding to his father's title, attended King Charles the Second in his exile, was installed Knight of the Garter in the month of April 1661, and made a great figure throughout that reign. He was succeeded

(u) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 247.

(w) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 384.

(x) See the article of HABINGTON (THOMAS) in this Dictionary.

(y) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 436.

' from all manner of slavery, as the ceasing of wardships and all monopolies, which, with change, would have been more plausible to the people if the first had been, than it is now. There was also a course taken to have given present notice to all Princes, and to associate them with an oath answerable to the League in France. I have not uttered any of these things, nor ever thought to do. For my going from Dunchurch I had this reason; first, I knew that Fawkes could reveal me, for I must make choice of two besides Mr Catesby, which I did of him and Mr Winter; I knew he had been employed in great matters, and, till torture, sure he carried it very well: secondly, we all thought, if we could procure Mr Talbot to rise that \*\*\*\*\* party, at least, to a composition \*\*\*\*\* that was not little, because we had in our company his son-in-law, who gave us some hope of, and did not much doubt of it. I do answer your speech with Mr Brown thus: Before that I knew any thing of the plot, I did ask Mr Farmer what the meaning of the Pope's brief was; he told me, that they were not (meaning Priests) to undertake or procure flirts, but yet they would not hinder any, neither was it the Pope's mind they should, that should be undertaken for Catholick good. I did never utter thus much, nor would not but to you; and this answer, with Mr Catesby's proceedings with him and me, gave me absolute belief, that the matter in general was approved, though every particular was not known. I dare not take that course that I could, to make it appear less odious, for divers were to have been brought out of the danger, which now would rather hurt them than otherwise. I do not think there would have been three worth saving that should have been lost; you may guess that I had some friends that were in danger, which I had prevented; but they shall never know it. I will do as much as my partner wisheth; and it will then appear, that I have not hurt or accused one man; and howsoever I might, in general, possess them with fear, in hope to do the cause good, yet my care was ever to lose my own life rather than hurt the unworthiest member of the Catholick Church. Tell her, I have ever loved her and her house, and, though I could never shew it, I will not live to manifest the contrary. Her Go: I hope will remember me, who I am, temporal respects, indebted to: your sister salute from me, whose noble mind to me, in this misery, I will never \*\*\*\*\* my Lord of Arundel may do much with the Lord and the Queen. One that you write of, which dearly loveth him, and is dearly loved of him again, can tell him that I love him, and did

' manifest it in his fight, and he might have found it; last time as I saw him was in his company as I think. I am sure when this was, he was there. If your mother were in town, you should do it, to \*\*\*\*\* her. Farewell, and where you cannot understand, send to me by your next, and I will explain.'

[G] *Some notice will be taken in the notes* ] We have a pretty full account of the manner in which Sir Everard and his accomplices finished their days; and that too penned within a very short time after it happened: it runs thus (25). ' Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, according to their judgment, were drawn, hanged, and quartered, at the west-end of St Paul's Church, in London, where all but Grant died very penitent; Sir Everard Digby protested, from the bottom of his heart, he asked forgiveness of God, the King, the Queen, the Prince, and all the Parliament; and, if that he had known it at first to have been so foul a treason, he would not have concealed it to have gained a world, requiring the people to witness he died penitent and sorrowful for this vile treason, and confident to be saved in the merits of his sweet Saviour Jesus, &c. He prayed kneeling about half a quarter of an hour, often bowing his head to the ground; in the same manner they all prayed, but no voice heard saving now and then, O Jesu, Jesu, save me, and keep me, &c. Which words they repeated many times upon the ladder. Friday, the last of January, in the Parliament-Yard at Westminster, were executed, as the former, Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Keyes, and Fawkes; which Fawkes, at his death, was more penitent than any of the rest, and besought all Catholics never to attempt any such bloody act, being a course which God did never favour nor prosper. Keyes, in obstinacy, cohered much with Grant; they all craved testimony that they died Roman Catholics; their quarters were placed over London gates, and their heads upon the Bridge.' It is very strange, that no notice at all should be taken, in this account, of that extraordinary circumstance which Mr Wood mentions as a thing generally known (26), That, when the executioner plucked out his heart, and, according to the manner, held it up, saying, *Here is the heart of a traitor*, Sir Everard made answer, *Thou liest*. This, continues Mr Wood, a most famous author mentions, but tells us not his name. This famous author is the Lord Bacon (27), and the passage referred to is this. ' We ourselves indeed remember to have seen the heart of a man who was embowelled, according to the custom amongst us in the execution of traitors, which, being thrown into the fire, as is usual, sprung up at first six foot high, and continued leaping

(25) Stowe's Annals, continued by Howes, p. 88.

(26) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1.

(27) Historiæ Vitæ & M.

succeeded by his son John, who died in 1698, without issue, in whom the title became extinct, his younger brother Francis being killed in the Dutch war (z).

(z) Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 35.

leaping gradually lower and lower between seven and eight minutes, as far as our memory reaches. There is also an old and credible tradition, of an ox that lowed after it was embowelled. But it is more certain that a man, who suffered in the manner we have before-mentioned, his entrails being taken out, and his heart almost torn away, and in the hands of the hangman, was heard to utter three or four words of a prayer, which, we say, is more credible than what is reported of the sacrifice, because the friends of

such criminals are wont to give money to the executioner, that he may be the quicker in performing his work, and the sooner put them out of their pain; whereas, in sacrifices, we see no cause why the Priests should use such extraordinary diligence. This proves no more than the possibility of such a thing in Lord Bacon's opinion, but cannot be properly applied as a proof to this particular fact, from which, in all its circumstances, it manifestly differs. E

D I G B Y (Sir KENELME) the son of the former, and a very famous Philosopher in the XVIIth century. It is extremely difficult to fix the time of his birth, there being authorities for three different days, but the 11th of June 1603 seems to have been generally received (a). It is said, that King James restored his estate to him in his infancy (b); which, however, is a mistake, since it was decided at law, that the King had no title to it. Both these points shall be cleared up in the notes [A]. At the time of his father's unfortunate death he was with his mother at Gothurst, being then but in the third year of his age. He seems to have been taken early out of her hands, since it is certain that he renounced the errors of Popery very young, and was carefully bred in the Protestant religion chiefly, as there is good reason to believe, under the direction of Archbishop Laud (c), then Dean of Gloucester, who had a very great affection for him, and who had reclaimed a near relation of his from Popery (d). In 1618 Mr Kenelme Digby was sent to the University, and entered of Gloucester-Hall (e), where the direction of his studies was committed to Mr Thomas Allen, one of the most learned and able men of those times (f); though he had another member of that society for his Tutor. His being recommended to Mr Allen was a great advantage to our young student, for he quickly discerned the natural strength of his faculties, and that spirit of penetration which is so seldom met with in persons of his age. He took pains, therefore, to shew him the right method of applying

(b) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 29.

(c) In this point that Prelate was remarkably vigilant.

(d) Wharton's History of the Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud.

(e) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 383.

(f) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(a) Johnson's Underwoods, p. 243. See also Ferrar's Epitaph on Sir K. D.

(1) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 383. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(2) Dr Richard Napier's Collection of Nativities, in the Ashmolean Library. John Gadbury's Almanack for the year 1673.

(3) In his Underwoods, p. 243.

(4) This appears from Sir Kenelme Digby's own letter upon that subject.

(5) See that epigraph at the close of this article.

(6) It is to be observed, that the article of DIGBY (Sir KENELME) is an additional one, not to be ascribed to Bayle himself.

(7) In which the article is barely copied from Bayle.

[A] Shall be cleared up in the notes.] The famous Antiquary of Oxford is clear and positive, that the birth of this gentleman ought to be fixed to the 11th of July 1603 (1), in support of which he quotes two authorities that have very great weight with him, but not altogether so great with me (2). As to Dr Napier of Buckinghamshire, his work is written in a very bad hand, and I could give more instances than one, of nativities in his book, that disagree with the parish registers of persons to whom they belong, and therefore an entry therein ought not to be looked upon as decisive. Again, as to Mr Gadbury, there is great probability that his date was borrowed from Dr Napier's book, and if it was not, the same exceptions lie against it as have been urged against that. In the life-time of Sir Kenelme there is no doubt that the 11th of June was taken to be his birth-day. The famous Ben. Johnson, in a copy of verses to his honour; speaking of a feat in which he commanded, and of his undaunted courage, says (3),

*Witness thy action done at Scanderoon,  
Upon thy birth-day the eleventh of June.*

These two verses indeed do more honour to the hero than the Poet, but a man must have a strange opinion of Johnson's judgment, to believe he would falsify a date for the sake of such poetry. Mr Wood indeed says, and very truly, that this action was not upon the 11th but upon the 16th of June (4), which is indeed a proof that the Poet mistook the date of the battle, but not at all that he missed that of the birth-day, for sixteenth would have run as well, at least no worse, than eleventh. After Sir Kenelme's death, we find the very same day, I mean the eleventh of June, fixed upon in his epitaph (5), and therefore it seems to have been the true date. In the fourth edition of Bayle's Dictionary (6), and in all the late editions of Moreri (7), there is an article of our author, in which the day of his birth and of his death is said to be the eleventh of March, but whence this date was borrowed it is impossible to conceive, because I know not of any writer that has fixed either his death or his birth upon that day. But enough of this; let us now speak of the estate of the family. The dispute about it was deter-

mined in the Court of Wards, in Michaelmas term the eighth of King James, that is, in 1610, and in what manner, the reader shall learn from the best authority (8). 'Sir Everard Digby, seized in fee of the manor of Stoke in the county of Rutland, and of the manor of Tilton in the county of Leicester, held (by way of admittance) of the King, by Knights service in capite, by act executed in his life-time, and before any treason by him committed, conveyed the said manors to the use of himself for life, and afterwards to the use of his eldest son and heir apparent in tail, with divers remainders over to his other issues. And afterwards the said Sir Everard Digby was attainted and executed, for the heinous and horrible powder treason, committed after the said conveyance, his eldest son being then within age. The question was, Whether the wardship of the body, or of the third part of the said manors, should be to the King by force of the statutes of 32 and 34 H. VIII? And it was resolved by the two Chief-Justices, the Chief Baron, and the whole Court of Wards, that the King shall never have wardship or primer-feisin, but where there is an heir general or special. For the said statutes of 32 and 34 H. VIII. give wardship or primer-feisin to the King, in divers cases where there is no descent, as if the King's tenant conveys his land for the advancement of his wife, preferment of his children, or payment of his debts, but doth not give wardship or primer-feisin in any case, where there is not any heir general or special, because wardship or primer-feisin ought to be of the land of some ancestor who has an heir.' Thus it appears a certain writer was mistaken in affirming, that, at the request of his Queen, King Charles I. restored Sir Kenelme Digby to the large estate of his ancestors (9). His father had taken due care in this respect, and it seems was very well advised (10), yet he died under great concern even as to that point, for discovering, when it was too late, the universal odium attending the Popish-powder-plot, and fearing this might prejudice even Courts of justice, or excite the Parliament in so very extraordinary a case, to make some law *ex post facto*, for increasing the punishment of such as were concerned in it, he not only doubted, but seems to have died under a persuasion, that his estate would be confiscated (11).

(8) Coke's Reports, P. viii. fo. 166.

(9) Lloyd's Loyall Sufferers, p. 580.

(10) Wright's Antiquities of Rutlandshire, p. 114.

(11) See his private papers.

(g) Spoken probably of the universality of his genius.

(b) Lloyd's *Loyal Sufferers*, p. 581.

(i) Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 351. Digby of *Bodies*, p. 308, 309.

(12) Extract from Sir Kenelme Digby's discourse upon the sympathetick powder.

applying his wonderful capacity, which he frequently compared to that of the so much celebrated wit of Italy Picus de Mirandula (g), to the sublimer parts of Philosophy; so that notwithstanding his stay at Oxford was but between two and three years, yet, upon his leaving that University in 1621, in order to travel, he was considered as a very extraordinary person, and such high expectations of him raised, as he lived afterwards to fulfil (b). Having made the tour of France, Spain, and Italy, and having been in all places remarkably well received, he returned to England in 1623; and being presented to the King, at the Lord Mountague's house at Hinchinbroke, on the 23d of October the same year, with high commendations of his learning, he there received the honour of knighthood in the presence of Charles Prince of Wales and the famous Duke of Buckingham, then just returned out of Spain, where Mr Digby had attended on his Royal Highness, as himself informs us (i). In a very short time after Sir K. Digby rendered himself very remarkable, by the happy application of a secret which he met with in his travels, as to which we will, from his own authority, inform the reader fully in the notes [B]. After the demise of King James,

[B] *In the notes.*] This secret of his was that which has since made so much noise in the world, under the title of the sympathetick powder, the virtues of which were, as he assures us, thoroughly enquired into by King James, his son the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Buckingham, with other persons of the highest distinction, and all was registered among the observations of the great Chancellor Bacon, to add, by way of appendix, to his *Natural History* (12). The matter of fact on which this was grounded, take in his own words: 'Mr James Howell, well known for his publick works, and particularly his *Dendrologies*, endeavouring to part two of his friends engaged in a duel, seized, with his left hand, the hilt of the sword of one of the combatants, and with his right hand laid hold of the blade of the other. They, being transported with fury one against the other, struggled to rid themselves of the hindrance their friend made, that they should not kill one another, and one of them roughly drawing the blade of his sword, cut to the very bone, the nerves, and muscles of Mr Howell's hand, and then the other, disengaging his hilt, gave a cross-blow on his adversary's head, which glanced towards his friend, who, heaving up his fore hand to save the blow, he was wounded on the back of his hand, as he had been before within. The two combatants, seeing Mr Howell's face besmeared with blood by heaving up his wounded hand, left fighting at once, and ran to embrace him, and having searched his hurts, they bound up his hand with one of his garters to close the veins, which were cut and bled abundantly. They brought him home, and sent for a surgeon, but this being heard at Court, the King sent one of his own surgeons, for his Majesty much affected the said Mr Howell.

'It was my chance to be lodged hard by him, and four or five days after, as I was making myself ready, he came to my house, and prayed me to view his wounds, for I understand, said he, that you have extraordinary remedies upon such occasions, and my surgeons are apprehensive that it might grow to a gangrene, and so the hand must be cut off. In effect, his countenance discovered that he was in much pain, which he said was insupportable, in regard of the extreme inflammation. I told him I would willingly serve him, but if haply he knew the manner how I would cure him, without touching or seeing him, it may be he would not expose himself to my manner of curing, because he would think it, perhaps, either ineffectual or superstitious. He replied, that the wonderful things which many have related unto me of your way of curing, make me nothing at all doubt of it's efficacy. I asked him then for any thing that had the blood upon it, so he presently sent for his garter wherewith his hand was first bound, and having called for a basin of water, as if I would wash my hands, I took a handful of powder of vitriol which I had in my study, and presently dissolved it. As soon as the bloody garter was brought me, I put it within the basin, observing in the mean while what Mr Howell did, who stood talking with a gentleman in a corner of my chamber, not regarding at all what I was doing, but he started suddenly, as if he had found some strange alteration in himself. I asked him What he ailed? I know not what ails me, replied he, but I find that I feel no more pain; methinks that a pleasing kind of freshness, as if a wet cold napkin did spread over my

hand, has taken away the inflammation that tormented me before. I answered, since you feel already so good an effect of my medicament, I advise you to cast away all your plaisters, only keep the wound clean, and in a moderate temper betwixt heat and cold. This was presently reported to the Duke of Buckingham, and a little after to the King, who were both very curious to know the circumstance of the business, which was, that after dinner I took the garter out of the water, and put it to dry before a great fire. It was scarce dry but Mr Howell's servant came running, that his master felt as much burning as ever he had done, if not more, for the heat was such, as if his hand were betwixt coals of fire; I answered that though that had happened at present, yet he should find ease in a short time, for I knew the reason of this accident, and I would provide accordingly, for his master should be free from that inflammation, it may be before he could possibly return unto him, but in case he found no ease, I wished him to come presently back again; if not he might forbear coming. Thereupon he went, and at the instant I did put again the garter into the water, he found his master without any pain at all.

'King James, who had received a punctual information of what had happened, would fain know how it was done. I readily told him what the author, of whom I had the secret, said to the Great Duke of Tuscany on the like occasion: it was a religious Carmelite, who came from the Indies and Persia to Florence, he had also been in China, and having done many strange cures with his powder, after his arrival in Tuscany, the Duke said he would be very glad to learn it of him. The Carmelite answered, that it was a secret he had learnt in the Oriental parts, and he thought there was not any person in Europe who knew it but himself, and that it deserved not to be divulged, which could not be done if his Highness meddled with the practice of it, because he was not likely to do it with his own hand, but must trust a surgeon, or some other servant, so that in a short time divers others would come to know it as well as himself. But a few months after, I had an opportunity to do an important courtesy to the said Fryar, which induced him to discover unto me his secret, and the same year he returned to Persia, so that now there is no other knows this secret in Europe but myself. The King replied, that I need not be apprehensive that he would discover any thing, for he would not trust any body in the world to make experience of his secret, but that he would do it with his own hands, and therefore desired some of the powder, which I delivered, instructing him in all the circumstances, whereupon his Majesty made fundry proofs, whence he received singular satisfaction.'

If any inquisitive reader should demand, whether the Lord Bacon ever published this account or not, the answer must certainly be in the negative, and yet no inference can be fairly drawn from thence to the prejudice of Sir Kenelme Digby's relation, first, because that noble Philosopher never published his Appendix to his *Natural History*, and next, because in that very work, he has given us of his own knowledge, and indeed as to his own person, a relation to the full as strong as this, though of another kind (13). He tells us he had a wart from his childhood upon one of his fingers, and that being at Paris when he was about sixteen years

(13) Bacon's *Natural History*, century 10. No. 997, 998 old,

James, he made as great a figure in the new Court, though he was not remarkable for paying his homage to the great favourite. He became, notwithstanding, a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, a Commissioner of the Navy, and a Governor of Trinity-House (k); which employments, if they added but little to the weight of his purse, served however to heighten his reputation. Some disputes having happened with the Venetians in the Mediterranean, by which the English trade suffered, as well as by the depredations committed by the Algerines, Sir Kenelme Digby sailed with a small Squadron thither in the summer of 1628, took several armed vessels belonging to the Infidels, setting the English slaves that were on board at liberty; and, on the 16th of June, having gained a considerable victory with a very inferior force, he likewise brought the Venetians to reason; so that as he left England with a very high character as a Scholar, he returned to it with no less credit as a gallant Soldier, and a wise Commander (l). After his coming back to England, his antient friend, and director of his studies, Mr Thomas Allen, of Gloucester-Hall, died there, full of years and reputation, having collected an excellent library of manuscripts as well as printed books, many of which last he rendered as valuable as the first, by inserting his learned notes in their margins; all which, as a testimony of his affection and esteem for his eminent abilities, he bestowed, by his will, upon Sir Kenelme Digby (m). This was in the year 1632, and Sir Kenelme, considering the great value of the manuscripts, how much they were esteemed in the University, and how serviceable they might prove to such as consecrated the greatest part of their time to their studies, most generously bestowed them, the very next year, upon the Bodleian Library (n). Sir Kenelme continued, to this time, a Member of the Church of England, but going some time afterwards into France, he began to have some religious scruples, occasioned, as it is supposed, by the vigorous sollicitations of several zealous Ecclesiasticks of the first rank; and having applied himself, for about two years, to the perusal of books of controversy, though, as he himself confessed, all of the same side, he, at length, changed his sentiments, and, in 1636, reconciled himself to the Church of Rome (o); which, as it gave very great uneasiness to his friends in England, so to none more than to Archbishop Laud, who had borne him for many years a very particular affection (p). This occasioned his writing to that Prelate a very large apology for his conduct, who returned him a very ample answer, full of tenderness and good advice, which is still extant, and does great honour to the Archbishop's memory (q) [C]. His Grace had very little hopes that these admonitions would operate on the mind of Sir Kenelme Digby, which was certainly carried

(k) See the article of DIGBY (KENELME) in Bayle.

(l) Sir Kenelme's Letter on this subject. J. Ingham's Underwood, p. 245. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 357.

(m) See the article of ALLEN (THOMAS). Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 357.

(n) See the preface to the catalogue.

(o) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 357.

(p) Sir Kenelme, apprehensive of this, wrote to that Prelate very early, to give him an account of it.

(q) Wharton's Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud, Vol. I. p. 610.

old, he had a great number of warts that broke out on both hands in a month's time, upon which the English Ambassador's Lady caused them to be rubbed with a piece of bacon with the rine on, which she nailed upon the post of her window, which looked to the south, and the consequence of that was, that in the space of five weeks all the warts died away, and amongst them that which he had for several years. His Lordship likewise gives the receipt for making the weapon salve in the same place, upon which he makes several very judicious remarks.

The celebrated Mr Bayle, in a letter of his dated March 27, 1697, has the following passage, which may prove acceptable to the curious reader (14). 'It is some time ago that I mentioned to you a Physician in Friezeland, who has performed several cures without giving any thing to his patients. He contents himself with mingling with their urine somewhat, which, as the malady requires, either sweats, vomits, or purges. He continues this practice, and I am told he was domestick to a certain great Lord of Italy, who was sent for to the Court of Vienna to cure the Emperor, which he actually did. This man discovered his master's secret and has set up for himself. Yet he is not the only one who possesses it, for there are three others who pursue this practice as well as he; one is at Leyden, another at Antwerp, and another has been here in this city of Rotterdam for two or three months. He has been but lately in any degree of credit. His house is at present like the pool of Bethesda, all who are diseased run thither. It is certain that he has cured some, and that he has sweated a great many. The Physicians cry out against him with the utmost fury, and, as there are more in this country than in any other, who are apt to deny as impossible whatever they do not comprehend, so there are numbers who join in the same outcry with the Physicians. But not being able to deny the fact that many have been sweated, they attribute this to a prepossessed imagination. For my own part I cannot think it impossible, physically speaking, that a man should be made to sweat by having something put into his urine.' There was a German Physician, who, in the year 1700, undertook

to cure diseases in the same manner here in England (15).

[C] And does great honour to the Archbishop's memory.] This letter is dated from Lambeth, March 27, 1636. It is very large and full, written, not in decent terms only, but with great delicacy; some part of it the reader will expect to see, and we will give him what most concerns the personal history of this gentleman (16). 'Whereas you say that you have returned into that communion, who, from your birth, had right of possession in you, and therefore ought to continue it, unless clear and evident proof (which you say surely cannot be found) should have evicted you from it. Truly, Sir, I think this had been spoken with more advantage to you and your cause before your adhering to the Church of England than now; for then right of possession could not have been thought little. But now, since you deserted that communion, either you did it upon clear and evident proof, or upon apparent only. If you did it then upon clear and evident proof, Why say you now no such can be found? If you did it but upon apparent and seeming proof, a semblance of very good reason (as yourself calls it) why did you then come off from that communion till your proof were clear and evident? And why may not that which now seems clear and evident be but apparent, as well as that which then seemed clear unto you, be but semblance now? Nor would I have you say, that clear and evident proof cannot be found; for a man in this case of religion, to forego the communion which had right of possession in him from his birth: for the proposition is an universal negative, and of hard proof. And therefore, though I think I know you and your judgment so well, that I may not, without manifest wrong, charge you that you did in this great action, and so nearly concerning you, *ad pauca respicere*, which our great master tells us breeds facile and easy, rather than safe and warrantable, determinations; yet it will lie upon you not only in honour without, but also in conscience within, to be able to assure yourself, that you did *ad plurima*, if not *ad omnia respicere*. The thing being so weighty in itself, and the miserable division of Christendom (never sufficiently

(15) Oeuvres de St. Iremond, Amsterd. 1726. Tom. V. p. 348.

(16) Wharton's Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud, p. 610.

4) Oeuvres de Bayle, Tom. IV. 735.

(r) This appears from several passages in those pieces of his, as well as from the great influence he had afterwards amongst the Papists.

ried away with that veneration which he thought due to the faith of his ancestors, and for which his father was understood to have died a martyr; and, perhaps, he was also influenced by that praise which he received from all sides, upon the subject of his conversion (r). At least this is certain, that, to shew at once his parts and his sincerity, he wrote very eagerly in defence of his new, or rather old religion, that the world might take notice he was a thorough convert, and that it might seem he had done nothing precipitately, or without due consideration (s). These works of his were several times printed [D], After a long stay in France, where he was highly careffed, he came over

(s) Of which he spoke much in his letter to Archbishop Laud.

ciently to be lamented) making the doubt so great, that you who have been on both sides, must needs lie under the dispute of both sides, whether this last act of your's be not in you rather a relapse into a former sickness, than a recovery from a former fall.

But against this, the temper of your mind (you say) arms you against all censures, no slight air of reputation being able to move you. In this I must needs say you are happy: for he that can be moved from himself by the changeable breath of mens lives, more out of than in himself, and which is a misery beyond all expression, must in doubts go to other men for resolution, not to himself; as if he had no soul within him. But yet *post conscientiam fama*, and though I would not desire to live by reputation, yet I would leave no good means untried, rather than live without it. And how far you have brought yourself in question, which of these two, conscience or reputation, you have shaken by this double change, I leave yourself to judge, because you say your first was with a semblance of very good reason. And though you say again that it now appears you were then misled, yet you will have much ado to make the world think so.

The way you took in concealing this your resolution, of returning into that communion, and the reasons which you give, why you so privately carried it here, I cannot but approve. They are full of all ingenuity, tender and civil respects, fitted to avoid discontent in your friends, and scandal that might be taken by others, or contumely that might be returned upon yourself. And as are these reasons, so is the whole frame of your letter (setting aside that I cannot concur in judgment) full of discretion and temper, and so like yourself, that I cannot but love even that which I dislike in it. And though I shall never be other than that I have been to the worth of Sir Kenelme Digby, yet most heartily sorry I am, that a man, whose discourse did so much content me, should thus slide away from me before I had so much as suspicion to awaken me, and suggest that he was going. Had you put me into a dispensation, and communicated your thoughts to me before they had grown up into resolutions, I am a Priest, and would have put on what secrecy you should have commanded. A little knowledge I have, (God knows a little) I would have ventured it with you in that serious debate you have had with yourself. I have ever honoured you since I knew your worth, and I would have done all offices of a friend to keep you nearer than now you are. But, since you are gone, and settled another way, before you would let me know it, I know not now what to say to a man of judgment, and so resolved. For to what end should I treat, when a resolution is set already? so set, as that you say no clear and evident proof can be found against it: nor can I tell how to press such a man as you to ring the changes in Religion. In your power it was not to change; in mine it is not to make you change again. Therefore, to the moderation of your own heart, under the grace of God, I must and do now leave you for matter of Religion, but retaining still with me, and entirely, all the love and friendliness which your worth won from me, well knowing that all differences in opinion shake not the foundations of Religion.

Now to your postscript, and then I have done. That I am the first, and the only person, to whom you have written thus freely: I thank you heartily for it. For I cannot conceive any thing thereby, but your great respect to me, which hath abundantly spread itself all over your letter. And had you written this to me with a restraint of making it further known, I should have performed that trust: but

since you have submitted to me, what further knowledge of it I shall think fit to give to any other person, I have, as I took myself bound, acquainted his Majesty with it, who gave a great deal of very good expression concerning you, and is not a little sorry to lose the service of so able a subject. I have likewise made it known in private to Mr Secretary Cooke, who was as confident of you as myself. I could hardly believe your own letters, and he as hardly my relation. To my Secretary I must needs trust it, having not time to write it again out of my scribbled copy; but I dare trust the secrecy in which I have bound him. To others I am silent, and shall so continue, till the thing open itself; and I shall do it out of reasons very like to those which you give, why yourself would not divulge it here. In the last place, you promise yourself that the condition you are in will not hinder me from continuing to be the best friend you have. To this I can say no more, than that I could never arrogate to myself to be your best friend, but a poor, yet respectful, friend of your's I have been ever since I knew you: and it is not your change that can change me, who never yet left but where I was first forsaken, and not always there.

[D] These works of his were several times printed.]

There is nothing more common, than for persons, who have thought fit to alter their choice as to a religious system, to vindicate this conduct of theirs by writing, and the higher their station, the greater their character, the more extensive their reputation, so much the more necessary works of this kind are thought; and, without question, so much the more difficult they are found. Our author had exhibited the best excuses in his power to make, and, very probably, in the best dress, to his Grace of Canterbury; and how these were received, as well as what the nature of them might be, we may easily conjecture from the preceding note. As to those pieces which are to be the subject of this, their titles are these:

I. *A Conference with a Lady about Choice of Religion.* Paris 1638. Lond. 1654. 8vo. This was a piece written in an easy, polite, and concise stile, in which it's author was peculiarly happy; his principal aim was to secure a general approbation of his conduct, by keeping to such arguments as suited best with common understandings; and, at the same time, insinuated, that, in the choice of a religion, an uninterrupted authority of the safety of salvation, in any communion, was of high importance, and that, with regard to speculative points, liberty of opinion was not precluded. Dr Twisse, one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, wrote an answer to this treatise, which was never published.

II. *Letters between the Lord George Digby and Sir Kenelme Digby, Knight, concerning Religion.* Lond. 1651. 8vo. These letters, though printed thirteen years after, were written at the time which we have assigned them. The first, from Lord Digby to Sir Kenelme Digby, is dated November 2d, 1638, from Sherborne; and therein his Lordship attacks the authority of the Fathers with respect to Articles of Faith, in which he shews, that though Protestants, as well as Papists, frequently appeal to them in points where they think their judgments agreeable to their own doctrines, yet in others, where they differ from them, they are rejected by both; whence he infers, their authority can be decisive to neither. Sir Kenelme Digby, in his answer, dated at London, December 6th, 1638, takes a great deal of pains to apologize for the Fathers, and distinguishes between their sentiments as to Articles of Faith, and such points of doctrine in which, without prejudice to the Church, freedom of opinion may be allowed. As to the first he will have their authority decisive,

to England, and was very well received by the Queen, who, in the year 1638, employed him, and Mr Walter Mountague, in the management of an affair, that afterwards made a very great noise (t). The King was, at that time, preparing for a war with the Scots, of which we have elsewhere given the reader some account (u); and his situation, at that time, was such, as induced him to ask, as well as to accept, the assistance of such of his subjects as were able and willing to supply him with money. The Nobility led the way, and the Clergy of the Church of England contributed, in a manner, proportionable rather to their zeal than to their interest (x). The Queen taking notice of this, and being very desirous that those of her religion should not appear deficient in loyalty at such a juncture, prevailed upon the two Gentlemen before-mentioned to write a kind of circular letter to those of the Romish persuasion throughout the kingdom, in support of one of her own, to excite their liberality at this season (y). These endeavours were attended with very considerable effects, which, however, ought undoubtedly to be attributed to principles of honour rather than any thing else; for we have very good authority to prove, that this proceeding was ill relished at Rome, from whence instructions were speedily sent, to cast a damp upon the loyalty of the English Papists (y) [E]. In the month of January 1640, the House of Commons sent for Sir Kenelme Digby, in order to know how far, and upon what grounds, he had acted in this matter, which he opened to them very clearly (z); and the Queen herself also sent a message to the House, in which she stated her own concern in the matter, and the motives for her conduct; with which the House was, or at least seemed to be, satisfied (a). Yet upon an address, that his Majesty would remove such as were of the Popish Religion from Court, and more especially from his royal presence, Sir Kenelme Digby and Mr Walter Mountague were particularly named, and felt the effects of it (b). Upon the breaking out of the Civil War, Sir Kenelme Digby remaining at London, was, by the Parliament, committed prisoner to Winchester-House (c), where, however, he was treated with great respect, was visited by men of all parties, and some amongst them of the first distinction (d). At length, in the year 1643, her

decisive, though not as to the second Lord Digby, in his answer, dated at Sherborne March 29th, 1639, returns to the charge with great strength of reasoning. He shews, that rejecting such a decisive authority in the Fathers, does by no means infer a disrespect of them; and professes, that though he cannot ground his faith precisely upon what they deliver, he nevertheless believes them to have been sincerely pious and excellent persons. He observes, that, if such an authority was due to them, as is contended for, it must be chiefly attributed to those of the earliest ages; and that, with respect to the Fathers of the first three centuries, there are great disputes about the genuineness of the writings ascribed to them, and a doubtful rule can be no rule at all. He insists farther, that their authority cannot be decisive, because sometimes they contradict each other, sometimes they are inconsistent with themselves, sometimes they teach what is not either received by Protestants or Papists, and sometimes they shew a manifest want of ability in handling those subjects of which they treat. In these letters there is great civility expressed on both sides, insomuch, that few controversies have been managed with so little acrimony; which, after all, is the highest commendation that can be bestowed upon them, since the matters to which they relate had been as justly and as conclusively debated, by other as able writers, long before.

[E] Upon the loyalty of the English Papists ] We have, in as concise terms as possible, represented the matter of fact clearly in the text; from whence it appears, that the Queen was the first mover in this affair. She says in her letter, that she had ventured to answer for the zeal of the Catholics, and that, after soliciting so often in their favour, she was desirous of presenting his Majesty with some marks of their gratitude (17). For the management of this affair, an assembly was called at London, of the principal persons of that persuasion, in which Signior Con, the Pope's Nuncio to the Queen, presided, by which assembly the Queen's proposal was embraced and recommended, and, upon the letters of Digby and Mountague, treasurers were appointed in the several counties to collect his contribution, which amounted to upward of twenty thousand pounds (18). As this money was intended for the support of an army raised against the Scots, who, under pretence of religious disputes, but in reality excited by emissaries from France, were in arms against the King, it is a point of some importance to know what the sentiments were of the Court of Rome in a case of this nature; and these are preserved to us in the following paper (19).

*A Letter from the Pope to his Nuncio in England at the beginning of the War with Scotland, but badly translated.*

' You are to command the Catholics of England in general, that they suddenly desist from making such offers of men, towards this northern expedition, as we hear they have done, little to the advantage of their discretion. And likewise it is requisite, considering the penalty already imposed, that they be not too forward with money, more than what law and duty enjoins them to pay, without any innovation at all, or view of making themselves rather weaker pillars of the kingdom than they were before.

' Inform the Provincials of every order, that it is expressly prohibited no more assemblies (of what nature soever) shall admit of the Laity to have either voice or session in it, being what will be urged for a precedent, tho' it is but only an usurpation.

' Declare unto the best of the Peers and Gentlemen, by word of mouth or letter, that they ought not to express any averseness, in case the High Court of Parliament be called, nor shew any discontent at the acts which do not point-blank aim at religion, being, in general, the most fundamental law of that kingdom.

' Advise the Clergy to desist from that foolish, nay, rather, illiterate and childish custom of distinction in the Protestant and Puritan Doctrine. And, especially, this error is so much the greater, when they undertake to prove, that Protestantism is a degree nearer the Catholic Faith than the other: for, since both of them be without the verge of the Church, it's needless hypocrisy to speak of it, yea, it begets more malice than 'tis worth.

' That the Provincials are herein required to give a general warning, throughout all orders, that no religious person ought to be seduced (by any Noblemen, either Officers of the Crown, or the like, who pretend to be ecismatick) into a premunire. For he that dares not follow the truth as his conscience directs him, is not worthy to be sought or followed by any of our faith. But, on the other side, we give the like command, that whosoever is thought inclining to God in his heart, let no man be so rash to boast and speak it abroad.

' All busy enquiries are forbidden, but especially into arcana's of State.

' That none of the Church, whether Lay-Brother or Ecclesiastick, contribute so largely as they have done

(t) Whitelock's Memorial, p. 32. Oronoxon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 141.

(u) In the article DEVE-REUX (ROBERT II. Ruthworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 821.

(v) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 818.

(x) Sanderson's History of the Reign of Charles the First, p. 297. Oronoxon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 141.

(y) See what is delivered about the Lord in Rushworth's.

(z) Public Intelligence, Jan. 6. 1640. 410.

(a) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 323.

(b) See the Commons Address.

(c) This appears from his letters dated from thence.

(d) Which created great jealousies.

(17) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 818.

(18) Sir Kenelme Digby affirmed this when examined before the House of Commons in 1640.

(19) Rushworth's Collect. Vol. I. p. 821.

her Majesty the Queen-Dowager of France having vouchsafed to write a letter, with her own hand, in favour of Sir Kenelme, and to procure his liberty, it was granted upon certain terms (e), and a very respectful letter written in answer to that of the Queen upon this subject (f) [F]. Before he quitted the kingdom, however, he was summoned before a Committee of the House of Commons, in order to give an account of any knowledge he might have of transactions between Archbishop Laud and the Court of Rome, and particularly as to an offer supposed to be made to that Prelate from thence of a Cardinal's Hat; Sir Kenelme Digby assured the Committee, that he knew nothing of any such transactions, and that, in his judgment, the Archbishop was what he seemed to be, a very sincere and learned Protestant (g); of all which he took care that his Grace should be informed, as well as that his enemies were very solicitous to discover any thing that might fix an imputation of that sort upon his conduct (h). We may easily conceive, that a person of Sir Kenelme Digby's studious and philosophick genius, could not be altogether idle even while under confinement, but that his thoughts would be sometimes employed upon those sublime and important topics which had formerly furnished matter for his meditations; and accordingly we find, that, during his residence in Winchester-House, he composed two pieces at least, that soon after stole abroad into the world, and kept alive that fame which their author had acquired in better times. These two pieces regard the works of others, and may be justly esteemed judicious criticisms, as well as very learned philosophical dissertations [G]. His appearance at the Court of France, to return thanks to the Queen-Mother, for her gracious interposition in his favour, was highly acceptable to many of the learned in that kingdom, who had a very high opinion of his abilities, and were charmed with the life and freedom of his conversation, which is, on all hands, allowed to have been very agreeable, notwithstanding that spirit of envy which pursued him living, and which has not ceased to persecute his memory since his death (i). It is highly probable, that, about this time, having heard so much of the fame of Des Cartes, he resolved to go and pay him a visit at Egmond, the place he had chosen for his retreat, where he accordingly found him, and had a conversation with him upon a very remarkable subject (k); and though he did not declare to that Philosopher who he was, yet Des Cartes

(e) Archbishop Laud's Hist. of his own troubles, Aug. 3. 1643.

(f) See that letter in the note.

(g) Wharton's Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud, Vol. I. p. 209.

(h) The person employed was Mr Edward Lenthorpe.

(i) As appears from the writings of Ros, Stubbes, &c.

(k) Des Maignaux's Life of M. St Evremond, p. 41.

‘ done to the society, but dispose their charity that every order may partake alike.’

[F] Upon this subject.] Mr Wood tells us, that Sir Kenelme Digby was very active for the King in the beginning of the Civil Wars (20); but it is most probable, that he was prevented from being active, since it is very evident that he was committed to Winchester-House about the time it broke out, and continued in that confinement till he was discharged in the manner mentioned in the text. Mr Hearne has preserved the copy of a letter directed to the Queen-Regent of France, in the language of that country, a translation of which follows (21).

(20) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

(21) Walteri Hemingford Chronicon, p. 581.

Madam,  
 ‘ The two Houses of Parliament having been informed, by the Sieur de Gressy, of the desire your Majesty has, that we should set at liberty Sir Kenelme Digby; we are commanded to make known to your Majesty, that although the religion, the past behaviour, and the abilities of this Gentleman, might give just umbrage of his practising to the prejudice of the constitutions of this realm; nevertheless, having so great regard to the recommendation of your Majesty, they have ordered him to be discharged, and have authorized us farther to assure your Majesty, and their being always ready to testify to you their respects upon every occasion, as well as to advance whatever may regard the good correspondence between the two States. We remain,

Your Majesty's

Most humble servants, &c.

By whom this letter was to be sent does not appear, but, most probably, by the Committee to whom this matter was referred. In regard to the terms upon which this Gentleman was set at liberty, they will sufficiently appear from the following paper, entirely written with, as well as subscribed by, his own hand.

‘ Whereas upon the mediation of her Majesty the Queen of France, it hath pleased both Houses of Parliament to permit me to go into that kingdom; in humble acknowledgment of their favour therein, and to preserve and confirm a good opinion of my

zeal and honest intentions to the honour and service of my country, I do here, upon the faith of a Christian, and the word of a Gentleman, protest and promise, that I will, neither directly nor indirectly, negotiate, promote, consent unto, or conceal, any practice or design, prejudicial to the honour or the safety of the Parliament. And, in witness of my reality herein, I have hereunto subscribed my name, this 3d day of August, 1643.

‘ KENELME DIGBY.’

[G] As well as very learned philosophical dissertations.] Both were written in so short a space of time, and are so full of deep learning, that the reader cannot help allowing there must have been prodigious store in that magazine, which could furnish such variety and choice upon such sudden occasions.

III. Observations upon Religio Medici, occasionally written by Sir Kenelme Digby, Knt. Lond. 1643, 8vo. These observations, digested into the form of a letter, were written in the night between the 22d and 23d of December, 1642, and addressed to Edward Earl of Dorset, Sir Kenelme's great friend and patron, and who was a very great admirer of that famous piece written by the ingenious Dr Brown. Whoever peruses these observations carefully, will discern that Sir Kenelme Digby was not either so credulous, or so superstitious a man as some have represented him, and that there are many crude and hasty censures in that letter, yet there are also some very strong and sensible meditations upon very uncommon subjects.

IV. Observations on the 22d stanza, in the ninth canto of the 2d book of Spenser's Fairy Queen. Lond. 1644, 8vo. This likewise was a letter to Sir Edward Stradling, written hastily, and containing a very deep philosophical commentary upon the most mysterious verses that ever fell from the pen of their learned author, and which are thought to have been admirably explained in this discourse. Beyond all doubt, if Sir Kenelme Digby has reached the sense of his author, it does very high honour to Mr Spenser, and might kindle a spirit of emulation in such as read his excellent writings with delight, to attempt something of the same kind with respect to other obscure passages, which, cleared up in the same manner, would not fail of being very acceptable to the literary world.

[G] Which

Cartes presently discovered him by his discourse, which is a circumstance worthy of notice [H] Our author is also reported to have had many conferences with him after at Paris (l), where he spent the best part of the ensuing year in a close application to his studies, and in frequenting the assemblies of the learned in that city, where he was generally well received, and, for the reasons before assigned, greatly admired (m). He had now leisure to digest that Philosophy which he had been so long meditating, and of which he framed a system, in two parts, which, in his own language, but with a licence or privilege from the French King, he published in the following year, and which is regarded by the learned as his principal performance (n). Some have insinuated, that, in this work of his, he has taken to himself the honour of many weighty and curious observations which he met with in the writings of his learned and judicious friend Thomas Allen, of Gloucester-Hall (o); but as never any proof of this was attempted, and as Sir Kenelme Digby, in every thing he penned, had the air of an original writer, this ought, in justice, to be considered as a very groundless suggestion. We shall give the reader a more full account of these two parts of his Philosophy in the notes [I]. After the King's affairs

(l) To which some passages in his treatise on *Bad et seini* to refer.

(m) *Athen Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 332.

(n) See the titles, &c. in the note.

(o) *Athen Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 57. See also the article of ALLEN (THOMAS) in the General Dictionary.

[H] Which is a circumstance worthy of notice ] The late very ingenious and knowing M. des Maizeaux, in the life of M. St Evremond, tells us, this gentleman was informed by Sir Kenelme Digby, that, having read the writings of that great Philosopher Des Cartes, he resolved to go in person to Holland on purpose to see him (22) He did so, and found him in his retirement at Egmond. There that studious and intelligent person received and conversed with him as a stranger, but after a considerable time spent in a free and learned discourse upon a great variety of subjects, M. Des Cartes, who had seen some of his works, told him, that he did not doubt but he was the famous Sir Kenelme Digby. And if you Sir, replied the Knight, were not the illustrious M. Des Cartes, I should not have come on purpose to see you. Then Sir Kenelme Digby remarked to the Philosopher, that our speculative discoveries were indeed pretty and agreeable, but that after all they were too uncertain and unprofitable to take up a man's whole thoughts; that life was almost too short to attain to the right knowledge of necessary things; that it would be much more worthy of him, who so well understood the frame of the human body, to study ways and means to prolong it, than to apply himself to the barren speculations of Philosophy. Des Cartes assured him that he had already considered that matter, and that to render a man immortal was what he would not venture to promise, but that he was very sure it was possible to lengthen out his life to the period of the Patriarchs. When Monf. de St Evremond told M. des Maizeaux this particular, he added, that they were not ignorant in Holland that Des Cartes flattered himself he had made this discovery, and that he had heard several persons talk of it who had known that Philosopher, that Des Cartes's friends also in France knew it, and that Abbot Picot, his disciple and martyr, being persuaded that he had found out this great secret, would not believe the news of his death, and that when he was ashamed to doubt of it any longer, he cried, *'tis done and over, the world will soon be at an end!*

[I] Of these two parts of his Philosophy in the notes.] In order to treat the subject of this note as clearly and as concisely as possible, we will first give the titles of our author's works, then some observations upon them, next shew how they were received, and lastly, speak of the answers that were written to them.

V. *A Treatise of the Nature of Bodies.* Paris 1644, fol. printed again at London in 1658, 1665, and 1669, all which editions are in 4to, and to the last some other pieces of his are added.

VI. *A Treatise declaring the Operations and Nature of Man's Soul, out of which the Immortality of Reasonable Souls is evinced.* Paris 1644, fol. printed again at London 1645, 1657, 1669, all in 4to, and together with the former treatise.

VII. *Institutionum Peripateticarum libri quinque, cum Appendice Theologica de Origine Mundi,* that is, *five books of Peripatetick Institutions, together with a Theological Appendix concerning the Origin of the World.* Paris 1651, fol. This piece is added to the two former, translated into Latin by J. L. together with a preface prefixed in the same language, by Thomas Anglus, that is, Thomas White, who also translated these Peripatetick Institutions into English.

The author addresses the two treatises first mentioned, which are indeed but the first and second parts of the same work, to his son Kenelme Digby, and his epistle to him is dated at Paris, August 31, 1644, and the French King's privilege at Fontainebleau, the 26th of September in the same year. It will appear clearly to such as peruse these pieces, that our author was a man of very deep thought, extensive learning, and very happy in supporting his philosophick arguments by a very dextrous application of facts. He was entirely addicted to the Corpuscularian Philosophy, which for those times he very well understood, but his notions being for the most part very new, and the relations advanced by him very extraordinary, those who envied him took occasion from thence to treat him not only with severity but indecency, and better writers having succeeded him, have not taken the pains to expose this ill usage, perhaps to prevent the world's taking notice how much they were obliged themselves to our learned Knight. An instance will make all this plain. Our author having explained the sense of smelling, and shewn why brutes have it in so much greater perfection than human creatures, he proceeds thus (23):

Without doubt the like use men would make of this sense, had they not on the one side better means than it to know the qualities of meats: and therefore this is not much reflected upon. And on the other side, were they not continually stuffed and clogged with gross vapours of steamy meat, which are daily reeking from the table and their stomachs, and permit not purer atoms of bodies to be discerned, which require clear and uninfected organs to take notice of them. As we see it fare with dogs, who have not so true and sensible noses when they are high fed, and lie in the kitchen amidst the steams of meat, as when they are kept in their kennel with a more spare diet fit for henting.

One full example this age affordeth us in this kind, of a man whose extremity of fear wrought upon him to give us this experiment. He was born in some village of the country of Liege, and therefore among strangers he is known by the name of John of Liege. I have been informed of this story by several (whom I dare confidently believe) that have had it from his own mouth, and have questioned him with great curiosity particularly about it.

When he was a little boy there being wars in the country, as that state is seldom without molestations from abroad, when they have no distempers at home, which is an unseparable effect of a country's situation upon the frontiers of powerful neighbouring Princes that are at variance, the village of which he was, had notice of some unruly scattered troops that were coming to pillage them, which made all the people of the village flee hastily, with what they could carry with them, to hide themselves in the woods, which were spacious enough to afford them shelter, for they joined upon the forest of Ardenne. There they lay till some of their scouts brought them word that the soldiers, of whom they were in such apprehension, had fired their town and quitted it. Then all of them returned home excepting this boy, who it seemeth being of a very timorous nature, had images of fear so strong in his fancy, that first he ran farther into the wood than any of the rest, and afterwards apprehended

(23) Digby on Bodies, p. 310.

(22) Des Maizeaux's Life of M. St Evremond, p. 41.

(p) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

(q) See this fully cleared in note [L].

(r) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 542.

(s) See the preface to his father's treatise of Bodies, addressed to him.

(t) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 329.

(u) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 585.

affairs were totally ruined, this Gentleman found himself under a necessity of returning into England (p), in order to compound for his estate, as is generally said, tho' another account is given of this journey (q); but at what time he came, how long he remained here, or where he resided, is very uncertain. He met however, during his stay, with several misfortunes, still more sensible than that which brought him over. Amongst these we ought to reckon the loss of his eldest son Kenelme Digby, Esq; a young Gentleman of great hopes, with respect both to his abilities and his virtues (r). He engaged himself with the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Peterborough, the Lord Petre, and many other Noblemen and Gentlemen, who, on July 7th, 1648, appeared for the King, under the Earl of Holland, near Kingston in Surry, but, being attacked before they could well form, were obliged to retire into Huntingdonshire, where, at St Neot's, they were surprized by Colonel Adrian Scroop's regiment of horse, and, though they made a gallant defence, were totally routed; Colonel Dalbier, who till then had served the Parliament, and is said to have taught Cromwell the art of war, with Mr Digby, being slain upon the spot (s). The Parliament, notwithstanding Sir Kenelme's composition, did not, for reasons which will be hereafter mentioned, judge it proper that he should remain in England, and therefore not only ordered him to withdraw, but voted if he should afterwards, at any time, return without leave of the House first obtained, he should lose both life and estate (t). Upon this he went again into France, where he was very kindly received by Queen Henrietta-Maria, Dowager of England, to whom he had been, for some time, Chancellor, and was, not long after, sent into Italy, where he was, at first, well received by Pope Innocent X (u); but Mr Wood says he behaved to him so haughtily, that he very quickly

apprehended that every body he saw through the thickets, and every voice he heard, was the soldiers, and so hid himself from his parents that were in much distress, seeking him all about, and calling his name as loud as they could. When they had spent a day or two in vain they returned home without him, and he lived many years in the woods, feeding upon fruits, and wild roots, and mast.

He said that after he had been some time in this wild habitation, he could by the smell judge of the taste of any thing that was to be eaten, and that he could at a great distance wind by his nose where wholesome fruits or roots did grow. In this state he continued (still shunning men with as great fear as when he first ran away; so strong the impression was, and so little could his little reason master it) until, in a very sharp winter, that many beasts of the forest perished for want of food, necessity brought him to so much confidence, that, leaving the wild places of the forest, remote from all people's dwellings, he would, in the evenings, steal among cattle that were fothered, especially the swine, and among them glean that which served to sustain wretchedly his miserable life. He could not do this so cunningly, but that often returning to it, he was upon a time espied, and they who saw a beast of so strange a shape, for such they took him to be, he being naked and all overgrown with hair, believing him to be a satyr, or some such prodigious creature as the counters of rare accidents tell us of, laid wait to apprehend him. But he that winded them as far off as any beast could do, still avoided them, till at length they laid snares for him, and took the wind so advantageously of him, that they caught him, and then soon perceived he was a man, though he had quite forgotten the use of all language, but by his gestures and cries he expressed the greatest affright that might be, which afterwards he said (when he learnt to speak anew) was because he thought those were the soldiers he had hidden himself to avoid, when he first betook himself to the wood, and were always living in his fancy, through his fears continually reducing them thither.

This man, within a little while after he came to good keeping and full feeding, quite lost that acuteness of smelling which formerly governed him in his taste, and grew to be in that particular as other ordinary men were. But at his first living with other people, a woman that had compassion of him, to see a man so near like a beast, and that had no language to call for what he wished or needed to have, took particular care of him, and was always very solicitous to see him furnished with what he wanted; which made him so apply himself unto her in all his occurrences, that whensoever he stood in need of ought, if she were out of the way and were gone abroad into the fields, or to any other village near by, he would hunt her out

presently by his scent, in such sort as with us those dogs use to do which are taught to draw dry foot. I imagine he is yet alive, to tell a better story of himself than I have done, and to confirm what I have here said of him; for I have it from them who saw him but a few years ago, that he was an able strong man, and likely to last yet a good while longer.

And of another man I can speak assuredly myself, who being of a very temperate or rather spare diet, could likewise perfectly discern by his smell the qualities of whatsoever was afterwards to pass the examination of his taste, even to his bread and beer. Wherefore to conclude, it is evident both by reason and by experience, that the objects of our touch, our taste, and our smell, are material and corporeal things, derived from the division of quantity into more rare and more dense parts, and may with ease be resolved into their heads and springs, sufficiently to content any judicious and rational man.

The reception given to this work when it first appeared, may be collected from this character given of the author by one who wrote in his own time (24), *Sir Kenelme Digby is an ingenious learned gentleman, and an ornament of this nation, as his book of Bodies shews.* We might cite many writers of our own, and of the French nation, of the same standing, to vouch with equal strength in favour of his reputation; but perhaps it will be sufficient to take notice of the learned Morhoff, who had consulted most of his writings, cites them often, and speaks of their author with great applause (25). The Abbe Vallemont is a great admirer of Sir Kenelme Digby's writing (26), and applauds the sagacity with which he handles the most difficult subjects, his penetration in discovering the true causes why they were difficult, and his perspicuity in delivering his own notions.

We must not however imagine, that Sir Kenelme could make himself so famous by his writings without meeting some degree of censure, and in an age so full of cavils as that was, of opposition; accordingly, we find that he was attacked at home by Alexander Ross, a voluminous writer, who likewise undertook to disparage the abilities of Dr Hervey and Sir Thomas Brown. The title of his work was,

*The Philosophical Touchstone, or Observations upon Sir Kenelme Digby's Discourses of the Nature of Bodies, and of the Reasonable Soul, &c. in which his erroneous Paradoxes are refuted.* Lond. 1645, 4to.

He was also attacked abroad in a small treatise, intituled,

*Triumphans Anima, sive Philosophica Demonstratio immortalitatis Animæ.* Frank. 1661, 12mo. This was published under the fictitious name of Amandus Verus, which concealed John Christom Enggenfield, a very learned Bavarian, J. U. D. concerning whose history the curious reader may meet with some circumstances in the author cited in the margin (27).

[K] We

(24) Leigh's Religion and Learning, p. 180.

(25) Polyhistor II. 2, 15, 5.  
II. 2, 3, 6.  
II. 2, 8, 4.  
II. 2, 14, 2.  
II. 2, 32, 3.  
II. 2, 40, 2.  
II. 2, 47, 6.  
II. 2, 48, 1.  
III. 5, 1, 10

(26) La physique occulte, p. 1

(27) Vincen Placcii Theatrum Anonymum & Pseudonymorum, p. 38.

quickly lost his good opinion; and adds farther, that there was suspicion of his being no faithful Steward of the contributions raised in that part of the world, for the assistance of the distressed Catholics in England (w). However that matter might be, it is very certain, that he visited several other Courts in Italy, where he was treated with great respect, as well on account of his personal qualifications, as from the esteem those Princes had of the Queen his mistress (x). But, whether his conduct deserved those imputations mentioned by Mr Wood, or whether his figure and address were capable of making such impressions as another writer mentions, we have not lights sufficient to determine (y) [K]. After Cromwell had assumed the supreme power in this kingdom, Sir Kenelme Digby, who had now nothing to fear from the Long Parliament, ventured to return home (z), and continued here a great part of the year 1655, when it is very certain that he was embarked in some very great design, and, as some writers have suggested, this was, reconciling the Papists to the Protector (a). This created great jealousies against him on all sides, and the countenance he received from Cromwell, who is said to have been very much taken with him, produced no small clamour against his government (b). Whether either of them were sincere, or whether, like thorough Politicians, each acted a part which suited with their interests at that juncture, remains doubtful; but that the facts already mentioned are certainly true, and that Mr Wood has not injured Sir Kenelme in his censure (c), may be proved to the reader's satisfaction [L]. Besides all this, after

(w) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

(x) So it appears from various Letters of a person then at Rome.

(y) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

(z) Boyl's Works, Vol. V. p. 203, 2.

(a) Thuroloe's State Pleas, Vol. IV. p. 195.

(b) See this largely discussed in note [L].

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

[K] We have not lights sufficient to determine.]

It appears from the original picture of Sir Kenelme Digby still remaining, that though he was a person of the largest size, as indeed his family generally were, yet he was a very well made graceful man; his gallant action at sea, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, affords us a pregnant proof of his courage, which shewed itself also upon other occasions; and his writings, which are peculiarly calculated to enliven the driest, as well as to enlighten the darkest subjects, cannot leave us in any doubt as to the faculties of his mind. But that with all these high qualities he had his imperfections, who can doubt? Of what nature these failings were the reader must collect, as well as he can, from Mr Wood's account, which is this (28): 'He was not only master of a good graceful and judicious stile, but also wrote an admirable hand both fast and Roman. His person was handsome and gigantick, and nothing was wanting to make him a compleat Cavalier. He had so graceful elocution and noble address, that had he been dropped out of the clouds into any part of the world, he would have made himself respected; but the Jesuits who cared not for him, spoke spitefully, and said it was true, but then he must not stay there above six weeks. He had a great faculty, which proceeded from abundance of wit and invention, of proposing and reporting matters to the Virtuosi, especially to the Philosophical Assembly at Montpellier, and Royal Society at home. Which is the reason why many say, that as he was most exactly accomplished with all sorts of learning, so he was guilty withal of extravagant vanities.'

Mr Lloyd (29), who likewise wrote when things were fresh in memory, bestows a better character on our illustrious Knight, who he reports of a fluent invention and discourse, as appears from his long discourse at Montpellier in France, and his entertainments of the Ladies of the several nations he travelled in; of a great faculty in negotiations both at France, Rome, and Florence, and most of the states of Italy, of one of the Princes whereof it is reported, that, having no children, he was very willing his wife should bring him a Prince by Sir Kenelme, whom he imagined the just measure of perfection.

[L] May be proved to the reader's satisfaction]

In the articles relating to our author inserted in foreign collections, his loyalty to King Charles I, his steady attachment to King Charles II, and his averring himself to be of the Romish religion at the peril of his life, are extolled as so many acts of heroism (30). As it is our business to discover truth, we are under a necessity of observing, that this gentleman has no title to these praises, and that whatever tincture of envy there might be in the censures passed upon his Philosophical character, what is said to the prejudice of his political behaviour will admit of no such extenuation. His practices in favour of the Catholics, with those who murdered King Charles I. began early, as appears from the following passages in a letter from the Lord Byron to the Marquis of Ormond (31), dated from Caen in Normandy, March 1, 1649, N. S. 'In

' some letters from good hands I meet with a particular of great concernment, which I thought fit to advertise your Excellency of by this bearer, Major Jamot, who, though a Roman Catholic, yet herein so much detests their ways, that truly I believe it will alter his opinion. The business is briefly this: Sir Kenelme Digby, with some other Romanists, accompanied with one Watson an Independent, who hath brought them passes from Fairfax, is gone for England to join the interests of all the English Papists with that bloody party that murdered the King, in the opposition and extirpation of monarchical government, or if that government be thought fit, yet that it shall be by election, and not by succession as formerly provided; that a free exercise of the Romish religion be granted, and of all other religions whatsoever, excepting that which was established by law in the Church of England. This devilish design, which most certainly is now setting on foot, I doubt may have an ill influence upon Ireland, especially upon O-Neil's party, if not prevented by your vigilance and prudence. Poyntz (my Lord of Worcester's devil) I hear is a prime actor in it, and it is much suspected that Walsingham, whom your Excellency knows for a pragmatistical knave, and I believe comes over in Darcy's frigate, is employed by Sir K. Digby, though pretending some other business. Sir Edward Nicholas either hath, or will write to your Excellency, concerning this particular, and Major Jamot is able to say something in it. I am the apter to believe it, because, when I was in England, something to this purpose was propounded by the Independent party to the Recusants.' This was followed by a letter from Secretary Nicholas, inclosing a letter from Dr Winstad, a Physician of the Romish religion at Rouen, dated February 7, 1649, in which he gives the following account of the same journey, from his own knowledge (32): 'Tuesday last arrived here Sir Kenelme Digby from Paris, with divers young gentlemen in his company, only there was a wry-necked fellow amongst them, which Sir Kenelme commended to my acquaintance and care, as being he said in a consumption, and for that cure had changed the air and came into France, but was now going into England, with an intention to return within sixteen or twenty days, and then would stay here, or go into Lauguedoc for his health. Feeling his hand and pulse, I assured him that he was in no consumption nor never had been. Afterwards I perceived that this was but a pretence, and that he was an agent for that accursed crew, his name Watson, Scoutmaster to the rebels. I spake freely my mind of the murder, and the judgment that was made here by the French; his answer was, that the French abhorred the fact in general. I spared no curses, for I assure myself it is no sin to curse the enemies of God and my King. I asked Sir Kenelme Digby why he would go now into England, considering the abomination of that country; his answer was, that he had not any means to subsist longer; and if he went not now he must starve. I answered

(32) Ibid. p. 220.

(28) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 351.

(29) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 582.

(30) See the article of DIGBY & KENELME Bayle and Meri.

(31) Collection of original letters & papers found amongst those of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 216.

(d) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 244.

(e) See the ground of this letter in that last referred to. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 591.

Sir Kenelme had left England, and was again in France, we find him not only applying to the government of England, and particularly to Secretary Thurloe, for private favours, but in respect to matters of publick concern (d), and on the behalf of the English Merchants at Calais, who, without doubt, would not have applied to him, if they had not believed his credit with the Protector better than their own. But what serves to put this matter entirely out of doubt, is a letter of his, which contains such extraordinary acknowledgments and assurances, as renders it every way worthy of the reader's notice (e) [M]. After

' it was the better choice to die, if he remembered the obligations he had to the Queen-Regent of France, who took him from those that would have destroyed him. He answered, that the Queen-Regent knew of his going, and that he had the King of France's pass, and would return again suddenly. I next press him to stay two or three months; he replied, that by that time all his business would be settled. I desired him not to think to have from those at London any toleration, for that for my part I had rather live in exile all the days of my life, and suffer at Tyburn when I came home, than that my publick liberty to serve God should spring from the bloody murderers of my Sovereign.' What his thoughts were of the design appears likewise from his own words: 'The plot as I am told about, which Sir Kenelme Digby (who came a few days since to this town) is employed as agent to treat with those horrid rebels, the Independents of England, is for the subversion of successive hereditary monarchy there, and to make it elective, and to establish Popery there, and to give toleration to all manner of religions, except that of the Church of England according to the practice thereof.' The reader will observe that this treaty was with the Independents, and that as soon as the Presbyterian faction recovered power, Sir Kenelme Digby was banished by the Parliament, as an artful, busy, and dangerous person. When Oliver came into power, the same design of the Papists was revived again, for the prosecution of which Sir Kenelme Digby came over in 1655, when he lived here in all the ease, freedom, and credit imaginable (33), conversing entirely with those who were favourers of that government, which induced Mr Holles, afterwards Lord Holles, to publish a pamphlet, in which he addresses himself to Cromwell in the following terms (34): 'What liberty the Priests and Jesuits take, how far they prevail on the people, what countenance they receive from this government, is apparent enough by not proceeding against them in justice, as if no laws were in force for their punishment. Your private negotiations with the Pope, and your promises, that, as soon as you can establish your own greatness, you will protect the Catholics, and the insinuations that you will countenance them much farther, are sufficiently known and understood, and of their dependance upon, and devotion to, you, there needs no evidence beyond the book lately written by Mr White, a Romish Priest, and dedicated to your favourite Sir Kenelme Digby, entitled, The Grounds of Obedience and Government, in which he justifies all the grounds and maxims in your declaration, and determines positively, that you ought to be so far from performing any promise, or observing any oath that you have taken, if you know that it is for the good of the people, that you break it. Albeit they foreseeing all that you now see, did therefore bind you by oath not to do it, and that you offend both against your oath and fidelity to the people, if you maintain those limitations you are sworn to, and sure what you do must be supported by such Casuists.' This point is still more explicitly handled by Mr Prynne, who tells us of Cromwell (35) 'that Sir Kenelme Digby was his particular favourite, and lodged by him at Whitehall; that Maurice Conry, Provincial of the Franciscans in England, and other Priests, had his protections under hand and seal, and that he suspended laws and executions against Popish Priests and Jesuits, though sometimes taken in their pontificalibus at mass, and were soon after released; and that he endeavoured to stop the bill against Papists the very morning he was to pass it, by his Whitehall instruments, who moved it's suspension for a time, as not suiting with the then present foreign correspondencies, against whom it was carried by eighty-eight votes, that it should be sent up with the rest then

' passed, and that he writ to Mazarine to excuse his passing that bill, as being carried on by a violent Presbyterian party, much against his will, and that yet it should not hurt them though passed, &c.' All these testimonies taken conjunctly with the letter produced in the next note, are certainly very decisive, and prove plainly, that Sir Kenelme had precisely his father's principles, and pursued nothing with so much vehemence as the establishment of Popery in England, under any government, and upon any terms. It is very strange that this did not ruin him with the Queen-Dowager, but that it did not is very certain, as it likewise is, that these intrigues were continued to the very last hour of our disturbances, Lambert, who made the final struggle, being a concealed Papist, and King Charles II, or at least his Ministers, so thoroughly apprized of these points, as to send instructions to those who managed his affairs in England, to concert nothing with the Papists (36), though, as we have seen, there might be honest men amongst them, who detested those treacherous arts, by which, after the miscarriage of the powder-treason, disaffection was cunningly spread all over England, commotions excited in Scotland, and, by degrees, the body of the Papists in Ireland precipitated into a bloody massacre, and a most unnatural rebellion. As this detail has a near relation to Sir Kenelme Digby's personal history, so it opens to our view one of the darkest parts of that disagreeable period of our History, in which many people are apt to think that the Papists are accused rather from prejudice than proof; whereas, in reality, though they must be allowed an admirable faculty in mining, yet it would not be at all impossible to prove, that, during this space, the Popes and their agents were as active abroad, as Cromwell and his party were indefatigable at home, and both with the like views, though not from the same principles; and hence we may easily account for Sir Kenelme Digby's great favour and credit with the Protector.

[M] Every way worthy of the reader's notice.] This letter stands in need of no introduction, since it comes directly up to the point mentioned in the text, and is an excellent instance of the advantages that may be drawn from such kind of collections, in works of this nature (37).

Sir Kenelme Digby to Secretary Thurloe.

Right Honourable, Paris, Mar. 18, 1656.

THE French Ambassador taking leave of me yesterday, told me, that his Secretary at London had, among other things, written to him, that Sir Robert Welsh had spoken something to your Honour much to my prejudice, and that since some letter of a Lady to me had been intercepted, the contents whereof did in some sort make good what he had spoken. I believe your Honour hath so good information what this woful Knight is, that if there were nothing but the venom that his malicious tongue can spit, I should not think it needful to trouble myself, much less your Honour's more serious occasions, with taking any notice of it. But since he hath contrived as I verily believe, some better name than his own, to seem to justify what would have no credence from him, I may not fit down without beseeching your Honour, to search the matter to the bottom, and to drive it to the utmost. I look upon this as a contriving of his, because forging of letters, and doing treacheries of this kind, hath been his ordinary course, and because I am confident that nobody in the world, who hath so much familiarity with me as to write to me, but knoweth me so well, as to be sure that whatsoever may be disliked by my Lord Protector and the Council of State, must be detested by me. My obligations to his Highness are

(33) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 263, 264.

(34) A letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament, &c. Lond. 1656. 4to. p. 58.

(35) True and perfect narrative of what was done, or spoken by, and between Mr Prynne, the old and newly forcibly late secluded Members, the army Officers, and those now fitting, both in the common Lobby, House, and elsewhere, on the 7th and 9th of May, &c. Lond. 1659. 4to. p. 57.

(36) Collection of original letters and papers found amongst those of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 216, 225, 243

(37) State Papers, Vol. IV. p. 59

After some stay at Paris, he went to spend the summer of the year 1656 at Toulouse; and, as he had there the pleasure of conversing with a great many learned and ingenious men, so he frequently entertained them, in his turn, not only with his Mathematical, Physical, and Philosophical Discoveries, but with such communications also received from his friends in the different parts of Europe, as he thought most capable either of extending knowledge, or of creating pleasure or delight (f). Amongst these was a relation he obtained concerning a petrified city in Africa, which he likewise transmitted to a friend in England in the month of September, the same year, and which very undeservedly drew upon him a very heavy load of calumny and reproach (g) [N]. We find him the next year at Montpellier, in the south of France, whither he went, partly for the sake of his health, which began to be impaired by severe fits of the stone, and partly for the sake of enjoying the learned society of several worthy and ingenious persons, who had formed themselves into a kind of academy (b) there, and to whom he read his large discourse of the sympathetick powder, afterwards printed and published in several languages, and, at that time, generally well received (i) [O]. We are indebted to the letters lately published

(f) Athen. Oxon: Vol. II. col. 352.

(g) Stubbes's Animadversions on the Plus Ultra of Glanville, p. 161.

(b) See the advertisement to the reader before the French translation.

(i) La Physique occulte, par M. de Vallermont, p. 195.

' so great, that it would be a crime in me to behave myself so negligently as to give cause for any shadow of the least suspicion, or to do any thing that might require an excuse or apology. I make it my business every where, to have all the world take notice how highly I esteem myself obliged to his Highness, and how passionate I am for his service, and for his honour and interests, even to the exposing of my life for them. If your Honour cannot readily find out the bottom of this villainy plotted against me upon notice of so much, I will take post the next day to return into England (though it may be much to the prejudice of my domestick affairs, in my broken estate, because my debts are not yet quieted) and I doubt not but I shall soon make discovery of some wicked treachery intended against me; for this wretched creature hath as much malice to me as he is capable of, first, as being an Irish Papist (whose whole tribe have an implacable animosity against me), and next, because I have heretofore shamed him, and have broken some cheating designs of his, by making publick some of his infamous villainies, for which he never durst make any expostulation with me. I humbly crave pardon of your Honour, for suffering myself to be thus far transported. My excuse is, that I should think my heart were not an honest one, if the blood about it were not warmed with any the least imputation upon my respects and my duty to his Highness, to whom I owe so much. I humbly crave a line or two from your Honour, that I may either resolve to return presently home, or remain satisfied by your having discovered the villainy attempted against me, which, with all humility, expecting, I rest,

' Your Honour's Most Humble,

' and Most Obedient servant, &c.'

[N] *A very heavy load of calumny and reproach.* The matter of fact hinted at in the text was plainly this: Mr Fitton, an English Gentleman, who was at that time Library-Keeper to the Great Duke of Tuscany, wrote a letter, dated July 2, 1656, to Sir Kenelm Digby, at Toulouse, with an Account of a city within the territories of Tripoli in Africa, supposed to be entirely petrified by the rising of a vapour out of the earth; which piece of intelligence Sir Kenelm having written to a friend in England, he was so free in communicating it, that it was at length printed in the *Mercurius Politicus* (38). The famous Dr Stubbes took occasion from this to shew at once his dislike to Sir Kenelm Digby, and to gratify his professed aversion for the Royal Society, by treating the thing as an absurd and ridiculous falsehood, and by saying of Sir Kenelm; whom he would have represented as the author of it, *That he was the Pliny of our age for lying* (39). To shew that such a city as this there is from the accounts given by modern writers, would indeed vindicate the sagacity of our author, and shew that he made a better judgment of things than his antagonist Stubbes; but we can do more than this, for we can shew that Sir Kenelm did not either credit a hasty, or an idle report, but that it had been current some time, and the truth of it believed upon good authority; which is sufficient to justify Sir Kenelm in his Philosophick cha-

rafter, and to demonstrate that though he was extremely curious, he was not at all credulous (40).

The following paper was delivered to Richard Waller, Esq; Fellow of the Royal Society, by Mr Baker, who was the English Consul at Tripoli, Nov. 12, 1713.

' ABOUT forty days journey S. E. from Tripoli, and about seven days from the nearest sea-coast, there is a place called Ougila, in which there are found the bodies of men, women, and children, beasts and plants, all petrified of a hard stone like marble. That about 1654 or 5, the Corsairs having taken several of the English ships, Admiral Blake was sent with a Squadron of men of war to Tripoli, from which place and Tunis he had all the captives delivered without ransom, at which time the report of this discovery of the abovementioned city was new, so that he obliged the Alkade to procure a whole figure for him, which he promised. But Blake not staying long enough there, but sailing to Leghorn, he sent a small frigate to Tripoli to fetch it aboard, in which frigate one Mr Hebden (then a young gentleman) went, who told Mr Baker that he himself saw a figure of a man petrified, which was conveyed to Leghorn, and thence to England, and that it was carried to Secretary Thurloe. The same Mr Baker told me, that, when he was at Tripoli, he spoke with several Turks, who affirmed themselves to have been eye-witnesses of the said petrifications. That particularly an officer that commanded a garrison of two hundred men, on a frontier place called Derney, not many days journey from the place, had promised him to procure a figure thence; the same affirmed the relation, that accordingly he sent some spies to find the place, which at that time they could not, as he sent him word, it being wholly buried in the sands, which in that country are carried in great clouds; that a strong north wind blows the sand off, and by that means discovers the place, which, at other times, is covered by these sands.

' He farther told me, that this Mr Hebden died about two years since a prisoner in the Fleet, though he had been formerly sent to Moscow by King Charles II. He said he had procured the arm of a fig tree, as big as his arm, petrified, whereon the bark and wood were plainly visible, the bark grey, the wood yellowish, of the true colour of the plant; that in the bark was a groove, in which were several small insects, like the lady cow, petrified; that he had presented this piece of petrified wood to my Lord Torrington, in whose possession he believes it now is.'

[O] *At that time generally well received* Our author designed to have collected Roger Bacon's Works, and actually translated from the Latin of Albertus Magnus, Bishop of Ratisbon, a small piece, intituled,

VIII. *A Treatise of adhering to God.* Lond. 1654, 8vo

IX. *Of the Cure of Wounds by the Powder of Sympathy.* Lond. 1658, 8vo, spoken in French in a solemn assembly at Montpellier in France in 1657, and translated into English by Richard White, Lond. 1660, reprinted at London with the treatise of Bodies, anno 1669,

(40) Philosophical Experiments and Observations of the late eminent Dr Robert Hooke, published by W. Derham. Lond. 1726. 8vo. P. 386, 387.

38) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 353.

39) Animadver- sions upon Chan- cellor's Plus Ultra, p. 161.

(A) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 698.

(l) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 302.

(m) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 352.

(n) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 286.

(o) Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 137.

(p) In the edition of 1669, added to his treatise of Bodies.

(q) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 286.

published of the famous Mr Algernoon Sydney (k), for the knowledge of this Gentleman's passing the year 1658, and part of the year 1659, in the Lower Germany, and more especially in the Palatinate; but, as to what he says of his going there by the name of Earl or Count Digby, and other circumstances of a very disparaging nature, they seem to flow from a mixture of inconnected reports, joined to a very high dislike of the person to whom they related. It is probable, that he returned from thence towards the close of the last mentioned year to Paris, where we find him in 1660, and employed there, after his accustomed manner, in conversing with the learned, moderating in their assemblies, and giving them occasional lights from his own observations and informations. This circumstance we derive from the pen of a very ingenious and knowing person, who wrote it as acceptable news to his great patron in England (l) [P]. He returned the following year to England, and was very well received at Court, notwithstanding the Ministers were far from being ignorant of the irregularity in his conduct, and the court that he had paid to Oliver while the King was in exile (m). It does not, however, appear, that any other favour was shewn him, than seemed to be due to a man of letters (n). In the first settlement of the Royal Society, we find him appointed one of the Council, by the title of Sir Kenelme Digby, Knight, Chancellor to our dear mother Queen Mary (o). He was not likely to be considered or trusted in the beginning of King Charles's administration, because he not only shewed himself an open but a busy Papist, interfered in their quarrels, and declared himself, upon all occasions, an eager enemy to the Jesuits (p), who were not at all behind with him in resentment, but took all the care they could to lessen his character, and to defame him. As long as his health would permit, he attended the meetings of the Royal Society, and gave his assistance towards the improvements that were then made in useful knowledge; one of his discourses (q) was printed and published by itself, of which we shall take notice [2]. He spent the remainder of his days at his house in Covent-Garden, where he enjoyed the company of his friends, and was much visited by the lovers of Mathematical and Philosophical Learning; so that, according to a custom which then prevailed much in France, he had a kind of Academy, or Literary

1669, and translated into Latin by Laur. Stranfius of Darmsted in Hesse. It is also printed in the book intitled *Theatrum Sympatheticum*, published by John Andreas Endter at Norimberg, 1662, in 4to, of which there is an account in our Philosophical Transactions: As to the philosophical arguments in this treatise, and the manner in which the author accounts for the strange operations of this remedy, they were highly admired in those days, have been often copied since, and even in this inquisitive and judicious age, are allowed to be very ingenious, though not very convincing.

[P] *Who wrote it as acceptable news to his great patron in England.* The person mentioned in the text is Mr Oldenburgh, afterwards Secretary to the Royal Society, who, in his letter to Mr Boyle, dated Paris Mar. 20, 1660, writes thus (41): 'Sir Kenelme Digby will himself assure you, by the annexed, of his respects to you. We met lately at the house of a Chemist, where the question was agitated about the dissolvent of gold, Whether the universal spirit of the world, in it's undetermined nature, or, as it is specified and contracted to a mineral, be the menstruum of that noble metal? The discussion hereof being rather made by authority than reason, gave small satisfaction to the auditors, whereof the learned Knight himself being the chief, did moderate the action, but not determine the question, interlacing the discourses of others with several considerable relations, whereof two did ravish the hearers to admiration. The one was of a King's house in England, which having stood covered with lead for five or six ages, and being sold after that, was found to contain three fourths of silver in the lead thereof. The other was of a fixed salt, drawn out of a certain potters earth here in France, at a place called Arcueil, which salt being for some time exposed to the sun-beams, became salt-petre, then vitriol, then lead, tin, copper, silver, and, at the end of fourteen months, gold; which he assured to have experienced himself, and another able Naturalist besides him. I must confess I would rather see this than believe it, though the author be a very authentick gentleman.' These facts, as they are very closely set down, and without any illustration of circumstances, have an air of incredibility: but without doubt if we knew exactly how they were related by Sir Kenelme, they would not appear either so strange or so improbable. As to the alterations of lead indeed, and it's growing heavier in time, so as to endanger the buildings covered with it, we meet with some very extraordinary instances in

Mr Boyle's own writings (42); and as to the other matter, strange as it is, it appears not to have rested entirely upon Sir Kenelme Digby's authority, and seems besides to have some concurrence with the accurate experiments long afterwards made in France by that ingenious and candid Chemist Mr Homberg. It may not however be amiss to remark, by the way, that Sir Kenelme Digby had a true philosophick spirit, and was much more covetous of knowledge than of wealth, and as desirous of communicating science as of obtaining it; which sometimes exposed him, as it hath done other great men, to the supercilious contempt of persons far inferior both in learning and in understanding.

[2] *Of which we shall take notice.* In this note we are to speak of the last genuine work of our author's, which was

X. *Discourse concerning the Vegetation of Plants.* Lond. 1661, 8vo, and again in 1669, 4to, printed in Latin at Amsterdam 1663, and again in 1669, 12mo, under this title: *Dissertatio de Plantarum Vegetatione.*

This work is highly applauded by the learned Morhoff, whose judicious character of it will give the reader a true idea of the worth of our author (43). (43) Polyhist. II. 2. 40. 2  
'Magnam huic vegetationi lucem affert liber Kenelmi Digbæi, de vegetatione plantarum, è lingua Angl. in Lat. conversus, quo eleganter processum nutritionis & accretionis è femine demonstrat, cujus Dissertationis argumentum libro suo de immortalitate animæ inseruit. Tota illa Dissertatio subtilissima est, & cum acuratione legi meretur. Mathematica demonstratione enim ob oculos ponit, quomodo à primo feminali puncto partes extra partes procedunt, partim salibus aëris aut terrestribus evocatae, partim pressione aëris & humoris externi, partim calore subterraneo, quæ omnia hic singulatim explicare, nimis esset operosum. Videatur Auctor ille, & cum ipso conferatur Honor: Fabri, qui partes plantarum, quæ successione excrescunt, optime delineavit, &, ut existimo, maxime ad mentem Digbæi.'

The reader may find in Wood, and in some other authors, several pieces attributed to Sir Kenelme Digby (44), but as these were published after his decease by one Hartman, who was his Operator, and who put Sir Kenelme Digby's name in the title-page, with a view to recommend compositions very unworthy of him to the publick; they seem by no means to deserve a place here, which, with our desire to bring this article within bounds as much as possible, are our reasons for rejecting them.

rary Assembly, in his own dwelling (*r*). Some years before his death, he caused a vault to be built under the east end of the south aisle of Christ-Church within Newgate, in which was deposited the body of his wife, and over it was erected a very stately altar monument of black marble, whereon her bust, made of copper gilt, was placed, with four inscriptions in honour of her memory (*s*). This lady's name was Venetia, daughter to Sir Edward Stanley, of Tongue-Castle in Shropshire, Knight of the Bath, by his wife the Lady Lucy, daughter and coheirs of Thomas Piercy, Earl of Northumberland (*t*), which Sir Edward Stanley was the son of Sir Thomas Stanley, Knight, and grandson of Edward Earl of Derby (*u*), by the Lady Dorothy Howard, daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk. We should have been able to have rendered this article much more perfect, if we could have had the assistance of that noble manuscript which Sir Kenelme caused to be collected at the expence of a thousand pounds, as well out of private memorials, as from publick histories and records in the Tower, and elsewhere, relating to the Digby family in all its branches (*w*): but not knowing where this was to be found, we have drawn together, with no small pains, what lay scattered about him in a variety of authors, and have digested the several facts they mentioned in the best order we could. In the summer of the year 1665, his old distemper the stone increased upon him very much, and brought him very low, which rendered him desirous, as it is said, of going to France (*x*); which, however, he lived not to accomplish, but deceasing on his birth-day, June 11th, 1665 (*y*), when he was sixty-two years of age, his corps was interred near that of his lady in the Church before-mentioned (*z*). Sir Kenelme's valuable library, which was justly esteemed a most excellent collection, had been transported into France at the first breaking out of the troubles, and improved there at a very considerable expence; but, as he was no subject of his Most Christian Majesty's, it became, according to that branch of the prerogative which the French stile *Droit d'Aubain*, the property of the Crown upon Sir Kenelme's decease. This was a very great injury to his family, as may appear from hence, that, being afterwards begged from that King, the new possessor, for I think one can hardly call him proprietor, sold it (and, it is very probable, below it's real value) for ten thousand crowns. Sir Kenelme left an only son, John Digby, Esq; who succeeded to the family estate (*a*), and, therefore, there is plainly some mistake in the account given us by a certain great Historian (*b*), who says, that the death of this son of Sir Kenelme produced the ruin of his family, as that did the finding his grandfather's papers; of which, in the former article, we gave some account, and of which it will be necessary to say somewhat farther here [*R*]. This John Digby, Esq; of Gothurst in Buckinghamshire, dying many years after his father, left behind him, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Longueville, of Wolverton, in the same county, Baronet, by the Lady Margaret his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Temple, of Stow, two daughters and coheirs, Margareta-Maria, married to Sir John Conway, of Bodey in Flintshire, Baronet, to whom she was first wife, and by whom she had Margareta, married to Sir Thomas Longueville, of Estclusham in Denbighshire, Baronet, and Henry Conway, Esq; who died before his father married to Honora, daughter and heir of ——— Ravenscroft, of Bretton in Flintshire, Esq; and left only one daughter Honora, married to Sir John Glynn, of Hawarden-Castle in Flintshire, Baronet; and Charlotta-Theophila, married to Richard Mostyn, of Penbeddw in Flintshire, Esq; by whom she had two daughters, Bridget, married to Lytton Lytton, of Knebworth in Hertfordshire, Esq; and Charlotta, married to Richard Williams, Esq; third son of Sir William Williams, of Llanvorda in Shropshire, Esq; and brother to Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Baronet, and one son Richard, and Penelope, who died a Nun abroad (*c*). We cannot conclude

(*r*) Echard's History of England, p. 827.

(*t*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 152. 353.

(*u*) Stowe's Survey of London by Strype, Vol. I. B. III. p. 137.

(*w*) E. S. em. antiq. fam. Stanlicerum.

(*x*) See his son John Digby informed Antiquary Wood.

(*x*) See the article DIGBY (Sir KENELME) in Bayle.

(*y*) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 827.

(*z*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 581.

(*a*) Wright's Antiquities of Rutland, p. 115.

(*b*) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, Vol. I. p. 11.

(*c*) English Paronage, Vol. V. p. 353.

this

[*R*] *To say somewhat farther here*] The great Historian mentioned in the text is the Bishop of Salisbury, who seems to have had some particular concern in this extraordinary transaction, or at least to have been for some time possessed of Sir Everard Digby's original papers, his own words are these (45): 'I will mention what I myself saw, and had for some time in my possession; Sir Everard Digby died for being of the conspiracy. He was the father of the famous Sir Kenelme Digby. The family being ruined upon the death of Sir Kenelme's son, when the executors were looking out for writings to make out the titles of the estates they were to sell, they were directed by an old servant to a cupboard that was very artificially hid, in which some papers lay that she had observed Sir Kenelme was oft reading. They looking into it found a velvet bag, within which there were two other silk bags (so carefully were those relics kept) and there was within these a collection of all the letters that Sir Everard writ during his imprisonment. In these he expresses great trouble, because he heard some of their friends blamed their undertaking: he highly magnifies it, and says, if he had many lives he would willingly have sacrificed them all in carrying it on. In one paper he says, they had taken

' that care that there was not above two or three worth  
' saving, to whom they had not given notice to keep  
' out of the way: and in none of those papers does he  
' express any sort of remorse for that which he had  
' been engaged in, and for which he suffered.' We will now compare this with the attestation prefixed to the papers (46): 'The several papers and letters of Sir Everard Digby, which are, as we have been credibly informed, the original papers and letters written by him concerning the gunpowder treason, were found by us Sir Rice Rudd, Bart. and William Wogan of Gray's-Inn, Esq; in the presence of Mrs Ursula Giles, and Mr Thomas Hughes, about the month of September 1675, at the house of Charles Cornwallis, Esq; who was Executor of Sir Kenelme Digby (son and heir to the said Sir Everard) tied up in two silk bags, amongst the deeds, evidences, and writings of the said Sir Kenelme Digby.

(46) At the close of the preface to Sir Everard Digby's private papers, published in 1675. 8vo.

' RICE RUDD.  
' WILLIAM WOGAN.'

(47) John Digby, Esq; son to Sir Kenelme, appears from Wright's Hist. of Rutlandshire, to have been living in 1684.

It is not clear from the Prelate's account whose executors he means, but it looks as if it were the executors of Sir Kenelme's son (47), whereas the certificate

shews,

this article better than by the following verses, composed by way of epitaph on Sir Kenelme Digby.

*Under this tomb the matchless DIGBY lies,  
DIGBY the great, the valiant, and the wise;  
This age's wonder, for his noble parts,  
Skilled in six tongues, and learn'd in all the arts:  
Born on the day he died, the eleventh of June,  
And that day bravely fought at Scanderoon;  
It's rare that one and the same day should be  
His day of birth, of death, of victory!*

R. FERRAR.

shews, that the papers were not found by any executors at all, but by two gentlemen of credit, in the house of the executor of Sir Kenelme Digby. In the certificate two silk bags are mentioned, though not the velvet bag; and, which is very singular, there is no notice at all taken of their being led to this discovery by hearing of the cupboard, or of the old servant, but there are the names of two persons in whose presence they were

found, and it is not impossible they might take to themselves some merit in the discovery. But from the certificate, one can see no reason to judge they were hidden at all, but rather that they were accidentally found, searching among Sir Kenelme's papers, who might die in circumstances indifferent as to himself, but whose estate, as we have seen, was too well secured to prejudice his son or his family. E

DIGGES (LEONARD) Esq; a considerable Mathematician in the XVIth century, was the second son of James Digges, of Digges-Court in the parish of Berham in Kent, Esq; [A] by Philippa his second wife, daughter of John Engham, of Chartham in the same county. He was born at Digges-Court, and educated for some time in University-College in Oxford, where he laid a very good foundation of learning. Retiring from thence without a degree, he prosecuted his studies, and became an excellent Mathematician, a skilful Architect (a), and a most expert Surveyor of land. He composed several books [B], and died about the year 1574 (b). By his wife Bridget, daughter of Thomas Wilford, Esq; (c) and sister to James and Thomas Wilford, two brave Knights, of Hartridge, in the parish of Cranbrook in Kent, he had a son, of whom we shall give some account in the next article.

(a) For all manner of buildings, for conveniency, pleasure, state, strength; and excellent at fortifications. Fuller's Worthies of England, in Kent, p. 82.

(b) Wood's Athenæ, edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 180, 181.

(c) Wood, it calls her by take Sarab. below, note of the article DIGGES (T. MAS).

[A] Was the second son of James Digges of Digges-Court in the parish of Berham in Kent, Esq;] That family was antient and considerable, in the county of Kent. One of them in the reign of King Richard I. had the aldermanry of Newingate in Canterbury, which was then a hereditary office. John Digges, Alderman of the same city, in 1258, was a great benefactor to the Franciscans, then newly settled at Canterbury; and bought for them an island in that city called Binnewight. Adomarus Digges, of Digges-Court, was a Judge in King Edward II's reign, and had much land about Rainham and Newington, where a marsh still bears his name, being called Digges's Marsh. Roger Digges was one of the Representatives in Parliament for the city of Canterbury, in the 29th, 31st, and 34th years of the reign of King Edward III. John Digges, of Digges-Court, was Sheriff of Kent in the 2d year of King Henry IV; and his grandson John, in the 4th year of King Edward IV; and his son of the same name in the 11th year of King Henry VII; and his son James bore the same office in the 2d year of King Henry VIII. His eldest son, Thomas, sold Digges-Court to Capt. Thomas Halsey of

London (1). It was the chief seat of the Digges family for above two hundred years (2).

[B] He composed several books.] Namely, I. *Tonicum*: Briefly shewing the exact measuring, and speedy reckoning of all manner of lands, squares, timber, stones, steeples, &c. Lond. 1556, 4to. Augmented, and published again, by his son Tho. Digges, Lond. 1592, 4to, and reprinted there in 1647, 4to. II. 'A Geometrical practical treatise, named *Pantometria*, in three books.' This he left in manuscript: but, after his death, his son supplied such parts of it as were obscure and imperfect, and published it at London in 1591, fol. joining thereto, 'A Discourse Geometrical of the five regular and Platonical Bodies, containing sundry theoretical and practical Propositions arising by mutual conference of these Solids inscription, circumscription, and transformation.' III. 'Prognostication everlasting of right good effect: or, choice Rules to judge the Weather by the Sun, Moon, and Stars, &c.' Lond. 1555, 1556, and 1564, 4to, corrected, and augmented by his son, with divers general tables, and many compendious rules. Lond. 1592, 4to (3). C

(1) Villare (titanum, &c. T. Philipot, edit. 1664. p. 60. and History of Kent by J. Harris, fol. 1719. p. 118, 427, 431, 447.

(2) Ibid. p. 60.

(3) Wood, supra, col. 181.

DIGGES (THOMAS) after a liberal education even from his tenderest years, went and studied for some time at Oxford; and by the improvements he made there, and the subsequent instructions of his learned father (a), became one of the most excellent Mathematicians of his time; upon which account he was greatly esteemed by Dr John Dee, and other his learned contemporaries. When Queen Elizabeth sent some of her forces to the assistance of the oppressed inhabitants of the Netherlands, Mr Digges was appointed Muster-Master-General of them (b); whereby he had an opportunity of becoming perfectly skilled in military affairs. He writ and published several books [A]. But

(a) See the preface to his *Stratioticos*.

(b) See *Stratioticos*, edit. 1590, p. 237.

[A] He writ and published several books.] Namely, these; I. *Alæ sive Scalæ Mathematicæ*, i. e. Mathematical wings or ladders. Lond. 1573, 4to This book contains several demonstrations, for finding the parallax of any comet, or other celestial body, with the correction of the errors in the use of the *Radius Astronomicus*. II. 'An Arithmetical Military Treatise, containing so much of Arithmetick, as is necessary

' towards Military Discipline.' Lond. 1579, 4to. III. 'Geometrical treatise named *Stratioticos*, requisite for the perfection of Soldiers.' Lond. 1579, 4to. This was begun by his father, but finished by our author: They were both reprinted together in 1590, with several amendments and additions, under this title; 'An Arithmetical Warlike treatise named *Stratioticos*, compendiously teaching the Science of Numbers, as well

But his most valuable character, is, that his piety was as great as his learning. He died August 24, 1595. and was buried in the Church of St Mary Aldermanbury, London (c); where a monument was erected to him [B]. If he was great in himself, he was greater in his son, of whom we shall speak in the ensuing article.

(c) Wood, *ibid.* col. 278, 279.

well in Fractions as Integers, and so much of the Rules and Equations Algebraicall, and Art of Numbers Cosicall, as are requisite for the Profession of a Souldier. Together with the Moderne Militare Discipline, Offices, Lawes, and orders in every well governed Campe and Armie inviolably to be observed. First published by Thomas Digges, Esq; 1579, reviewed and corrected by the author himself, and augmented with sundry additions. Lond. 1590, 4to, in three books. At the end of it there is 'A briefe and true report of the Proceedings of the Earle of Leicester for the reliefe of the towne of Sluce, from his arrival at Vliething, about the end of June 1587, untill the surrendrie thereof 26 Julii next ensuing. Whereby it shall plainelie appeare his Excellencie was not in anie fault for the losse of that Towne.' IV. 'Perfect Description of the Celestiall Orbs, according to the most ancient Doctrin of the Pythagoreans. &c. Lond. 1592, 4to, set at the end of his father's *Prognostication*. V. 'Humble Motives for Association to maintain the Religion established. Printed in 1601, 8vo. To which is added, his Letter to the same purpose, to the Archbishops and Bishops of England.' VI. 'England's Defence: A Treatise concerning Invasion: Or, a brief Discourse of what Orders were best for repulsing of Foreign Enemies, if at any time they should invade us by sea in Kent, or elsewhere.' Written in 1599, but not published till 1686, Lond. fol. in five sheets. There was a tract of the same nature published at the end of his *Stratoticos*, edit. 1590, entitled, 'A briefe Discourse what orders were best for repulsing of forcaine forces, if at any time they should invade us by sea in Kent, or elsewhere.' It contains only five leaves in 4to. VII. A Letter printed before Dr John Dee's *Parallaticæ commentationis, praxeosque Nucleus quidam*. Lond. 1573, 4to. Besides these, and his *Nova Corpora*, he had by him several Mathematical Treatises ready for the press; which, by reason of law-suits, and other avocations, he was hindered from publishing (1).

[B] *Where a monument was erected to him.*] It was destroyed in the general conflagration of London, in 1666: but, the inscriptions on it are preserved in J Stow's Survey of London, with Mr Strype's Additions (2), being as follows:

(2) Edit. 1720. Book iii. Vol. 1. p. 71, 72.

'Thomas Digges, Esquire, sonne and heyre of Leonard Digges, of Wotton in the county of Kent, Esquire, and of Bridget his wife, daughter to Thomas Wilford, Esquire; which Thomas deceased the 24. day of August, *Ann. Dom.* 1595.  
'Agnes, wife to Thomas Digges, Esq; Daughter of Sir William Senteleiger, Knight, and of Ursula his wife, daughter of George Nevil, Lord of Abergavenny, By whom the said Thomas had issue Dudley his sonne and heyre, Leonard his second son; Margaret and Ursula now living; beside William and Mary, who died young.

*Deo Opt. Max. & Memoriae.*

*Hic resurrectionem mortuorum expectat Thomas Diggeus Armiger, ex antiquâ Diggeorum, in Cantia, familiâ oriundus. Vir fide & pietate in Deum singulari, rei militaris admodum peritus, optimarum literarum studiosus, & Scientiis Mathematicis ad miraculum (ut ex libris editis constat) eruditissimus: Quem Deus in Coelestem Patriam, Anno Salutis 1595, evocavit. Charissimo Marito Uxor moerensissima posuit.*

'Here lieth in assured hope to rise in Christ, Thomas Digges Esquire, some time Muster-Master of the English Army in the Low Countries: A man zealously affected to true Religion, wise, discrete, courteous, faithful to his Friends, and of rare knowledge in Geometry, Astrologie, and other Mathematicall Sciences: who finished this transitory Life with an happy end, in Anno 1595.

That the Dead might live, Christ died.

The Digges's coat was, Gules, on a Cross argent, five Eagles displayed, sable. C

(1) Wood, ut supra, col. 278, 279. See *Stratoticos*, p. 359, 360.

DIGGES (DUDLEY) eldest son of Thomas mentioned in the last article, was born in the year 1583 (a), and entered a Gentleman-Commoner of University-College, Oxon. in 1598; where he very much improved himself in learning, under the tuition of Dr George Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (b). Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the first of July 1601 (c), he went and studied for some time at the Inns of Court; and then travelled beyond sea, having before received the honour of knighthood. After much experience, and proper remarks on the laws, customs, and manners, of foreign nations, he returned home, excellently well qualified to serve his King and Country (d). But observing too many to jostle for place, and cross the publick interest, if not joined with their own private gain; he was satisfied with the consciousness of his own merit, knowing good men only can deserve honours, though the worse might attain them. His moderate desires, therefore, confined a long while his thoughts to the innocence of a retired life (e), till the year 1618, when he was sent by King James I. Ambassador to the Czar, or Emperor of Russia. In 1620. he was commissioned with Sir Maurice Abbot, to go to Holland, in order to obtain the restitution of goods taken by the Dutch, from some Englishmen in the East-Indies [A]. He departed in November (f), but how long he stayed there, doth not appear. He was a Member of the third Parliament of King James I. which met at Westminster January 30, 1620-1; and was so little compliant with the Court measures, as to be among those whom the King called *Ill-tempered Spirits*. And, therefore, soon after the dissolution of that Parliament, he was, for a punishment, sent into Ireland, upon a forced commission with others under the Great Seal, for the enquiry of sundry matters concerning his Majesty's pretended service (g). He was likewise a Member of the first Parliament of King Charles I. in 1626; and joined those eminent patriots, who were for bringing George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, the King's great favourite and Prime Minister, to an account: and so earnest did he prove in that affair, that he was one of the eight chief managers, who carried up, on the 8th

(a) For Mr Wood informs us, that he was fifteen years of age in 1598. Vol. I. col. 618.

(b) Wood, *ibid.*

(c) *Idem*, Fasti, Vol. 1. col. 160.

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) From his monumental inscription, at Chillingham in Kent.

(f) Camden's *Annals of King James I.* under the year 1620, printed at the end of *Camdeni Epistolæ*. Lond. 1691. 4to.

(g) Rushworth's *Hist. Collections*, P. i. edit. 1659. p. 55.

[A] *In the East-Indies.*] For the Dutch were then beginning to use, in the East-Indies, those wicked and supplanting arts against the English (the deliverers of

their country, and the founders of their liberties) which ended in the tragical affair at Amboyna; of which an account was published in 1624, 4to.

[B] *Who*

(b) *Ibid.* p. 302. 8th of May, a charge against him [B] to the House of Lords (b); for which he was committed to the Tower (i). But so highly offended were the Commons at his imprisonment, that they resolved to proceed to no other business till they were righted in their liberties (k). Whereupon one of the Courtiers, to excuse that irregular step, said, That his Majesty conceived, Sir Dudley went too far beyond his commission, in that, speaking of King James the First's death, and the plaister applied to him by the Duke of Buckingham, he had said, *That he did forbear to speak further in regard of the King's honour*, or words to that effect; which his Majesty conceived to be to his dishonour, as if there had been any underhand dealing by Him in applying of the plaister; and that might make his subjects jealous of him. These words, laid to Sir Dudley's charge, occasioned an uncommon protestation from the Commons [C], which was also taken by thirty-six of the Lords. And Sir Dudley being released soon after, protested, That the matter charged upon him was far from his words, and never came into his thoughts (l). He was again Member of the third Parliament of King Charles I. which met at Westminster the 17th of March 1627-8, being one of the Knights of the Shire for Kent (m), but seemed to be more moderate than he had been in the two last. For, when Secretary Coke moved for the dispatch of the subsidies (n), he was seconded by Sir Dudley [D]. However, his spirits were roused, when any attempts were made upon the liberties of his country, or the Constitution of Parliament [E]. For, on the 14th of April, he opened the grand conference between the Lords and Commons 'concerning the liberty of the person of every Freeman,' with a speech, wherein he made many excellent observations [F], tending

(i) *Ibid.* p. 356. His lodgings were also searched, and the papers found there taken away. See *Rushworth, ibid.* p. 400, &c.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 358.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 360, 361.

(m) List of Members in Harris's *Hist. of Kent.*

(n) *Rushworth, ibid.* p. 537, 538.

[B] *Who carried up a charge against him*] It was opened by Sir Dudley himself, who in his Prologue used these words (1): — 'The House of Commons, by a fatal and universal concurrence of complaints from all the sea-bordering parts of this kingdom, did find a great and grievous interruption and stop of trade and traffick: The base pirates of *Salle* ignominiously infesting our coasts, taking our ships and goods, and leading away the subjects of this kingdom into barbarous captivity; while, to our shame and hindrance of commerce, our enemies did (as it were) besiege our ports, and block up our best rivers, mouths. Our friends, on slight pretences, made imbargoes of our Merchants goods, and every nation, upon the least occasion, was ready to contemn and slight us: so great was the apparent diminution of the antient honour of this crown, and once strong reputation of our nation. Wherewith the Commons were more troubled, calling to remembrance, how formerly in France, in Spain, in Holland, and every where, by sea and land, the valors of this kingdom had been better valued. — The Commons therefore wondering at the evils which they suffered, and debating of the causes of them, found they were many, drawn, like one line, to one circumference, of *decay of trade*, and *strength of honour*, and *reputation* in this kingdom; which, as in one center, met in one great man, the cause of all who I am here to name, the Duke of Buckingham.' — Then, after having read the preamble to the charge, he continued his speech, in which he hath this passage. — 'The last of the charges which are prepared, will be an injury offered to the person of the late King of blessed memory, who is with God; of which, as your Lordships may have heard heretofore, you shall anon have further information. Now upon this occasion, I am commanded by the Commons to take care of the honour of the King our Sovereign that lives, — and also his blessed father, who is dead; on whom, to the grief of the Commons, and their great distaste, the Lord Duke did (they conceive) unworthily cast some ill odor of his own foul wayes; whereas servants were antiently wont to bear, as in truth they ought, their Masters faults, and not cast their own on them undeservedly.' — These words I have taken notice of, because they were misunderstood and misapplied, as will be seen under note [C] and above in the text of this article.

[C] *Occasioned an uncommon Protestation from the Commons.*] Being as follows: 'I protest before Almighty God, and this House of Parliament, That I never gave consent that Sir Dudley Digges should speak these words that he is now charged withal, or any words to that effect; and I have not affirmed to any, that he did speak such words, or any to that effect.' This was taken by every member in particular for himself; and it was ordered, That they that were sick in town, should have three of the House sent

to them, to take the same protestation. The King, to pacify the Commons, signified to them by the Vice-Chamberlain, That he understood, *out of some notes taken at the Conference* (2), that Sir Dudley Digges had spoken the words wherewith he was charged; but, now, was satisfied that he did not speak them, nor any words to such effect. Nevertheless, the Duke of Buckingham affirmed to the House of Peers, that some words were spoken at the late Conference by Sir Dudley Digges, which so far did trench upon the King's honour, that they were interpreted treasonable: he therefore earnestly desired, since divers constructions had been made of those words, that every one of those who had reported them, would be pleased to produce their notes taken at the Conference. But after a long debate upon that matter in the House of Peers, thirty-six of them made this voluntary protestation, That the said Sir Dudley Digges did not speak any thing at the said Conference, which did or might trench on the King's honour (3). It followed therefore, as Mr Rapin observes (4), from the testimony of the Lords, and the protestation of the Commons, either, That the King was wrong and maliciously informed; or, that he wanted and sought an opportunity of punishing Sir Dudley Digges, for having spoken so irreverently of the Duke as he did. For which purpose the words abovementioned were invented.

[D] *He was seconded by Sir Dudley.*] Who said, among other things — 'We have freely concluded our liberties, we have offered five subsidies: his Majesty hath given us gracious answers: we have had good by our beginnings: what have we done for the King? nothing is done that the King can take notice of. — He will settle our properties and goods; have we not had a gracious answer? — I dare say confidently we shall have as much as any subjects had from their King (5).'

[E] *However his spirits were roused, when any attempts were made upon the liberties of his country, &c.*] For when Sir John Finch, Speaker of the House of Commons, interrupted Sir John Elliot in the House, telling him, 'There is a command laid upon me, that I must command you not to proceed;' Sir Dudley Digges vented his great uneasiness in these words: 'I am as much grieved as ever. Must we not proceed? let us sit in silence, we are miserable, we know not what to do (6).' This was on the 5th of June 1628.

[F] *With a speech wherein he made many excellent observations.*] Among other things, he says — 'I am first commanded to shew unto your Lordships in general, that the laws of England are grounded on reason, ancients than books, consisting much in unwritten customs: yet so full of justice and true equity, that your most honourable predecessors and ancestors, many times propugned them with a *Nolimus mutare* (i. e. we will not change them;) and so ancient, that from the Saxons days, notwithstanding the injuries

(1) *Rushworth, ubi supra*, p. 302, &c.

(2) Between the Lords and Commons, where these words were said to have been spoken.

(3) *Rushworth, as above*, p. 360, 361. See also *Memorials of the English Affairs*, &c. by Mr White-lock, edit. 1732, p. 5, 6.

(4) *Hist. of England*, edit. fol. 1733. Vol. II. p. 251.

(5) *Rushworth, as above*, p. 538.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 601.

tending to establish the liberties of the subject (o). In all these affairs, he so distinguished himself by his parts and abilities, that he was much taken notice of by the Court; being, in consequence of that, one of those eminent Patriots whom they thought worth while to gain to their side (p). Accordingly they tempted him with the honourable and advantageous office of Master of the Rolls, of which he had a reversionary grant the 29th of November 1630 (q), and became possessed of it the 20th of April, 1636 [G], upon the death of Sir Julius Caesar (\*). But he did not enjoy it quite three years; for he died the 18th of March 1638-9, which the wisest men reckoned among the publick calamities of those times (r). After having lain some time in state, he was buried in Chilham Church in Kent; in which parish he had a good estate (s), and built a noble seat (t). A monument was afterwards erected in that Church, in memory of him, and his lady, and others of that eminent family; with an inscription, of which the substance is included in this article (u). His Lady was Mary, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir Thomas Kemp, of Chilham aforesaid; with whom he had part of the estate there, and purchased the rest, of the three other daughters and coheirs (v). As to his character; his actions, related above, show, that he was, (as one (x) expresses it,) 'a great assertor of his country's liberty in the worst of times, when the sluices of prerogative were opened, and the banks of the law were almost overwhelmed with the inundations of it.' Besides which, we are informed, that, his understanding few could equal, and his virtues fewer would. He was a pious Man, a careful Father, a loving Husband, a fatherly Brother, a courteous Neighbour, a merciful Landlord, a liberal Master, and a noble Friend (y). He was author of a few things [H]. As hereditary learning seemed to run in the veins of that family (z); Sir Dudley had a brother, *Thomas*, and a son named *Dudley* [I], who were both learned men, and writers.

(o) Namely, the noble and famous, and the in-primate 17th s. of that parish. Hist. of Kent, by J. Harris, D. D. Lond. 1719. fol. p. 75. 210.

(p) Partly upon the ruins of the old castle. Hist. of Kent, ibid. p. 369.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Ibid.

(s) *Village Cantuarum*, or, Kent surveyed and illustrated, &c. by T. Philpot, Esq; Lond. 1664. fol. p. 116.

(t) From his monumental inscription, as above.

(z) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Kent, p. 82.

ries and ruins of time, they have continued in most parts the same; as may appear in old remaining monuments of the laws of Ethelbert the first Christian King of Kent, Ina King of the West-Saxons, Offa of the Mercians, &c. whose laws are yet to be seen, published (as some think) by Parliament. — And though, during the troublesome times of the Danes, the laws in a manner were laid asleep in the kingdom; yet, by the blessing of God, good King Edward, commonly called St Edward, did awaken these laws, — and confirmed them (7), *confirmavit*: which *confirmavit* sheweth, that good King Edward did not give those laws, which William the Conqueror, and all his successors since that, have sworn unto — And, as we have now, even in those Saxon times they had their Courts Barons, and Courts Leets, and Sheriffs Courts, by which (as Tacitus saith of the Germans) their ancestors *Jura reddabant per pagos & vicos*: i. e. administered justice in the borghs and villages. And, I believe, as we have now, they had their Parliaments, where new laws were made, *cum consensu Prælatorum, Magnatum, & totius communitatis*; i. e. with the consent of the Prelates, great men, and the whole community; or, as another writes, *cum consilio Prælatorum, Nobilium, & sapientium Laicorum*, with the advice of the Prelates, Nobility, and wise men of the laity. — Be pleased then to know, that it is an undoubted and fundamental point of this so ancient Common-Law of England, that the subject hath a true property in his goods and possessions; which doth preserve as sacred that *Mens* and *Tuum*, the nurse of industry, the mother of courage, and without which there can be no justice, of which *Mens* and *Tuum* is the proper object. But this undoubted birthright of free subjects hath lately not a little been invaded and prejudiced, &c (8).

[G] And became possessed of it the 20th of April, 1636.] The author of his epitaph observes upon that occasion, that 'This did crown his former actions, and though it would not increase his integrity, yet it made him more conspicuous; and whom his acquaintance before, now the kingdom, honoured. If the example of his justice had powerful influence on all Magistrates, the people who are governed would be happy on earth, and the rulers in Heaven, with him, who counted it an unworthy thing to be tempted to vice by the reward of virtue.' What is said in the same place is not literally true; namely, that he was 'unbiaised by popular applause, or Court-hopes.' For, if he was unbiaised by Court-hopes, why did he accept of the place of Master of the Rolls?

[H] He was author of a few things.] The only thing he published was this; I. 'A Defence of Trade: in a Letter to Sir Tho Smith, Knight, Governor of the East India Company.' London, 1615, 4to.

After his death there was printed under his name; II. 'A Discourse concerning the Rights and Privileges of the Subject, in a conference desired by the Lords, and had by a Committee of both Houses, 3 Apr. 1628.' Lond. 1642, 4to. At this Conference it was, that Sir Dudley made the Speech mentioned above, note [F]. And, very likely, this *Discourse* is the same with that speech. III. He made several *Speeches* upon other occasions; inserted in Rushworth's Collections (9), and *Ephemeris Parliamentaria* (10). IV. He collected the Letters that passed between the Lord Burleigh, Sir Fr. Walsingham, and others, about the intended marriages of Queen Elizabeth, with the Duke of Anjou, in 1570, &c. and with the Duke of Alençon in 1581. They were published in 1655, under this title; 'The complaint Ambassador: or two Treaties of the intended marriage of Queen Elizabeth of glorious memory; comprized in Letters of Negotiation of Sir Francis Walsingham, her Resident in France. Together with the answers of the Lord Burleigh, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Tho. Smith, and others. Wherein, as in a clear mirror, may be seen the Faces of the two Courts of England and France, as they then stood; with many remarkable passages of State, not at all mentioned in any History. Faithfully collected by the truly Honourable Sir Dudley Digges, Knight, late Master of the Rolls.' Lond. 1655, fol. The publisher, who signs himself A. H. says in the Preface, that this 'piece was never intended for the press, but had slept long amongst the papers of Sir Dudley Digges, a personage of known wisdom and integrity, and who understood well the value of this manuscript, which had nothing forged or superstitious in it.'

[I] Sir Dudley had a brother *Thomas*, and a son named *Dudley*] His brother *Thomas* was educated in University-college, Oxon (11), took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Octob. 31, 1606 (12), retired to London; and then travelling beyond sea, studied in foreign universities; from whence returning a good scholar, and an accomplished person, he was created Master of Arts, Nov. 20, 1626 (13). He translated from Spanish into English, 'Gerardo the unfortunate Spaniard.' Lond. 1622, 4to, written by Gonçalo de Cespedes. And from Latin into English verse, 'The Rape of Proserpine.' Lond. 1617, &c. 4to, written by Claudian. He died April 7, 1635, being accounted a good Poet, and Orator; and a great master of the English, French, and Spanish languages (14). — As for *Dudley*, the third son of Sir Dudley Digges, he was admitted into University-college, Oxon. in 1629, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Jan. 17, 1631-2. Being the next year elected Fellow of All-souls-college, he took the degree of Master Octob. 15, 1635 (15), and having a great memory, and excellent natural

(9) Part i. edit. 1659. p. 302, 360, 533, 606.

(10) Edit. 1654 fol. p. 54, 139, 154.

(11) Wood's Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 599.

(12) Idem, Fasti, col. 174.

(13) Ibid. col. 235

(14) Wood, col. 600.

(15) Ibid. Fasti, col. 252, 262.

Ephemeris Parliamentaria: a faithful register of the Parliament 3 & 4 Car. I. edit. 1654. fol. p. 54.

Whitelocke, supra, p. 14.

Pat. 6 Car. I. 6.

See above the title CAESAR ut supra. Newcourt, he succeeded Sir Julius Caesar's seat, Aug. 1. 1636. which seems to be a mistake. Repertorium Esclæ. fol. I. p. 341.

Wood, ubi supra, col. 619.

Excitatus restituit, reparavit, decrevit, deest, confirmavit. Lib. de testibus.

Ephemeris Parliamentaria, supra, p. 54.

natural parts, which he improved by close studying, he became a general scholar, and a good Poet and Linguist. He wrote 'An Answer to a printed book entitled, *Observations upon some of his Majesty's late Answers and Expresses*,' Oxon. 1642, 4to, and 'The Unlawfulness of Subjects taking up Arms against

their Sovereign in what case soever, with Answers to all Objections.' Lond. 1643, 4to, reprinted several times since. He died Octob. 1, 1643 (16). The eldest son and heir of Sir Dudley Digges, was named Thomas, and his second son John (17). (16) Idem, Athnæz, Vol. II. c. 21, 32. (17) Harris, above, p. 370.

(a) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. edit. 1721. col. 232. and life of Mr Henry Dodwell, &c. by Fr. Brookesby, B. D. Lond. 1715. 8vo. p. 11.

(b) Brokesby, p. 12.

(c) Wood, ubi supra.

(d) Brokesby, ibid. p. 13, 14, 15.

(e) Ibid. p. 15.

(f) Ibid. p. 16, 17.

(g) Wood, ubi supra.

(h) Ibid.

(i) Ibid. and Brokesby, p. 23.

DODWELL (HENRY) a very learned writer, in part of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth century, was born in the parish of St Warburgh in Dublin [A], towards the latter end of October, 1641 (a); and baptized November 4th (b). His father had an estate in Conaught, but it being seized by the Irish rebels, he came, with his wife and child, to England in 1648, to obtain some assistance among their relations. After some stay in London, they went to York, and placed their son in the free-school of that city (c), where he continued five years, and laid the foundation of his future great accomplishments. His father, after having settled him with his mother at York, went to Ireland, to look after his estate, but died of the plague at Waterford: and his mother going thither for the same purpose, fell into a consumption, of which she died, in her brother Sir Henry Slingsby's house (d). Being thus deprived of his parents, Mr Dodwell was reduced to such straits that he had not money enough to buy pen, ink, and paper [B]; and suffered very much for want of his board being regularly paid (e). Thus he continued till 1654, when his uncle, Mr Henry Dodwell, Rector of Newbourn and Hemley in Suffolk, sent for him, discharged his debts [C], and not only assisted, but also perfected him, in his studies (f). With him he remained about a year, and then went to Dublin, where he was at school for a year longer (g). In 1656 he was admitted into Trinity-College in that city, of which he was successively chosen Scholar and Fellow (h). But in 1666 he quitted his Fellowship, in order to avoid going into holy orders (i), as the statutes of the College require [D]. He came the same year to England, and resided at Oxford (k) for the sake of the publick library. Thence he returned to his native country for a time (l), and in 1672 published, at Dublin, in 8vo. a posthumous treatise of his late learned Tutor John Stearn, M. D. to which he put a preface of his own [E].

(k) Wood, ibid. and Brokesby p. 38.

(l) Wood, ubi supra.

His

[A] Was born in the parish of St Warburgh in Dublin.] Though Ireland was the place of his birth, yet by both parents he was of English extraction. His father, William Dodwell, was in a military office, being Corporal of the Field, a post now difused, but equal to a Captain of horse (1). His grandfather (who first of that family settled in Ireland) was Henry Dodwell, a Clergyman (2); a native of Oxford, and son of William, supposed to be brother of Alderman Henry Dodwell, Mayor of that city in the year 1592 (3). — As for Mr Dodwell's mother; she was daughter of Sir Francis Slingsby, uncle to that Sir Henry Slingsby, who was beheaded in 1658, for being concerned in a plot against Oliver Cromwell then Protector. Sir Francis Slingsby was a very brave officer under Sir George Carew Lord President of Munster (4).

(1) Brokesby, as above, p. 7, 8.

(2) Ibid. p. 8.

(3) Wood, ubi supra.

(4) Brokesby, p. 8, &c.

[B] That he had not money to buy pen, ink, and paper.] So that he was forced to use such paper as young gentlemen had covered their work with, and thrown away as no longer fit for their use, he having no other to write his exercises on; and to make use of charcoal, instead of pen and ink, which he had not money to purchase; and then, when he came to school, to borrow pen and ink of his school-fellows to fit his exercises for his master's sight (5).

(5) Brokesby, ubi supra, p. 15.

[C] Discharged his debts.] The non-payment of which, and especially of his board, had procured him a great deal of neglect and ill treatment; which was to him frequently matter of melancholy reflexions, and had made a very great impression upon his tender mind, as appears from the following instance. One night, when at his uncle's, he was heard to cry out bitterly, and make a sad noise, in his sleep. Upon which, his uncle going to him, and awaking him, the young man told him, that he dreamed his landlord Hind was come to fetch him back to York: the thoughts of which gave him inexpressible uneasiness (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 17.

[D] As the statutes of the college require.] By the statutes of that college, the Fellows are obliged to take Orders when they are Masters of Arts of three years standing. The learned Bishop Jer. Taylor, offered to use his interest for procuring a dispensation of the statute. But Mr Dodwell refused to accept of that kind offer; lest it should be an ill precedent, and of bad consequence afterwards to the college. The reasons given for his declining the ministerial function, were, 1. The great weight of that office, and the severe ac-

count which the Ministers of Christ have to give to their Lord and Master. 2. His natural bashfulness, and humble opinion, and diffidence of himself; tho' he was, unquestionably, very well qualified in point of learning, of every kind. 3. That he thought he could do more service to religion, and the Church, by his writings, whilst he continued a layman, than if he took Orders: for then, the usual objections made against clergymen's writings on those subjects, viz. 'That they plead their own cause, and are biassed by self-interest,' would be entirely taken off (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 24, &c.

[E] A posthumous treatise of his late learned tutor John Stearne, M. D. to which he put a preface of his own.] He entituled that book, *De Obsinatione: Opus posthumum Pietatem Christiano-Stoicam Scholastico more Suadens*: and his own preface, *Prolegomena Apologetica, de usu Dogmatum Philosophicorum*, &c. Wherein he apologizes for his tutor; who, by quoting so often in that book, and setting a high value upon the writings and maxims of the Heathen Philosophers, particularly of the Stoicks, might seem to depreciate the Holy Scriptures. Mr Dodwell therefore premises first, that the author's design in that work, is only to recommend *Moral Duties*, and enforce the practice of them by the authority of the antient Philosophers; and that he doth not meddle with the great mysteries of Christianity, which are discoverable only by divine revelation. After that, he shews, that in things which concern our practice, reason is to be regarded, and even in things wherein God hath superadded a farther revelation of his will in the Holy Scriptures: That in the examination of natural reasoning, the authority of the great assertors and vindicators of Reason challenges our regard; and consequently the Philosophers. — Moreover, he argues, that the great end of Revelation, was to instruct us in things, which we could not by our reason attain to the knowledge of; but that in ordinary cases our reason is given us by God to be our guide and director, it being the candle of the Lord. That Revelation was superadded by God to make a farther discovery of his will, and to assist our natural reason, and hence not to be expected in cases where reason is sufficient to attain the end. That faith, or belief of divine revelation, is founded on reason, and that some acts of reason precede faith, and are supposed in our belief of divine revelation, &c. Lastly, he shows, that by *Obsinatio*, Dr Stearn meant what the Greeks call ἀπάθεια, εὐσάθεια, ἀναμαρτυρία, i. e. Firmness,

His second work was, 'Two Letters of Advice. I. For the Susception of Holy Orders. II. For Studies Theological, especially such as are Rational.' To the second edition of which, in 1681, was added, 'A Discourse concerning the Phœnician History of Sanchoniathon [F].' In 1673, he wrote a Preface, without his name, to 'An Introduction to a devout Life,' by Francis de Sales, the last Bishop and Prince of Geneva; which was published at Dublin, in English, this same year, in 12mo (m). He came over again to England in 1674, and settled in London; where he became acquainted with several learned men; particularly in 1675, with Dr William Lloyd, afterwards successively Bishop of St Asaph, Litchfield and Coventry, and Worcester. With that eminent Divine he contracted so great a friendship and intimacy, that he attended him to Holland, when he was appointed Chaplain to the Princess of Orange: He was also with him at Salisbury, when he kept his residence there as Canon of that Church; and spent afterwards a good deal of time with him at St Asaph (n). In 1675 he published 'Some Considerations of present Concernment; How far the Romanists may be trusted by Princes of another persuasion,' in 8vo [G]. The year following he put out 'Two short Discourses against the Romanists. 1. An Account of the fundamental Principle of Popery, and of the Insufficiency of the Proofs which they have for it. 2. An Answer to six Queries proposed to a Gentlewoman of the Church of England, by an Emissary of the Church of Rome [H].'

In the year 1679, he published, in 4to, 'Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government, as practised by the present Nonconformists, proved Schismatical, from such Principles as are least controverted, and do withal most popularly explain the Sinfulness and Mischief of Schism [I]. This being animadverted upon by R. Baxter (o), was vindicated, in 1681, by Mr Dodwell, in 'A Reply to Mr Baxter's pretended Confutation of a Book, intituled, Separation of Churches, &c.' To which were added, 'Three Letters to Mr Baxter, written in the year 1673, concerning the Possibility of Discipline under a Diocesan Government, &c.' 8vo. In 1682 came out his 'Dissertations on St Cyprian [K].'

(m) Brokeby, as above, p. 31, 34. Mr Dodwell vindicated it, and set out whatsoever was Popish; publishing it under the title. An Introduction to a Devout Life: containing especially a prudent Method for Spiritual Exercises, and Remedies against the Devil, &c. ordinary concerning in the course of a pious Life. Fitted for the use of Priests.

(n) Ibid. p. 58, 59.

(o) In his True and only Way of Concord of all the Christian Churches. Lond: 1680, 8vo.

Firmness, the not sinking under adversities and misfortunes (8).

[F] Two letters of advice — and — concerning the Phœnician History of Sanchoniathon. One of the two letters was written for the use of a son of Bishop Lesley, a brother to Mr Charles Lesley, well known for his useful writings against the Quakers, Deists, Papists, and Socinians; one for whom Mr Dodwell had a great esteem (9). — As for his Discourse on Sanchoniathon; it was occasioned by some letters that passed between him and the learned Dr Tho. Smith. This learned person having desired Mr Dodwell's thoughts concerning that author; Mr Dodwell wrote this discourse, wherein he delivers it as his opinion, that Philo-Byblius was the forger, or contriver, of that History under the name of Sanchoniathon.

[G] Some Considerations of present Concernment, &c.] This book was chiefly levelled against Father P. Walsh, and others concerned in the Irish Remonstrance, and the Controversial Letters; which occasioned a kind of schism amongst the Irish Papists (10). See the Irish Remonstrance from London Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. edit. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 515, 516, 620, &c.

[H] An account of the fundamental principle of Popery, — and An Answer to Six Queries, &c.] That fundamental principle, is, the pretended Infallible Authority of that Church. He begins this treatise, by showing, that the Romanists are guilty of formal schism with respect to us in England; since they separated from us upon the prohibition of Pius V, by his Bull dated Febr. 25, 1569. There is a very long preface to this short tract, 'concerning the usefulness of the following hypothesis.' — His Answer to the Six Queries, was occasioned, by their being presented to a gentlewoman of the Church of England, by a Romanist, in order to seduce her. Whereupon Mr Dodwell was desired, to give a short and distinct answer to them: which he accordingly did. The queries were, 1. 'Whether any one going from the Church of England, and dying a Roman Catholick can be saved? 2. Whether they be idolaters, or no? 3. Where was the Church of England before Luther's time? 4. Why all the Churches are not united in one? 5. Why the Church of England doth not hold up to confession, fasting-days, holy oil, which we ourselves commend? 6. Why was Reformation done by Act of Parliament?' These two Discourses make but a very small volume in 12mo. They were reprinted in 1688, 4to, with 'A new Preface relating to the Bishop of Meaux, and other modern Complainers of Misrepresentation.'

[I] Separation of churches, &c.] This book was occasioned by an Answer to a Sermon of the learned John Sharp, (afterwards Archbishop of York) on Romans xiv. 19, by a Nonconformist. Mr Dodwell undertook to vindicate the doctrine contained in this sermon: and that produced the book now before us. In which Mr Dodwell shews, that separation from episcopal communion renders persons unsecure of their eternal salvation: that salvation is ordinarily to be expected from the participation of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which God has appointed as the ordinary means of obtaining the Gospel-benefits, not to be obtained merely by hearing the word, and prayer: that the validity of the Sacraments depends on the authority of the persons administering them, there being such whom God has commissioned to act as his Ministers, whose acts he will ratify in heaven: that God is not obliged to bestow spiritual benefits on any, who receive the Sacraments from persons not thus authorized, besides their administering them being an usurpation on God's authority, &c. In this book, he hath learned discourses, on the Sin unto Death; and the Sin against the Holy Ghost. He intended to write, moreover, 'A History of the first Schisms in the Christian Church,' as a second part of this work; which he stiled the Historical part, as the former the Rational. Accordingly he began it, and in Latin, that it might be beneficial to foreigners, as well as our nation; but he never finished it (11).

[K] Dissertations on St Cyprian.] They were composed at the request of the excellent Dr J. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, who desired our author to write Observations on St Cyprian, when he was about publishing his beautiful edition of that Father. This produced these Dissertations; which were dedicated by the author to that Prelate, on the 7th of April 1682, and printed, that year, in the same size as Bishop Fell's St Cyprian, and designed to be bound with it. A second edition of them, under the title of Dissertaciones Cyprianicæ, &c. was reprinted at Oxford in 1684, 8vo. They are chiefly explanations of some passages in St Cyprian. In the XIth Dissertation he shews, 'How small the number of martyrs was in the first persecutions; and how later Martyrologies, especially of the Romanists, have multiplied them without the authority of ancient monuments.' This subject he handled, particularly at the request of Dr W. Lloyd Bishop of St Asaph (12); with a prospect of the succession of King James II (13). And he [Mr Dodwell] thought, that the lessening the number of martyrs, lessened not the glory of Christianity, when the heroic constancy

(11) Brokeby, p. 58, &c.

(12) Brokeby, as above, p. 102.

(13) Four Letters which passed between the Bishop of Sarem, and Mr Hen. D. J. well. Published by Mr Nelson, London, 1713, 12mo.

(8) See Brokeby, p. 26, &c.

(9) Ibid. p. 33.

(10) Brokeby, ubi supra, p. 40, &c.

he published 'A Discourse concerning the One Altar, and the One Priesthood, insisted on by the Ancients (p) in their Disputes against Schism.' Lond. 8vo. In 1684, a dissertation of his on a passage of Lactantius [L], was inserted in the new edition of that author at Oxford, by Thomas Spark, in 8vo. His treatise 'Of the Priesthood of Laicks [M],' appeared in 1686, in 8vo. About the same time (q) he was preparing for the press the Posthumous Works of the learned Dr John Pearson, Bishop of Chester [N]. He publish'd also, 'Dissertations on Irenæus [O].' On the 2d of April 1688, he was elected by the University of Oxford, Camden's Professor of History, without any application of his own, and when he was at a great distance from Oxford (r): And the 21st of May was incorporated Master of Arts in that University (s). But this beneficial and creditable employment of Professor he did not enjoy long; being deprived of it in November 1691, for refusing to take the Oaths of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary (t). When their Majesties had suspended those Bishops, who would not acknowledge their authority; Mr Dodwell published 'A cautionary Discourse of Schism, with a particular Regard to the Case of the Bishops, who are suspended for refusing to take the new Oath.' London, 8vo (u). And when those Bishops were actually deprived, and others put in their Sees [P], he joined the former, looking upon the new Bishops, and their adherents, as Schismatics. He wrote likewise 'A Vindication of the deprived Bishops:' and 'A Defence of the same [Q].'

After having lost his Professorship, he continued

(p) Particularly by Ignatius. This book was occasioned by an objection of Mr R. Baxter. In opposition to whom, Mr Dodwell affirms, That the One Priesthood, was that of the Bishop: and the One Altar, Episcopal Communion.

(q) For the *Imprimatur* bears date Sept. 9. 1686.

(r) He was then in Shropshire. Brokeby, p. 181.

(s) Wood, ubi supra, col. 231, 232. and Brokeby, as above, p. 180, 181.

(t) About which time he writes *Concerning the Case of taking the new Oath of Allegiance, with a Declaration, &c.* containing only nine pages.

(u) Upon occasion of this discourse it was said, That allowing his plea to stand, he had made Religion for the Church, not the Church for Religion. See the life of Mr John Kettlewell, &c. Lond. 1718. p. 317.

constancy and patience of them that suffered, which tended so much to its honour, was the great reason the persecutors put a stop to these slaughters. However, Mr Dodwell was severely, nay rudely, reflected upon for this Dissertation, by Bishop Burnet; who thus speaks to him: 'In one of these [Dissertations] you laboured to lessen one of the glorious characters of the Christian religion from the number of the martyrs; and in the next, (concerning the signal courage and fortitude of the martyrs) you began the account of the patience and fortitude of the martyrs with the wilfulness of the first Christians, and their desire of fame and vain-glory. It is true, you after that gave better reasons for it: but would a Vaninus, a Hobbes, and a Spinoza, say any thing more derogatory to that glory of our most holy faith, than you wrote in those two Dissertations?' In answer to that, Mr Dodwell replies, That he wrote those Discourses 'with a design of advancing, not of undervaluing martyrdom.'—And that he could have easily confuted his adversaries, had it not been for the great veneration he had for the goodness and piety of several of the Fathers, who were of too easy belief of matter of fact not sufficiently attested (14). This Dissertation was professedly attacked by Father Thierry Ruinart, a Benedictin; in the General Preface to his *Acta Primorum Martyrum sincera & selecta, ex Libris cum editis tum manuscriptis collecta, &c. Notisq; & observationibus illustrata. His præmittitur Præfatio generalis, in qua refellitur Dissertatio 11<sup>ma</sup>. Cypriana de Paucitate Martyrum.* Paris 1689, 4to, and Amstel. 1712, fol. Mr Dodwell never answered this Preface; not that it was unanswerable, but really out of tenderness for religion: because he must have been forced to expose the *weakness* or *credulity* of ancient writers, which some irreligious wretches would lay hold on to vile purposes (15). At the end of these Dissertations are some chronological tables, chiefly the Canons of Ptolemy collated with manuscripts; some *Fasts* out of manuscripts; a fragment of Theon; and another of the Emperor Heraclius, both founded on Ptolemy's Canons.

of answer to H. Grotius's Dissertation *De Coenæ Administratione ubi pastores non sunt, &c.* which was translated about this time into English by Mr William Baxter, the Antiquarian, and published under this title, 'Anti-Dodwellism (16): being two curious tracts formerly written by Hugo Grotius, concerning a solution of these two curious questions: 1. Whether the Eucharist may be administered in the absence of, or want of Pastors, &c.'

[N] *The Posthumous Works of the learned Dr John Pearson.* They were printed at London in 1688, 4to, under this title, *V. Cl. Johannis Pearsonii, S. T. P. Cestriensis nuper Episcopi, Opera Posthuma Chronologica, &c. viz. De Serie & Successione primorum Romæ Episcoporum Dissertationes duæ: quibus præfigurantur Annales Paulini, & Lectiones in Acta Apostolorum. Singula prælo tradidit, edenda curavit, & Dissertationis novis additionibus auxit H. Dodwellus, &c. Cujus etiam accessit de eadem Successione usque ad Annales Cl. Cestriensis Cyprianicos, Dissertatio Singularis.* The additions made by Mr Dodwell, are, a Discourse to shew that Theophilus Antiochenus, the author of the Discourse *ad Autolyicum*, was not Theophilus Bishop of Antioch: another, to shew, what St Jerom meant by this passage, 'That the Churches were governed by a Council of Presbyters at first, till divisions arose, &c.' Another, to prove, how little Eusebius was acquainted with Latin authors, or affairs in the West; and how long after his Chronicon he wrote his History. A Dissertation concerning the younger Agrippa's death. A Discourse, shewing, that Celibacy and Virginity were not so much esteemed in the first ages of the Church, as in the following times. A Discourse about Tertullian's Epocha, in his first book against Marcion, c. 19. A Dissertation concerning the succession of the first Bishops of Rome, brought down to the time where the Bishop begins his Cyprianic Annals: which Annals are inserted in Bishop Fell's edition of St Cyprian (17).

[O] *Dissertations on Irenæus.* They were printed at Oxford in 1689, in 8vo, under the title of *Dissertations in Irenæum.* Though they are six in number, they are only prolegomena to what the author further designed. He hath joined to this work, *Philippus Sides de Catechistarum Alexandrinorum Successione, i. e. Of the Readers in the School of Alexandria; with notes.* At the end there is, A Chronological Table.

[P] *When those Bishops were actually deprived, and others put in their Sees.* The deprived Bishops were, Dr Will. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr Will. Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich; Dr Fr. Turner, of Ely; Dr Tho. Kenn, of Bath and Wells; Dr Rob. Frampton, of Gloucester; and Dr Tho. White, of Peterborough. And those put in their Sees were, Dr John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr John Moore, at Norwich; Dr Sim. Patrick, at Ely; Dr Rich Kidder, at Bath and Wells; Dr Edw. Fowler, at Gloucester; and Dr Rich. Cumberland, at Peterborough.

[Q] *A Vindication of the deprived Bishops.* This was printed at London in 1692, 4to, being an answer to

(16) Probably because it was contrary to what Mr Dodwell had asserted in his book of *Schism*, and its defence.

(17) This dissertation contains 226 pages.

(14) Four Letters, *ibid.*

(15) *Ibid.* p. 103.

[L] *A Dissertation on a passage of Lactantius.* In his treatise *de Mortibus Persecutorum*, sect. 17. The words are — *per circuitum ripæ Strigæ Nicomediam venit.* In explaining which, Mr Dodwell observes, That *Striga* is first used for the limit of a Roman camp, and thence for the borders of fields, and limits of countries: that rivers were convenient for all these ends: that as Euphrates was the boundary of the Roman empire towards the Parthians, and the Rhine towards the Germans, so was the Danube of the Illyrian Province. And, because passage by water was the easiest for infirm persons, Dioclesian made choice of it in his chironical weakness to go to Nicomedia, partly by the Danube, and partly by the Euxine sea, though it was *per circuitum*, by taking a compass about.

[M] *Of the Priesthood of Laicks.* *De Jure Laicorum Sacerdotali, ex Sententia Tertulliani aliorumque Veterum;* as the title of it is. 'Twas written by way

continued for some time in Oxford, and then retired to Cookham a village near Maidenhead, about an equal distance between Oxford and London; and therefore convenient to maintain a correspondence in each place, and to consult friends and books, as he should have occasion (w). While he liv'd there, he became acquainted with Mr Francis Cherry of Shottesbrooke, a person of great learning and virtue, for the sake of whose Conversation he remov'd to Shottesbrooke, where he chiefly spent the remainder of his days (x). In 1692, he published his *Camdenian Lectures* read at Oxford [R]: And in 1694, 'An Invitation to Gentlemen to acquaint themselves with ancient History;' being a preface to *Degory Wbear's* 'Method of reading History,' translated into English by Mr Bohun. About this time having lost one or more of the Dodwells, his kinsmen, whom he designed for his heirs; he married on the 24th of June 1694, in the 52d year of his age, a person, in whose father's house at Cookham he had boarded several times: and by her had ten children (y). In 1696 he drew up the *Annals of Thucydides, and Xenophon,* to accompany the editions of those two authors by Dr John Hudson, and Mr Edward Wells. Having likewise compiled the *Annals of Velleius Paterculus, and of Quintilian, and Statius,* he published them all together in 1698, in one volume, 8vo [S]. About the same time he wrote an account of the lesser Geographers, published by Dr Hudson [T]: And, 'A Treatise concerning the Lawfulness of instrumental Musick in Holy Offices (z):' Occasioned by an organ being set up at Tiverton in 1696. With some other things [U]. In 1701, he published his account of the Greek and Roman Cycles [W], which was the most elaborate of all his pieces, and seems to have been the work of the greatest part of his life (a). The same year was published a letter of his [X], concerning Mr Toland's disingenuous treatment of him (b). The year following appeared 'A Discourse [of his] concerning the Obligation to marry within the true Communion, following from their style of being called a Holy Seed' (c). And 'An Apology for the Philosophical Writings of Cicero,' against the objections of Mr Petit: prefixed to Tully's five books *De Finibus, or, Of Moral Ends,* translated into English by Samuel Parker, Gent. As also the *Annals of Thucydides and Xenophon* [Y]. In 1703 he published 'A Letter concerning the Immortality of the Soul, against Mr Henry Layton's Hypothesis, 4to.' And, 'A Letter to Dr Tillotson about Schism,' 8vo. written

(w) Brokeby, above, p. 223.

(x) Ibid. p. 305.

(y) Ibid. p. 305, 306. Only six survived him; namely, two sons, and four daughters. One of his sons, is the learned Mr Wm Dodwell, Rector of Shottesbrooke.

(z) Published in 1700. 8vo.

(a) Dr Halley, in his account of that book, at the end of Brokeby's life of Mr Dodwell, p. 638.

(b) Brokeby, p. 321, &c.

(c) This was annexed to Mr C. Lesley's Discourse on the same subject.

to a book published by *Humphrey Hody, B. D.* London 1691, 4to, entitled, 'The Unreasonableness of a Separation from the New Bishops: or a treatise out of Ecclesiastical History, shewing, that although a Bishop was unjustly deprived, neither he nor the Church ever made a Separation, if the Successor was not a Heretick. Translated out of an ancient Greek Manuscript in the Publick Library at Oxford,' viz. among the Barocian MSS. Mr Hody writing an answer to *The Vindication, &c.* Mr Dodwell published 'A Defence of the Vindication of the Depriv'd Bishops.' Lond. 1695, 4to. To which he put a preface that was then suppressed, but printed afterwards, with this title, 'The Doctrine of the Church of England, concerning the Independency of the Clergy on the Lay-Power, as to those Rights of theirs which are purely Spiritual, reconciled with our Oath of Supremacy, and the Lay-Deprivations of the Popish Bishops in the beginning of the Reformation (18).'

[R] *His Camdenian Lectures read at Oxford.* The first was read May 25, 1688, and the sixteenth, or last, Nov. 6, 1691. Besides which, there are three more, that were prepared, but not read. These Lectures are upon *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores*, i. e. those authors, who wrote the History of the Roman Emperors, from the time of Trajan to that of Dioclesian. They were printed at Oxford 1692, 8vo, under this title, *Prælectiones Academicæ in Scholâ Rhetoricæ Camdenianâ: cum Fragmentis e Libris Linteis.* These *Libri Linteis*, were the Annals, or Commentaries of the ancient Romans, which used to be written on linnen.

[S] *Having likewise compiled the Annals of Velleius, &c.* The title of them was, *Annales Velleiani, Quintilianei, Statiani; seu Vita P. Velleii, M. Fabii Quintilianii, Papinii Statii (obiterque Juvenalis) pro temporum ordine dispositæ.* Those of *Velleius Paterculus*, were written at the request of Dr Charlett, late Master of University-college, Oxon. when he procured an edition of that author in 1692. At the end of these Annals is an Appendix, concerning *Julius Cæsar*, who digested Cæsar's Commentaries; and concerning *Commodianus*; in two Dissertations addressed to the most learned Grævius.

[T] *He wrote an account of the Lesser Geographers* The first volume of these Geographers was published in 1698, 8vo. The second in 1703. The third and

fourth in 1712, &c. Mr Dodwell's account of the several authors, is printed in those volumes.

[U] *With some other things* Particularly *De Tabulis Coelorum Dissert. Et Tabulæ Chronolog. promente xii Patriarch.* These are printed in Dr Grabe's *Spicilegium*, Vol. I, among the notes. The first is a Dissertation on these words, *ταῖς πλαξί των γενεων.* *Tabulis Coelorum*, used in the Testament of the xii Patriarchs. Whereby Mr Dodwell understands the archetypal and original Law, as it is in the supreme lawgiver, in heaven; in opposition to the written Law of Moses: and supposes it to be also part of Enoch's prophecy. The other piece is, *Chronological Tables*, according to the author of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, inserted in that collection of Dr Grabe.

[W] *His account of the Greek and Roman Cycles.* It was printed at Oxford in 1701, 4to, under this title, *De Veteribus Græcorum Romanorumque Cyclis, obiterque de Cyclo Judæorum ætate Christi, Dissertationes Decem, cum Tabulis necessariis. Inferuntur Tabulis Fragmenta Veterum incædita, ad rem spectantia Chronologicam. Opus Historiæ veteri, tam Græcæ quam Romanæ, quam & Sacræ quoque necessarium.* At the end, are, *Tabulæ Chronologicæ ad hoc opus illustrandum necessariæ.* The contents of these Dissertations are, 1. Of Meton's Cycle. 2. Of that of Calippus. 3. Of the Athenian Cycles before Meton. 4. The Cycles of the Olympiads. 5. The Delphic and Boeotian Cycles. 6. Of the Isthmian Games, and Corinthian and Sicilian Cycles. 7. Of the Nemean Games, and Argolic Cycles. 8. Of the Laconic Cycles. 9. Of the Macedonian and Jewish Cycles. 10. Of the ancient Roman Cycles.

[X] *A Letter of his* It was inserted in the second edition of 'The Canon of the New Testament vindicated, by J. Richardson, B. D.' in answer to J. Toland's *Amyntor*: who had (19) quoted a long passage out of Mr Dodwell's Dissertations on Irenæus (20), tending (as that impious author imagined) to invalidate the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and to represent the Canon of the New Testament as precarious and ill-grounded (21).

[Y] *As also the Annals of Thucydides and Xenophon* They were printed at Oxford in 4to, under this title; *Annales Thucydidei et Xenophontei. Præmittitur Apparatus, cum vitæ Thucydidis Synopsi Chronologicâ.*

(19) Page 69, &c.

(20) Dissertat. I. §. 38, 39.

(21) See Brokeby, p. 321.

See the life of Mr John Dodwell, &c. Lond. 1713. 8vo. p. 16.

in the year 1691, The year following came out, his 'Chronology of Dionysius Halicarnassus,' in the Oxford edition of that Historian by Dr Hudson, folio; his 'Two Dissertations on the age of Phalaris and Pythagoras [Z];' and his 'Admonition to Foreigners, concerning the late Schism in England [AA].' When the bill for preventing Occasional Conformity was depending in Parliament, he writ a treatise, intituled, 'Occasional Communion fundamentally destructive of the Discipline of the Primitive Catholick Church, and contrary to the Doctrine of the latest Scriptures concerning Church Communion;' which was published in 1705, at London, 8vo. About the same time, observing that the deprived Bishops were reduced to a small number (d), he wrote, 'A Case in View considered: in a Discourse, proving that [in Case our present invalidly deprived Fathers shall leave all their Sees vacant, either by Death or Resignation] we shall not then be obliged to keep up our Separation from those Bishops, who are as yet involved in the Guilt of the present unhappy Schism.' Lond. 1705. 8vo. Some time after, he published 'A farther Prospect of the Case in View, in answer to some new Objections not then considered.' Lond. 1707. 8vo. Hitherto Mr Dodwell had acted in such a manner, as had procured him the applause of all, except such as hated or despised the Nonjurors; but, about this time, he published some opinions that drew upon him almost universal censure. For, in order to exalt the powers and dignity of the Priesthood, in that *One Communion*, which he imagined to be the *Peculium* of God, and to which he had joined himself, he endeavoured to prove, with his usual perplexity of learning, That the doctrine of the Soul's *Natural Mortality* was the true and original Doctrine; and that Immortality was only at Baptism conferred upon the Soul, by the Gift of God, through the Hands of One Sett of regularly-ordained Clergy (e). In support of this opinion, he writ, 'An Epistolary Discourse, proving, from the Scriptures and the first Fathers, that the Soul is a Principle naturally mortal; but immortalized actually by the pleasure of God, to Punishment, or to Reward, by its Union with the Divine Baptismal Spirit. Wherein is proved, That none have the Power of giving this Divine Immortalizing Spirit, since the Apostles, but only the Bishops.' Lond. 1706. 8vo. At the end of the Preface to the Reader, is a Dissertation to prove, 'That Sacramental Absolution is necessary for the Remission of Sins, even of those who are truly penitent.' This Discourse being attacked by several persons [BB], our author endeavoured to vindicate himself in the three following pieces: namely, 1. 'A Preliminary Defence of the Epistolary Discourse, concerning the Distinction between Soul and Spirit: in two Parts. I. Against the Charge of favouring Impiety. II. Against the Charge of favouring Herefy. In the former is inserted a Digression, proving, that the Collection of the Code of the Four Gospels in Trajan's Time, is no way derogatory to the sufficient Attestation of them.' Lond. 1707. 8vo. 2. 'The Scripture Account of the Eternal Rewards or Punishments of all that hear of the Gospel, without an Immortality necessarily resulting from the Nature of the Souls themselves that are concerned in those Rewards or Punishments. Shewing particularly, I. How much of this Account was discovered by the best Philosophers. II. How far the Accounts of those Philosophers

(d) Brokesby, ut supra, p. 453.

(e) Preface to Dr Sam. Clarke's Sermons; by Benjamin Bishop of Winchester. Edit. 1730. 8vo. p. xvi.

[Z] *Two Dissertations on the age of Phalaris and Pythagoras.*] They were occasioned by the dispute between Dr Bentley and the Honourable Mr Boyle, concerning the Epistles of Phalaris. In the preface, Mr Dodwell shews, That Atossa the daughter of Cyrus was not the first inventor of Epistles, as the Doctor had asserted: But the thing she invented, was, the manner of joining the tables on which they were written, with such exactness, that they might be more conveniently carried. These two Dissertations were printed at Oxford in 8vo under this title: *Exercitationes duae: prima de aetate Phalaridis: secunda de aetate Pythagorae Philosophi.*

[AA] *His Admonition to Foreigners, concerning the late Schism in England.*] The title of it was, *De nupero Schismate Anglicano Parænesis ad Exteros, tam Reformatos quam etiam Pontificios, qua Jura Episcoporum vetera, eorundemque à Magistratu Seculari Independentia, omnibus asserenda commendantur.* Lond. 8vo. i. e. 'An Admonition to Foreigners, as well of the Reformed Religion as Papists; wherein the ancient Right of Bishops, and their Independency on the Secular Magistrate, are asserted and recommended.' The schism here mentioned, is that which was occasioned by the deprivation of some of the Bishops, and the putting others into their Sees. See above note [P].

[BB] *This Discourse being attacked by several persons.*] The chief books written against it were these: I. 'A Charge of Herefy maintained against Mr Dodwell's late *Epistolary Discourse*, concerning the Mortality of the Soul: by way of address to the Clergy of the Church of England. Laying open his oppo-

sition to the received Creeds, and his falsification of all sacred and profane Antiquity.' By Edmund Chishull late Chaplain at Smyrna, and Fellow of C.C.C. Oxon. Lond. 1706, 8vo. In this book the author gives the following character of Mr Dodwell. —

'His modesty will, I hope, excuse me, if I have expressed myself somewhat freely concerning the size of his judgment and understanding, and if I rank him only in that lower class of learned men, who are indeed fitted for the collecting of materials, but are unqualified to judge rightly of, and to reason upon what they shall collect.' The other pieces published against the Epistolary Discourse were, II. 'A Letter to Mr Dodwell; wherein all the Arguments in his Epistolary Discourse against the Immortality of the Soul are particularly answered, and the Judgment of the Fathers concerning that matter truly represented.' By Samuel Clarke, M. A. Lond. 1706, 8vo. III. 'A Philosophical Discourse concerning the natural Immortality of the Soul; wherein the great question of the Soul's Immortality is endeavoured to be rightly stated and fully cleared. Occasioned by Mr Dodwell's late Epistolary Discourse. In two parts.' By John Norris, M. A. Rector of Bemerton. Lond. 1708, 8vo. IV. Thomas Milles, M. A. afterwards Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, published also an Answer to Mr Dodwell, Oxford 1707, 8vo, intituled, 'The Natural Immortality of the Soul asserted and proved from the Scriptures and First Fathers: in answer to Mr Dodwell's Epistolary Discourse, in which he endeavours to prove the Soul to be a Principle naturally mortal.'

phers were corrected, and improved, by the Hellenistical Jews, assisted by the Revelations of the Old Testament. III. How far the Discoveries fore-mentioned were improved by the Revelations of the Gospel. Wherein the Testimonies also of S. Irenæus and Tertullian are occasionally considered.'  *Lond. 1708. 8vo. And, 3. ' An Explication of a famous Passage in the Dialogue of S. Justin Martyr with Tryphon, concerning the Immortality of Human Souls. Being a Letter to the learned Author of a Book, intituled, 'H Νέπης δεδωρα, &c. With an Appendix, consisting of a Letter to the Rev. Mr John Norris, of Bemerton; and an Expollulation relating to the late Insults of Mr Clarke and Mr Chishull.' Lond. 1708. 8vo. Upon the death of Dr William Lloyd, the deprived Bishop of Norwich, on the first of January 1710-11; Mr Dodwell, with some other friends, wrote to Dr Thomas Kenn, of Bath and Wells, the only surviving deprived Bishop, to know, Whether he challenged their subjection? He returned for answer, That he did not: and signified his desire that the breach might be closed by their joining with the Bishops possessed of their sees; giving his reasons for it. Accordingly Mr Dodwell, and several of his friends, joined in communion with them (f). But others refusing so to do, Mr Dodwell was exceedingly concerned at it, and wrote, ' The Case in View now in Fact. Proving, That the Continuance of a separate Communion, without Substitutes in any of the late Invalidly-deprived Sees, since the death of William late Lord Bishop of Norwich, is schismatical. With an Appendix, proving, That our late Invalidly-deprived Fathers had no Right to substitute Successors, who might legitimate the Separation, after that the Schism had been concluded by the Decease of the last Survivor of those same Fathers.' Lond. 1711. 8vo. Our author wrote some few other things [CC], besides all that has been already mentioned. At length, after a very studious, and ascetick course of life, he died at Shottesbrooke the 7th of June 1711, in the seventieth year of his age; and was buried in the chancel of the Church there (g), where a monument is erected to him [DD]. Mr Dodwell, as to his person, was of a small, but well-proportioned stature, of a sanguine and fair complexion, of a*

(f) Book shew'd at  
101<sup>st</sup> p. 460.

(g) Ibid. p. 550.

grave

[CC] Our author wrote some few other things.] Namely, I. *Dissertatio ad Fragmentum quoddam T Livii*, i. e. ' A Dissertation on a fragment supposed to be Livy's,' extant among Archbishop Laud's MSS. in the Bodleian Library. This Dissertation is mentioned by Mr Hearne, in his notes on Book vi. of Livy, of his edition. Mr Dodwell likewise settled the times of the actions related by that author, by the years *ab Urbe Cond.* according to the Varronian account, set at the top of each page (22). II. At the request of a Gentleman in the Isle of Man, who had desired his thoughts on this point, ' Whether the Church of England had just reasons, when she reformed, to lay aside the use of Incense, which was practised in all Churches before our quarrel with the Church of Rome?' he wrote, in 1709, ' A Discourse concerning the Use of Incense in Divine Offices. Wherein it is proved, that that practice, taken up in the Middle Ages, both by the Eastern and Western Churches, is, notwithstanding, an Innovation from the doctrine of the first and purest Churches, and the Traditions derived from the Apostles. Serving also to evince, That even the Consent of those Churches of the Middle Ages, is no certain Argument, that the particulars wherein they are supposed to consent, were faithfully derived from the Apostles, against the modern Asserters of the Infallibility of Oral Tradition.' Printed at London in 1711, 8vo. III. *Julii Vitalis Epitaphium, cum Notis Henrici Dodwelli, & Commentario G. Mulgrave. Accedit Dodwelli Epistola ad Cl. Goezium de Puteslanâ & Bajanâ Inscriptionibus. Ipscæ Dunmoniorum & Londini, 1711, 8vo.* This epitaph of *Julius Vitalis*, on which Mr Dodwell wrote notes, was found at Bath, and published by Mr Hearne at the end of his edition of *King Alfred's Life* by Sir John Spelman, 8vo. The Letter to Mr Goetz Professor at Leipfick, was written by Mr Dodwell in 1700, being an explanation of an inscription on *Memnius Calistus*, found at *Puteoli*; and on another found at *Baiæ*. IV. *De ætate & patriâ Dionysii Periegetæ.* On the age and country of *Dionysius the Geographer*. Printed in the Oxford edition of that author in 1710, 8vo. V. *De Æarmâ Equestri Woodwardianâ Dissertatio, &c.* On the ancient Roman shield, formerly in Dr Woodward's possession, whereon was represented the sacking of Rome by the Gauls. This Dissertation Mr Dodwell was prevented by death from finishing: it was published by Mr Hearne in 8vo. Oxon. 1713. The learned author supposes, this shield to have been made about the time of Nero. VI. Four Letters, which passed between the Right Reverend the Lord

Bishop of Sarum, and Mr Henry Dodwell, were printed from the originals. Lond. 1713, 12mo.

Mr Dodwell wrote likewise, VII. *A Treat concerning the Death of Judas.* Wherein he showed, that ἀπὸ γυζατο does not signify his being strangled with grief, as Grotius and Dr Hammond understood it, but that he hanged himself. It was never printed: nor the following, being VIII. *A Dissertation concerning the Time of the Greek Translation of the Old Testament by the LXX.* In which he proved, from the testimony of Eupolemus in Clemens Alexandrinus, and others, that it was not in the time of Demetrius Phaleræus a Prince, and of Ptolemy Phyladelphus the son of Ptolemy Lagida; but of Demetrius Phaler, a Grammarian, and of Ptolemy Philopator, who might be surnamed Phyladelphus as well as the former; as there were several *Phyfeones*, *Soteres*, *Philometores*, and *Euergetæ*. This Dissertation was left unfinished: as also IX. *A Dissertation concerning the Laws of Nature and Nations;* in which the author proposed to shew, that these laws were not (as is generally supposed) the result of reason, though highly congruous thereto; but laws delivered by Almighty God, to Adam, or Noah, the first common parents of all mankind, or at least to some in those first ages, wherein God most frequently revealed his Will: that these were transmitted by tradition: that they must proceed from the arbitrary pleasure of the great Governor of the universe, &c. X. He designed to publish *The Epistle of St Barnabas*, with a literal translation, and notes; having, ever since the year 1691, wrote *prolegomena* to it. But though he resumed this design not long before his decease, yet it was left imperfect. XI. Lastly, He began to settle *the Time and Order in which Tertullian wrote each of his Books.* But on this subject he made but a very little progress (23).

[DD] Where a monument is erected to him.] On the stone over his grave was put this inscription:

(23) See Brockesby, 1<sup>st</sup> 15<sup>m</sup>.

Here lieth  
The Learned and Pious  
HENRY DODWELL, M. A.  
Sometimes Fellow  
Of Trinity College near Dublin,  
Camden Professor of History in Oxon.  
Born at Dublin O<sup>r</sup>. MDCXLI.  
Died at Shottesbrooke  
The vii. of June, MDCCXI.  
Anno Æt. LXX.

But

grave, and serious, but a comely, pleasant countenance; of a piercing eye, of a solid judgment, and ready apprehension (b). He naturally enjoyed so strong and vigorous a constitution of body, that he knew not, by his own experience, what the head-ach was (i). His industry was prodigious, as appears by the many books he published. Extremely frugal he was of his time [EE], and indefatigable in his studies, by which means he became acquainted with almost all authors, both sacred and profane, ancient and modern (k). He studied, not for his own benefit only, but also for that of others: for he was generously communicative, and always ready to assist others in worthy undertakings; very zealous to promote learning, and though learned almost beyond any one of his age, yet (what is very uncommon) of singular humility and modesty. Accordingly he was courted and admired by the most eminent men abroad (l), who bestow the highest encomiums upon him, on all occasions (m). It must however be owned, that as he conversed more with books than men, his *Style* is, for that reason, obscure and intricate, and full of digressions: for he often complained to his friends, that he was not able to comprize his thoughts in few words (n). With regard to his moral character; He was a person of great Sobriety and Temperance; of exemplary Charity, notwithstanding the narrowness of his fortune; of strict Piety; a great lover of the Clergy, and a zealous Member of the Church of England (o). As for his being a Nonjuror, That indeed gives no very advantageous idea of his discretion or judgment: but it must be considered, on the other hand, that Conscience is a stubborn thing, that will not always stoop to Interest or Ambition.

(b) Mr Hearne, in his edit. of Leland, Vol. V. p. 112.

(i) Brokeby, ut supra, p. 547.

(k) Ibid. p. 521.

(l) Particularly, Card. Noris, Mr Grævius, Perizonius, Pagi, Magliabecchi, &c. Ibid. p. 543.

(m) See at the beginning of the Dissertation De *Parmâ Woodwardianâ*.

(n) Brokeby, p. 535. and life of J. Kettlewell, as above, p. 318.

(o) Brokeby, p. 525, 531, &c.

But this inscription not being thought proportionable to the merit of so great a man, a monument was erected to him by his widow; on which was placed the following elegant epitaph, composed by Dr Robert Freind, late Master of Westminster-school.

Accede Hospes quicunque Literarum Studia  
Vel Humanarum vel Divinarum Sapis.  
Disce marmor hoc quem signet virum.  
Hic Ille sua condi ossa voluit,  
Cui inter vivos frustra quæsieris parem,  
HENRICUS DODWELLUS  
In quo conjuncta erant  
Cum memoriâ rerum prope infinitâ  
Et Inventionis Fœcunditas  
Et Judicii Acumen.  
Cum mirifico quodam Pudore,  
Animi Firmitas inconcussa.  
Cum aliquâ in disputando vehementiâ,  
Candor eximius.  
Quod difficilimis in re Chronologicâ nodis  
Feliciter expeditis,  
Novam Antiquæ Historiæ Lucem affuderit,  
Eam Illi Laudem ultrò omnes  
Quasi Suam & Propriam tribuunt.  
Sed & Hanc etiam cum paucis communem habuit,  
Quod toties in Arenâ Criticâ  
Sine Fastu & Maledicentiâ certaverit:  
Omnemque, quæqua patet, Eruditionis ambitum  
Capaci Mente comprehenderit,  
Istius, interim,  
Quam aucupari solent Eruditorum coryphæi,  
Gloriolæ Contemptor.  
Ad majora scilicet intentus,  
Primævæ in Ecclesiâ Disciplinæ Vindex  
Audire maluit

Quam Reipublicæ Literariæ Lumen.  
Vetera itaque Patrum Christianorum Monumenta  
Indefessus perlustravit;  
Et quorum Scripta animo accuratè infixerat,  
Eorum Severitatem & Sanctimoniam  
In Vitâ accuratius expressit.  
E Collegio SS. Trinitatis, prope Dubliniam,  
Doctorem Suffragiis accersitus,  
Oxonium migravit;  
Ubi Camdeniani Prælectoris munus  
Multâ cum Laude, quoad potuit, sustinuit:  
Inde cum recessisset,  
In Ædibus Shottesbrochianis,  
Amicissimi Viri Hospitio usus,  
Inter Libros delituit, consenuit, obiit,  
Juris Regii & Episcopalis  
Ad extremum usque Spiritum Propugnator.  
Animam Eruditam, Simplicem, Piam  
Deo reddidit, Jun. 7. A. D. 1711. Æta. 70.  
Conjugi Optimo ANNA DODWELLA.  
M. P. (24).

(24) Brokeby p. 550, 552, &c.

[EE] *Extremely frugal he was of his time.*] How desirous he was to save and improve it, is evident from the care he took not to lose that part of it wherein he travelled, which was chiefly *on foot*, through his own choice, rather than by stage coaches, that he might thereby be master of his own hours, often reading as he walked. For this end, he carried with him in his journies, books fitted for his pockets, the Hebrew Bible in four small volumes, the Greek New Testament, and the Common Prayer, accordingly. For the same purpose he had Thomas à Kempis, S. Augustine's Meditations, and other books of the like nature and size (25). After he was settled in Berkshire, he generally walked from Shottesbrooke to London, in a day, which is six and twenty miles (26). C

(25) Ibid. p. 524.

(26) Ibid. p. 524.

DONNE (JOHN) an eminent Poet and Divine of the last century, was born in London [A], in the year 1573, and educated in his father's house, under a private Tutor, till the eleventh year of age, when he was sent to the University of Oxford: at which time it was observed of him, as formerly of the famous Picus Mirandula, that *he was rather born than made wise by study* (a). He was admitted a Commoner of Hart-Hall, together with his younger brother, in Michaelmas Term 1584 (b). He declined taking his first degree at Oxford, by advice of his relations, who, being of the Romish religion, disliked the oath tendered upon that occasion. After he had studied three years in that University,

(a) Isaac Walton's Lives of Dr John Donne, &c. Lond. 1675. p. 11, 12.

(b) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 554.

[A] ——— *born in London.*] His father, who was a Merchant, was descended from a very antient family in Wales; and his mother from the famous Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, and

Judge Rastal, author of an *Abridgment of the Statutes*. His father, who died before our author's admission at Lincoln's-Inn, left him a portion of 3000*l.* (1)

(1) Walton's Lives of Dr Donne, &c. p. 11, 12.

[B] He

University, he removed to Cambridge \*, and from thence, about three years after, to Lincoln's-Inn in London [B], where he distinguished himself by his great improvement in the study of the Law (c). He was now in his eighteenth year, and as yet had professed himself of no particular denomination of Christians: but, about his nineteenth year, he laid aside the study of the Law, and of all other sciences, and set himself wholly to consider the points of religion controverted between the Romish and Reformed Churches [C]; which ended in a sincere attachment to the Protestant Religion (d). In the years 1596 and 1597, Mr Donne accompanied the Earl of Essex in his expeditions against Cadiz and the Azores Islands, and staid some years in Italy and Spain [D], where he made many useful observations, and perfected himself in the languages of those countries. Soon after his return to England, he was made Secretary to the Lord Chancellor Egerton [E], and continued in that employment five years; during which time, he married privately, and without her father's consent, the daughter of Sir George More, Chancellor of the Garter and Lieutenant of the Tower; who was so incensed at the match, that he procured our author to be dismissed from the Lord Chancellor's service, and committed to prison (e) [F]. He soon obtained his liberty, but was put to the trouble of a long and expensive law-suit, to recover possession of his wife, who was forcibly detained from him. At length, time, together with our author's extraordinary merit, and winning behaviour, so far wrought upon Sir George, that he was prevailed on to use his interest with the Lord Chancellor, that his son-in-law might be restored to his post: but this request was refused [G]. As for Sir George, he was so far reconciled to Mr Donne and his wife, as not to deny them his paternal blessing; but would contribute nothing towards their support, though they stood in great need of it, our author's fortune being much diminished by the expence of his travels, books, law-suit, and the generosity of his temper. However, his wants were, in a great measure, prevented by the seasonable bounty of their kinsman Sir Francis Wooley, who entertained them several years at his house at Pirford in Surrey, where our author had several children born to him (f). During his residence at Pirford, he applied himself, with great diligence and success, to the study of the Civil and Canon Laws; and, about this time, was solicited by Dr Morton (afterwards Bishop

(\*) Probably to Trinity-College.

(c) Walton, *ibid.* p. 12.

(d) *Id.* *ib.* p. 13, 14.

(e) *Id.* *ib.* p. 15—18.

(f) *Id.* *ib.* p. 18—20.

of

[B] *He removed—to Lincoln's-Inn in London.*] His mother and his guardians, who were of the Romish persuasion, made choice of Tutors (who were secretly of the same persuasion) to instruct young Mr Donne in the Mathematicks and other liberal sciences; with orders, at the same time, to instil into him the principles of the Romish Church. And he himself confesses (2), they had almost perverted him to their faith.

[C] *He set himself to consider the points controverted between the Romish and Reformed Churches.*] Let us hear our author himself upon this head. 'I had a longer work, says he (3), to do than many other men: for I was first to blot out certaine impressions of the Romane Religion, and to wrestle both against the examples and against the reasons, by which some hold was taken, and some anticipations early layde upon my conscience, both by persons, who by nature had a power and superiority over my will, and others, who by their learning and good life seemed to me justly to claime an interest for the guiding and rectifying of mine understanding in these matters.' Afterwards he says: 'Although I apprehended well enough, that this irresolution not only retarded my fortune, but also bred some scandal, and endangered my spirital reputation, by laying me open to misinterpretations; yet all these respects did not transport me to any violent and sudden determination, till I had, to the measure of my poore wit and judgment, surveyed and digested the whole body of Divinity controverted between ours and the Romane Church. In which search and disquisition, that God, which awakened me then, and hath never forsaken me in that industry, as he is the author of that purpose, so he is a witness of this protestation, that I behaved my selfe, and proceeded therein with humility and confidence in my selfe, and by that, which, by his grace, I tooke to be the ordinary meanes, which is frequent praier and equall and indifferent actions.' When he set about this enquiry, as he believed Cardinal Bellarmine to be the best defender of the Popish cause, he applied himself to the examination of that writer's works; and, about the twentieth year of his age, had marked all the Cardinal's works with observations under his own hand; which he shewed to the then Dean of Gloucester, and, at his death, bequeathed as a legacy to one of his friends (4).

[D] *He staid some years in Italy and Spain.*] The time he spent in Spain was, at his first going into Italy,

designed for travelling to the Holy Land, and viewing Jerusalem and our Saviour's sepulchre. But the disappointment of company, or a safe convoy, or the uncertainty of returns of money into those remote parts, prevented his design (5).

[E] *He was made Secretary to the Lord Chancellor Egerton*] This, probably, was intended by that Lord only as an introduction of our author to some more considerable employment in the State. For his Lordship often expressed his high opinion of his Secretary's abilities; whom he treated rather as a friend than a servant, constantly admitting him to a place at his own table (6).

[F] *He married—the daughter of Sir George More—who was so incensed at the match, that he procured our author to be dismissed from the Chancellor's service, and committed to prison*] Sir George's daughter lived in the Lord Chancellor's family, and was niece to his Lady. Sir George, having some intiraations of the intended marriage, removed his daughter, in all haste, from the Chancellor's to his own house at Lothesley in Surrey; and the friends on both sides endeavoured to draw them from their mutual affection to each other: but to no purpose; for, having exchanged the most faithful promises, they found means to have their marriage privately consummated. The affair was broke in the softest manner to Sir George by his friend and neighbour the Earl of Northumberland. But Sir George was so transported with anger, that he presently engaged his sister, the Lord Chancellor's Lady, to joia with him in requiring Mr Donne's dismissal, and would not be satisfied till his suit was granted. The Chancellor, at dismissing our author, declared, *He parted with a friend, and such a Secretary as was fitter to serve a King than a subject.* But Sir George's anger was not satisfied, till our author, together with Mr Samuel Eerook (\*), who married him, and his brother Mr Christopher Brook (†), who gave the Lady in marriage, were all committed to three several prisons. Mr Donne, who was the first enlarged, never rested, till, by his solicitation and interest, he procured the liberty of his two imprisoned friends (7).

[G] *This request was refused.*] The Lord Chancellor returned for answer, that, 'though he was unfeignedly sorry for what he had done, yet it was inconsistent with his place and credit, to discharge and re-admit servants, at the request of passionate petitioners (8)'

(5) *Id.* p. 15.

(6) *Ibid.*

(\*) He had been our author's fellow Pupil at Cambridge, and was afterward Master of Trinity College.

(†) He had been our author's Chamber fellow at Lincoln's-Inn.

(7) *Id.* p. 15—18.

(8) *Id.* p. 13.

[H] *He*

of Durham) to go into Holy Orders, and accept of a benefice, which the Doctor would have resigned to him: but Mr Donne thought fit to decline this obliging offer [H]. He lived with Sir Francis till that Gentleman's death; a little before which, by the mediation of Sir Francis, a perfect reconciliation was effected between our author and his father-in-law; Sir George obliging himself to pay Mr Donne 800*l.* at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or 20*l.* quarterly for their maintenance, till the said portion was paid. After the death of Sir Francis Wooley, Mr Donne took a house for his wife and children at Mitcham in Surrey [I], and lodgings for himself near Whitehall in London; where he was much visited and careffed by the Nobility, foreign Ministers, and other persons of distinction (g). Some time after, at the earnest entreaty of his friends, he removed his family to London, where Sir Robert Drury, a Gentleman of a considerable estate, gave him a commodious apartment in his own large house in Drury-Lane (b). He was incorporated Master of Arts in the University of Oxford (having before taken the same degree at Cambridge) the 18th of April 1610 (i). About two years after, he was prevailed on, not without some difficulty, to accompany Sir Robert Drury to Paris (k) [K]. Before

(g) Ib. p. 20—25.

(b) Ib. p. 28.

(i) Wood, Fashi Oxon. Vol. I. col. 187.

(k) Walton, ubi supra, p. 29.

[H] *He thought fit to decline Dr Morton's obliging offer.* Dr Morton, having desired a conference with our author, told him, 'he had a matter to propose to him; which nevertheless he would not declare to him; but upon condition, that he should not return a present answer, but pass three days in fasting and prayer, and, after a serious consideration of the proposal, then return with his answer.' Mr Donne promising to observe this condition, Dr Morton told him, 'he was no stranger to his necessities, and would now renew the attempt he had formerly made, to persuade him to wave his expectations of Court-preference, and enter into Holy Orders, with this additional reason, that, the King having just made him (Dr Morton) Dean of Gloucester, he was ready to resign to him (Mr Donne) a very good benefice he was possessed of, if God should incline his heart to embrace this motion;' adding, that 'no man's parts or education set him above that employment, which is to be an Ambassador for the God of glory, that God who by a vile death opened the gates of life to mankind.' Mr Donne performed his promise, and the third day after returned with his answer, which was to this effect: 'That he acknowledged his (Dr Morton's) great kindness, with an heart full of humility and thanks, but could not accept his offer; not that he thought himself too good for that calling, or that his education and learning, though not eminent, might not, by the assistance of God's grace, render him in some measure fit for it; but because some former irregularities of his life had been too notorious, not to expose him to the censure of the world, and perhaps bring dishonour to the sacred function: besides, being determined by the best Casuists, that God's glory should be the first end, and a maintenance the second motive, to embrace that calling, his present condition was such, he feared he could not reconcile his conscience to that rule (9).' This was our author's present resolution.

(9) Ib. p. 21—24.

[I] *He settled his wife and children at Mitcham in Surrey.* His fortune, at this time, was very narrow, as appears from several of his letters. Writing to the Honourable Sir R. D. he says: 'There is not one person, besides myself, in my house, well. I have already lost half a child, and with that mischance of her's my wife fallen into an indisposition, which would afflict her much, but that the sickness of her children stupifies her; of one of which, in good faith, I have not much hope. This meets a fortune so ill provided for physique and such relief, that if God should ease us with burials, I know not how to perform even that. I flatter myself in this, that I am dying too; nor can I truly die faster by any waste, than by loss of children. From my hospital at Mitcham (10).' In another letter, addressed to Sir Henry Goodere, having expressed his wishes for death, he adds—*which though I know it is not merely out of a weariness of this (life), because I had the same desires, when I went with the tide, and enjoyed fairer hopes than now; yet I doubt worldly encumbrances have increased it (11).* We shall add but one passage more from another of our author's letters: 'I write from the fire-side in my parlour, and in the noise of three gamefome children, and by the side of her, whom because I have transplanted into a wretched fortune, I must labour to disguise that from her by all such ho-

(10) Dr Donne's Letters to several Persons of Honour, &c. Lond. 1654, 4to. p. 152.

(11) Ib. p. 49.

nest devices, as giving her my company and discourse (12).' Here you have part of the picture of his narrow fortune, and the perplexities of his generous mind: and thus it continued with him for about two years; all which time his family remained constantly at Mitcham; to which place he often retired himself, and destined some days to a constant study of some points of controversy betwixt the English and Romish Church, and especially those of Supremacy and Allegiance (13).

(12) Ib. p. 137.

[K] *He was prevailed on, not without some difficulty, to accompany Sir Robert Drury to Paris.* Mrs Donne, who was with child, and in an ill state of health, expressed some reluctance at her husband's intended journey, saying, *her divining soul boded her some ill in his absence*, and therefore desired him not to leave her. This made Mr Donne lay aside all thoughts of the journey, and really resolve against it. But Sir Robert becoming very importunate in his request, Mrs Donne, at last, gave a faint consent to the journey, which was proposed to be but for two months (14). Mr Walton is mistaken in telling us, Sir Robert Drury accompanied the Lord Hay in his embassy from King James to the French King: for that Lord was not sent Ambassador to France till July 1616 (15), whereas it is evident from the dates of some of our author's letters (16), that he was at Paris with Sir Robert Drury in 1612. Mr Donne, before his departure, presented his wife with a copy of verses (17), in which we may particularly admire the following beautiful similitudes.

(13) Walton, ubi supra, p. 28.

(14) Ib. p. 29.

(15) Camden's Annals of King James, an. 1616

(16) Letters to several Persons of Honour, &c. p. 127, &c.

(17) Intituled, A Valediction forbidding Mourning. See his Poems, &c. Lond. 1719. 12mo. p. 35.

Our two souls therefore, which are one,  
Though I must go, indure not yet  
A breach, but an expansion,  
Like gold to airy thinness beat.

If they be two, they are two so  
As stiff twinn compasses are two;  
Thy soul, the fixt foot, makes no show  
To move, but doth, if t'other do:

And though it in the center sit,  
Yet when the other far doth come,  
It leans and hearkens after it,  
And grows erect, as that comes home.

Such wilt thou be to me, who must,  
Like t'other foot, obliquely run:  
Thy firmness makes my circle just,  
And makes me end where I begun.

We shall here give the reader Isaac Walton's account of Mr Donne's vision, soon after his arrival at Paris. It was not indeed told him by our author himself, but by a person of honour, who had a great intimacy with Mr Donne (18). However take it in Walton's own words (19): 'Two days after their arrival there, Mr Donne was left alone, in that room in which Sir Robert, and he, and some other friends had dined together. To this place Sir Robert returned within half an hour; and, as he left, so he found Mr Donne alone; but in such an extasy, and so altered

(18) Life, &c. ubi supra, p. 3

(19) Ib. p. 29, 3

fore this journey, and after our author's return from France, many of the Nobility and others pressed the King to confer some secular employment on him (l) [L]: but his Majesty, considering him as better qualified for the service of the Church, rejected their application (m). About this time, the disputes concerning the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy being on foot, our author, by King James's especial command, wrote a treatise on that subject, intituled, *Pseudo-Martyr* [M], printed at London in 1610, in 4to; with which his Majesty was so highly pleased, that, resolving to prefer him in the Church, he was now very pressing with him to enter into Holy Orders: but Mr Donne, being desirous to qualify himself for the sacred function by a closer application to the studies of Divinity and the learned languages, deferred his compliance with the King's instances, till about three years after, when he was ordained both Deacon and Priest by his good friend Dr John King (\*), then Bishop of London (n). Presently after, he was appointed one of the Chaplains in ordinary to his Majesty; and about the same time, attending King James in a progress, he was created Doctor in Divinity, at the recommendation of that Prince, by the University of Cambridge (o). His abilities, and industry in his profession, were so eminent, and himself so well beloved and esteemed by persons of quality, that, within the first year of his entering into sacred Orders, he had the offer of fourteen several benefices: but, as they lay in the country, his natural inclination to living in London, the place of his birth, and of his friends and acquaintance, made him refuse them all. Immediately after his return from Cambridge, his wife died [N]; and his grief for her loss was so great, that, for some time, he betook himself to a retired and solitary life (p). Soon after, he was chosen Preacher of Lincoln's-Inn, and was in high esteem with the Members of that Honourable Society. In 1619, he was appointed, by King James, to attend the Lord Hay Earl of Doncaster, in his embassy to the Princes of Germany; and, about fourteen months after his return to England, he was advanced to the Deanry of St Paul's [O], vacant by the removal of Dr Cary to the Bishoprick of Exeter (q). Soon after,

(l) lb. p. 34.

(m) lb. p. 35.

(\*) He had been Chaplain to the Lord Keeper Egerton, at the same time that Mr Donne was his Secretary.

(n) lb. p. 36—38.

(o) lb. p. 39—41.

(p) lb. and p. 42.

(q) lb. p. 43—46.

tered as to his looks, as amazed Sir Robert to behold him: infomuch that he earnestly desired Mr Donne to declare what had befallen him in the short time of his absence. To which Mr Donne was not able to make a present answer; but, after a long and perplexed pause, did at last say, *I have seen a dreadful vision since I saw you: I have seen my dear wife pass twice by me thorough this room, with her hair banging about her shoulders, and a dead child in her arms: this I have seen since I saw you.* To which Sir Robert replied, *Sure, Sir, you have slept since I saw you, and this is the result of some melancholy dream, which I desire you to forget, for you are now awake.* To which Mr Donne's reply was, *I cannot be surer that I now live, than that I have not slept since I saw you; and am as sure, that, at her second appearing, she stopt, and lookt me in the face, and vanished.* Rest and sleep had not altered Mr Donne's opinion the next day: for he then affirmed this vision with a more deliberate, and so confirmed a confidence, that he enclined Sir Robert to a faint belief, that the vision was true. It is truly said, *that desire and doubt have no rest*: and it proved so with Sir Robert; for he immediately sent a servant to Drury-house, with a charge to hasten back and bring him word, whether Mrs Donne were alive, and, if alive, in what condition she was as to her health. The twelfth day, the messenger returned with this account; that he found and left Mrs Donne very sad, and sick in her bed; and that, after a long and dangerous labour, she had been delivered of a dead child. And, upon examination, the abortion proved to be the same day, and about the very hour that Mr Donne affirmed he saw her pass by him in his chamber.

[L] *Many of the Nobility, and others, pressed the King to confer some secular employment on him: but his Majesty—rejected their application.* King James, it seems, had given our author some hopes of a State-employment, being always much pleased with his company and conversation, especially at his meals, where there were usually discourses and debates, concerning religion or literature, between his Majesty, and those Divines, whose places required their attendance on him at those times; particularly Dr Montague, Dean of the Chapel (\*), and Dr Andrews (†), his Majesty's Almoner (20). Among others, who solicited our author's advancement in the State, was the Earl of Somerset, when in the greatest height of favour: who being at Theobalds with the King, and one of the Clerks of the Council dying there, dispatched a messenger for Mr Donne to come thither immediately,

and, at our author's coming, said to him; *To testify the reality of my affection, and my purpose to prefer you, stay in this garden till I go up to the King, and bring you word that you are Clerk of the Council: doubt not my doing this; for I know the King loves you, and know the King will not deny me.* But it happened otherwise; for the King denied the Earl's request, and replied; *I know Mr Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a learned Divine, and will prove a powerful preacher; and my desire is, to prefer him that way, and in that way I will deny you nothing for him* (21). It appears from one of our author's letters (22), that he solicited in vain for the place of one of his Majesty's Secretaries in Ireland, upon the death of Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

(21) lb. p. 35, 36.

(22) Dr Donne's Letters, &c. p. 145.

[M] *His Pseudo-Martyr.* King James himself had engaged in the controversy concerning the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, as appears by his *Works* still extant. As he had some discourses with Mr Donne upon that subject, he was so pleased with his clearness in stating the objections made to the taking those oaths, and his answers to them, that he commanded our author to draw up the objections and answers in form, and bring them to him: which our author performed within six weeks, and brought them to the King in his own hand-writing, as they now stand in the book above-mentioned (22). The title, at length, is: *Pseudo-Martyr: Wherein out of certaine Propositions and Gradations this Conclusion is evicted; that those, which are of the Romane Religion in this Kingdome, may and ought to take the Oath of Allegiance.* It is dedicated to King James I, with a Preface addressed to the Priests and Jesuites, and to their disciples in this kingdome. This book was animadverted upon by one Thomas Fitzherbert, in a *Censure of it*, subjoined to his *Supplement to the Discussion of Dr Harlow's Answer to the Judgment of a Catholick Englishman*, &c. printed at St Omers in 1613, in 4to.

(22) Walton, ubi supra, p. 35.

[N] *His wife's death.* Mrs Donne died the 11th of August 1617, on the seventh day after the birth of her twelfth child, and was buried in the parish-church of St Clement's near Temple-Bar, in London (23). She left our author in a narrow unsettled estate, with seven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary assurance, that he would never bring them under the subjection of a step-mother; which promise he faithfully kept (24). The first sermon he preached after the death of his wife, was in the church where she lay buried, on this text out of Jeremiah's *Lamentation*: *Lo, I am the man that have seen affliction* (25).

(23) See her epigraph in Stowe's Survey of London, ed. 1720. fol. Vol. II. B. iv. p. 113.

(24) Walton, ubi supra, p. 41, 42.

(25) lb. p. 43.

[O] *He was advanced to the deanry of St Paul's* Upon the vacancy of the deanry, the King sent an order

(\*) Then Bishop of Winchester.

(†) Afterwards Bishop of Winchester.

(20) lb. p. 34, 35.

after, the vicarage of St Dunstan in the West, and another benefice, fell to Dr Donne; the advowson of the former having been given him by the Earl of Dorset, and that of the latter by the Earl of Kent. In 1623-4, he was chosen Prolocutor of the Convocation (r); on which occasion he spoke a Latin oration, as his inauguration speech (s). About the same time, he was appointed by the King to preach several occasional sermons, at Paul's Cross, and other places: these discourses were misrepresented to his Majesty, who gave the Doctor an opportunity of justifying himself in his royal presence (t) [P]. The year following, he was seized with a dangerous fit of sickness [Q]; of which, however, he recovered, and published, on that occasion, his most excellent book of *Devotions*, which he had written on his sick bed (u). He continued in perfect health till the fifty-ninth year of his age, when, being with his eldest daughter Mrs Harvey, at Abery-hatch in Essex, in August 1630, he was taken with a fever, which brought on a consumption (w): notwithstanding which, he returned to London, and preached in his turn, at Court, as usual, on the first Friday in Lent (x) [R]. He died [S] the thirty-first of March 1631 (y), and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St Paul's, where a monument was erected over him [T]. His character is excellently drawn by the writer of his life [U]; and

(r) Ib. p. 47.

(s) It is extant in his Poems, &amp;c. Lond. 1719. 12mo. p. 358.

(t) Ib. p. 47—49.

(u) Ib. p. 49—51.

(w) Ib. and p. 52.

(x) Ib. p. 67, 68.

(y) See his epitaph below.

order to Dr Donne to attend him the next day at dinner. When his Majesty was sat down, he said: 'Dr Donne, I have invited you to dinner; and, though you sit not down with me, yet I will carve to you of a dish that I know you love well; for knowing you love London, I do therefore make you Dean of Paul's; and when I have dined, then do you take your beloved dish home to your study; say grace there to yourself, and much good may it do you (26).'

(26) Ib. p. 46.

[P] *His Sermons were misrepresented to the King, who gave the Doctor an opportunity of justifying himself, in his royal presence* ] His Majesty was told, that Dr Donne had fallen in with the general humour of the pulpits, and was busy in insinuating a fear of the King's inclination to Popery, and a dislike of his government. Whereupon his Majesty sent for our author, and required his answer to the accusation; which was so clear and satisfactory, that the King said, *he was right glad he rested no longer under the suspicion*. When the King had said this, Dr Donne kneeled down, and thanked his Majesty, and protested, his answer was faithful and free from all collusion; and therefore desired *that he might not rise, till, as in like cases he always had from God, so he might have from his Majesty some assurance that he stood clear and fair in his opinion*. At which the King raised him from his knees, and protested *he believed him, and that he knew he was an honest man, and doubted not, but that he loved him truly*. And having thus dismissed him, he called some Lords of his Council into his chamber, and said with much earnestness, *My Doctor is an honest man, and, my Lords, I was never better satisfied with an answer than with that he hath now made me: and I always rejoice, when I think, that by my means he became a Divine* (27).

(27) Ib. p. 48, 49.

[Q] *He was seized with a dangerous fit of sickness*.] In this distemper, he was visited daily by his good friend Dr Henry King, one of the Residentiaries of St Paul's, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester: who, observing that our author's sickness rendered his recovery doubtful, took a proper opportunity to acquaint him, that, 'as there had been an offer lately made to the chapter, for renewing the lease of the best prebendal corps belonging to that church, which had been refused, because the tenant had offered too low a fine; his intention was, if he could not raise him to an higher sum, to prevail with the other Residentiaries to join in accepting what was offered; desiring the Dean would agree to this proposal, 'as it would be a considerable addition to his present estate, which (he knew) stood in need of it.' The Dean thanked the Doctor for his kind offer, but declared he could not accept it, saying, 'he dared not, upon his sick bed, when God had made him useless to the service of the Church, make any advantage from it; but that, if he should restore him to such a degree of health, as again to serve at his altar, he should then gladly take the reward, which the bountiful benefactors of that church had designed him; protesting, 'he would not augment, on his sick bed, that little worldly estate he should leave behind him (28).'

(28) Ib. p. 49, 50.

[R] *He preached, in his turn, at Court, as usual, on the first Friday in Lent* ] His text, upon this occa-

sion, was: *To God the Lord belong the issues from death*, Psal. lxxviii. 20. It was printed at London in 1633, in 4to, under the title of *Death's Duel, or a Consolation to the Soule against the Dying Life and Living Death of the Body, &c. Being his last Sermon, and called by his Majesty's Household, THE DOCTOR'S OWNE FUNERAL SERMON*.

[S] *His death*.] Finding himself hastening to his end, he sent for many of his intimate friends, and took his last leave of them. Having done this, and settled his private affairs, he waited his dissolution with much cheerfulness and resignation, and closed his last breath with these words, *Thy kingdom come, thy will be done* (29). It must not be omitted, that, among other preparations for death, he made use of this very remarkable one. He ordered an urn to be cut in wood, on which was to be placed a board of the exact height of his body. This being done, he caused himself to be tied up in a winding-sheet, in the same manner as dead bodies are. Being thus shrouded, and standing with his eyes shut, and with just so much of the sheet put aside, as might discover his thin, pale, and death-like face, he caused a skilful painter to take his picture. This piece, being finished, was placed near his bedside, and there remained as his constant remembrancer to the hour of his death (30).

(29) Ib. p. 75.

(30) Ib. p. 71, 72.

[T] *A Monument was erected over him*.] It was composed of white marble, and carv'd from the picture mentioned in the last remark, by order of his executor Dr King Bishop of Chichester, who wrote the inscription, as follows:

JOHANNES DONNE S.T.P.

Post varia Studia, quibus ab annis tenerrimis fideliter,  
Nec infeliciter, incubuit,

Instinctu et impulsu Spiritus Sancti, monitu et hortatu

Regis JACOBI, Ordines Sacros amplexus,

Anno sui Jesu 1614, et suæ ætatis 42,

Decanatu hujus Ecclesiæ indutus 27 Novembris 1621,

Exutus Morte ultimo die Martii 1631.

Hic, licet in occiduo cinere, aspicit Eum,

Cujus Nomen est Oriens.

[U] *His character — drawn by the Writer of his life*.] 'He was of stature moderately tall, of a stait and equally proportion'd body, to which all his words and actions gave unexpressible addition of comeliness. The melancholy and pleasant humour were in him so tempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind. His fancy was unimitably high, equalled only by his great wit, both being made useful by a commanding judgment. His aspect was cheerful, and such as gave a silent testimony of a clear knowing soul, and of a conscience at peace with itself. His melting eye shew'd that he had a soft heart, full of noble compassion; of too brave a soul to offer injuries, and too much a Christian not to pardon them in others. He did much contemplate (especially after he enter'd into his sacred calling) the Mercies of Almighty God, the immortality of the Soul, and the Joys of Heaven, and wou'd often say, in a kind of sacred extasy, *Blessed*

and his abilities, both as a Preacher [W], and a Poet [X], are sufficiently seen in his incomparable writings [Z]. He left behind him a son of both his names [Z].

'*sed be God, that be is God, only, and divinely like himself!* He was by nature highly passionate, but more apt to reluct at the excesses of it. A great lover of the offices of Humanity, and of so merciful a spirit, that he never beheld the miseries of mankind without pity and relief. He was earnest and unwearied in the search of knowledge; with which his vigorous soul is now satisfied, and employ'd in a continual praise of that God that first breathed it into his active body; that body which once was a Temple of the Holy Ghost, and is now become a small quantity of Christian Dust. But I shall see it reanimated. Feb. 1639. I. W. (31).'

[W] *His abilities as a preacher.*] Mr Walton tells (32) us, that, upon his first entering into Holy Orders, his Modesty was such, he could not be persuaded to preach to any eminent auditory, but went usually, accompanied by some one friend, to preach privately in some village near London; his first sermon being preached at Paddington. This he did till the King sent and appointed him a day to preach before him at Whitehall; and, though much was expected from him, both by his Majesty and others, yet he was so happy as to exceed their expectations; 'Preaching the word so, as shewed his own heart was possessed with those very thoughts and joys he laboured to instil into others: A preacher in earnest, weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching to himself, like an Angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying some, as St Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a sacred art and courtship to amend their lives; here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those that practised it, and a virtue so as to make it be beloved even by those that loved it not; and all this with a most particular grace and an unexpressible addition of comeliness.'

[X] ——— a poet.] Our author's poems consist of I. *Songs and Sonnets.* II. *Epigrams.* III. *Elegies.* IV. *Epitaphs or Marriage Songs.* V. *Satyres.* VI. *Letters to several Personages.* VII. *Funeral Elegies.* VIII. *Holy Sonnets.* They are printed together in one Volume, 12mo. London 1719; with the addition of *Elegies upon the author by several persons.* Mr Dryden has very justly given Dr Donne the character of *the greatest wit, tho' not the greatest Poet of our nation* (33); and in his *Dedication of Juvenal* to the Earl of Dorset, he says (34): 'Donne alone, of all our countrymen, had your talent; but was not happy enough to arrive at your versification. And were he translated into numbers and English, he wou'd yet be wanting in the dignity of expression. — You equal Donne in the variety, multiplicity, and choice of thoughts; you excel him in the manner and the words. I read you both with the same admiration, but not with the same delight. He affects the metaphysics, not only in his satyrs, but in his amorous verses, where nature only shou'd reign; and perplexes the minds of the fair-sex with nice speculations of philosophy, when he shou'd engage their hearts, and entertain them with the softness of love.' A little farther (35), Mr Dryden asks: 'Wou'd not Donne's *Satyrs*, which abound with so much wit, appear more charming, if he had taken care of his words and of his numbers?' Whether our late excellent poet (\*) took the hint from this question, or not, is uncertain; but he has shew'd the world, that Dr Donne's *Satyres*, when translated into numbers and english (as Mr Dryden above expresses it) are not inferior to any thing in that kind of poetry, even his own admirable writings.

[Y] *His writings.*] Besides the *Pseudo Martyr*, and volume of poems already mention'd, there are extant the following Works of Dr Donne, viz. I. *Devotions upon emergent Occasions, and several steps in his Sickness.* 12mo. Lond. 2d edit. (36). II. *Paradoxes, Problems, Essays, Characters, &c. To which is added a Book of Epigrams, written in Latin by the same author; translated into English by J. Maine, D. D.* *As also*

*Ignatius his Conclave, a Satyr translated out of the original copy written in Latin by the same author; found lately amongst his own papers,* Lond. 1653, 12mo. These pieces are dedicated, by the author's son Dr John Donne (37), to Francis Lord Newport. Part of this collection was publish'd, in 1633, under the title of *Juvenilia, or Certain Paradoxes and Problems, 4to.* The *Epigrams* were first printed in 1632, under the title of *Fasciculus Poematum et Epigrammatum miscellaneorum, &c.* 8vo. The *Satire*, intitled *Ignatius his Conclave*, was first printed in 1626, in 8vo. under the title of *Ignatius his Conclave, viz. of establishing a Church in the Moon*; and again in 1635, under the title of *Ignatius his Conclave, or his Inthronization in a late Election in Hell*, 12mo. With this piece was printed another intitled *An Apology for the Jesuits.* III. Three volumes of *Sermons*, in folio; the first printed in 1640; the second in 1649; and the third in 1660. IV. *Essays in Divinity, &c. Being several Disquisitions interwoven with Meditations and Prayers, before he went into Holy Orders,* Lond. 1651, 12mo. They were published after the author's death, by his son. V. *Letters to several Persons of Honour*; published by the author's son, in 4to. Lond. 1654. There are several of Dr Donne's *Letters*, and others to him from the Queen of Bohemia, the Earl of Carlisle, Archbishop Abbot, and Ben Johnson, printed in a book intitled *A Collection of Letters made by Sir Tobie Matthew, Knt.* Lond. 1660, 8vo. VI. *The ancient History of the Septuagint*; translated from the Greek of Aristeas, Lond. 1633, 12mo. This translation was revised and corrected by another hand, and printed in 1685, in 8vo. VII. *BIAΘANATΩΣ: or a Declaration of That Paradox or Thesis, that Self-Homicide is not so naturally a Sin, that it may not be otherwise,* London, 1644, 1648, &c. 4to. The original, under the author's own hand, is preserved in the Bodleian Library. Mr Walton gives this piece the character of 'An exact and laborious treatise, wherein all the laws violated by that Act (*Self murder*) are diligently survey'd, and judiciously censured: a treatise written in his younger years, which alone might declare him then not only perfect in the Civil and Canon Law, but in many other such studies and arguments, as enter not into the consideration of many, that labour to be thought great clerks, and pretend to know all things (38).' In one of our author's *Letters*, address'd to Sir Robert Carre, and sent with this book in manuscript, he speaks of it himself in the following terms: 'Because it is upon a misinterpretable subject, I have always gone so near suppressing it, that it is only not burnt. No hand hath passed upon it to copy it, nor many eyes to read it; only to some particular friends in both Universities, then when I writ it, I did communicate it; and I remember I had this answer, that *certainly there was a false thread in it, though not easily found.* Keep it, I pray, with the same jealousy: let any, that your discretion admits to the sight of it, know the date of it, and that it is a book written by *Jack Donne*, and not by *Dr Donne.* Reserve it for me if I live (\*), and if I die, I only forbid it the presse and the fire. Publish it not, but yet burn it not, and between those do what you will with it (39).'

[Z] *He left behind him a son of both his names.*] He was educated at Westminster School, and elected from thence a Student of Christ Church in Oxford, in 1622. Afterwards he travell'd abroad, and took the degree of Doctor of Laws at Padua in Italy. The 30th of June, 1638, he was incorporated in the same degree in the University of Oxford. He died in 1662, and was interr'd in the Church-yard of St Paul's Covent-Garden. Mr Wood gives him the character of an Atheistical Buffoon, and tells us, he was much valued by King Charles II (40): no great compliment to that monarch's judgment. This Dr Donne, besides several pieces of his father, publish'd (as Wood expresses it) *several frivolous trifles*, under his own name; among which is, *The Humble Petition of Covent-Garden against Dr John Baber a Physician,* Lond. 1661 (41).

(37) See the last remark.

(38) Life, &c. ubi supra, p. 60.

(\*) Our author was then setting out for Germany.

(39) Dr Donne's Letters, &c. p. 21, 22.

(40) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 276, 277.

(41) Ibid.

(31) Ib. p. 77, 78.

(32) Ib. p. 39, 40.

(33) Dedication of his Eleonora. See his Original Poems, &c. Vol. II. p. 293.

(34) The Satyrs of Decimus Junius Juvenalis, &c. Lond. 1735. 12mo. Ded. p. 9.

(35) Ib. p. 97.

(\*) Mr Pope. See his Satyres of Dr J. Donne.

(36) See the text, reference (\*).

**D R A K E** (Sir FRANCIS) one of the most distinguished of the naval heroes in the glorious reign of Elizabeth. A man, of whom it may be truly said, That he had a head to contrive, a heart to undertake, and a hand ready to execute, whatever promised glory to himself, and good to his country. As he was, properly speaking, the son of merit, we have but a very indifferent account of his family, or even of his father: that which Camden (*a*) gives us, and which he says he had from Drake's own mouth, is so embarrassed with inconsistent circumstances, that there is no relying upon it, and trusting to our reason at the same time, as will be shewn in the notes [*A*]. We will, therefore, give the reader, in this place, a plainer account, as early in it's rise, supported by good authority, and, in all it's circumstances, very agreeable to the sequel of his story, leaving it to his judgment to piece therewith the chief points in Camden's relation (*b*); which may be also reputed truths, if we knew with certainty how to reconcile, and bring them in (*c*). According then to this other account, I find he was the son of one Edmund Drake, an honest Sailor, and born near Tavistock in the year 1545, being the eldest of twelve brethren, and brought up at the expence, and under the care, of his kinsman Sir John Hawkins. It is likewise said, that, at the age of eighteen, he was Purser of a ship trading to Biscay, at twenty he made a voyage to Guinea, and, at the age of twenty-two, had the honour to be appointed Captain of the Judith, and, in that capacity, was in the harbour of St John de Ulloa, in the gulph of Mexico, where he behaved most gallantly in the glorious actions, under Sir John Hawkins, and returned with him into England with a very great reputation, but not worth a groat (*d*). Upon this he conceived a design of making reprisals on the King of Spain, which, some say, was put into his head by the Minister of his ship; and, to be sure in Sea-divinity, the case was clear the King of Spain's subjects had undone Mr Drake, and therefore Mr Drake was at liberty to take the best satisfaction he could on the subjects of the King of Spain (*e*). This doctrine, how rudely soever preached, was very taking in England, and therefore he no sooner published his design, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though they had no such pretence to colour their proceedings as he had (*f*). In 1570 he made his first expedition with two ships, the Dragon and the Swan, and the next year in the Swan alone, wherein he returned safe, if not rich [*B*]. And, having now means sufficient to perform

(a) Annal. rerum Anglican. & Hibernicar. regnante Elizabetha. Edit. Hearn, p. 351.

(b) His accounts are followed also in Fuller's Holy State, p. 123. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 236. English Hero, p. 1.

(c) See this further explained in note [*A*].

(d) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(e) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 236.

(f) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Camden's Annals, p. 351.

(1) Camden's Annals, p. 351.

(2) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. 1. p. 256.

(3) As appears from the inscription on his monument.

[*A*] As will be seen in the notes.] As in venturing to depart from what Camden has said, we, at the same time, leave the great road in which all other writers have travelled, it is but just that we should give the world a full account of the motives which induced us to take this step, that it may clearly appear, it did not proceed from singularity, but necessity. Our learned Historian, speaking of the events (1) which happened in the year 1580, has these words: 'About this time returned into England Francis Drake, having acquired great wealth and greater reputation, by prosperously sailing round about the world, being, if not the first of all which could challenge this glory, yet, unquestionably, the first but Magellan whom death cut off in the midst of his voyage. This Drake, to relate no more than what I have heard from himself, was born of mean parentage in Devonshire, and had Francis Russel, afterwards Earl of Bedford, for his godfather, who, according to the custom, gave him his Christian name. Whilst he was yet a child, his father embracing the Protestant doctrine, was called in question by the Law of the Six Articles made by Henry VIII against the Protestants, fled his country, and withdrew himself into Kent. After the death of King Henry, he got a place among the seamen in the King's navy to read prayers to them, and, soon after, he was ordained Deacon, and made Vicar of the church of Upnore upon the river Medway, where the Royal fleet usually rides. But, by reason of his poverty, he put his son apprentice to the master of a bark, his neighbour, who held him closely to his business, by which he made him an able seaman; his bark being employed in coasting along the shore, and sometimes in carrying merchandize into Zealand and France. The youth being painful and diligent, so pleased the old man by his industry, that, being a bachelor, at his death he bequeathed his bark unto him by his last will.' It falls out unhappily for this story, that the parts of it are not consistent. If Drake was in his tender years or childhood, when his father was persecuted on the score of the Six Articles, he must have been born a good while before the year 1539 (2), and if so, how could Sir Francis Russel be his godfather, who was himself born in 1527 (3)? so that without much straining this account, they might be both of an age. It is very certain, that Mr Drake was but a young man

when Sir John Hawkins made himself Captain of the Judith, but according to this computation he was thirty-five or thirty-six at least. It is allowed by all the writers of his time, that he died in the flower of his age, which could not well be said, if he had been between sixty and seventy. As to the account that I have followed, we have it from John Stowe, who was a very industrious careful man, and particularly inquisitive into things of this nature (4). Besides, as the reader sees in the text, he settles every step of his advancement, and affirming that he was in the twenty-second year of his age when he became Captain of the Judith, this fixes his birth to 1545, since he was vested with that command in October 1566; by fixing this date, the facts mentioned by Camden from the mouth of Sir Francis Drake become very probable; for Sir Francis Russel might well be his godfather, and all the events follow that he sets down, only the persecution his father suffered must have been in the reign of Queen Mary, which is the more probable, if we consider that Camden himself assures us, Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign, made that establishment of the fleet in the river Medway, where Drake's father read prayers to the seamen (5). Neither is this the only mistake in Sir Francis Drake's story by that author.

[*B*] Wherein he returned safe if not rich.] We have no particular account of these two voyages, or what he performed in them. They were made in the years 1570 and 1571, and there is nothing clearer than that Captain Drake had two great points in view, the one was, to inform himself perfectly of the situation and strength of certain places in the Spanish West-Indies, the other to convince his countrymen, that notwithstanding what had happened to Captain-Hawkins in his last voyage, it was a thing very practicable to fail into these parts and return in safety; for it is to be observed, that Hawkins and Drake separated in the West-Indies, and that the former, finding it impossible to bring all his crew home to England, had set a part of them, but with their own consents, ashore in the bay of Mexico, and these being looked upon as so many men lost, and indeed very few of them found their way home, the terror of such a captivity as these poor men were known to endure, had a great effect (6). But Captain Drake in these two voyages, having very wisely avoided coming to blows with the Spaniards, and bringing home sufficient returns to satisfy his

(4) See the life of Mr Stowe, written by the Rev. Mr Strypp prefixed to his edition of Mr Stowe's Survey of London.

(5) Annal. Eli. p. 86.

(6) See the accounts of John Oxenham's Voyage in Hault, p. 594. owners,

perform greater matters, as well as skill to conduct them, he laid the plan of a more important design with respect to himself, and to his enemies (g). This he put in execution on the twenty-fourth of March 1572, on which day he sailed from Plymouth, himself in a ship called the *Pascha*, of the burthen of seventy tons, and his brother John Drake in the *Swan*, of twenty-five tons burthen, their whole strength consisting of no more than seventy-three, men and boys; and, with this inconsiderable force, on the twenty-second of July he attacked the town of *Nombre de Dios*, which then served the Spaniards for the same purposes (though not so conveniently) as those for which they now use *Porto Bello*. He took it in a few hours by storm, notwithstanding a very dangerous wound he received in the action; yet after all they were no great gainers, but, after a very brisk action, were obliged to betake themselves to their ships with very little booty. His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with silver, which passed from *Venta Cruz* to *Nombre de Dios*; but in this scheme too he was disappointed. However, he attacked the town of *Venta Cruz*, carried it, and got some little plunder. In their return they unexpectedly met with a string of fifty mules laden with plate, of which they carried off as much as they could, and buried the rest. In these expeditions he was very much assisted by a nation of Indians, who then were, and yet are, engaged in a perpetual war with the Spaniards. The Prince, or Captain of these people at this time, was named *Pedro*, to whom Captain Drake presented a fine cutlafs which he wore, and to which he saw the Indian had a mind. *Pedro*, in return, gave him four large wedges of gold, all these Captain Drake threw into the common stock, with this remarkable expression, 'That he thought it but just, that such as bore the charge of so uncertain a voyage, on his credit, should share the utmost advantages that voyage produced.' Then embarking his men with all the wealth he had obtained, which was very considerable, he bore away for England, and was so fortunate as to sail in twenty-three days from Florida to the Isles of Scilly, and thence, without any accident, to Plymouth, where he arrived the ninth of August 1573

(b). His success in this expedition, joined to his honourable behaviour towards his owners, gained him a high reputation, and the use he made of his riches still a greater; for, fitting out three stout frigates, at his own expence, he sailed with them to Ireland, where, under *Walter Earl of Essex* (the unfortunate father of that still more unfortunate Earl, who was beheaded) he served as a volunteer, and did many glorious actions (i). After the death of his noble patron he returned into England, where *Sir Christopher Hatton*, who was then Vice-Chamberlain to *Queen Elizabeth*, Privy-Counsellor, and a great favourite, took him under his protection, introduced him to her Majesty, and procured him her countenance (k). By this means he acquired a capacity of undertaking that grand expedition, which will render his name immortal. The thing he first proposed was, a voyage into the South-Seas through the Straights of *Magellan*, which was what hitherto no Englishman ever attempted. This project was well received at Court, and, in a short time, Captain Drake saw himself at the height of his wishes; for, in his former voyage, having had a distant prospect of the South-Seas, he framed an ardent prayer to God, that he might sail an English ship in them, which he now found an opportunity of attempting, the Queen's permission furnishing him with the means, and his own fame quickly drawing to him a force sufficient (l) [C]. The fleet with which he sailed on this extraordinary undertaking,

(g) *Sir Francis Drake* revived, by *Philip Nichols, Preacher*, a 4to of 94 pages in black letter, published by *Sir Francis Drake, Baronet*, his nephew.

(b) See that relation; as also *Camden's Annals*, p. 351. *Stowe, Hollinshed, and Speed*.

(i) *Stowe's Annals*, p. 307.

(k) *Idem, ibid.*

(l) *Camden's Annals*, p. 352. *Stowe's Annals*, p. 689. *Prince's Worthies of Devon*, p. 37.

owners, dissipated these apprehensions, as well as raised his own character; so that at his return from his second voyage, he found it no difficult matter to raise such a strength, as might enable him to perform what he had long meditated in his own mind, but which he never would have been able to effect, but by pursuing this cautious method.

[C] *Quickly drawing to him a force sufficient.*] We have observed in the text, that Captain Drake was the first Englishman at least, so far as we know, that had so much as a sight of the South-Seas; and, as Mr *Camden* remarks, he was so inflamed with that sight, as to have no rest in his own mind till he had accomplished his purpose of sailing an English ship in those seas (7). He was not, however, so forward as to tell this to all the world, because he foresaw that such an undertaking would be attended with many difficulties; that the navigation was new, and required much consideration before it was attempted; that the Spaniards were sufficiently alarmed by his last attempt, and that it would be highly rash for him to adventure upon such an enterprise, without having the sanction of publick authority. While he meditated this great design in his own mind, without communicating it to any, he took care to procure the best lights he could to engage several bold and active men to serve under him wherever he went, and by a well timed display of publick spirit, made himself known to, and gained some powerful friends at, Court (8). But while he was thus wisely and warily contriving what he afterwards so happily executed, one *John Oxenham*, who had served as a soldier, a seaman, and

a cook, and had gained great reputation by his gallant behaviour in the last voyage under him, believed he had penetrated Captain Drake's scheme, and thought to be beforehand with him in the execution of it; accordingly, in 1575, this man sailed in a bark of one hundred and forty tons burthen, with seventy brave fellows to *Nombre de Dios*, where laying his bark up in a creek, he marched cross the Isthmus, with his companions, got into the South-Seas with some canoes, and took two Spanish ships with an immense treasure in gold and silver; but wanting Drake's abilities and generosity, though he was little, if at all, inferior to him in courage, fell out with his men, which occasioned such a delay in his return, that the Spaniards found and recovered the treasure, afterwards destroyed many, and at length took him and some of his companions, whom for want of a commission to justify their proceedings, they hanged as pyrates (9). Captain Drake, before he had any knowledge of the issue of this business, and being acquainted with no more than was publick throughout all the West of England, that *Oxenham* was sailed upon some such design, brought his own project to bear by the means mentioned in the text (10), and easily obtained a force sufficient to accomplish it, which, all things considered, must at this day appear a very extraordinary event, more especially if we consider that he never disclosed his real intention after he had his commission, nor indeed could disclose it with safety, and yet made all his preparations so judiciously, that it does not appear any other circumnavigator met with fewer discouragements than he, who performed all by the

(7) *Annals*, p. 352.

(8) *Stowe's Annals*, p. 807.

(9) *Hakluyt's Voyages*, p. 593. *Camden's Annals*, p. 353.

(10) *Stowe's Annals*, p. 689.

undertaking, consisted of the following ships; the Pelican, commanded by himself, of the burthen of one hundred tons; the Elizabeth, Vice-Admiral, eighty tons, under Captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of thirty tons, commanded by Captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of fifty tons, under Captain John Chester; and the Christopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under Captain Thomas Moon (m). In this fleet were embarked no more than one hundred sixty-four able men, and all the necessary provisions for so long and dangerous a voyage; the intent of which, however, was not openly declared, but given out to be for Alexandria, though all men suspected, and many knew, he intended for America. Thus equipped, on the fifteenth of November 1577, about three in the afternoon, he sailed from Plymouth, but a heavy storm taking him as soon as he was out of port, forced him, in a very bad condition, into Falmouth, to refit; which having expeditiously performed, he again put to sea the thirteenth of December following (n). On the twenty-fifth of the same month he fell in with the coast of Barbary, and, on the twenty-ninth, with Cape Verd; the thirteenth of March he passed the equinoctial, the fifth of April he made the coast of Brazil in 30° N. L. and entered the river De la Plata, where he lost the company of two of his ships; but meeting them again, and having taken out of them all the provisions they had on board, he turned them adrift. On the twenty-ninth of May he entered the port of St Julian's, where he did the least commendable action of his life, in executing Mr John Doughty, a man next in authority to himself; in which, however, he preserved a great appearance of justice (o) [D]. On the twentieth of August he entered the Streights of Magellan, on the twenty-fifth

(m) Camden's Annals, p. 354. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 730, 748. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. I. p. 46.

(n) Camden's Annals, p. 354.

(o) See the relation in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 733. All which is omitted in the revised account in Purchas, to which we before referred.

the light of his own judgment, and at the expense of private persons who had an entire confidence in him.

[D] *A great appearance of justice.*] This is by much the most remarkable passage in the life of our hero in reference to his moral character, and for which, as we shall see, he has been very severely censured. We will first state the matter of fact briefly and plainly, then mention the surmises which have been raised thereupon; and lastly, shew the reader what has been, or may be, alledged in his justification, which we take to be the true course of rendering works of this kind useful; since in other books, the actions of great men are seen only in particular lights, according as the author's subject, or sometimes his humour, inclines him to place them; but the business of a Biographer, is from the relation of facts, to shew what the man of whom he is speaking really was. Let us proceed then in the present case to the business.

On the 18th of June, Captain Drake arrived with his small fleet at Port St Julian, which lies within one degree of the Streights of Magellan, where he continued about two months, during which time he made the necessary provision for passing the Streights with safety (11). Here it was, that, on a sudden, having carried the principal persons engaged in the service to a desert island lying in the bay, he called a kind of Council of War, or rather Court Martial, where he exposed his commission, by which the Queen granted him the power of life and death, which was delivered him with this remarkable expression from her own mouth: *We do account that he, Drake, who strikes at thee, does strike at us.* He then laid open with great eloquence, for tho' his education was but indifferent he had a wonderful power of speech, the cause of this assembly, he proceeded next to charge Mr John Doughty, who had been second in command during the whole voyage, when Drake was present, and first in his absence, with plotting the destruction of the undertaking, and the murder of his person. He said, he had the first notice of this gentleman's bad intentions before he left England, but that he was in hopes his behaviour towards him would have extinguished such dispositions, if there had been any truth in the information: he then appealed for his behaviour to the whole assembly, and to the gentleman accused; he next exposed his practices from the time they left England, while he lived towards him with all the kindness and cordiality of a brother, which charge he supported by producing papers under his own hand, to which Mr Doughty added a full and free confession; after this the captain, or as in the language of those times, he is called, the General, quitted the place, telling the assembly he expected that they should pass a verdict upon him, for he would be no judge in his own cause. Camden, as the reader will see, says, that he tried him by a jury, but other accounts affirm, that the whole forty persons of which the court was composed, adjudged him to death, and gave this in writing under their hands and seals, leaving the

time and manner of it to the General. Mr Doughty himself said, that he desired rather to die by the hands of justice than to be his own executioner. Upon this, Captain Drake having maturely weighed the whole matter, presented three points to Mr Doughty's choice. First, to be executed upon the island where they were, next to be set a shore on the main land, or, lastly, to be sent home to abide the justice of his country. He desired he might have till the next day to consider of these, which was allowed him, and then giving his reasons for rejecting the two last, he declared that he made the first his choice, and having received the sacrament with the General, from the hands of Mr Francis Fletcher, Chaplain to the Fleet, and made a full confession; his head was cut off with an ax, by the Provost Marshal, July 2d 1578. It is very remarkable, that this island had been the scene of another affair precisely of the same nature, fifty-eight years before, when Magellan caused John de Carthagena, who was joined in commission with him by the King of Spain, to be hanged for the like offence, and from hence it was called the Island of true Justice (12).

As to the imputations which this matter brought upon Drake, we will first cite what Camden says of this transaction (13). 'On the 26th of April entering into the mouth of the River of Plate, he saw an infinite number of sea calves. From thence sailing into the haven of St Julian, he found a gibbet set up as is thought by Magellan for the punishment of certain mutineers. In this very place, John Doughty, an industrious and stout man, and the next unto Drake, was called to his trial for raising a mutiny in the fleet, found guilty by twelve men after the English manner, and condemned to death, which he suffered undauntedly, being beheaded, having first received the Holy Communion with Drake. And indeed, the most impartial persons in the fleet were of opinion that he had acted seditiously, and that Drake cut him off as an emulator of his glory, and one that regarded not so much, who he himself excelled in commendations for sea matters, as who he thought might equal him. Yet wanted there not some who pretending to understand things better than others, gave out that Drake had, in charge from Leicester to take off Doughty upon any pretence whatever, because he had reported that the Earl of Essex was made away by the cunning practices of that Earl.' We find this matter touched in several other books, and particularly in two, which were written on purpose to expose the Earl of Leicester, and perhaps deserving the less credit for that reason (14).

It may be offered in defence of Sir Francis Drake, that this man was openly put to death, after as fair a trial as the circumstances of time and place would permit; that he submitted patiently to his sentence, and received the sacrament with Drake, whom he embraced immediately before his execution. Besides these, there are two points which deserve particular consideration.

(12) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 396.

(13) Annal. Eliz. p. 354.

(14) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 41. Leicester's Ghost, Stanza 112, 113.

fifth of September he passed them, having then only his own ship, which, in the South-Seas, he new named the Hind; on the twenty-fifth of November he came to Machao, in the latitude of thirty degrees, where he had appointed a rendezvous in case his ships separated: but Captain Winter having repassed the Streights, was returned to England. Thence he continued his voyage along the coasts of Chili and Peru, taking all opportunities of seizing Spanish ships, or of landing, and attacking them on shore, till his crew were sated with plunder, and then coasting North America, to the height of forty-eight degrees, he endeavoured to find a passage back into our seas on that side, which is the strongest proof of his consummate skill, and invincible courage; for, if ever such a passage be found to the northward, this, in all probability, will be the method; and we can scarce conceive a clearer testimony of an undaunted spirit, than attempting discoveries after so long, so hazardous, and so fatiguing a voyage (p). Here, being disappointed of what he sought, he landed, and called the country New Albion, taking possession of it in the name, and for the use, of Queen Elizabeth; and, having careened his ship, set sail from thence on the twenty-ninth of September 1579, for the Moluccas. The reason of Captain Drake's chusing this passage round, rather than returning by, the Streights of Magellan, was, partly, the danger of being attacked at a great disadvantage by the Spaniards, partly the lateness of the season, whence dangerous storms and hurricanes were to be apprehended (q). Perhaps too he gave out amongst his seamen, that he was deterred by the confident, though false, report of the Spaniards, that the Streights could not be repassed [E]. On the thirteenth of October he fell in with certain islands, inhabited by the most barbarous people he had met with in all his voyage. On the fourth of November he had sight of the Moluccas, and coming to Ternate, was extremely well received by the King thereof, who appears, from the most authentick relations of this voyage, to have been a wise and polite Prince. On the tenth of December he made Celebes, where his ship unfortunately ran on a rock the ninth of January following, whence beyond all expectation, and in a manner miraculously, they got off, and continued their course.

(p) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 400. See also some remarks on this passage in Dampier's Voyages.

(q) See all the accounts of this voyage in the authors before-mentioned.

*First*, that in such expeditions, strict discipline and legal severity are often absolutely necessary. *Secondly*, that as to the Earl of Essex, for whose death Doughty had expressed concern, he was Drake's first patron, and it is therefore very improbable he should destroy a man for endeavouring to detect his murder. We may add to all this, if liberty may be indulged to conjectures, that this man presuming upon the Earl of Leicester's favour, (who very probably imposed him upon Drake to be rid of him) was from thence encouraged to form designs against Drake, and this might also be the reason which hindered him from inclining to an absolute pardon, as doubting whether it was possible to trust one who had so far abused his confidence already, and whose known interest with so great a man, might always enable him to find instruments, in case he was wicked enough to enter upon fresh intrigues. All this however, is submitted entirely to the reader's judgment; since it is our design only to furnish proper lights from the intelligence which has come to our hands, but by no means to aim at imposing our sense of things upon the publick.

[E] *That the Streights could not be repassed*] In spreading this report, the Spaniards certainly acted very wisely, for it intimidated even the boldest navigators of other nations from attempting this passage, from an apprehension, that when they were once in those seas, they should never get out again, but either fall into the hands of the Spaniards from whom they could hope no mercy, or perish by famine before they could possibly reach the East-Indies (15). It is very evident from Captain Drake's conduct, for we have no other way left of coming at his sentiments, that he had maturely weighed all these things before he left England. He carried five ships with him to Port St Julian, that the people might be more at their ease, and have greater plenty of provisions; but when he came thither he broke up two of them, that there might be less danger of separating in strange seas, which though it failed him, was nevertheless a just precaution. In the next place it appears, that he had formed a design of returning by a new passage, which tho' often attempted on the other side, no Englishman could ever have thought to have tried in this manner, because till he opened the way, none had the least notion of entering these seas. Lastly, he had taken great care to visitual himself properly, that if this design failed, as it did, he might be in a condition to follow the example of Magellan. In order to encourage his people to this, he seemed to give credit to the opinion propagated by the Spaniards, of the great danger in repassing the

Streights of Magellan, which however, were actually repassed by Captain John Winter, though Drake and his company could know nothing of this at that time. But that Captain Drake could not apprehend any impossibility in the thing itself, we may be assured from hence, that in this very voyage he had not only passed the streights, but had also been driven back again, not through the streights indeed, but in the open sea, of which we have a very distinct account given us from his own mouth, by his relation Sir Richard Hawkins, which is very curious, and well deserves the reader's notice (16): 'In all the Streights it ebbeth and floweth more or less, and in many places it riseth very little, but in some Bays where are great in-draughts, it rises eight or ten feet, and doubtless farther in more. If a man be furnished with wood and water and the wind good, he may keep the main sea, and go round about the Streights to the southwards, and it is the shorter way; for besides the experience which we made, that all the south part of the Streights is but islands, many times having the sea open. I remember that Sir Francis Drake told me, that having shot the Streights, a storm took him first at North-West, and afterwards vered about to the South-West, which continued with him many days with that extremity, that he could not open any sail, and that at the end of the storm he found himself in fifty degrees, which was sufficient testimony and proof that he was beaten round about the Streights, for the least height of the Streights is in fifty two degrees and fifty minutes, in which stand the two entrances or mouths. And moreover, he said, that standing about when the wind changed, he was not wellable to double the southermost island, and so anchored under the lee of it; and going ashore, carried a compass with him, and seeking out the southermost part of the island, cast himself down upon the uttermost point groveling, and so reached out his body over it. Soon after he embarked, where he acquainted his people that he had been upon the southermost known land in the world, and further to the southward upon it than any of them, or any man as yet known. These testimonies may suffice for this truth unto all, but such as are incredulous, and will believe nothing but what they see; for my part, I am of opinion, that the Streight is navigable all the year long, although the best time be in November, December, and January, and then the winds are more favourable, which at other times are variable as in all narrow seas.'

(16) Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 95, 96.

(15) See observations on the passage into the South-Seas by the Streights of F. Magellan, together with an account of the Voyages made through them down to Sir John Narborough's.

(r) Hakluyt's  
Voyages, Vol.  
III. p. 748.

(s) Purchas's Pil-  
grims, Vol. I.  
p. 46—57.  
Hakluyt, Vol.  
III. p. 742.

(t) Camden's An-  
nals, p. 351.  
Sir Wm. Mon-  
son's Naval  
Tracts, p. 400.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 689.  
Hollinghed,  
Speed.

(u) See Mr Cow-  
ley's Poems, edit.  
1680. p. 8, 42.

course. On the sixteenth of March he arrived at Java Major, thence he intended to have proceeded for Malacca, but found himself obliged to alter his purpose, and think of returning directly home (r). On the twenty-fifth of March 1580, he put this design in execution; and, on the fifteenth of June, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, having then on board his ship fifty-seven men, and but three casks of water. On the twelfth of July he passed the Line, reached the coast of Guinea on the sixteenth, and there watered. On the 11th of September he made the island of Tercera, and, on the 3d day of November, the same year, entered the harbour of Plymouth. In this voyage he completely sur- rounded the globe, which no Commander in Chief had done before (s) [F]. His success in the voyage, and the immense mass of wealth he brought home, raised much discourse throughout the kingdom, some highly commending, and some as loudly decrying him. The former alledged, that his exploit was not only honourable to himself, but to his country; that it would establish our reputation for maritime skill in foreign nations, and raise a useful spirit of emulation at home; and that as to the money, our Merchants having suffered deeply from the faithless practices of the Spaniards, there was nothing more just than that the nation should receive the benefit of Drake's reprisals. The other party alledged, that, in fact, he was no better than a pyrate; that, of all others, it least became a trading nation to encourage such practices; that it was not only a direct breach of all our late treaties with Spain, but likewise of our old leagues with the house of Burgundy; and that the consequences would be much more fatal than the benefits reaped from it could be advantageous. Things continued in this uncertainty during the remainder of the year 1580, and the spring of the succeeding year. At length they took a better turn; for, on the fourth of April 1581, her Majesty going to Deptford in Kent, went on board Capt. Drake's ship, where after dinner she conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and declared her absolute approbation of all that he had done, to the confusion of his enemies, and to the great joy of his friends (t). She likewise gave directions for the preservation of his ship, that it might remain a monument of his own and his country's glory. In process of time the vessel decaying, it was broken up, but a chair, made of the planks, was presented to the University of Oxford, and is still preserved (u) [G]. In 1585 he failed

[F] *Which no Commander in Chief had done before.*

The first into whose thoughts the possibility of this entered, was the celebrated Christopher Columbus, whose knowledge in the art of navigation, when one considers the defects in Philosophy and Astronomy in his time, appears perfectly amazing (17). Sir John Cabot, father to Sebastian Cabot, who was contemporary with Columbus, comprehended his principles perfectly, which induced him to propose to our King Henry the Seventh, the finding a North-West Passage. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese by birth, offered his service to the Crown of Spain, and proposed searching for a passage to the South, which was accepted. He sailed from St Lucar, September the twentieth, 1519, he found and passed the Streights, which bear his name the next year, but in his return was killed in the East-Indies. His ship came back safe to Spain, and as this was the first, so it was the only example that Captain Drake had to encourage him in his design; and to balance this, there were a multitude of unfortunate attempts afterwards. In 1527, the Spaniards sent Garcia de Loaisa, a Knight of Malta, with a squadron of seven ships to follow the route of Magellan. He passed the Streights indeed, lost some of his ships in the South-Seas, others put into the Ports of New Spain, and only his vessel and another reached the East-Indies, where himself and all his people perished. Another squadron of seven ships fitted out by the Bishop of Placentia, had no better fortune; for having reached the South-Seas, they were so discouraged, that they proceeded no further. In 1526, the Genoese sent two ships to pass these Streights, of which, one was cast away, and the other returned home without effecting any thing. Sebastian Cabot, in the service of the crown of Portugal, made the like trial, but not being able to find the Streights, returned into the River of Plate. Americus Vesputius, from whom the new world received its name, undertook to perform in the service of the Crown of Portugal, what Cabot had promised, but this vain man was still more unlucky, for he could not find either the Streights, or the River of Plate. Some years after, the Spaniards equipped a stout squadron under the command of Simon de Alcafara, but before they reached the height of the Streights, the sailors mutinied, and obliged their commander to return (18). Such repeated misfortunes discouraged even the ablest and boldest seaman, so that from this time, both Spaniards and strangers dropped all thoughts of

(17) See his life  
written by his  
son, in the 2d  
Volume of  
Churchill's Col-  
lect. of Voyages.

(18) See large  
accounts of these  
Voyages in Eden,  
Hakluyt, and  
Purchas.

emulating Magellan, and highly probable it is, that if Captain Drake had fully disclosed his design, he had not been more fortunate than the rest. His courage therefore may well be admired, who durst endeavour an enterprize, the declaring of which had infallibly destroyed it; his sagacity in navigating seas, wholly unknown, as well in his return, as in his going out, for not a man on board his ship had ever seen the Cape of Good Hope, can hardly be enough admired. His intrepidity in sailing so far to the North, in hopes of coming that way home was very surprizing, and the methods he took through all the voyage, to keep his people steady, in full spirits, and for the most part in good health, must give us a very high idea of his capacity; and therefore, we need not at all wonder that upon his coming to England, his fame rose to such a height, as to provoke envy as well as praise.

[G] *And is still preserved.* It is observed by Mr Camden, that when the Queen went to dine on board the Golden Hind, there was such a concourse of people, that the wooden bridge over which they passed broke, and upwards of an hundred persons fell into the river, by which accident, however, there was nobody hurt, as if, says he, that ship had been built under some lucky constellation. Upon this occasion, the following verses made by the scholars of Winchester College, were nailed to the mainmast (19).

(19) Camden's  
Annals, p. 355

Plus Ultra, *Herculeis inscribas, Drace, Columnis,  
Et magno, dicas, Hercule major ero.*

In English thus,

His pillars pass'd thou DRAKE may'st boldly claim,  
Than HERCULES the great, a greater name.

Drace, *pererrati quem novit terminus orbis,  
Quemque simul mundi vidit uterque Polus;  
Si taceant homines, facient te sidera notum.  
Sol nescit comitis non memor esse sui.*

Which may be rendered,

Expos'd to thee have earth's last limits been,  
Thou at like distance both the Poles hast seen;  
Were mankind mute, the stars thy fame would blaze,  
And Phœbus sing his old companion's praise.

*Digna*

failed again to the West-Indies, having under his command Captain Christopher Carlisle, Captain Martin Frobisher, Captain Francis Knollys, and many other Officers of great reputation. In that expedition he took the cities of St Jago, St Domingo, Carthagena, and St Augustin, exceeding even the expectation of his friends, and the hopes of the common people, though both were sanguine to the last degree (w). Yet the profits of this expedition were but moderate, the design of Sir Francis being rather to weaken the enemy than to enrich himself (x). In 1587 he proceeded to Lisbon with a fleet of thirty sail, and having intelligence of a great fleet assembled in the Bay of Cadiz, which was to have made part of the Armada, he, with great courage, entered that port, and burnt there upwards of ten thousand ton of shipping; and, after having performed all the service that the State could expect, he resolved to do his utmost to content the Merchants of London, who had contributed, by a voluntary subscription, to the fitting out of his fleet. With this view, having intelligence of a large carrack expected at Tercera from the East-Indies, thither he sailed; and though his men were severely pinched for want of victuals, yet, by fair words, and large promises, he prevailed upon them to endure these hardships for a few days; within this space the East-India ship arrived, which he took, and carried home in triumph; so that throughout the whole war there was no expedition so happily conducted as this, with respect to reputation or profit (y); and therefore we need not wonder, that, upon his return, the mighty applause he received might render him somewhat elate, as his enemies report it did; but certain it is, that no man's pride had ever a happier turn, since it always vented itself in service to the publick [H]. Thus, at this time, he undertook to bring water into the town of Plymouth, through the want of which, till then, it had been grievously distressed; and he performed it by conducting thither a stream from springs at eight miles distance, that is to say, in a strait line; for in the manner by which he brought it, the course it runs is upwards of twenty miles (z). In 1588 Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-Admiral under Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, High Admiral of England: here his fortune favoured him as remarkably as ever, for he made prize of a very large galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who yielded on the bare mention of his name. In this vessel fifty thousand ducats were distributed among the seamen and soldiers, which preserved that love they had always borne to their valiant Commander. It must not, however, be dissembled, that,

(w) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 534. Sir Wm. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 169. Camden's Annals, p. 353. Stowe's Annals, p. 709. Hollingshed. Speed.

(x) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 169.

(y) Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Sir Wm. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 170.

(z) Westcot's Survey of Devonshire, M.S. Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

*Digna Ratis quæ flet radiantibus inclita stellis;  
Supremo cæli vertice digna Ratis.*

Thus translated,

Amidst the stars, thy SHIP were fitly plac'd,  
And stars in gracing it, be doubly grac'd.

Drake and his ship, could not have with'd from fate,  
An happier station, or more blest estate:  
For lo! a seat of endless rest is given  
To her in Oxford, and to him in Heaven.

To this, let us add another hitherto unpublished.

Thy glory DRAKE, extensive as thy mind,  
No time shall tarnish, and no limits bind:  
What greater praise! than thus to match the SUN  
Running that RACE, which cannot be outrun.  
Wide as the WORLD thou compass'd, spreads thy  
Fame,  
And with that WORLD, an equal date shall claim.

[H] Since it always vented itself in service to the publick.] It must be observed, that though in his voyage round the world, our gallant seaman had the Queen's commission, yet he had not the honour to command any of the Queen's ships. But in the expedition of 1585, Sir Francis Drake went on board one Man of War, and his Vice-Admiral, Frobisher, was in another (21). In this last enterprize, in 1587, he had four of the Queen's ships, and twenty six sail of several sizes fitted out by the Merchants of London; so that if we consider the expectations which his former successes had raised, his having now several interests to serve, and those in a manner opposite to each other, one cannot but admit, that this fortune was very singular, as well as his conduct great, that could give full satisfaction to all. Yet this he did in so high a degree, that Sir William Monson confesses in his naval tracts, envy herself knew not what to object, either to the management, or the issue of this voyage (22). If therefore Sir Francis Drake bore his head a little higher upon his return, it was highly pardonable, and all that we find objected to him, is no more than this, that in the soldier like language of that time, he very merrily called this, *burning the King of Spain's beard* (23). This expression was indeed blunt and coarse enough, and yet there is something in it expressive; it is on all hands allowed that he did infinite mischief, and retarded thereby the coming of the Armada for a whole year.

(21) See the several authors referred to in the text.

(22) Naval Tracts, p. 170.

(23) Bacon's Works, Vol. III. p. 523.

The same learned author in another famous work of his (\*), takes notice of a circumstance very extraordinary in relation to this celebrated ship, which is so strange in itself, that we should have passed it by in a writer of less credit; but what Camden thought fit to record of things happening in his own time, it might be justly thought a fault in us to omit. Speaking of the Shire of Buchan in Scotland, he says: 'It is hardly worth while to mention the Clayks, a sort of Geefe, which are believed by some with great admiration, to grow upon trees on this coast, and in other places, and when they are ripe to fall down into the sea, because neither their nests nor eggs can any where be found. But they who saw the ship in which Sir Francis Drake sailed round the world, when it was laid up in the river Thames, could testify that little birds bred in the old rotten keels of ships, since a great number of such, without life and feathers, stuck close to the out-side of the keel of that ship. Yet I should think that the generation of these birds, was not from the logs of wood, but from the sea, termed by the poets, the Parent of all things.' But to proceed in our narration. Time that destroys all things, having made great breaches in this ship, which for many years had been contemplated with just admiration at Deptford, it was at length broke up, and a chair made out of the planks was, by John Davies, Esq; presented to the University of Oxford, upon which the famous Abraham Cowley made the following epigram, that neither the hero nor his vessel might want the assistance of the Muses to render them immortal (20):

To this great ship, which round the world has run,  
And matcht in race, the chariot of the sun;  
This Pythagorean ship (for it may claim)  
Without presumption, so deserv'd a name.  
By knowledge once, and transformation now  
In her new shape, this sacred port allow,

[I] Being

(\*) Britannia, second edition, p. 1263, 1264.

(20) Cowley's Works, Vol. II. p. 563.

(a) Camden's Annals, p. 565, 573. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 602. Sir William Monfon's Naval Tracts, p. 172. Stowe, Hollinshed, Speed. See also the article of DEVEREUX (ROBERT I.) Earl of Essex.

through an oversight of his, the Admiral ran the utmost hazard of being taken by the enemy; for Drake being appointed, the first night of the engagement, to carry lights for the direction of the English fleet, he, being in full pursuit of some hulks belonging to the Hanse towns, neglected it, which occasioned the Admiral's following the Spanish lights, and remaining almost in the centre of their fleet till morning. However, his succeeding services sufficiently effaced the memory of this mistake, the greatest execution done on the flying Spaniards being performed by the squadron under his command (a) [I]. The next year he commanded as Admiral at sea the fleet sent to restore Don Antonio King of Portugal, the command of the land-forces being given to Sir John Norris. They were hardly got out to sea before the Commanders differed, though it is on all hands agreed, that there never was an Admiral better disposed with respect to soldiers, than Sir Francis Drake.

[I] *Being performed by the squadron under his command.* We will begin this note with observing, that a little before this formidable Spanish armament put to sea, the Ambassador of his Catholick Majesty had the confidence to propound to Queen Elizabeth, in Latin verse, the terms upon which she might hope for peace; which, with an English translation by the facetious Dr Fuller (24), we will present to the view of the reader, the rather, because it appears that Drake's expeditions to the West-Indies makes a part of this message. The verses are these:

Te veto ne pergas bello defendere Belgas :  
Quæ Dracus eripuit nunc restituentur oportet :  
Quas pater evertit jubeo te condere cellas :  
Religio Papæ fac restituetur ad unguem.

In English.

*These to you are our commands,  
Send no help to the Netherlands ;  
Of the treasure took by Drake,  
Restitution you must make ;  
And those abbies build anew  
Which your father overthrew.  
If for any peace you hope,  
In all points restore the Pope.*

The Queen's extempore return :

Ad Græcas, bone Rex, sient mandata calendas.  
Worthy King, know this your will,  
At Latter Lammas we'll fulfil.

There is a letter still preserved by Strype, written by Sir Francis Drake to the Lord High-Treasurer Burleigh, dated June 6, 1588, wherein he acquaints him, that the Spaniards were approaching, and that though their strength outwent report, yet the cheerfulness and courage which the Lord Admiral expressed, gave all who had the honour to serve under him assurance of victory. This compliment, which sure was very well turned, proved also a prophecy, which Sir Francis had his share in fulfilling (25). On the twenty-second of July, Sir Francis observing a great Spanish ship, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who was reputed the projector of this invasion, floating at a distance from both fleets, sent his pinnace to summon those who were on board to yield; Valdez, to maintain his credit and pretence to valour, returned, that they were four hundred and fifty strong, that he himself was Don Pedro, and stood much upon his honour, and thereupon propounded several conditions upon which he was willing to yield: but the Vice-Admiral replied that he had no leisure to parley, but if he thought fit instantly to yield he might, if not he should soon find that Drake was no coward. Pedro hearing it was Drake, whose name was so terrible to the Spaniards, presently yielded, and, with forty-six of his attendants, came aboard Sir Francis's ship, where, giving him the solemn Spanish congee, he protested, 'that they were all resolved to have died fighting, had they not fallen into his hands, whose felicity and valour was so great, that Mars the god of war, and Neptune the god of the sea, seemed to wait upon all his attempts, and whose noble and generous carriage toward the vanquished, had been oft experienced by his foes.' Sir Francis, to requite these Spanish complements with real English kindness, set him at his own table, and lodged him in his own

cabbin, sending the rest of his company to Plymouth. Drake's soldiers were well recompensed with the plunder of this ship, wherein they found fifty-five thousand ducats of gold, which they joyfully shared amongst them (26). This Don Pedro Valdez remained above two years Sir Francis Drake's prisoner in England, and, when he was released, paid him for his own and his two Captains liberties, a ransom of three thousand five hundred pounds (27). The Spaniards, notwithstanding their loss was so great, and their defeat so notorious, took great pains to propagate false stories, which in some places gained so much credit as to hide their shame. This provoked all good Englishmen, and, amongst them, none more than Sir Francis Drake, who, to shew that he could upon occasion draw his pen as well as his sword, vouchsafed this refutation of their romances (28): 'They were not ashamed to publish in sundry languages in print, great victories in words: which they pretended to have obtained against this realm, and spread the same in a most false sort over all parts of France, Italy, and elsewhere; when, shortly after, it was happily manifested in very deed to all nations, how their navy, which they termed invincible, consisting of one hundred and forty sail of ships, not only of their own kingdom, but strengthened with the greatest argosies, Portugal carracks, florentines, and large hulks of other countries, were by thirty of her Majesty's own ships of war, and a few of our own merchants, by the wise, valiant, and advantageous conduct of the Lord Charles Howard, High-Admiral of England, beaten and shuffled together even from the Lizard in Cornwall, first to Portland, where they shamefully left Don Pedro de Valdes with his mighty ship; from Portland to Calais, where they lost Hugh de Moncado, with the gallies of which he was Captain; and from Calais driven with squibs from their anchors, were chased out of the sight of England, round about Scotland and Ireland. Where, for the sympathy of their religion, hoping to find succour and assistance, a great part of them were crushed against the rocks, and those other that landed, being very many in number, were, notwithstanding, broken, slain, and taken. And so sent from village to village, coupled in halsters, to be shipped into England, where her Majesty, of her princely and invincible disposition, disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retain or entertain them, they were all sent back again to their countries, to witness and recount the worthy achievement of their invincible and dreadful navy. Of which the number of soldiers, the fearful burthen of their ships, the commanders names of every squadron, with all other their magazines of provisions, were put in print, as an army and navy irresistible and disdaining prevention; with all which their great terrible ostentation, they did not in all their sailing round about England so much as sink or take one ship, bark, pinnace, or cock boat, of ours, or ever burnt so much as one sheepcote on this land.' If the knowledge of a writer, with respect to the subject which employs his pen, ought to render his relation more credible; or if the quality of an author can add any weight to his productions, this will not fail of being esteemed as well as believed. To speak the truth plainly, there is not perhaps in our own or in any other language, within so narrow a compass, so full, so perspicuous, and so spirited a relation of a transaction, glorious as this was, extant in any History. Indeed, what wonder, if the defeat of the Spaniards be as finely painted by the pen, as it was gallantly achieved by the sword, of Sir Francis Drake!

(26) English Hero.

(27) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 523. Life of Sir Francis Drake, p. 195.

(28) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 531, 532.

(25) This letter was formerly among the Lord Burleigh's Manuscripts. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 523.

Drake. The ground of their difference was this; the General was bent on landing at the Groyne, whereas Sir Francis, and the sea-officers, were for sailing to Lisbon directly, in which, if their advice had been taken, without question, their enterprize had succeeded, and Don Antonio been restored. For it afterwards appeared, on their invading Portugal, that the enemy had made use of the time they gave them to so good purpose, that it was not possible to make any impression. Sir John Norris, indeed, marched by land to Lisbon, and Sir Francis Drake very imprudently promised to sail up the river with his whole fleet; but when he saw the consequences which would have attended the keeping his word, he chose rather to break his promise, than to hazard the Queen's navy; for which he was grievously reproached by Norris, and the miscarriage of the whole affair was imputed to his failure in performing what he had undertaken; yet Sir Francis fully justified himself on his return, for he made it manifest to the Queen and Council, that all the service that was done was performed by him, and his sailing up the river of Lisbon would have signified nothing to the taking the castle, which was two miles off, and that without reducing it there was no taking the town (b) [K]. The war with Spain still continuing, and it being evident that nothing galled the enemy so much as the losses they met with in the Indies, a proposition was made to the Queen by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, the most experienced seamen in her kingdom, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into those parts, than had hitherto been made through the whole course of that war; and, at the same time, they offered to be at a great part of the expence themselves, and to engage their friends to bear a considerable proportion of the rest (c). The Queen readily gave ear to this motion, and furnished, on her part, a stout squadron of men of war, on board one of which, the Garland, Sir John Hawkins embarked. Their whole force consisted of twenty-seven ships and barks, and on board them were about two thousand five hundred men. Of all the enterprizes throughout the war, there was none of which so great hope was conceived as of this, and yet none succeeded worse. The fleet was detained, for some time after it was ready, on the English coast, by the arts of the Spaniards, who, having intelligence of its strength, and of the ends for which it was intended, they conceived, that the only means whereby it might be disappointed was by procuring some delay; in order to which they gave out, that they were ready themselves to invade England; and, to render this the more probable, they actually sent four galleys to make a descent on Cornwall (d). By these steps they carried their point; for the Queen and the nation being alarmed, it was by no means held proper to send so great a number of stout ships on so long a voyage, at so critical a juncture. At last this storm blowing over, the fleet sailed from Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of August, in order to execute their grand design of burning Nombre de Dios, marching thence by land to Panama, and there seizing the treasure which they knew was arrived from Peru. A few days before their departure, the Queen sent them advice, that the plate fleet was safely arrived in Spain, excepting only one galleon, which, having lost a mast, had been obliged to return to Porto Rico. The taking of this vessel she recommended to them as a thing very practicable, and which could prove no great hindrance to their other affair. When they were at sea the Generals differed, as is usual in conjunct expeditions. Sir John Hawkins was for executing immediately what the Queen had commanded, whereas Sir Francis Drake inclined to go first to the Canaries, being pressed thereto by Sir Thomas Baskerville, in which he prevailed; but the attempt they made was unsuccessful, and then they sailed for Dominica, where they spent too much time in refreshing themselves, and setting up their pinnaces. In the mean time the Spaniards had sent five stout frigates to bring away the galleon from Porto Rico, having exact intelligence of the intention of the English Admirals to attempt that place. On the thirtieth of October Sir John Hawkins weighed

(b) Camden's Annals, p. 601—606.

Sir Wm. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 174. Stowe's Annals, p. 755. Hollinghed. Speed.

(c) Camden's Annals, p. 698, 699, 700.

Sir Wm. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 182, 183. Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1183. Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(d) Camden's Annals, p. 697.

[K] *There was no taking the town.*] Before this expedition, all difficulties, however great, were seen to bend before the fortune of Sir Francis Drake; but whether it was the strange division of command, for there were two Generals in Chief declared, and a third who expected to command them, though without a commission. Whether they were deceived in the furnishing the fleet, which would not have been the case if the sole management had been committed to Sir Francis Drake, or whether their hopes failed them in Portugal, so it was, that, with respect to the great end of their expedition, they miscarried; and as they carried Don Antonio out with strong hopes of leaving him a King, so, when they brought him home, he left all his hopes behind (29). In most of our Histories many aspersions are thrown upon Sir Francis Drake, and Sir William Monson very impartially professes, that he cannot excuse his breaking his promise to Sir John Norris, though he allows the thing was impracticable. Now, though the breaking a promise be a bad thing, one might be tempted to think, that not being able to keep it is a pretty tolerable excuse; the Queen and her Council understood it so, for Sir

Francis alledged, and it could not be denied, that the very time they spent at the Groyne, the Spaniards employed in fortifying Lisbon, which was the reason he opposed that measure (30). He shewed, that whatever was done there or elsewhere for the credit of the nation, was performed solely by the fleet and by his orders, in consequence of which a large fleet, laden with naval stores from the Hanse Towns, was taken, and a great quantity of ammunition and artillery. He farther shewed, that, had it not been for the fleet, the army must have been starved; and that, if they had stayed any longer, neither fleet nor army could have returned home; all which distresses arose from their not going about their principal business at first, which was what he advised; but when he found he could not prevail upon some men to manage their own affairs right, he contented himself with managing, as well as he could, those that were immediately within his own province, and with respect to these, even the censurers of this expedition admit, that nobody could have managed them better. Happy for Sir Francis Drake, if, upon his receiving this first check at play, he had withdrawn his stake.

(30) Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 174.

weighed from Dominica, and, in the evening of the same day, the Francis, a bark of about thirty-five tons, and the sternmost of Sir John's ships, fell in with the five sail of Spanish frigates before-mentioned, and was taken; the consequences of which being foreseen by Sir John, it threw him into a fit of sickness, of which, or rather of a broken heart, he died on the twelfth of November 1595 (e). At this time they were before Porto Rico, and the very same evening Sir John Hawkins died, while the great officers were at supper together, a cannon shot from the fort pierced the cabin, killed Sir Nicholas Clifford, wounded Captain Stratford, and mortally wounded Mr Brute Browne, striking the stool from under Sir Francis Drake, who was drinking, without doing him any hurt at all. The next day, November 13th, 1595, the General, pursuant to the resolution of a Council of War, made a desperate attack on the shipping in the harbour of Porto Rico, which was attended with great loss to the Spaniards, yet with very little advantage to the English, who meeting with a more resolute resistance, and much better fortifications, than they expected, were obliged to sheer off. The Admiral then steered for the main, where he took the town of Rio de la Hacha, which he burnt to the ground, a church, and a single house belonging to a Lady, only excepted. After this he destroyed some other villages, and then proceeded to Santa Martha, which he likewise burned. The like fate had the famous town of Nombre de Dios, the Spaniards refusing to ransom any of these places, and the booty taken in them being very inconsiderable. On the twenty-ninth of December Sir Thomas Baskerville marched, with seven hundred and fifty men, towards Panama, but returned on the second of January, finding the design of reducing that place to be wholly impracticable. This disappointment made such an impression on the Admiral's mind, that it threw him into a lingering fever, attended with a flux, of which he died on the twenty-eighth of the same month, about four in the morning; though Sir William Monson hints, that there were great doubts whether it was barely his sickness killed him [L]. Such was the end of this great man, when he had lived

(e) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 183. MS. Remarks on Hakluyt.

[L] *Whether it was barely his sickness that killed him.* In the text we have stated the facts according to the lights given us, and, from the authorities of the best writers in those times, we will in this note endeavour to clear up some passages that might otherwise seem obscure, and by doing this we shall, in some measure, enable the reader to form a just notion as to his death. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins were, without doubt, two of the most experienced officers, that those stirring times, and that glorious reign, had bred. Each of them had his reasons for undertaking that expedition, and both of them acted from motives of honour; they knew well the situation of the countries which were to be the scene of their actions, and the plan they laid was equally worthy of the great experience they had, and the high reputation raised thereby. In few words, their aim was to plunder and destroy Nombre de Dios, to force a passage through the Isthmus, and then to make themselves masters of Panama, which done, they were to act as circumstances should direct (31). The preparations made for their voyage, chiefly at the expense of the Generals, were such as could not be concealed: the Spaniards, being apprized of these, alarmed England, and thereby gained time to send advice into America. When, after many months delay, the Queen allowed them to proceed, she charged him with another project, which was attacking Porto Rico, where, according to her information (and it was true) the whole cargo of a rich galleon was deposited (32). When they were at sea, Sir Thomas Baskerville started a third project, which was reducing one of the Canary Islands, to which Sir Francis Drake assented, as believing, that, whatever became of their expedition, the conquest of that island would be of very great importance to the nation (33). Their miscarriage in that was many ways detrimental, but chiefly through this which they did not foresee, that it gave time for the Court of Spain to send five frigates, with nine hundred regular troops on board, to St John de Porto Rico. Of this they had no suspicion, and therefore they spent more time than they needed to have done before they went thither, and the bark Francis being taken in their passage, Sir John Hawkins truly foresaw what afterwards happened, that the Spaniards, by the help of the reinforcement that squadron carried, would be too strong for them. The sad accident of his death, and of two principal Commanders desperately wounded the same evening, damped the spirits of the soldiers and seamen exceedingly. General Drake himself, when he took his leave of Mr Brown in order to go to the attack, could not help saying, *Brute, Brute,* (that was his Christian

name) *how heartily could I lament thy fate, but that I dare not let my spirits sink now* (34). The several enterprises that followed, were to gratify other mens projects, but at last Sir Francis Drake returned to his first design, and made an attempt upon the Isthmus, but the Spaniards were too well provided, so that he plainly saw things went not with him as in former days. The whole of this expedition was a series of misfortunes, in which Providence made use of their own counsels to destroy them. If they had gone at first to Porto Rico, they had done the Queen's business and their own. If, when they had intelligence of the Spanish succours being landed there, they had proceeded directly to the Isthmus, in order to have executed their designs against Panama, before their forces had been weakened by that desperate attack, they might possibly have accomplished their first intention, but grasping too many things spoiled all. A very strong sense of this threw Sir Francis Drake into a melancholy, which occasioned a bloody-flux, the natural disease of the country that brought him to his end (35). His body, according to the custom of the sea, was sunk very near the place where he first laid the foundation of his fame and fortune. This appears to be a plain and probable relation of the end of this great man; if the reader has a mind to see it set in a stronger light, Mr Fuller shall afford him that satisfaction, which will be heightened by knowing that he wrote from the mouth of Henry Drake, Esq; who accompanied his cousin in that unfortunate expedition (36). 'Now began the discontent of Sir Francis to feed upon him. He conceived that expectation, a mercilefs usurer, computing each day since his departure, exacted an interest and return of honour and profit proportionable to his great preparations, and transcending his former achievements. He saw that all the good which he had done in this voyage, consisted in the evil he had done to the Spaniards afar off, whereof he could present but small visible fruits in England. These apprehensions accompanying, if not causing, the disease of the flux, wrought his sudden death; and sickness did not so much untie his clothes, as sorrow did rend at once the robe of his mortality asunder. He lived by the sea, died on it, and was buried in it. Thus, an extempore performance, scarce heard to be begun before we hear it is ended, comes off with better applause, or miscarries with less disgrace, than a long studied and openly premeditated action. Besides, we see how great spirits having mounted up to the highest pitch of performance, afterwards strain and break their credits in striving to go beyond it. Lastly, God oftentimes leaves

(34) Fuller's Holy State, p. 129.

(35) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 700. Sir Wm. Monson's Tracts, p. 182.

(36) Fuller's Holy State, p. 130, 131.

(31) It was upon this plan they formed the offer they made to the Queen, and, no doubt, had good intelligence.

(32) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 583. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1183. Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

(33) English Hero, p. 206.

(f) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 53.  
Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1183.  
Sir Wm. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 182.  
Stowe's Annals, p. 808.  
Camden's Annals, p. 700.  
English Hero, p. 206.  
Fuller's Worthies, p. 261.

lived fifty-five years (*f*), according to some, but according to our computation fifty-one (*g*), but his memory will survive as long as that world lasts which he first surrounded. His death was generally lamented by the whole nation, but more especially by his countrymen, who had great reasons to love him from the circumstances of his private life, as well as to esteem him in his publick character. He was elected Burgess for the town of Bossiney, alias Tintagal, in the county of Cornwall, in the Parliament held the twenty-seventh of Queen Elizabeth, and for the town of Plymouth in Devonshire, in the thirty-fifth of the same reign (*b*). It is indeed true, that he died without issue, but not that he lived and died a Bachelor, as several authors have written (*i*); for he left behind him a widow, Elizabeth (*k*), daughter and sole heiress of Sir George Sydenham, of Combe-Sydenham in the county of Devon, Knight, who afterwards married William Courteney, Esq; of Powderham-Castle in the same county. It was not the custom of those times to set up cenotaphs, at least for private persons, otherwise one might have expected some monument should have been erected to the memory of Sir Francis Drake. Indeed it was needless; for his picture was common not only here, but in all parts of Europe, insomuch, that a disturbance was occasioned at Rome by the imprudence of a famous Painter, who caused the head (*l*) of Sir Francis Drake to be hung up in a publick place, next to that of his Catholick Majesty. Hitherto we have spoken of his publick actions, let us now, as we have ample and excellent materials, discourse somewhat of his person and character. He was low of stature but well set, had a broad open chest, a very round head, his hair of a fine brown, his beard full and comely, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complexion, with a fresh, chearful, and very engaging countenance (*m*). As Navigation had been his whole study, so he understood it thoroughly, and was a perfect master in every branch, especially in Astronomy, and in the application thereof to the Nautick Art. As all men have enemies, and all eminent men abundance of them, we need not wonder that Sir Francis Drake, who performed so many great things, should have as much ill spoken of him as of any man of the age in which he lived. Those who disliked him alledged, that he was a man of low birth, haughty in his temper, ostentatious, self-sufficient, an immoderate speaker, and, though indisputably a good Seaman, no great General; in proof of which they took notice of his neglecting to furnish his fleet thoroughly in 1585, his not keeping either St Domingo or Carthagenia, after he had taken them, the slender provision he made in his expedition to Portugal, his breaking his word to Sir John Norris, and the errors he committed in his last undertaking (*n*). In excuse of these it is said, that the glory of what he did might very well remove the imputation of his mean descent; what was thought haughtiness in him, might be no more than a just concern for the support of his authority, his display of his great services, a thing incident to his profession, and his love of speaking qualified by his wisdom and eloquence, which hindered him from ever dropping a weak or an ungraceful expression. In equipping his fleet, he was not so much in fault as those whom he trusted; sickness hindered his keeping the places he took in the West-Indies; his counsels were continually crossed by the land-officers in his voyage to Portugal; and, as to his last attempt, the Spaniards were certainly well acquainted with his design, at least as soon as he left England, if not before. His voyage round the world, however, remains an incontestible proof of his courage, capacity, patience, quick-sightedness, and publick spirit, since therein he did every thing that could be expected from a man, who preferred the honour and profit of his country to his own reputation, or private gain (*o*) [*M*]. It was the felicity of our Admiral to live under the reign of a

(g) In the margin of Stowe's Annals he is said to have died at fifty five; but, from all the passages in that account of him, he appears to have been no older than we have reported him.

(b) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 122, 295.

(i) Fuller's Worthies, p. 261.

(l) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 244. English Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 531.

(m) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 540.

(n) Stowe's Annals, p. 808. Fuller's Holy State, p. 131.

(o) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 399. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. VI. p. 1185. Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

(p) Camden's Annals, p. 351. The World encompassed, p. 18. Sir Wm. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 399. English Hero, p. 206.

'leaves the brightest men in an eclipse, to shew, that they do but borrow their lustre from his reflection. We will not justify all the actions of any man, tho' of a tamer profession than a sea Captain, in whom civility is often counted preciseness. For the main, we say, that this our Captain was a religious man towards God, and his houses, generally speaking, churches, where he came chaff in his life, just in his dealings, true of his word, and merciful to those that were under him, hating nothing so much as idleness.'

[*M*] *To his own reputation or private gain*] The materials that I have collected from several writers in that age, and which are to be digested into this note, will, I hope, sufficiently justify what is advanced in the text, and shew, that if Sir Francis Drake amassed a large fortune to himself, by continually exposing himself to labours and perils which hardly any other man would have undergone, for the sake even of the greatest expectations, he was far from being governed by a narrow and private spirit; on the contrary, his notions were free and noble, and the nation stands indebted to his memory, for advantages, infinitely greater than are commonly imagined.

I. He was the great author of our navigation to the West-Indies; for though he was not the first that went thither, yet, after the severe check that Sir John Hawkins met with when Drake commanded the Judith,

our seamen were much discouraged, and in all probability, would scarce have adventured upon any expeditions of that sort in haste, if he had not encouraged them by his two prosperous voyages. In these he acted with extraordinary caution, and was remarkably careful of the health and safety of his seamen, that he might beget in them not only a confidence in himself, but a thorough contempt of those vulgar fears, which represented voyages into that part of the world as so difficult and dangerous in many respects, besides that of falling into the hands of the Spaniards (37). In this he succeeded so well, that, in the space of a very few years, many small vessels, most of them commanded by persons bred under him, followed that course, and partly by trading, partly by privateering, brought great wealth into the nation, and accustomed the English mariners to traverse seas, and visit ports, to which, but for his vigilance and good fortune, they had remained much longer strangers (38). On this account, therefore, he may be considered, very justly, as the author of all our success in those parts; for tho' several famous seamen engaged afterwards in expeditions of the like nature, and began to think of making settlements also in those remote parts, yet it was but in consequence of the lights he gave them, and from that spirit of emulation which was raised by the extensive reputation he had acquired.

(37) See Sir Richard Hawkins's Observations on his Voyage to the South-Sea.

(38) Drake's Antiquities of York, p. 230.

Princess, who never failed to distinguish merit, or to bestow her favours where she saw desert. Sir Francis Drake was always her favourite, and she gave a very lucky proof of it in respect to a quarrel he had with his countryman Sir Bernard Drake; whose arms Sir Francis had assumed, which so provoked the other, who was a seaman likewise; that he gave him a box on the ear. The Queen took up the quarrel, and gave Sir Francis a new coat, which is thus blazoned: *Sable a fess wavy between two pale stars argent*, and for his crest, *a ship on a globe under ruff*, held by a cable, with a hand out of the clouds, over it this motto, *Auxilio divino*, underneath, *Sic parvis magna*, in the rigging whereof is hung up by the heels *a wivern, gules*, which was the arms of Sir Bernard Drake (p). Her Majesty's kindness, however, did not extend beyond the grave; for she suffered his brother Thomas Drake, whom he made his heir, to be prosecuted for a pretended debt to the Crown, which much diminished the advantages he would otherwise have reaped from his brother's succession (q). This brother of his accompanied him in his last expedition, as his brother John, and his brother Joseph, had done in his first voyages to the West-Indies, where they both died; and both Thomas and John left children behind them, whereas Sir Francis, and nine of his other brethren, died without (r). As for the land estate which he had purchased, and which was very considerable, (for though, on proper occasions, he was extremely generous, yet he was also a great economist,) it came to his nephew and godson Francis Drake, son to his brother Thomas (s), who, by letters patents, dated August 2d, 1622, in the twentieth year of the reign of King James the First, was created a Baronet (t), and, in the beginning of the next reign, was returned one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Devon (u). He was twice married; first to Jane, daughter of Sir Amias Bampfylde, of Poltimore in the same county, Knight, by whom he had a daughter that died an infant; and, secondly, to Joan, daughter of Sir William Strode, of Newman, Knight, by whom he had four sons (w). The eldest, Sir Francis Drake, Baronet, married Dorothy, the daughter of Mr Pyn, but dying without issue, the title devolved upon his nephew by his second brother Thomas, who became thereby Sir Francis Drake, Baronet, who frequently represented the town of Tavistock in Parliament (x). He was thrice married, but had no issue; but by his last wife, who was the daughter of Sir Henry Pollexfen, Knight, Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, his son and successor by her was Sir Francis-Henry Drake, Baronet, who died January 26th, 1740, leaving issue by his wife, the sister of Sir William Heathcote, Baronet, three sons and two daughters (y). The eldest of these, Sir Francis-Henry Drake, Baronet, is the present representative of this family, and member in the present Parliament for Beerlston, in the county of Devon, who has still, in his possession, a Bible, with an inscription indented on the edges, signifying, that it made the tour of the world with Sir Francis Drake (z). There are many other relics preserved in the cabinets of the curious, in memory of this famous person; such as the staff made out of his ship before it was broke up, in that of Mr Thoresby at Leeds (a); and there is hardly any collection of English money, in which there are not pieces of Queen's Elizabeth's coin, supposed to be marked with a Drake, in honour of Sir Francis's voyage round the world, in the twenty-second year of her reign. I say, supposed, because some curious persons suggest, that this bird upon her coin is not a Drake but a Dove, and consider this tradition as a vulgar error (b). It may be so indeed, for any thing we know with certainty; as, on the other hand, it may not be so, for any thing that has been said to the contrary. Two things, however, are certain; one, that there are a variety of marks upon the

II. He was also the first that shewed his own nation, what, till then, no other nation had ever attempted, that it was practicable with a very small force to act against the Spaniards, both by sea and land, as this nation have acknowledged, and attribute to him all the troubles they afterwards met with from the French and Dutch, as well as from the English (39). In his expedition of 1572, he had but two ships, if they might be so called, one of seventy tons, commanded by himself, the other of twenty five tons, commanded by his brother John, and his whole force consisted but of seventy three men and boys. Yet after he was discovered, and known to be upon the coast, and to have committed hostilities, he had the courage to resolve upon remaining there, and to do his business with pinnaces, finding his ships too large, and therefore intending to destroy one, and convert the other into a store-ship; but knowing that his seamen would never consent to this, tho' the ships were his own, and the best part of his estate; he prevailed upon the carpenter of the lesser, to bore holes in the bottom of her in the night, without so much as communicating the design to his own brother who commanded her. This happy temerity was followed by as much success as he could wish, since he kept the Bay of Mexico for many months in a manner blocked up, and his fertility in inventing expedients to answer all purposes, and to provide against all

dangers, excited that amazing spirit amongst the seamen of his time, that is scarce credible in ours (40). A spirit that rendered them so famous, as to occasion their being sought after, and employed by all nations, but more especially the French and Dutch, as might be shewn from numerous instances.

III. His genius was far from being confined to small undertakings, though necessity compelled it's first appearance in such; for when he undertook his voyage round the world, he not only framed the scheme in his own head, but kept it entirely within his own breast, bringing it out only by parts, as the execution required, and proposing nothing to be effected till he had made the necessary provisions for effecting it, tho' without any communication, by which he drew his people first into the South-Seas, thence to the East-Indies, and home by a route new to him and them, which he had never accomplished, if his intentions had been foreseen from the beginning (41). In 1585, he executed a great undertaking with a considerable force, having under him, Captain Frobisher, and other able seamen, with like conduct and courage, and with dreadful destruction to the enemy; so that there is very little reason to regret Sir Philip Sydney's not going that voyage with him, nor will any wise man believe implicitly on the credit of Sir Fulk Grevil, that Sir Francis Drake was less capable of performing any service in

(40) Camden. Britannia, 2d edition, p. 34. English Hero.

(41) This Sir Wm. Monson fairly acknowledges, though no great admirer of Sir Francis Drake.

(p) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 245.

(q) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 400.

(r) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Fuller's Holy State, p. 129.

(s) English Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 531.

(t) Sir Wm. Dugdale's Catalogue, p. 93.

(u) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 254.

(w) English Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 532.

(x) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, p. 354.

(y) English Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 532.

(z) From his own information.

(a) Ducatus Leodienfis, or, Topography of Leeds, p. 484.

(b) Bishop Nicholson's English Library, p. 266.

(39) See the account of Captain Drake's expedition by Lopez the Spaniard, in Hakluyt.

the coin of that Queen, and the other, that they were sometimes placed in commemoration of remarkable events; as for instance, the Belgick Lion very fairly impressed upon the Queen's breast, at the time when she took the United Provinces under her royal protection (c). It is, therefore, far from being impossible, and perhaps it is not carrying the thing too far, to say, that it is not altogether improbable, there may be some truth in this vulgar notion; for, that nothing of this is recorded in the histories of this reign, is no considerable objection, since we are satisfied, that many things of a like nature, the truth of which cannot be disputed, were nevertheless omitted, partly from the abundance of more weighty materials, and partly from the want of attention in our Historians to things of this nature, which would have left us in the dark as to many curious particulars, if their negligence had not excited a strong spirit of enquiry in the learned lovers of English History, who have lived in succeeding times, and whose industry has been repaid by a variety of useful, as well as entertaining discoveries.

(c) Thoresby's Ducatus Leodiensis, p. 366.

(42) In his large life of Sir Philip Sidney.

(43) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 449.

(44) Winstanley's British Worthies, p. 211.

America, than that excellent person (42), or that he left him behind, from a jealousy of his superior abilities.

IV. We are assured by Camden (43) and other writers, that Sir Francis Drake first brought tobacco into England, from whence a certain writer most unaccountably took it in his head, to conclude his life of Sir Francis Drake, with a violent invective against that plant, and an outrageous abuse upon all who take it (44). But men of milder tempers and clearer judgments will acknowledge, that Sir Francis was in this a very great benefactor to his country, since it will not be easy to name any one commodity, through which such vast advantages have accrued to this nation. It is true, that Sir Walter Raleigh is commonly entitled to this honour, but then it is grounded upon his bringing it into use, by his own practice and example. Yet in both of these truly great men, the good done to their country, was but accidental; for we cannot suppose that either of them could foresee what prodigious wealth the cultivation of tobacco would bring into Great-Britain, and yet this ought not to lessen, in the least, our gratitude or veneration towards their memories.

V. The last thing I have to say, and I say it upon the credit of Mr Camden, is, that he was the author of our trade to the East-Indies; for as that learned writer informs us, the books, papers, and charts, that

were found in the East India ship, which he took in his return from his expedition to the coasts of Spain in 1587, gave those lights which encouraged the undertaking a trade to those parts, and produced an application to the Queen, for establishing our first East-India Company (45). These are facts that are certainly worth the knowing, remembering, and considering, that we may do proper justice to the character of this illustrious person, who, as from low and mean beginnings, he raised himself to move in a superior orb; so by his example, he encouraged and raised those English fleets that have since given law in the seas, which he visited with barks so small, that they would now be scarce thought capable of such a voyage. Let us conclude with a circumstance, which though not of so publick, is yet, not altogether of a private nature, and deserves to be remembered to the honour of this worthy person, and of Sir John Hawkins, who, in 1588, advised the establishment of the chest at Chatham, for the relief of seamen wounded in their country's service (46). They were indeed, both remarkable for bearing in mind that they had been (47) once seamen themselves, as long as they lived; and though they were very strict in maintaining discipline, yet they were so well obeyed from a principle of affection, that instances of severity were things to which they were very seldom constrained.

(45) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 551.

(46) Camden's Britannia, p. 233.

(47) Sir Richard Hawkins's observations on his voyage to the South-Seas, p. 282.

D R A K E (JAMES), a noted political writer and Physician in the end of the XVIIth and beginning of the XVIIIth, century, was born at Cambridge in the year 1667, and, by the care of an indulgent father, had a very liberal education. In 1684, he was admitted into the university wherein he was born; and soon distinguished himself not only in his college, but also in publick, by his quickness and ingenuity. Some time before the Revolution, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, after having performed his exercises with very great applause; and in process of time he commenced Master, with unusual honours paid him by men of the brightest parts in the university. He took a turn to London in the year 1693, where being soon made known, he was very much admired at all places frequented by ingenious men: and having a particular genius to the study of Physick, was encouraged in the pursuit of it by Sir Thomas Millington, and the most eminent members of the College of Physicians. In 1696 he took the degree of Doctor in that Faculty (a), and was soon after Fellow of the Royal Society, as likewise of the College of Physicians. But, whether through his own inclination, or that the narrowness of his fortune streightened him so as not to let him appear in a proper equipage; (without which a Physician is not duly regarded) he had been in London but a short time, before the Bookfellers laid hold of him: in whose service being listed as an author, he had the satisfaction to see whatever he did pass off very currently, and to meet with a favourable acceptance from the publick. In 1697, he contributed very much to the publication of a pamphlet, entituled, 'Commendatory Verses upon the Author of Prince Arthur, and King Arthur:' which was very well received. But the next book he published did not meet with the same favourable reception: I mean, 'The History of the last Parliament begun at Westminster the 10th day of February, in the 12th year of King William, A. D. 1700.' Lond. 1702, 8vo. For the House of Lords thinking, it reflected too severely on the memory of the late King William, they convened the author before them in May 1702 [A], and ordered him to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General; who brought

(a) The Memorial of the Church of England, &c. To which is added an Introductory Preface, wherein is contained the life and death of the Author. Edit. 1711, 8vo. The learned Dr W. Richardson could not find, in the University Registers, such a person as W. Drake, M. D. of Cambridge.

[A] They convened the author before them in May 1702. The passage that gave offence, was in the preface, and ran thus.—'And, perhaps, there was a third thing in prospect, of deeper reach than all these, which was, That should it have pleased God, for our sins, to have snatch'd from us the king on the

' sudden, by chance of war, or other fatal accident, during the tumult of arms abroad, and the civil disorders they had raised amongst us at home, and a numerous, corrupt, licentious party throughout the nation, from which the House of Commons was sometimes not free; they might entertain hopes, from

(b) Memorial as above: and Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719. p. 841, 842. History of Q. Anne, by A. Boyer, fol. 1735. p. 18, 19.

brought him to a trial, in which he was acquitted the year following (b). In 1704, being disgusted at his disappointment of being made one of the Commissioners of the sick and wounded, as was promised him; and dissatisfied, at the rejecting of the *Bill to prevent Occasional Conformity*, and the disgrace of some of his friends who were sticklers for it, he writ, in concert with Mr Poley Member of Parliament for Ipswich, 'The Memorial of the Church of England: Humbly offered to the Consideration of all true Lovers of our Church and Constitution.' Lond. 1704, 8vo. The Lord-Treasurer Godolphin, and other great officers of the Crown in the Whig interest, therein severely reflected upon, were so highly offended at the publication of it, that they represented it to Queen Anne, as an insult upon her Majesty's honour, and an intimation that the Church was in danger under her administration [B]. Accordingly, her Majesty took notice of it in her speech to the ensuing

'from the advantage of being at the helm, and the assistance of their rabble, to have put in practice their own schemes, and, *To have given us a new model of government of their own projection*; and so to have procured to themselves a lasting impunity, and to have mounted their own beast, the rabble, and driven the sober part of the nation, like cattle, before them. That this is no conjecture, will readily appear to any considering persons. from the *Treatment her Royal Highness the Princess of Denmark, the Heiress Apparent to the Crown, met with all along from them, and all their party*. They were not contented to shew her a constant neglect and slight themselves, but their whole party were instructed not only to treat her with disrespect, but spight: They were busy to traduce her with false and scandalous aspersions; and so far they carried the affront, as to make her at one time almost *The common subject of the tittle-tattle of almost every coffee-house and drawing-room*, which they promoted with as much zeal, application, and venom, as if a bill of exclusion had then been on the anvil, and these were the introductory ceremonies'

This passage being complain'd of, and read, in the Upper House, the Lords ordered the booksellers, for whom that book was printed, to attend their house on the Saturday following. But before that day came, Dr Drake having owned himself to be the author of the book in question, he was on the 9th of May examined by the Lord-Keeper; who asked him, 'What he had to say concerning the said book?' And the book and the paragraph being shewed him, 'He owned he writ the book, and that paragraph in particular; and thought he had just reason to write it, he having heard her Highness talked of disrespectfully in almost every coffee-house.' Then he withdrew, and, after some debate, was called in again; and the Lord-Keeper told him, 'The house was not satisfied with what he had said, but thought he trifled; and required him to acquaint the House with the grounds of his writing that paragraph.' He answered, 'He found it mentioned in divers anonymous pamphlets published at that time, and hoped, it was no hurt to answer those pamphlets, and desired time to recollect what those pamphlets were;' and then withdrew. After some time he was called in again, and asked, 'If he could charge any person or persons in the kingdom, with the matters asserted by him in that paragraph? and, Whether he had heard any other person say, that they could charge any person whatsoever with the matters contained in that paragraph?' To these questions he answered, 'That he did not know of any such person' Being further asked, 'If he had any other grounds besides the pamphlets? And what these pamphlets were?' He said, he had no other grounds besides these several pamphlets following, the two *Legion Letters*; the *Black List*; the *Jura Populi Anglicani*; and, *Toland's Reasons for inviting over the Princess of Hanover*. Lastly, being asked, 'If in any of these pamphlets there was any thing said about *Setting aside the present Queen*?' he answered, 'He did not remember there was.' Then he being withdrawn, the Lords took the aforesaid paragraph into consideration, and resolved and declared, 'That in the preface of a book intituled, *The History of the last Parliament*, &c. written by Dr Drake, as he owned at the bar, there were several groundless, false, and scandalous expressions, tending to create jealousies in her Majesty of her people, and to cause great misunderstandings, fears, and disputes amongst

'the Queen's subjects, and to disturb the peace and quiet of the kingdom (1).'

[B] *And an intimation that the Church was in danger under her administration.*] The design of that book, was not so much to shew the danger of the Church under *The government of the Queen*, as under the *then administration*; namely, that of the Lord-Treasurer Godolphin, the Duke of Marlborough, and all those who countenanced the whig, or dissenting interest, and had been the occasion of the miscarrying of the bill against Occasional Conformity. And the publication of it at that time, was, with a view of influencing the election of the new parliament. Such was the real intention of that book. But, as most Ministers of State are apt to represent affronts against themselves, as insults upon their Masters, or even as down-right treason; it was so in the present case. That the reader may best judge of the drift of that book, we shall give here the beginning of it; with a few extracts from the same. It begins in these words. 'Those that look no deeper than the surface of things, are apt to conclude without hesitation, that the *Church of England* is in a very flourishing condition: Its dignities and preferments make a very goodly shew, and the patronage of the Queen seems to promise a continuance of prosperity: But, for all this fine complexion and fair weather, there is a Heelick Fever lurking in the very bowels of it; which, if not timely cured, will infect all the humours, and at length destroy the very being of it. The nation has a long time abounded with *Sectaries*, who, in the preceding Century, violently overturned both Church and State.——The sons of those men yet remain, and inherit many of them the principles of their fathers; it would therefore be no very charitable supposition, without any other argument, to imagine them heirs of their designs likewise.——If, since the Church recovered its ancient lustre and authority, they have been more silent, and, in appearance, more moderate, it is not that they are better tempered or affected, but that, submitting to the necessity of the times, they have dissembled their intentions better: Yet some overt-attempts here, and the whole course of their proceedings in Scotland during the two last reigns, sufficiently shew us what treatment we might expect, if they had the power.——The history of their carriage towards the Church is publick and recent, as likewise are the advances that have been made in their favour, and the repulses which the Church has met with. Every thing has pass'd in Scotland to the desire of the Presbytery, even to the endangering of the Church and Monarchy of England, and the disherison of its Constitution, and the immediate prejudice of its Sovereignty; but, on the contrary, nothing for the security of the Church here.——All attempts to settle it on a perpetual foundation have been opposed, and rendered ineffectual.'——Then he shows, what danger the Church hath been brought into, by putting its best friends out of their places, viz. the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester, Nottingham, Jersey, and Winchelsea; Sir Edward Seymour; the Lords Granville, Guilford, Gower; Earl of Dorset, Sir George Rook, and other great patrons and asserters of the interest of the Church at Court; who were turned out, without the least pretence or colour of offence (2).——Next he proves, what want of moderation there is in all Sects whatsoever, though they reproach the Church of England for having none; and, consequently, how little favour she must expect from them, if they should be uppermost. 'The In-

(1) Complete History of England, and Boyer's Hist. of Q. Anne, as above.

(2) Memorial, &c. edit. 1711. p. 1, 2, 3, 4, 23.

dependents

ensuing Parliament, October 27, 1705 (c) [C], and was addressed by both Houses [D] upon that occasion (d). Moreover, the 6th of December was appointed by the House of Lords, to enquire into the danger of the Church: when, after a long debate, it was voted, That the Church was not in danger (e). The 14th of that month, the Commons concurred in the same resolution: in consequence of which, they besought her Majesty to punish the authors and spreaders of the 'seditious and scandalous report' abovementioned. Soon after, the Queen put out a Proclamation for discovering the author of the *Memorial* (f). Whereupon, the Printer being taken into custody, and examined before one of the Secretaries of State, pretended to make a discovery; but could do nothing more than fix it upon three of the members of the House of Commons, namely, Mr Peley, Mr Ward, and Sir Humphrey Macworth; and related, that a woman in a mask, with another barefaced, brought him the manuscript, and made a bargain with him to have two hundred and fifty printed copies; which he delivered to four porters, sent to him by the persons concerned. But though the woman that came to the Printer without a mask, and some of the porters, were found out, yet it was impossible to fix it with certainty upon any of the three Gentlemen abovementioned, or upon any other person (g); so that Dr Drake, the true author of the *Memorial* remained undiscovered. It was not the Parliament only that shewed their resentment against that book; for, on the 31st of August, the Grand Jury of the city of London having presented it, at the sessions, as a false, scandalous, and traitorous libel, it was forthwith burnt in the sight of the Court then sitting: and the Tuesday following before the Royal Exchange; by the hands of the common hangman (h). But though Dr Drake then escaped, yet as he was very much suspected of being the author of that book, and had rendered himself obnoxious upon other accounts, to some persons then in power, occasions were sought for endeavouring to ruin him if possible. A news-paper he was publishing at that time, under the title of *Mercurius Politicus*, afforded his enemies the pretence they wanted. For, they taking exception at some passages therein, prosecuted him in the Queen's-Bench, in the beginning of the year 1706. His case was argued at the bar of that Court on the 30th of April; when, upon a flaw in the information [E], the trial was adjourned: and the sixth of November following, the Doctor was acquitted (i). However, the government brought a writ of error (k). The severity of this prosecution, joined to repeated disappointments, and ill usage from some of his party, flung the Doctor into a fever; of which he died at Westminster, on the 2d of March 1706-7, after a short confinement to his bed; not without violent exclamations against the rigor of his prosecutors (l). Besides those books of his that are mentioned above; he made a new English translation of Herodotus, which was never published (m): And finished, not long before his decease, 'A New System of Anatomy,' which was first printed in 1707 [F]. He likewise published,

(c) Hist. of Q. Anne by Boyer, as above, p. 210.  
 (d) Ibid.  
 (e) Ibid. p. 217, 218. But twenty six Lords protested against that resolution. Ibid.  
 (f) Ibid. p. 220, 221.  
 (g) Ibid.  
 (h) Ibid. p. 179. See also A Detection of the Court and State of England, &c. Vol. III. edit. 1712. Svo. being a Continuation of Roger Coke's Detection, &c. p. 273, 276.  
 (i) Boyer's Life of Q. Anne, as above, p. 286. and Preface to the Memorial, p. ix, x.  
 (k) Ibid.  
 (l) Preface, &c. as above, and Annual List of the deaths of eminent Persons: at the end of Boyer's Hist. of Q. Anne, p. 42.  
 (m) Which was undoubtedly owing to Mr Lislebury's excuse for translation, published in the year 1709. 2 Vols. 8vo.

'dependents and Presbyterians formerly in England and Ireland; the Kirk of Scotland, heretofore and at present; the Anabaptists at Munster; the Lutherans in divers parts of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, &c. the Calvinists in Holland, and at Geneva; and the Roman Catholics, at several times, almost all the world over, have in their respective turns experimentally demonstrated by their practice, that they will not endure a rival Church in their dominions; and some of them—not even tolerate it (3).' In another place, he gives this excellent character of the Church of England. 'Our Church is not so rigid, or so capricious, as to require an absolute uniformity of sentiments among her sons in matters of doubt or speculation, which are not essential to the true faith, nor necessary to the maintenance of order and good discipline: She does not require *implicite Faith*, nor command her sons to believe as the Church believes, whether they comprehend her meaning or not, or can be convinced in their understandings that those things are true, which she delivers as such. She could wish, indeed, that all her sons had as sound and clear understandings to embrace all useful truths, as strong constitutions to digest all wholesome food: But, like a tender indulgent mother, she does not reject those *weak ones*, who, through infirmity, cannot receive all that is good and conducive, if they admit All that is essential to the Christian Faith, and necessary to Christian Communion (4).'

[C] Her Majesty took notice of it in her speech In these words. — 'I cannot but with grief observe, there are some amongst us, who endeavour to foment animosities. — I mention this with a little more warmth, because there have not been wanting some so very malicious, as, even in print, to suggest *The Church of England*, as by law established, to be in danger at this time (5).'

[D] And was addressed by both Houses.] The Lords in their address, promised, 'Ever to shew the utmost

detestation of those ungrateful and wicked men, who laboured to dishonour her Majesty's reign, and distracted her subjects with unreasonable and groundless jealousies of dangers to the Church of England: And to concur in all measures requisite to put a stop to the malice of those incendiaries, &c. (6)'

[E] Upon a flaw in the Information.] In the libel set forth in the information, the word *not* was inserted; and in the libel given in evidence, the word *not*. Upon arguing of that error, the court inclined for the party accused; whereupon the trial was adjourned (7).

[F] A new System of Anatomy, which was first printed in 1707.] A second edition was published in 1717 (\*), and others since, with additions. The title of the book is, '*Anthropologia Nova: Or, A New System of Anatomy. Describing the Animal Economy, and a short Rationale of many Distempers incident to Human Bodies. Illustrated with above fourscore figures, drawn after the life. With a preface by W. Wagstaffe, M. D. and reader of Anatomy at Surgeons-hall.*' In this preface, Dr Wagstaffe makes the following observations: 'How much and how eminently Dr Drake excelled in all the qualifications I have mentioned,' [viz In giving the rationale of things, and enquiring into the nature and causes of *phænomena*] 'the learned world already have been judges, and posterity, I am persuaded, will reap the benefit of his labours (8).' — 'The sentiments of others are candidly and ingeniously delivered by him, and like one who thoroughly understood them; and whenever he disagrees with, or assents to their conjectures, or proposes any thing of his own, he gives his reasons with the utmost impartiality, without the triumph and ostentation of a conqueror, or an fond opinion of his own merit (9). — He does not behave himself like a describer of the parts, but like an unprejudiced enquirer into nature, and an absolute master of his profession.'

(3) P. 7.

(4) P. 27.

(5) Boyer's Hist. of Q. Anne, p. 210.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Boyer, as above, p. 286.

(\*) In 2 Vols. in 8vo.

(8) P. v. second edition.

(9) P. v.

‘ *Historia Anglo-Scotica* [G]: or an Impartial History of all that happened between the Kings and Kingdoms of England and Scotland, from the Beginning of the Reign of William the Conqueror, to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Comprehending their several Homages, Incurfions, Devaftations, Depredations, Battles, Sieges, Leagues, Truces, Breaches, Intermarriages, and divers other Matters worth knowing. Faithfully extracted from the beft Historians of both Nations. With a Prefatory Dedication.’ London, 1703, 8vo.—His character is thus represented. He was a man of quick pregnant parts, well ftored with learning, and improved by good converfation. He had a great maftery of the Englifh tongue, and wrote with eafe and fluency in a manly ftile. Tho’ various judgments were paffed upon his political writings, according to people’s different humours, paffions, and interefts; yet all agreed in commending his way of writing (n).

(n) Annual Lift, &c. by Boyer, ubi fupra.

‘ feffion. And if Dr Lower has been fo much and fo defervedly efteemed for his folution of the *Syftole* of the heart, Dr Drake, by accounting for the *Diastole*, ought certainly to be allowed his fhare of reputation, and to be admitted as a partner of his glory (10).’ The plates, which are in number XXVII, are accurately drawn, and well engraved: Some of them are taken from Swammerdan. An appendix to this book was publifhed in 1728, in one volume, 8vo.

(10) P. viii.

[G] *Historia Anglo-Scotica*, &c.] Dr Drake was not the author, but only the publifher of this book. In the dedication of it, he fays, that, ‘ Upon a diligent revifal, in order, if poffible, to difcover the name of the author, and the age of his writing, *he found,*

‘ that it was written in, or at leaft not finifhed till the time of King Charles the Firft.’ — But he fays nothing more of the manufcript, nor how it came into his hands. — There is alfo ‘ A difcourfe (of his, in the Philofophical Tranfactions (11) ) concerning (11) No. 231. p. 1217. ‘ fome influence of refpiration on the motion of the heart, hitherto unobferved.’ — He moreover writ, ‘ The Sham-Lawyer, or, The Lucky Extravagant, a Comedy, 4to. acted at the Theatre Royal, 1697.’ Mofly borrowed from two of Fletcher’s plays, *viz.* The Spanifh Curate, and Wit without Money (12). And put notes to the Englifh tranflation of Le Clerc’s *History of Phyfick*. Lond. 1699, 8vo.

(12) Langbain’s Lives of the Englifh Dramatick Poets.

DRAYTON (MICHAEL) a renowned Poet in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles I; was of an antient and worthy family, originally defcended from the town of *Drayton* in Leicefterfhire; which gave name to his progenitors, as a learned Antiquary of his acquaintance has recorded (a). But his parents removing into the bordering county of Warwickfhire, he was born there, as we receive it from his own information (b); and, as it is remembered by his countryman Sir William Dugdale, as well as others, who have followed him, at Atherfton (c); but more particularly it appears, that the little village of Harfull, or Hartfhill, in that parifh, will claim the honour of his birth; whereof it were the greater pity to deprive it, as it is represented to have been obfcure till rendered conspicuous for his nativity, by the author of thofe Latin verfes at the bottom of his picture; which being publifhed in the life-time, and under the infpection of our Poet himfelf, before his own edition of his works, could not have efcaped his correction had it been erroneou [A]. It may alfo be computed from the circumfcription upon the faid picture, which with all other circumftances very agreeably corresponds, containing the year of our Lord, and that of his own age, when it was engraved, that he was born in the year 1563. In his tender age he was bleffed with fuch a forwardnefs of genius, fuch a fweetnefs of afpect, temper, and deportment, as rendered him not only the delight of his inftstructors, but preferred him to the favour of fome perfons of diftinction. In the year 1573, being then but ten years of age, he appears to have been page to fome perfon of honour, as we collect from his own words: and, as for his propenfity to learning, it no lefs evidently appears in the fame place (d), that he could then conftrue his *Cato*, and fome other little collections of fentences; which made him very anxious to know, *What kind of ftrange Creatures* thefe Poets were? and very follicitous with his Tutor, that, if he could, *he would make him*, of all things, a Poet. So he was put to the reading of Mantuan, and Virgil’s Eclogues, with others of the infpired tribe; till, even then, he fcorned any thing that looked like a ballad, though written by William Elderton [B]. If after this, he finifhed not his education at the University

(a) See the Description of Leicefterfhire, by W. Burton, Efq; fol. 1622. in the town of Drayton.

(b) Drayton’s Polyolbion; in Warwickfhire. Song 13.

(c) Sir William Dugdale’s Antiquity of Warwickfhire, 2d edit. fol. Vol. II. 1730. p. 1086.

(d) Drayton’s Elegies; in his Epiftle to Henry Reynolds, Efq; of Poets and Poetry.

[A] *Could not have efcaped his correction.*] Thefe verfes, in the vein of Ariofto, have not been cited by any author who has written of our Poet that we have met with, and are as follow:

LUX HARESHULLA tibi (*Warwici villa*, tenebris  
Ante tuas cunas, obfita) prima fuit.  
Arma, Viros, Veneres, Patriam modulamine dixti;  
Te Patriæ refonant Arma, Viri, Veneres,

Thus in Englifh:

HARSULL, *small town, where firft your breath you drew,*  
*Till by your birth renown’d, was known to few:*  
*Albion, Arms, Legends, Love, with fame you crown’d;*  
*Albion, Arms, Legends, Love, your Fame refound.*

[B] *Though written by Will. Elderton.*] This Elderton was a famous Comedian of thofe days; a face-

tious fuddling companion, who having a great readinefs at rhiming, compofed abundance of fonnets and catches upon love and wine, which were then in great vogue among the light and merry part of the town; but he was not more notable for his drollery and his doggerel, than he was for his drinking, infomuch that he was feldom remembered for his fingular faculty in either of the former, but his thorough praftice in the latter was joined to it; wherefore we find him called the Bachanalian Buffoon, the Red-nos’d ballad-maker, and fuch like. It feems by this exceffive habit he indulged himfelf in, over his ftrong drink, that he fell a martyr to Sir John Barlycorn, as fome of his contemporary writers have hinted (†). We find he was dead before the year 1592, and Mr Camden has preferved this epitaph on him:

Hic fitus eft fitiens, atque ebrus Eldertonus;  
Quid dico, hic fitus eft? hic potius fitis eft (1).

(†) See the controversial writings of Dr G. Harvey and T. Nash, &c.

(1) Camden’s Remains. Edit. 4to. 1614. p. 382

Which

University of Cambridge, it is apparent, from the credible testimony of one of his own friends, that he was some time a Student in that at Oxford [C]; and by the support, it seems, of Sir Henry Goodere; however, he might not be so formally entered, as to be remembered by Anthony Wood, though he has made greater digressions in the commemoration of several others, who were more distantly related to that University. In 1588, he seems, from his own description of the *Spanish Invasion*, which the Spaniards themselves, with no less presumption, than arrogance, or vain-glory, had stiled *Invincible*, to have been a spectator, at Dover, of it's defeat (e); and might, possibly, be engaged in some military post or employment there; as we find some mention made of his being well spoken of by the Gentlemen of the Army. He took delight very early, as we have seen, in the study of Poetry; but how soon he delighted the publick with any of his own, all those who have written of him have been very incurious to learn, or inform us. He was certainly eminent for some of his poetical publications, nine or ten years before the death of Queen Elizabeth, and how much sooner, we have not yet discovered. At least, so early as the year 1593, when he was but thirty years of age, he set forth in print, a Collection of his *Pastorals*; likewise some of the most grave and weighty poems, which have rendered him most memorable, and best supported his fame to posterity, were, not longer after, published. His *Barons Wars*, and *England's Heroical Epistles*: His *Downfalls of Robert of Normandy*; *Matilda*; and *Gaveston*; for which last he is called, by one of his contemporaries, *Tragediographus*, and part of his *Polyolbion*, were all written before the year 1598: For all which, and his other deserts, he was highly celebrated at that time, and distinguished not only as a great genius, but a good man; not only for the sweetness and elegance of his words, but of his actions and manners; for his humane and honourable principles, as well as his refined and polite parts: And thus was he characterized, not only by Poets, or the more florid and panegyric writers of those days, but also by Divines, Historians, and other Scholars of the most serious and solid learning. Of which *Works* and *Characters*, from such contemporary writers, in hopes of reviving his memory somewhat more proportionable to his merits, than those who, through their ungrateful negligence, conceited sufficiency, or blind pursuit of ignorant guides (f), have very superficially attempted the same, we shall here below be more particular: But, as what we find sufficient for one note, first of his *Works* aforesaid, with some others of his early compositions [D]: And as to those *Characters* of him, such as

(e) In Mr P. em- inguled Motes his Birth and Miracles; here- after again men- tioned.

(f) Compare Fuller and Phillips with their plagiarist Winstanley; and Jacob, his plagiarist with him, &c.

Which may be thus rendered, or imitated:

*Dead drunk here Elderton does lie;  
Dead as he is, he still is drie:  
So of him, it may well be said,  
Here he, but not his thirst, is laid.*

[C] *Some time a student in that at Oxford.*] Tho' he appears not in Wood's *Fasti*, to have taken any degree there, yet as he was some time a student in this university, it is conceived that he ought to have been ranked by that author, among the Oxford writers, from the authority of our Poet's intimate acquaintance Sir Aston Cokain, in these lines;

OXFORD, our other academy, you  
Full worthy must acknowledge of your view:  
Here smooth-tongu'd DRAYTON was inspir'd by  
Mnemosyne's manifold progeny (2).

[D] *First of his said Works, and other early compositions.*] First, of those poems abovementioned. What is there called a Collection of his *PASTORALS*, was first published under, at least the oldest edition we have seen thereof, was distinguished with, the title of, *IDEA: The Shepberd's Garland, fashioned in nine Eglogs; with ROWLAND'S Sacrifice to the Nine Muses. Dedicated to Mr Robert Dudley: By M. DRAYTON*, and printed in 4to 1593. This *Shepherds Garland*, &c. is the same that was reprinted afterwards with emendations by our author, in the first folio edition of his works, under the title of *PASTORALS: containing Eglogues: With the Man in the Moon*. They are nine in number, written in stanzas of various measures, adorned with tales, sonnets, &c. and in this folio edition they are dated 1619. There are many of the true rural images, and much of the beautiful simplicity in these pastorals, for which this species of poetry is so much admired. Our author has been therefore justly applauded for these eclogues, by some able judges of our time, and classed among the best pastoral writers in his own, for the many new and beautiful varieties, embellishments, and improvements, that he has introduced therein: yet such has been the justice as well as judgment of others in our time, that though they have, in the very title-page of a late edition, professed to

give us his Works complete in one volume (3), neither these, nor many others of his most considerable compositions, are therein reprinted, or so much as spoken of: But perhaps a second volume is intended to supply the deficiencies of the first. As to his other poems abovementioned, they are historical. In an old edition of them in 8vo without date, but printed near about the middle of King James's reign, our author's Dedication before the *BARONS WARS* to Sir W. Aston, is in verse; and in the Preface he seems to hint as if his travels had not afforded the leisure and study he desired. In his folio edition of these poems with others, the Dedication before those *Wars* to his said patron, is in prose. In this latter edition, these *Barons Wars* in the reign of Edward II, are illustrated with marginal notes by the author, which have been all since omitted (4) by his late editor, though the author of the Preliminary Discourse, was desirous of a more ample commentary (5). There are commendatory verses before both editions, by Mr Thomas Green, E. Heywood, John Beaumont, and the learned Mr Selden. His *ENGLAND'S HEROICAL EPISTLES* were newly enlarged, and republished in 8vo, 1598; which is the most ancient edition we have seen, or read of. These Epistles are written in our heroick measure of ten syllables, and are very judiciously explained in the necessary places, by short notes drawn out of good authentick Histories, and printed at the end of each epistle. There are twenty-four of them, with a short summary in fourteen lines of their titles, at the end. They are professedly written in the vein of *Ovid's Epistles*; but of a much more substantial and affecting nature, as they concern so many real persons of the highest rank in our Chronicles, and illustrate so much real matter of fact in their most unfortunate, perplexing, and often criminal loves, by the strongest sentiments, and most moving numbers. Besides the author's Preface, there are three panegyric poems prefixed, which were addressed to him by William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, a famous Poet of Scotland before spoken of in this work (6), Sir Edmond Scory, and Mr Thomas Hassel. In the undated 8vo edition abovementioned, there are near a dozen Dedications, before as many of the Epistles, to so many of the author's friends and patrons of both sexes. The first Epistle of Fair Rosamond, to King Henry

(3) See the Works of MICHAEL DRAYTON, Esq; &c. being all the Writings of that celebrated Author. Now first collected into one Volume. Printed by J. Hughes, and sold by R. Dodsley, &c. Folio, 1743.

(4) In the new edition of Drayton's Works, fol. 1748.

(5) Historical Essay on the Life and Writings of Michael Drayton, Esq; prefixed to the said new edition of his Works, fol. 5.

(6) Vol. I.

(2) Choice Poems of several sorts, &c. by Sir Aston Cokain. Lond. 8vo. 1669. p. 11.

were written by authors who best knew the man, and were themselves best qualified to judge of his talents; such characters we hope may here, in this article, also apart, be acceptably assembled, or referred to [E]. He was in these his younger, and indeed to his

(7) However, her story had been before illustrated in *The Complaint of Rosamond*, by Sam. Daniel, 4to. 1590, &c.

(8) Sir Walter Aston, rather perhaps.

(†) Therefore it is transcribed in Note [F].

(9) He was Lord Mayor of London in 1612. Tho. Delaune's *Anglicæ Metropolis*, 8vo. 1690. p. 235. and Thomas Dekker, the City Poet, wrote the solemnity of his entry, called *London Triumphant*, &c. that year printed in quarto.

(†) Two other Poets, besides Drayton, had written the story of *Shore's Wife* in verse; Thomas Churchyard, in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and Hen. Chettle.

(10) See Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, of this family of the Gooderes.

(†) Who was daughter of old Sir Henry Goodere, and wife of Sir Henry the Nephew above, whom Drayton says, he knew from her cradle.

(11) Heroic Epistles; in that of King John to Matilda.

(12) *The Works of the Earl of Rochester*, &c. 8vo. 1739. p. 110.

Henry II (7), is dedicated to Lucy Countess of Bedford; to whom he says, 'I strive not to affect singularity; yet would faine flye imitation, &c. Much would she say to a King, much would I say to a Countess; but that, the method of my epistle must conclude the modesty of her's; which I wish may recommend my ever vowed service to your Honour.' In his Dedication of another Epistle to Lady *Anne Harrington*, the wife of Sir *John Harrington*, he forbears to enlarge upon her excellencies, because 'dejected minds want that pure fire which would give vigour to virtue.' The next Dedication is to Sir *Walter Aston*, Knight of the Bath (8). The next to *Edward Earl of Bedford*, contains the most personal particulars of our author (†). The next is to Sir *John Swinerton*, Alderman of London (9). The next is to his worthy and esteemed friend Mr *James Huisb*, upon the subject of Dedications. The next is to Mrs *Elizabeth Tanfield*, sole daughter and heir of Laurence Tanfield, Esq; a famous Lawyer. The next is to Sir *Thomas Monson*: before the Epistle of King *Edward IV* to *Jane Shore*, and her *Answer*. Our Poet, in his notes of the Chronicle History, upon the second of these two letters, after having given Sir *Thomas More's* description of *Jane Shore*, mentions a curious portrait of her in these words: 'That picture which I have seen of her was such, as she rose out of her bed in the morning, having nothing on but a rich mantle, cast under one arm over her shoulder, and sitting in a chair, on which her arm did lie.' We remember a late published print of her, in *mezzotinto*, in a light or loose covering, very open at her bosom; whether copied from that, or one at *Eaton-College*, we cannot at present determine (†). The dedication to the next pair of these Epistles, is to Sir *Henry Goodere* of *Poleworth* (in *Warwickshire*) Knight, the nephew of that worthy old Sir *Henry Goodere*, who was our Poet's most early patron (10). In respect to whom, he says in this Dedication, 'Till such time as I may in some more large measure make known my love to the happy and generous family of the *Gooderes*, to which I confess myself beholding for the most part of my education, I with you all happiness.' The next, is to *Henry*, the Son of *Edward Lucas*, Esq; of whose parents he acknowledges himself to have received great favours, though there were many in England of whom he might justly challenge greater; 'had I not been born in so evil an hour, says he, as to be poisoned with that gall of ingratitude.' The last, which is the eleventh of these Dedications; the second brace of epistles having none before them, but seem to be joyned under the patronage of the first, is addressed to the Lady *Frances Goodere* (†). It were easy for those who have been conversant in these Poems of our Author, to observe how the moderns, even the late Mr *Pope* himself, have imitated Drayton, and refined upon his pattern, in those distinctions which are esteemed the most delicate improvements of our English versification at this day; such as the turns, the pauses, the contrasts, and elegant tautologies, &c. It is also easy for such readers to point out several thefts, and petty larcenies which have been committed upon our Poet, however obsolete and unfashionable he may have been accounted, by some writers of eminent character; and shew, where verses have been appropriated to some famous wits, which were composed by him, even as many years before they were born, as they attained to when they died. We shall here for brevity sake mention but one instance, and that is in these lines,

Th' Arabian bird which never is but one,  
Is only chaste, because she is alone:  
But had our mother nature made them two,  
They would have done as Doves and Sparrows do (11).

These are ascribed to a famous nobleman, who was one of the brightest Wits in the reign of King *Charles II*, and have been admired, as worthy of him: In his works they are not otherwise materially alter'd, than by the transposition of the rhymes in the first couplet, and the retrenchment of the measure in both (12). His

other more early and famous Historical Poems, before mentioned to have been written in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, are intitled, His LEGENDS; first, of *Robert, Duke of Normandy*; in which is seen a picture of distressed integrity; secondly, *Matilda*, a Pattern of Chastity; and thirdly, *Pierce Gaveston*, a Warning Picce to Court Minions and Prime Ministers, against the abuse of their Princes favour. He afterwards added to them the Legend of *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, printed 4to, 1609, an example of speedy advancement to grandeur, by politick advantages taken of his Prince's violent appetites and the troubled times (13). Our author had good encouragement for illustrating their histories in this poetical manner; the like having been so well received before from other eminent hands (14). They are dedicated in his folio edition to Sir *Walter Aston*; and therein are embellished with short and useful explanatory notes in the margin; which are left out in the late new folio edition. When his SONNETS were first published, we cannot say, but it should seem that he set them forth, or wrote some of them before the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, because among those five additional sonnets which he directed to some great and worthy personages, but never revived them himself in his folio edition, one is to *James King of Scots*, before he came into England; another, which might be writ afterwards, is inscribed to *Lucy, Countess of Bedford*, in which he says, *she rain'd upon him her sweet showers of gold*; and the last to Sir *Anthony Cook*, to whom he says of these rhymes, that but for him, they had slept in fable night; and that he had borrowed no man's conceits. The whole number should be sixty eight or sixty nine. There was an edition of all, or most of those poems above mentioned, published in 8vo, 1605, and another, as we have heard, in 1610, besides the undated one of the same size before spoken of. His ODES (\*) were written after Queen *Elizabeth's* death, as appears in one of them, and dedicated to Sir *Henry Goodere*, Gent. of the King's Privy-Chamber, in verse. They are seventeen in number and not one reprinted in the late new edition: nor is his Fable of the OWL a pretty allegorical poem, therein preserved. It was first printed soon after King *James* came to the Crown (15), and reprinted in the authors last edition in small folio. In which there are title-pages to every Poem we have mentioned but the first, which are all dated 1619, wherefore we think this volume of them was all printed that year. The title of it is, POEMS by Michael Drayton, Esq; THE BARONS WARS, ENGLAND'S HEROICAL EPISTLES, IDEA, ODES, THE LEGENDS OF ROBERT DUKE OF NORMANDY, MATILDA, PIERCE GAVESTON, and the GREAT CROMWELL: THE OWL. ELOGUES, with the MAN in the MOON. The rest of his compositions we shall mention under the years they were published.

[E] Such characters we hope may here be acceptably assembled, or referred to.] And first, Mr *Charles Fitz-Geoffry*, the learned Divine and Poet of *Broadgate's Hall*, in an Historical Poem he published at the time that some of Drayton's earliest pieces appeared, gives him the appellation of the *Golden Mouth'd Poet*, for the purity and preciousness of his phrase (16). And Mr *Francis Meres*, also a Divine of no small repute at that time for his moral and poetical writings, having mentioned all Drayton's historical poems, recited as part of the title above, that is, all therein but the three last, in a work he published before the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, gives him this character: 'Michael Drayton, among Scholars, Soldiers, Poets, and all sorts of people, is helde for a man of virtuous disposition, honest conversation, and well-governed carriage, which is almost miraculous among good wits in these declining and corrupt times (17).' Two years after Mr *Robert Allot*, in his *Common-Place Book*, of the *Select Thoughts*, of our most eminent English Poets in that century, has many extracts from Michael Drayton's earlier pieces before mentioned, whereby he makes a figure as considerable as most of them (\*). Another Poet of that time refers to an Elegiac Poem upon the death of Sir *Philip Sidney*, that was composed by Drayton; which was never reprinted in his works; and if it was written soon after Sir *Philip's* death (18), it is likely

(13) Drayton's Pref. to the folio edit. of his LEGENDS.

(14) Boccace and John Lidgate, in the Fall of Princes; also the Mirror of Magistrates, by Tho. Sackville, after Earl of Dorset; W. Baldwin, John Higgins, Edw. Ferrars, Tho. Churchyard, T. Blener Hasset, &c. &c. in the several editions between the years 1559 and 1620.

(\*) In his folio edition.

(15) London, quarto, 1604. and there is, at least in the last edition, a Latin entomium before it, by A. Gienewai.

(16) In his life and death of Sir Francis Drake, in verse.

(17) *Palladis Tamia*, &c. 8vo. 1598, fol. 281.

(\*) *England's Parnassus*: or, The choicest Flowers of our modern Poets, &c. 8vo. 1600.

(18) In 1586, likely

his latter years, much beloved and befriended by Sir Walter Aston, of Tixhall in Staffordshire, to whom, for his kind patronage, he gratefully dedicates many of his Poems, whereof his *Barons Wars* was the first, in the spring of his acquaintance, as our Poet expresses it himself to him (g). Nevertheless, we have since gathered, from those Epistles before mentioned (b), and, till then, unobserved by all who have written of him, that his most early dependance was upon another noble patron, named Sir Henry Goodere, of Poleworth, in his own county; to whom he has liberally acknowledged himself obliged for the greatest part of his education, and by whom, some time before his death, our Poet was recommended to the patronage of the Countess of Bedford; as may evidently appear, in his Epistle, to her Lord here-under recited [L]. However, it is no less visible, from his many dedications, and acknowledgments also, to Sir Walter Aston, that he was, for many years, patronized by him, and accommodated with such supplies, as afforded him leisure to finish some of his most elaborate compositions. Nay, it is intimated, we know not from what authority, that he was, by the interest of the said Sir Walter, with Sir Roger Aston, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to King James in his minority, made, in some measure, ministerial to an intercourse of correspondence between the said young King of Scots and Queen Elizabeth. The words of my author are these; speaking of the said Sir Roger Aston, and of his being of the Bed-chamber to that King when a child; that 'He was the person principally entrusted with the messages and letters that passed between his Master and Queen Elizabeth; and, by the interposition of Sir Walter Aston, Mr Drayton was, in this respect, very useful, in faithfully performing the various services which he was commanded (i).'

But if these services were performed by Mr Drayton so early as in the childhood of that King, we fear it will be found too soon for him to have had the interest or recommendation of Sir Walter Aston thereto, because, at the publication of some, which were not his earliest poems, they were but in the spring of their acquaintance, as he has said himself: so that, if he was in any such sort trusted, it must be much later than that King's childhood, and nearer the close of the Queen's reign. He certainly had fair prospects from his services, labours, or other testimonies of early attachment to the King's interest, of some favour or preferment, besides from what he had written among his *Sonnets* in his praise, as a Poet, while King of Scots. He was also one of the foremost of Apollo's train in England, who welcomed his Majesty to his British dominions with *A Congratulatory Poem to King James, &c.* 4to, 1603: and how, through interest or ingratitude, it might have proved his ruin, but for his own patient and prudent conduct under the indignity, he has, with as much freedom as was then convenient, himself informed us both in prose and verse (k). The same year he was chosen, by Sir Walter Aston, one of the Esquires who attended him when he was, with others, created Knight of the Bath at the coronation of the said King (l). We find not that our author ever reprinted those poems in praise of his Majesty; and the ungrateful reception they met

(g) Drayton's Dedication of the *Barons Wars*, to Sir Walter Aston.

(l) In note [D].

(i) Historical Essay of the Life and Writings of Michael Drayton, Esq; in the late new edition of his Works, as before quoted, fol. 6.

(k) See his Pref. to *Poly-Olbiion*; and in his *Flegies*, his *Epist.* to Mr George Sandys, &c.

(l) Dougl. & Warwickshire, as before.

likely to have been the earliest of his performances. That Poet calls him Noble DRAYTON! and observes, how well he bewailed our said loss in dreary verse (19). A Divine of Cambridge at the same time published a dramatick performance, wherein a character being given of the Wits of that age, one of the interlocutors, in a dialogue between *Ingenioso* and *Judicio*, says,

DRAYTON's sweet Muse is like a sanguine die,  
Able to ravish the rash gazer's eye.

And the other answers — 'However, he wants one true note of a Poet of our times, and that is this; he cannot swagger it well in a tavern, or domineer in a hot-house (20).' There is a description of Drayton's, quoted by two or three authors of those times with applause; and one of them, who was the learned translator of Ariosto's *Satires*, in his version of another Italian Wit, where he is describing, in a note, how the Muses were despised in that age by the stupid Midas's, and slavish jaylors of their own pelf, has said, 'He will set down the worth of a Poet, as that sweet Muse of his, who not unworthily beareth the name of the Chief Archangel, singeth, after his soul-ravishing manner;' part of which verses as quoted from the earlier editions, are as follow:

The diff'rence only 'twixt the Gods and Us,  
Allow'd by them, is but distinguish'd thus;  
They gave them breath, men by their pow'rs are born;  
That life THEY give, the POET doth adorn:  
And from the world, when they dissolve mens breath,  
He in the world doth give men life in death (21).

Mr W. Burton, the learned Antiquary of Lindley in Leicestershire, speaking of Mr Drayton as his near countryman and old acquaintance, adds further of him, these words, 'Who, though those Transalpines account us, *Tramontani*, rude and barbarous; holding

our brains so frozen, dull, and barren, that they can afford no invention or conceits; yet may he compare, either with their old *Dante*, *Petrarch*, or *Boccace*; or their Neoteric *Marinella*, *Pignatello*, or *tigliano*; but why should I go about to commend him, whose own works and worthiness have sufficiently extolled to the world (22).'

Other testimonies of our author's merit might be added were they necessary, and not liable to be thought tedious or superfluous.

[F] As may evidently appear in his Epistle to her Lord here recited ] It is in these words:

To the Right Honourable and my very good Lord,  
EDWARD EARL OF BEDFORD.

Thrice noble and my most gracious Lord,  
THE love I have ever borne to the illustrious house of BEDFORD, and to the honourable family of the HARRINGTONS; to the which by marriage your Lordship is happily united, hath long since devoted my true and zealous affection to your honourable service, and my Poems to the protection of my noble Ladie, your Countesse; to whose service I was first bequeathed by that learned and accomplished Gentleman, Sir HENRY GOODERE, not long since deceased; whose I was, whilst he was; whose patience pleased to beare with the imperfections of my heedless and unstayed youth. That excellent and matchless Gentleman, was the first cherisher of my Muse, which had been by his death left a poor orphan to the world, had he not before bequeathed it to that Ladie, whom he so dearly loved. Wouldst thou then my dear Lord to accept this Epistle, which I dedicate as zealously, as I hope you will patronize willingly, until some more acceptable service may be witness of my love to your Honour.

Your Lordship's ever,

MICH. DRAYTON (23)

[G] In the Dedication of his Poems.

(19) Sir Philip Sidney's *Orations*, &c. by N. B. (which is supposed to be Nich. Britton) 4to. 1506. Again, 4to. 1653. Bl. 3.

(20) The Return from Parnassus, or the Scourge of Symon: a comedy acted by the Students of St John's College in Cambridge 4to. Lond. 1606.

(21) The Blazon of Jealousy, translated from Bened. Varchi; with notes, by R. T. 4to. 1615. p. 48. from the Florid Epist. of Hen. Howard, Earl of Surrey, to Cardinalne.

(22) Burton's Description of Leicestershire, as before.

(23) His Dedication of his Poems to the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Bedford.

(m) The Dedicat. of his folio edit. to Sir W. Aston.

(n) As little of his publishing appeared between the years 1605 and 1610, but two editions of his Poems in those years, his friend J. Davis, of Hereford, in his book of Epigrams, then printed, charges him not to forsake the Muses, &c.

(o) As Mr Walter Harte justly observes, in his notes on the sixth Thebaid of Statius, at the end of his Poems, in 8vo. 1727.

(p) See the pamphlets intitled *Hec Homo* and *Hic Mulier*, 4to. 1620, &c.

with, as well as the disagreeable scenes he might behold of such wicked vices, and effeminate vanities, as afterwards prevailed at Court, so degenerating from that in the Muse-nursing *Maiden Reign* (m), might damp all desire of raising himself there. We have not time to examine how far, in his Fable of the OWL, published in 1604, he may have made any thing applicable to his present case (n). In 1613, he published the first part of his POLY-OLBION [G]. In 1619, came out his first folio volume of poems, before described. In 1622, the foregoing part of the *Polyolbion* was reprinted, together with the second part, making in all thirty books or songs. In 1626, we find him, before a copy of his own verses, stiled POET-LAUREAT [H]. In 1627 was published the second part or volume of his poems; containing his *Battle of AGINCOURT*, in stanzas of eight lines: *The Miseries of Queen MARGARET*, in the like stanza: NYMPHIDIA, or the *Court of FAIRIES*; a master-piece in the grotesque kind (o): *The Quest of CYNTHIA*, another beautiful piece; both reprinted in Dryden's Miscellanies. *The SHEPHERD'S SIRENA*; also, *The MOON CALF*, a strong satire upon the masculine affectations of Women, and the effeminate disguises of the Men, in those times; as they were by others also then exposed in prose (p): Lastly, there are his ELEGIES upon sundry occasions. These are introduced by *The Vision of BEN JONSON* on the *Muses* of his friend Michael Drayton; wherein he is very particular in the enumeration and praise of his several compositions: Also by another poem upon the battle of *Agincourt*, by J. Vaughan; and another by his friend Henry Reynolds, Esq; Those Elegies are twelve in number, though there are but eight reprinted in the late new edition. In 1630 he published another volume of poems, in 4to, intitled, *The MUSES ELIZIUM*, in ten sundry NYMPHALLS; with three divine poems, on NOAH'S Flood; MOSES his *Birth* and *Miracles* (†); and DAVID and GOLIAH. The Pastoral Poems are dedicated to Edward Sackville, Earl of Dorset, and Lord Chamberlain; whose durable *Favours* had now made him one of his *Family*; and these are written in verse of various measure. His Divine Poems are in English Heroic Measures: and are dedicated to the Countess of Dorset; and there

(†) Towards the end of the second Canto of this Poem he describes the Plagues of Egypt, from the Plague which then raged in London, at his writing thereof; which was so long before this publication, at the year 1603.

[G] *The First Part of his POLY-OLBION, &c.* By this Greek title, signifying *very happy*, he denotes England; and the antient name of *Albion*, is by some derived from ΟΛΕΙΟΝ, happy (24). It is a chorographical description of the rivers, mountains, forests, castles, &c. in this island, intermixed with the remarkable antiquities, rarities, commodities, &c. thereof. This first part is dedicated to Prince Henry, by whose encouragement it was written; and there is a picture at full length of that hopeful Prince, in a military posture, exercising his pike. He had shewed Drayton some singular marks of his favour, and seems to have admitted him as one of his poetical pensioners, but dying before the book was published, our Poet lost the benefit of his patronage. The reason why the publick was so long debarred of it, he has intimated in his Preface, where he acknowledges that the means to finish it, were owing to the bounty of Sir Walter Aston. There are eighteen songs in this volume, illustrated with the learned notes of Mr Selden; and there are maps before every song, wherein the cities, mountains, forests, rivers, &c. are represented by the figures of men and women. His metre of twelve syllables being now antiquated, it is quoted more for the History than the Poetry in it; however, it contains many excellent lines, and is so exact, that, as Bishop Nicholson observes, 'Drayton's Poly-Olbion affords a much truer account of this kingdom, and the dominion of Wales, than could well be expected from the pen of a Poet (25)'. 'Tis interwoven with many fine episodes; of the conquest of this island by the Romans (26); of the coming of the Saxons (27), the Danes (28), and the Normans (29), with an account of their Kings; of the noble English Warriours in the conquest of France, &c. (30). our brave navigators (31); the Saints (32); and of the Civil Wars in England (33), &c. This volume was reprinted in 1622, with the Second Part, or Continuation of *Twelve Songs* more, making thirty in the whole, and dedicated to Prince Charles; to whom he gives hopes of bestowing the like pains upon Scotland. There are verses before this Second Part by William Brown, Geo. Wither, and John Reynolds. 'Tis as accurately written as the First Part; but Mr Selden being otherwise engaged, had not time to adorn this Second with notes, and perhaps the want of a friend to help out the expence, may be the reason it was not adorned with maps. From the encomiums of those Poets we shall not make any extract; but add this short one, wherewith we have been favoured by the learned and ingenious translator into Latin, of some of

the finest essays written by Mr Pope, out of a Poem that is now in the press, wherein there are these lines:

DRAYTON, sweet ancient Bard, his ALBION sung,  
With their own praise her echoing Vallies rung;  
His bounding Muse o'er ev'ry Mountain rode,  
And ev'ry River warbled where he flow'd (34).

[H] *Before a copy of his own verses stiled POET LAUREAT.* Before the posthumous Poems of Abraham, the son of Dr Philemon Holland, among the commendatory verses, the first copy of ten lines, bears this title; *Michael Drayton, Esq; and Poet Laureat, in commendation of the author, &c.* which ends with this distich:

Proceed, let not *Apollo's* stock decay,  
POETS and KINGS, are not born ev'ry day (35).

It is likely this stile or appellation of *Poet Laureat* was not formerly confined so strictly as it is now, to his Majesty's servant, known by that title, who is presumed to have been at that time Ben Jonson (†); because we find it given to others only as a distinction of their excellency in the art of Poetry. So it was bestowed also upon our author's friend Mr George Sandys, and we could produce an author who has called Francis Quarles by the same title. As for the pictures of our Poet appearing so constantly laureated, it may be a complement also of the Painters and Gravers. The print of Mr Drayton before the first volume of his Poems in folio, graved by W. Hole in 1613, has a wreath of bays above his head, and so has his bust in Westminster-abbey: the like had the painting of him, as we have heard, which was in the collections of the late Thomas Sclater Bacon, Esq; at his seat in Cambridgehire; and so likewise another delicate pourtrait in miniature, said to be painted of him by Peter Oliver, which was in the possession of the late Lord Lansdown, and highly esteemed by him. as we have lately been satisfied, not only from an ample description (36), but also by the sight of it. And yet when we find, that the pourtraits of Joshua Sylvester, John Owen, and others, who never had any grant of the Poet Laureat's place, are as formally crowned with laurel as those who had the utmost right to it; there is reason to believe, it was only an honour conferred by the artists who drew or engraved those pictures, here mentioned of Master Drayton.

(34) *Sea-Piece*: Canto 2. By Dr James Kirkpatrick.

(35) Hollandi Posthuma, &c. Cantab. impensis Hen. Holland, 4to. 1626.

(†) Drayton himself says, He leaves the Laurel to those who may look after it; in his Dedicat. to Sir W. Aston, of *The Owl*, in edit. fol. 1619.

(36) In a letter from Mr George Vertue, dated Nov. 11. 1749.

(24) See Mr Selden's notes on *Poly-Olbion*, p. 19.

(25) English Historical Library, edit. 1736. fol. p. 5.

(26) Song 8.

(27) Song 11.

(28) Song 12.

(29) Song 17.

(30) Song 18.

(31) Song 19.

(32) Song 24.

(33) Song 22.

[I] *Com-*

there are some images truly sublime in them. But there is not one of these Poems revived, or so much as mentioned, in the late edition, pretending to have comprehended all the works of this celebrated Poet. At the end of the first Divine Poem, there are three copies of verses in praise of the author; by Beal Sapperton, in Latin; Mr John Fletcher and Thomas Andrews in English; which last has very expressly displayed the great extent of our Poet's renown. In 1631, he exchanged his laurel for a crown of glory, as it is expressed in his monumental inscription. He was buried in Westminster-Abbey among the Poets; and the handsome table monument of blue marble, which was raised over his grave the same year (q), is adorned with his effigies *in busto*, laureated. On one side is a crest of *Minerva's* cap, and *Pegasus* in a scutcheon on the other (r). Among those poetical friends who have lamented his death, was Sir Aston Cokain, who, in gratitude for his having brought him acquainted with Sir Thomas Burdet, Bart. by our Poet, composed an elegy upon him [I]; and Ben Jonson is said to have been the author of his epitaph, which was written in letters of gold upon his monument.

(q) Remains, in John Stowe's Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633. p. 763.

(r) See the Hist. and Antiquities of Westminster-Abbey, by J. Darr, Vol. II. p. 81.

[I] Composed an elegy upon him.] The first lines of the said elegy are these:

PHOEBUS, art thou a God, and canst not give  
A privilege unto thy own to live?  
Thou canst: but if that Poets ne'er should die,  
In Heaven, who should praise thy deity?  
Else still, my DRAYTON, thou hadst liv'd and writ;  
Thy life had been immortal as thy wit.

And it ends with these:

But I molest thy quiet; sleep, while we,  
That live, cou'd leave our lives to die like Thee (37).

The epitaph on his monument, ascribed to Ben Jonson, is in these words:

Doc, pious marble, let thy readers know  
What they, and what their children owe,  
To Drayton's name; whose sacred dust  
We recommend unto thy trust:  
Protect his memory, and preserve his story,  
Remain a lasting monument of his glory:  
And when thy ruins shall disclaim  
To be the treasurer of his name;  
His name, that cannot fade, shall be  
An everlasting monument to thee.

G

DRYDEN (JOHN), the most eminent Poet of the last century, was son of Erasmus Dryden, of Tichmarsh in Northamptonshire, third son of Erasmus Dryden, of Cannons-Ashby, in the same county, Baronet; and was born at Aldwincle near Oundle in that county, the ninth of August 1631 (a). He was educated in grammar learning at Westminster-school, being King's Scholar there, under the famous Dr Busby; and was from thence elected, in 1650, a Scholar of Trinity-College in Cambridge (b). During his stay at school, he translated the *Third Satire of Persius* [A], for a Thursday-night's exercise (c); and, the year before he left it, wrote a poem *On the Death of the Lord Hastings*; a performance very unworthy of the great Poet he afterwards proved. In 1658, he published *Heroick Stanzas on the late Lord Protector, written after his Funeral* (d). In 1660, came out his *Astræa Redux* [B], a Poem on the happy Restoration and Return of his sacred Majesty King Charles II (e); and, the same year, his *Panegyrick to the King on his Coronation* (f). In 1662, he addressed a poem *To the Lord Chancellor Hyde, presented on New-Year's Day* (g); and the same year published *A Satire on the Dutch* (h). His next piece was his *Annus Mirabilis: The Year of Wonders 1666: An Historical Poem* (i). In 1668, Mr Dryden, upon the death of Sir William Davenant, was made Poet-Laureat and Historiographer to King Charles II (k); and, the same year, published his *Essay on Dramatick Poesy* [C]. Our author's first Play, intitled *The Wild Gallant*, appeared in

(d) See Original Poems and Translations, by John Dryden, Esq; now first collected and published together; in two Volumes, 12mo. London, 1743. Vol. I. p. 17.

(e) Ib. p. 22.

(f) Ib. p. 32.

(g) Ib. p. 36.

(h) Ib. p. 135.

(i) Ib. p. 43.

(k) Wood, ubi supra.

in

[A] During his stay at school, he translated the Third Satire of Persius.] We learn this from the following advertisement at the head of that Satire. *I remember I translated this Satire, when I was a King's Scholar at Westminster-school, for a Thursday-night's exercise; and I believe that it, and many other of my exercises of this nature, in English Verse, are still in the hands of my learned master, the Reverend Dr Busby* (1).

[B] His Astræa Redux.] A remarkable distich in this piece exposed our poet to the ridicule of the wits. It was this:

An horrid stillness first invades the ear,  
And in that silence we the tempest fear (2).

Among others, Captain Alexander Radcliff has a fling at it in the following lines of his *News from Hell* (3):

Laureat, who was both learn'd and florid,  
Was damn'd long since for silence horrid:

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Nor had there been such clutter made,  
But that his silence did invade:  
Invade! and so't might well, that's clear;  
But what did it invade? An Ear.

[C] His Essay on Dramatick Poesy.] It is dedicated to Charles Earl of Dorset and Middlesex. Mr Dryden tells his patron, that the writing this essay had served as an amusement to him in the country, when the violence of the plague (in 1665) had driven him from the town; but that he finds many things in it, which he does not now approve, his judgment being not a little altered since the writing it. Presently after he says: 'For the way of writing plays in verse, which I have seem'd to favour, I have, since that time, laid the practice of it aside, till I have more leisure, because I find it troublesome and slow. But I am no way altered from my opinion of it, at least with any reasons which have oppos'd it. For your lordship may easily observe, that none are very violent against it, but those who either have not attempted it, or

20 A

who

(37) Sir Aston Cokain's Poems, as before, p. 66, 67.

(a) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 414. See the epitaph in the remark [X].

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) See the remark [A].

(1) The Satires of D. J. Juvenalis, &c. Lond. 1735. 12mo. p. 257.

(2) Original Poems and Translations, by John Dryden, Esq; now first collected and published together; in two Volumes, 12mo. Lond. 1741. Vol. I. p. 23.

(3) Second Part of Miscellany Poems, p. 98. edit. 1727.

(1) Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatic Poets. Lond. 1691. p. 130, &c.

in 1669 (1), and was followed by a great number of others; a list, and some account, of which we shall give in the remark [D]. Mr Gerard Langbaine, a contemporary writer

' who have ill succeeded in their attempt.' In the preface to the reader, we are told, that the drift of this discourse was to vindicate the honour of our English writers from the censure of those who unjustly prefer the French before them. ' This (says Mr Dryden) I intimate, lest any should think me so exceeding vain, as to teach others an art, which they understand much better than myself. But if this incorrect Essay, written in the country, without the help of books, or advice of friends, shall find an acceptance in the world, I promise to myself a better success of the second part, wherein I shall more fully treat of the virtues and faults of the English poets, who have written either in this, the epick, or the lyrick way.' The *Essay* is drawn up in the form of a dialogue between *Eugenius*, *Crites*, *Lisideius*, and *Neander*. It was animadverted upon by Sir Robert Howard, in the *Preface* to his *Great Favourite* or *Duke of Lerma*; to which Mr Dryden replied in a defence of it, prefix'd to the second edition of his *Indian Emperor*.

[D] A list, and some account, of Mr Dryden's plays.]

I. *The Wild Gallant*: A Comedy: acted at the Theatre Royal, and printed in 4to: London, 1699. This was Mr Dryden's first attempt in dramatick poetry, and met with but very indifferent success in the action. Mr Langbaine tells us (4), Mr Dryden confessed, the plot was not originally his own: ' but however (he adds, with a sneer) having so much altered and beautified it, we will do him the honour to call him the author of the *Wild Gallant*; as he has done Sir Robert Howard, the author of the *Duke of Lerma* \* : and by way of excuse I shall transcribe his own lines (||) in behalf of a new brother of Parnassus :

' 'Tis miracle to see a first good play ;  
' All hawthorns do not bloom on Christmas-day :  
' A slender poet must have time to grow,  
' And spread and burnish as his brothers do :  
' Who still looks lean, sure with some pox is curst ;  
' But no man can be *Falstaff* fat at first.'

To say the truth, this play is so indifferent a performance in itself, and was so ill received, that, if the author had not had a peculiar force of inclination to writing, he would have been sufficiently discouraged from any farther progress. II. *The Indian Emperor*, or, *the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards*: being the *Sequel of the Indian Queen*: A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal in 1670, and printed in 4to. It is dedicated to the Dukes of Monmouth and Buccleugh. It is written in heroic verse, or rhyme, and appeared on the stage with great approbation. The story may be found in Mariana's *History of Spain*, B. 26. ch. 3. and Sir Paul Ricaut's *History of Peru*. III. *An Evening's Love*, or, *The Mock Astrologer*: A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, 1671. It is dedicated to the Duke of Newcastle. The principal plot of this play is built on Calderon's *El Astrologo fingido*; and the play is, for the most part; taken from Corneille's *Feint Astrologue*, Moliere's *Depit Amoureux* and *Precieuses Ridicules*, and Quinault's *Amant Indiscret*. IV. *Marriage a la mode*: A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, 1673. It is dedicated to the Earl of Rochester. This play, though stiled a Comedy, is rather a Tragi-Comedy, and consists of two actions, the one serious, and the other comic; both borrowed from two stories, which the author has tacked together. The serious part is founded on the story of *Sesostris* and *Timareta* in the *Grand Cyrus*, Pt. 9. B. 3. and the characters of *Palamede* and *Rodophil* on the story of *Timantes* and *Parthenia* in the same romance, Pt. 6. B. 1. The character of *Doralice* seems borrowed from the story of *Nogaret*, in a piece called *The Annals of Love*; and *Melantha's* making court to herself, in *Rodophil's* name, from *Les Contes d'Ourville*, part 1. p. 13. V. *Amboyna*: A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, 1673. It is dedicated to the Lord Clifford of Chudleigh. The plot of this play is chiefly founded on history, being an account of the cruelty of the Dutch to our countrymen in

Amboyna, A. D. 1618; for which see Stubbs's *Relation of the Dutch Cruelties*, &c. Wanley's *History of Man*, B. 4. ch. 10. The Rape of *Isabinda* by *Harman* is built on a novel in Cynthio Gyraldi, *Dec. 5. Novv. 10. VI. Mistaken Husband*: A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, 1675. Mr Langbaine tells us (5), Mr Dryden was not the author of this play, ' tho' it was adopted by him, ' as an orphan, which might well deserve the charity ' of a scene, which he bestow'd on it.' It is in the nature of Low Comedy, or Farce, and written on the model of Plautus's *Menechmi*. VII. *Aurenge-Zebe*, or, *The Great Mogul*: A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, 1676. It is dedicated to the Earl of Mulgrave. The story is related at large in Tavernier's *Voyages in the Indies*, Vol. I. Pt. 2. ch. 2. Mr Langbaine (6) determines, that the characters of *Aurenge-Zebe* and *Nourmabal* are borrowed from Seneca's *Phædra* and *Hippolytus*. But whoever considers them, will see, that there is nothing alike through their whole story, excepting only the love of a mother-in-law towards her son-in-law, and the son-in-law's aversion; and as to the characters (a thing Mr Langbaine seems never to understand) *Hippolytus* has an aversion to love; *Aurenge-Zebe* is in love: *Hippolytus* is a hunter; *Aurenge-Zebe* is a warrior: as for *Nourmabal*, she is a degree beyond the lewdness even of Seneca's *Phædra*, who degenerates extremely from her original in Euripides, and indeed has none of her qualities, but only revenge for disappointed love. Mr Langbaine accuses our poet likewise of theft, in borrowing, or rather imitating, several passages of Seneca, in this play. But, with his leave, a poet deserves praise, rather than censure, who transplants the beauties of antient authors into his own works. This play is written in heroic verse, or rhyme. VIII. *The Tempest*, or, *The Inhabited Island*: A Comedy: acted at the Duke of York's Theatre, and printed in 4to, 1676. This is only an alteration of Shakespear's *Tempest* by Sir William Davenant and Mr Dryden. The characters of the *sailors* were chiefly the invention and writing of Sir William, as is acknowledged by Mr Dryden in the preface. IX. *Feign'd Innocence*, or, *Sir Martin Mar-all*: A Comedy: acted at the Duke of York's Theatre, and printed in 4to, 1678. The foundation of this play is originally French, the greatest part of the plot, and some of the language of Sir Martin, being taken from Quinault's *Amant Indiscret*, and Moliere's *Etourdi*. Warner's playing on the lute, instead of his master, is copied from Du Pare's *Francion*, B. 7; and the hint of Old Moody and Sir John seems borrowed from Shakerly Marmion's (\*) *Fine Companion*. X. *The Affignation*, or, *Love in a Nunnery*: A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, 1678. It is dedicated to Sir Charles Sedley. This play, Mr Langbaine tells us (7), was damn'd on the stage, or, as the author expresses it in the *epistle dedicatory*, *succeeded ill in the representation*: but ' whether the fault was in the play itself, or in the lameness of the action, or in the number of it's enemies, ' who came resolved to damn it for the title,' he will not pretend, any more than the author, to determine. Mr Ravenscroft, in the prologue to his *Careless Lovers*, acted the year following, reflects on this and the preceding play, in these lines:

An author did, to please you, let his wit run,  
Of late, much on a *serv'ing-man* and *cittern* (†);  
And yet you wou'd not like the *serenade*;  
Nay, and you damn'd his *Nuns* in *masquerade*:  
You did his Spanish sing-song too abhor;  
*Ab! que locura con tanto rigor!*  
In fine, the whole by you so much was blam'd,  
To act their parts the players were asham'd.

Several of the incidents and characters of this play are borrowed: those of the Duke of Mantua, Frederick, and Lucretia, from the story of *Constance the Fair Nun*, in the *Annals of Love*, p. 81. those of Aurelian, Camillo, Laura, and Violetta, from the story of *Destiny* and

(5) Ubi supra, p. 166.

(6) Ib. p. 156.

(4) Account of the English Dramatick Poets, p. 175.

(\*) Defence of his Essay, &c. p. 5.

(||) Prologue to Dr Davenant's *Circe*. See Original Poems, &c. Vol. II, p. 242.

(\*) A writer of plays in Charles the First's time.

(7) Ib. p. 154.

(†) Warner playing on the lute.

writer (m), has treated Mr Dryden with more severity than justice, on account of his (m) 11. 11. 11. dramattick

(\*) Or, Comical Romance, as it is mis-translated.

and *Star*, in Scarron's *Romance of the Players* (\*). Benito's affectation of musick is taken from Quinault's *Jodoret*, in his *Comedie sans Comedie*; and Frontona's throwing water on Laura, from Fontaine's *Contes*, Pte. 1.<sup>re</sup>. n. 11. XI. *The State of Innocence, or, the Fall of Man*: An Opera, written in heroick verse, and printed in 4to, in 1678. It is dedicated to her Royal Highness the Duchess of York, on whom the author paises the following extravagant compliment: 'Your person is so admirable, that it can scarce receive addition, when it shall be glorified; and your soul, which shines through it, finds it of a substance so near her own, that she will be pleased to pass an age within it, and to be confined to such a palace.' To this piece is prefixed *An Apology for Heroick Poetry and poetick Licence*. The subject is taken from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and many of that excellent poet's thoughts and expressions are copied in this play; but with what success, the judicious reader will easily determine. Mr Nat. Lee wrote commendatory verses on this play, and speaks of it in these terms:

To the dead bard your fame a little owes:  
 For Milton did the wealthy mine disclose,  
 And rudely cast what you cou'd well dispose.  
 He roughly drew, on an old-fashion'd ground,  
 A chaos; for no perfect world was found;  
 Till thro' the heap your mighty genius shin'd:  
 His was the golden Ore, which you refin'd.  
 He first beheld the beauteous rustick maid,  
 And to a place of strength the prize convey'd:  
 You took her thence, to Court the virgin brought,  
 Drest'd her with gems, new-weav'd her hard-spun  
 thought,  
 And softest language, sweetest manners taught:  
 Till from a comet she a star did rise,  
 Not to affright, but please our wond'ring eyes.  
 Betwixt ye both is fram'd a nobler piece,  
 'Than e're was drawn in Italy or Greece.

But these lines, as Mr Dryden himself justly observes in the *Apology*, &c. 'ought to be esteem'd the effect of Mr Lee's love to him, rather than his deliberate and sober judgment.' XII. *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*, in two parts: Two Tragi-Comedies: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, in 1678. These two plays are dedicated to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and were received on the stage with great applause. The story is to be found in Mariana's *History of Spain*, B. 25. ch. 18. Thuanus's *History*, B. 48. Guicciardine, l. 12. &c. Mr Langbaine tells us (8), the characters in these plays are all borrowed from French and Spanish Romances, particularly *Almahide*, *Grand Cyrus*, *Ibrahim*, and *Gusman*: but, in truth, that of *Almanzor* seems rather a copy of Homer's *Achilles*, ill understood. These plays are written in heroick verse, or rhyme. To the first is prefixed *An Essay on Heroick Plays*; and to the second, *A Defence of the Epilogue, or An Essay on the Dramatic Poetry of the last Age*. Mr Richard Leigh, a player belonging to the Duke of York's Theatre, attack'd Mr Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*, in a Pamphlet, intitled; *A Censure of the Rota: On Mr Dryden's Conquest of Granada*: Oxford, 1673, in 4to. This occasioned several other Pamphlets, particularly; *The Friendly Vindication of Mr Dryden from the Censure of the Rota*; Cambridge, 1673, in 4to: *Mr Dryden vindicated in a Reply to the Friendly Vindication of Mr Dryden; with Reflexions on the Rota*; London, 1673, in 4to: and *A Description of the Academy of the Athenian Virtuosi, with a Discourse held there in Vindication of Mr Dryden's Conquest of Granada, against the author of the Censure of the Rota*; London, 1673, in 4to. Mr Elkanah Settle likewise criticised on these Plays of our author's, in a Pamphlet, intitled, *Reflexions on several of Mr Dryden's Plays; particularly The First and Second Part of the Conquest of Granada*; By E. Settle, Gent. London, 1687, in 4to. XIII. *All for Love, or The World well lost*: A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, 1678. It is dedicated

to the Earl of Danby. This Play is written in imitation of Shakespear's Style, and is chiefly taken from that author's *Anthony and Cleopatra*. Mr Dryden tells us (9), he prefers the Scene betwixt *Anthony and Ventidius*, in the first Act, to any thing he had written in this kind. At the same time he acknowledges the introducing of *Octavia* to be an error in the contrivance of the drama. 'For, though, says he, I might use the privilege of a Poet to introduce her into Alexandria, yet I had not enough considered, that the compassion she moved to herself and children was destructive to that which I reserved for Anthony and Cleopatra; whose mutual love being founded upon vice, must lessen the favour of the audience to them, when virtue and innocence were oppressed by it. And though I justified Anthony in some measure, by making Octavia's departure to proceed wholly from herself, yet the force of the first machine still remained, and the dividing of pity, like the cutting of a river into many channels, abated the strength of the natural stream.' XIV. *Tyrannick Love, or, The Royal Martyr*: A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre Royal, and printed in 4to, 1679. This play is written in heroick verse, or rhyme, and dedicated to the Duke of Monmouth. The Plot founded on History. See *Zosim.* l. 4. *Socrat.* l. 5. c. 14. *Herodian.* l. 7, 8. *Jul. Capit. in vit. Max. Jun.* XV. *Troilus and Cressida, or, Truth found out too late*: A Tragedy: acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed in 4to, 1679. It is dedicated to the Earl of Sunderland, and has a Preface prefixed concerning the grounds of Criticism in Tragedy. This play is originally Shakespear's, and revised and altered by Mr Dryden, who added several new scenes; among which the last in the third act is allowed, even by Langbaine (10), to be a master-piece. The plot was taken by Shakespear from Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida*, which that poet (according to Mr Dryden) translated from the original story, written in Latin verse by one Lollius a Lombard. Mr R. Duke addressed a copy of verses to our author on occasion of this play; in which he thus compliments him at the expence of Shakespear:

Shakespear, 'tis true, this tale of Troy first told;  
 But, as with Ennius Virgil did of old,  
 You found it dirt, but you have made it gold.  
 A dark and undigested heap it lay,  
 Like Chaos e're the dawn of infant day;  
 But you did first the chearful light display.  
 Confus'd it was as Epicurus' world  
 Of atoms by blind chance together hurl'd;  
 But you have made such order thro' it shine,  
 As loudly speaks the workmanship divine.

XVI. *OEdipus, King of Thebes*: A Tragedy: acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed in 4to, 1679. It was written jointly by Mr Dryden and Mr Lee, and is justly esteemed an excellent Play. The subject has been treated by the best dramattick writers in all languages, particularly by Sophocles, Seneca, and M. Corneille. Mr Dryden, in the Preface, taxes Seneca with 'running after Philosophical Notions, more proper for the study than the stage;' and accuses Corneille of failing in the character of his Hero, which he calls an error in the first concoction. XVII. *Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen*: A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, 1679. The serious part of the plot is founded on the *History of Cleobuline Queens of Corinth*; and the characters of Celadon, Florimel, Olinda, and Sabina, are borrowed from the story of Pisisrates and Cerintha in the *Grand Cyrus*, P. 9. B. 3. XVIII. *The Rival Ladies*: A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Theatre Royal, and printed in 4to, 1679. It is dedicated to the Earl of Orrery. The Dedication is in the nature of a Preface, in defence of English verse, or rhyme. Mr Langbaine (11) accuses Mr Dryden of a gross mistake in the Preface, where he says, 'that the Tragedy of *Queen Gorbudac* was written in English verse, and consequently that verse was not so much a new way among us, as an old way revived; and that this Play was written by the late Lord Burgh,

(8) Ib. p. 233.

(9) Ib. the P. 10.

(10) Ib. p. 173.

(11) Ib. p. 163.

'hurft, afterwards Earl of Dorset.' Mr Langbaine observes, that Gorbuduc was not a *Queen*, but a *King* of the race of *Brute*; and that the three first acts were written by Mr Thomas Norton; and that the play itself is not in rhyme, but blank verse. Sir Robert Howard, in the Preface to his Plays, answered this Preface of Mr Dryden's. In this Play, the dispute between Amideo and Hippolyto, and Gonsalvo's fighting with the Pyrates, in the last act, are borrowed from the story of Encolpius, Giton, &c. in Petronius Arbitrator; and the catastrophe bears a near resemblance to Scarron's *Rival Brothers*. XIX. *The Kind Keeper, or, Mr Limberham*: A Comedy: acted at the Duke's Theatre, printed in 4to, 1680. It is dedicated to John Lord Vaughan. Some of the incidents are borrowed from Cynthio Gyraldi's *Novels*, Pte. 1ere. Dec. 3. Nouv. 3. and from the *Zelotide* of M. de Pais. Mr Langbaine, who takes this to be the best of Mr Dryden's Comedies, tells us (12), that it so much exposed the *keeping* part of the town, that it was stopt after the third night; but that the author took care to omit in the publication what had given offence on the stage. A writer of those times concludes a short *Satire against Keeping* with these lines (13):

(12) Ib. p. 164.

(13) Cleve's Poems, p. 94.

Dryden, good man, thought *Keepers* to reclaim,  
Writ a kind *Satire*, call'd it *Limberham*.  
This all the herd of *Letchers* straight alarms;  
From *Charing-Cross* to *Bow* was up in arms.  
They damn'd the Play all at one fatal blow,  
And broke the glafs that did their picture show.

XX. *The Spanish Fryar, or, The Double Discovery*: A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed in 4to, 1681. It is dedicated to John Lord Haughton. Mr Langbaine is very angry with Mr Dryden for the character of the *Fryar*. 'Whether,' says he (14), Mr Dryden intended his character of *Dominick* as a satire on the Romish Priests only, or on the Clergy of all opinions in general, I know not; but sure I am, that he might have spared his reflecting quotation in the front of his Play;

(14) Ib. p. 171.

Ut melius possis fallere, fume togam.

'But the truth is, ever since a certain worthy bishop refused orders to a certain poet, Mr Dryden has declared open defiance to the whole clergy; and since the church began the war, he has thought it but justice to make reprisals on the church — But, whatever success this way of writing may find from the sparks, it can never be approved of by sober men, &c.' The comick parts of *Elvira*, *Lorenzo*, &c. are founded on a Novel called *The Pilgrim*, written by M. S. Bremond. XXI. *The Duke of Guise*: A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, 1683. It was written by Mr Dryden and Mr Lee, and dedicated to the Earl of Rochester. The plot is taken from Davila, Mezerai, and other writers of the French affairs. See also Thuanus, l. 93. For the story of Malicorn the conjurer, read Rosset's *Histoires Tragiques*, &c. p. 449. This play gave great offence to the Whigs, and was immediately attacked in a pamphlet, intitled; *A Defence of the Charter and Municipal Rights of the City of London, and the Right of other municipal Cities and Towns of England. Directed to the Citizens of London.* By Thomas Hunt. In this piece, Mr Dryden is charged with condemning the Charter of the City of London, and executing it's magistrates in effigy, in his *Duke of Guise*; a Play, 'most certainly intended to provoke the rabble into tumults and disorders.' About the same time were printed *Some reflexions upon the pretended Parallel in the Play called The Duke of Guise*. The author of this pamphlet tells us, 'he was wearied with the dullness of this play, and extremely incensed at the wicked and barbarous design it was intended for; that the fiercest Tories were ashamed of this piece; in short, that he never saw any thing, that cou'd be called a Play, more deficient in wit, good character, or entertainment, than this.' In answer to this, and Mr Hunt's Pamphlet, Mr Dryden published *The Vindication: or, The Parallel of the French Holy League, and the English League and Covenant, turn'd into a Seditious Libel against the King and his Royal Highness, by Thomas Hunt, and the author of Reflexions, &c.*

London, 1683, 4to. In this *Vindication*, he tells us, that, in the Year of the Restoration, the first Play he undertook was the *Duke of Guise*, as the fairest way, which the *Act of Indemnity* had then left, of setting forth the rise of the late Rebellion; that at first it was thrown aside, by the advice of some friends, to whom he shew'd it; but that, at the earnest request of Mr Lee, (with whom he had promised to join in another play, after the writing of *Oedipus*, and who now claim'd his promise) it was afterwards produced between them; and that only the first scene, the whole fourth act, and somewhat more than half the fifth, belonged to him (Mr Dryden) all the rest being Mr Lee's. XXII. *Albion and Albanus*: An Opera: performed at the Queen's Theatre in Dorset Garden, and printed in folio, 1685. The subject of it is wholly allegorical, and intended to expose the Lord Shaftesbury and his party, who are represented by the man on the pedestal, with a long pale face, &c. encompassed by several heads, which suck poison from his side. The musick for this Opera was made by one Grabut; and Mr Langbaine tells us (15), the following satirical lines were made upon this occasion:

(15) Ib. p. 152.

Grabut his yoke-mate n'ere shall be forgot,  
Whom th' God of tunes upon a Muse begot.  
Bays on a double score to him belongs,  
As well for writing as for setting songs:  
For some have sworn (th' intrigue so odd is laid)  
That Bays and he mistook each other's trade,  
Grabut the lines, and he the musick made.

XXIII. *Don Sebastian, King of Portugal*: A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, 1690. It is dedicated to the Earl of Leicester. This play is generally esteemed one of the best of Mr Dryden's and was received with great applause; though the actors were forced to curtail it after the first night, it being, as the author himself tells us in the Preface, *insupportably too long*. As for the story, or plot, it is chiefly founded on a French novel of the same name. XXIV. *King Arthur: or, The British Worthy*: A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre in Dorset Garden, and printed in 4to, 1691. It is dedicated to the Marquis of Halifax. This play is more remarkable for singing and fine scenery, than for any excellency of the drama. The story in general is founded upon Geoffrey of Monmouth's History: the *Inchanted Grove*, and the character of *Osmond*, are taken from Tasso. XXV. *Amphytrion, or, The Two Socias*: A Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, 1691. It is dedicated to Sir Levison Gower. This play is taken from Plautus and Moliere. XXVI. *Cleomenes: The Spartan Heroe*: A Tragedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, 1692. It is dedicated to the Earl of Rochester. There is prefixed to it *The Life of Cleomenes*, translated from Plutarch by Mr Creech. This play was at first prohibited by the Lord Chamberlain; but, upon examination, being found innocent of any design (as had been suggested) to satirize the government, it was suffered to be represented, and had great success. In the Preface, the author tells us, a foolish objection had been raised against him by the Sparks, for Cleomenes not accepting the favours of Casandra. 'They, says he, would not have refused a fair Lady: I grant, they would not; but let them grant me, that they are not heroes.' He adds: 'Some have told me, that many of the fair sex complain for want of tender scenes, and soft expressions of love. I will endeavour to make them some amendments, if I write again; and my next hero shall be no Spartan.' XXVII. *Love Triumphant, or, Nature will prevail*: A Tragi-Comedy: acted at the Theatre-Royal, and printed in 4to, 1694. It is dedicated to the Earl of Shaftesbury, and is the last Mr Dryden wrote or intended for the Theatre. It met with but indifferent success; though in many parts the genius of that great man breaks out, especially in the discovery of Alphonso's successful love, and in the catastrophe, which is extremely affecting. — Thus, in the space of twenty-five years, Mr Dryden produced (besides his other numerous poetical writings) twenty-seven plays. As to the character of Mr Dryden's dramatick performances, we find, that the Criticks, his contemporaries, made very free with them; particularly, Mr Gerard Langbaine (16): and it must be confessed, they are

(16) See the next remark.

dramatick performances [E]. In 1671, Mr Dryden was publickly ridiculed on the Stage, under

are not the least exceptionable of his compositions. As to Tragedy, the Criticks have observed, that Mr Dryden seldom touches the *passions*, but deals rather in pompous language, poetical flights, and descriptions. That this was his real taste, appears, not only from his Tragedies themselves, but from two instances mentioned by Mr Gildon (17). The first is, that, it being recommended to him to turn his thoughts to a translation of *Euripides*, rather than of *Homer*, he replied, that *he confessed he had no relish of that Poet*, who was a great master of *Tragick simplicity*. The other is, that he constantly expressed a very mean, if not contemptible, opinion of Mr *Otway*, who is universally allowed to have succeeded very happily in affecting the *passions*: though, in the preface to his translation of *M. Frenoy*, he speaks more favourably of that Poet. The author, who mentions these instances, ascribes this *gusto* in Mr Dryden to his great conversation with French Romances. As to Comedy, our Poet himself acknowledges his want of genius for that species of the drama. 'I know, *says he* (18), I am not fitted by nature to write Comedy: I want that gaiety of humour, which is required in it. My conversation is slow and dull, my humour saturnine and reserved. In short, I am none of those, who endeavour to break jests in company, or make repartees. So that those, who decry my Comedies, do me no injury, except it be in point of profit: reputation in them is the last thing to which I shall pretend.' But, perhaps, Mr Dryden would have wrote better in both kinds of the drama, had not the necessity of his circumstances obliged him to conform himself to the popular taste. Hence my Lord Lansdowne (19):

Dryden himself, to please a frantick age,  
Was forc'd to let his judgment stoop to rage:  
To a wild audience he conform'd his voice,  
Comply'd to custom, but not err'd thro' choice.  
Deem then the people's, not the writer's sin,  
*Almanzor's* rage, and rants of *Maximin*:  
That fury spent, in each elaborate piece,  
He vies for fame with antient Rome and Greece.

And Mr Dryden himself insinuates as much in the following passage (20): 'I remember some verses of my own *Maximin* and *Almanzor*, which cry vengeance upon me for their extravagance. — All I can say for those passages, which are, I hope, not many, is, that I knew they were bad enough to please, even when I writ them. But I repent of them among my sins; and if any of their fellows intrude by chance into my present writings, I draw a stroke over all those *Dalilabs* of the Theatre, and am resolv'd I will settle myself no reputation by the applause of fools. 'Tis not that I am mortified to all ambition; but I scorn as much to take it from half-witted judges, as I should to raise an estate by cheating of bubbles; neither do I discommend the lofty stile in Tragedy, which is naturally pompous and magnificent. But nothing is truly sublime, that is not just and proper.' He tells us elsewhere (21), that his *Spanish Fryar* was given to the people, and that *he never wrote any thing* (in the dramatick way) *to please himself, but his Anthony and Cleopatra*, i. e. his *All for Love*, or, *The World well lost*.

[E] Mr Langbaine has treated Mr Dryden with more severity, than justice, on account of his dramatick performances.] He begins his account of our Poet with treating him as an errant plagiarist. 'Mr Dryden, *says he* (22), is the most voluminous writer of our age, he having already extant above twenty plays of his own writing, as the title-page of each would persuade the world; though some people have been so bold as to call the truth of this in question, and to propagate in the world another opinion.' Speaking of Mr Dryden's Comedies, he tells us (23), 'he is for the most part beholden to French Romances and Plays, not only for his plots, but even a great part of his language.' Having observed, that Mr Dryden, in the preface to his *Conquest of Granada*, *magisterially buffs at, and domineers over*, the French writers, he desires the reader to take notice, that all the

characters of that play are stolen from the French: so that, *says he* (24), Mr Dryden took a secure way (24) 1b. p. 132. to conquest; for having robbed them of their weapons, he might safely challenge them, and beat them too; especially having gotten *Pence de Lion* (\*) on his side, in disguise, and under the title of *Almanzor*: and should *Mont. Vulture* presume to lay claim to his own song, *l'Amour sous sa loy*, &c. which Mr Dryden has robbed him of, and placed in the play of *Sir Martin Marr-all* (being that song, which begins *Blind Love to this hour* &c.) our Poet would go nigh to beat him with a staff of his own rhimes, with as much ease, as Sir Martin defeated the Bailiffs in the rescue of his rival.' Mr Langbaine, next, undertakes the defence of *Shakespeare*, *Fletcher*, and *Johnson*, against the attacks of Mr Dryden, whom he represents as treating the memory of those great Poets with the utmost disrespect. 'Had he, *says he* (25), only extended his conquests over the French Poets, I had not meddled in this affair; and he might have taken part with *Achilles* and *Rinaldo*, against *Cyrus* and *Oroondates*, without my engaging in this foreign war: but when I found him flushed with his victory over the great *Scudery*, and with *Almanzor's* assistance triumphing over the noble kingdom of *Granada*; and not content with conquests abroad, like another *Julius Caesar*, turning his arms upon his own country; and, as if the proscription of his contemporaries reputation was not sufficient to satiate his implacable thirst after fame, endeavouring to demolish the statues and monuments of his ancestors, the works of those his illustrious predecessors, *Shakespeare*, *Fletcher*, and *Johnson*; I was resolv'd to endeavour the rescue and preservation of those excellent trophies of wit, by raising the *Posse Comitatus* upon this Poetick *Almanzor*, to put a stop to his spoils upon his countrymen.' The foundation of this heavy charge, is, some passages in the Postscript to Mr Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*; in which he speaks of *Shakespeare*, as *writing, in many places, below the dullest writers of any age*; of *Fletcher*, as *a person, that neither understood correct plotting, nor what is called The Decorum of the Stage*; of *Johnson*, as a writer, whose chief excellency lay in the low characters of *vice and folly*; and of all three together, as guilty, in every page of their works, of *some solecism in speech, or some notorious flaw in sense*. And here Mr Langbaine applies to Mr Dryden the character, which an ingenious writer (†) draws of a malignant wit; 'who, conscious of his own vices, and studious to conceal them, endeavours by detraction to make it appear, that others also, of greater estimation in the world, are tainted with the same, or greater: as infamous women generally excuse their personal debaucheries, by incriminating upon their whole sex, calumniating the most chaste and virtuous, to palliate their own dishonour.' This is the ill-natured turn Mr Langbaine gives to our author's *Apology*, in the same Postscript, where he begs the reader's pardon for accusing those authors, desiring him to consider, that 'he lives in an age wherein his least faults are severely censured, and that he has no way left to extenuate his failings, but by shewing as great in those whom he admires.' Mr Langbaine proceeds to censure Mr Dryden for *assaulting with all the bitterness imaginable, not only the Church of England, but also the several professions of the Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, &c.* though I must observe, *says he* (26), by the way, that some people among the persuasions here mentioned might justly have expected better usage from him on account of old acquaintance in the year 1659. We shall not enter upon Mr Langbaine's defence of *Shakespeare*, *Fletcher*, and *Johnson*; which he concludes with these words: 'As to his (*Mr Dryden's*) reflexions on this triumvirate (*Shakespeare*, *Fletcher*, and *Johnson*) in general; I might easily prove, that his *improprieties in grammar* are equal to theirs, and that he himself has been guilty of *solecisms in speech, and flaws in sense*: but this would be to waste paper and time; and besides, I consider, that *Apollo's laws*, like those of our own nation, allow no man to be tried twice for the same crime: and Mr Dryden having already been arraigned

(\*) The chief hero in a romance called *Almanzor*.

(25) 1b. p. 133.

(†) Dr. Charleton, in his *Different Wits of Men*, p. 120.

(26) 1b. p. 140.

(17) In his *Laws of Poetry*, as laid down by the Duke of Bucks, &c. p. 211.

(18) In his *Defence of the Essay on Dramatick Poesy*, prefixed to his *Indian Emperor*.

(19) In his *Essay on Unnatural Flights in Poetry*. See his Works. Vol. 1. p. 93. edit. 1736.

(20) Epistle Dedicatorie to the *Spanish Fryar*.

(21) Preface to his Translation of *M. Du Fresnoy's Art of Painting*, p. 58. Lond. 1716, 8vo.

(22) Ubi supra, p. 130.

(23) 1b. p. 131.

(n) Original  
Poems, &c.  
Vol. I. p. 328.

(o) Ibid. Vol. II.  
p. 83, &c.

(p) Ib. Vol. I.  
p. 143.

under the character of *Bays*, in the Duke of Buckingham's Comedy called *The Rehearsal* [F]. In 1679, was published *An Essay on Satire* [G], written jointly by Mr Dryden and the Earl of Mulgrave (n). In 1680, came out a Translation of *Ovid's Epistles*, in English Verse, by several hands; two of which, viz. *Canace to Macareus*, and *Dido to Æneas*, were translated by Mr Dryden, who likewise wrote the Preface; and that of *Helen to Paris* by Mr Dryden and the Earl of Mulgrave (o). In 1681, Mr Dryden published his *Absalom and Achitophel* (p) [H]; and, the same year, his *Medal, A Satire against*

'raigned before the Wits, upon the evidence of the  
'*Rota*, and found guilty by Mr Clifford the foreman  
'of the jury; I shall suppress my farther evidence,  
'till I am served with a *subpœna* by him, to appear  
'before that Court, or have an action clapped upon  
'me by his Proctor, as guilty of a *Scandalum Archi-*  
'*Poetæ*; and then I shall readily give in my depo-  
'sitions (27).

(27) Ib. p. 150.

[F] Mr Dryden was ridiculed on the stage—in the *Rehearsal*.] The character of *Bays*, in that excellent satirical Comedy, we are told (28), was originally intended for Sir Robert Howard, under the name of *Bilboa*. But the representation being put a stop to by the breaking out of the plague in 1665, it was laid by for several years, and not exhibited on the stage till 1671: in which interval Mr Dryden being advanced to the *Laurel*, the noble author changed the name of his Poet from *Bilboa* to *Bays*, and made great alterations in his play, in order to ridicule several dramatick performances, which had appeared since the first writing of it. Those of Mr Dryden, which fell under his Grace's lash, are *The Wild Gallant*, *Tyrannick Love*, *The Conquest of Granada*, *Marriage a la Mode*, and *Love in a Nunnery*; and how justly, may be seen in the following extracts.

(28) See the  
Key to the Re-  
hearsal, printed  
with that play,  
p. 88, edit. 1735.

*Conquest of Granada*. Part ii. p. 48.

So two kind turtles, when a storm is nigh,  
Look up, and see it gathering in the sky;  
Each calls his mate to shelter in the groves,  
Leaving, in murmurs, their unfinish'd loves:  
Perch'd on some dropping branch, they sit alone,  
And coo, and hearken to each other's moan.

*Rehearsal*, p. 18.

So boar and sow, when any storm is nigh,  
Snuff up, and smell it gathering in the sky;  
Boar beckons sow to trot in chestnut groves,  
And there consummate their unfinish'd loves:  
Pensive in mud, they wallow all alone,  
And snore and gruntle to each other's moan.

*Conquest of Granada*. Part i. p. 55.

As some fair tulip, by a storm oppress'd,  
Shrinks up, and folds it's silken arms to rest;  
And bending to the blast, all pale and dead,  
Hears from within the wind sing round it's head:  
So shrouded up your beauty disappears;  
Unveil, my love, and lay aside your fears:  
The storm that caus'd your fright is past and gone.

*Rehearsal*. p. 28.

As some tall pine, which we on Ætna find  
T' have stood the rage of many a boist'rous wind,  
Feeling without that flames within do play,  
Which wou'd consume his root and sap away;  
He spreads his worsted arms unto the skies,  
Silently grieves, all pale, repines, and dies:  
So shrouded up your bright eye disappears;  
Break forth, bright scorching sun, and dry my tears.

*Tyrannick Love*. p. 25.

————— My earthly part,  
Which is my tyrant's right, death will remove:  
I'll come all foul and spirit to your love.

With silent steps I'll follow you all day;  
Or else before you in the sun-beams play.  
I'll lead you hence to melancholy groves,  
And there repeat the scenes of our past loves.  
At night I will within your curtains peep;  
With empty arms embrace you, while you sleep.  
In gentle dreams I often will be by,  
And sweep along before your closing eye.  
All dangers from your bed I will remove;  
But guard it most from any future love.  
And when at last in pity you will die,  
I'll watch your birth of immortality:  
Then, turtle-like, I'll to my mate repair,  
And teach you your first flight in open air.

*Rehearsal*. p. 55.

Since death my earthly part will thus remove,  
I'll come a humble bee to your chaste love:  
With silent wings I'll follow you, dear coz,  
Or else before you in the sun-beams buz:  
And when to melancholy groves you come,  
An airy ghost, you'll know me by my hum;  
For sound being air, a ghost does well become.  
At night into your bosom I will creep,  
And buz, but softly, if you chauce to sleep;  
Yet in your dreams I will pass sweeping by,  
And then both hum and buz before your eye.

Mr Dryden affected to despise the satire levelled at him in the *Rehearsal*, as appears from his *Dedication* of the translation of *Juvenal* and *Perfius* (29), where, speaking of the many lampoons and libels, that had been written against him, he says: 'I answered not the *Rehearsal*, because I knew the author fat to himself when he drew the picture, and was the very *Bays* of his own farce: because also I knew, that my betters were more concerned than I was in that satire; and, lastly, because Mr Smith and Mr Johnson, the main pillars of it, were two such languishing gentlemen in their conversation, that I could liken them to nothing but to their own relations, those noble characters of men of wit and pleasure about town.' But it is impossible our Poet could be insensible of the force of that admirable satire; and we shall be convinced that he felt it's edge, if we reflect on the character of *Zimri*, in his *Absalom and Achitophel* (30), in which he took a full revenge on the author of the *Rehearsal*.

(29) Edit. 1735.  
p. 12.

(30) See the re-  
mark [H].

[G] *The Essay on Satire*.] This piece, which was handed about in manuscript, containing reflexions on the Dukes of Portsmouth and the Earl of Rochester; they, suspecting Mr Dryden to be the author of it, hired three men, who took their opportunity to cudgel our Poet, in Will's coffee-house in Covent-Garden, the 16th of December, at eight of the clock at night. We give you this story on the authority of Anthony Wood (31).

(31) Ath. Oxon.  
col. 805, 806.

[H] *His Absalom and Achitophel*.] This poem, which was at first printed without the author's name, is a severe satire on the contrivers and abettors of the rebellion, against King Charles II, under the Duke of Monmouth; and may serve to convince us of what Mr Dryden says in the preface, that he could write severely with more ease than he could gently. 'The violent, says he, on both sides, will condemn the character of *Absalom* (\*), as either too favourably, or too hardly drawn: but they are not the violent whom I desire to please. The fault, on the right-hand, is to extenuate, palliate, and indulge; and to confess freely, I have endeavoured to commit it.

(\*) The Duke of  
Monmouth.

Besides

against Sedition (q) [I]. In 1682, came out his *Religio Laici* (r) [K]. In 1684, he published (s) l. p. 209.

(†) King Charles. Besides the respect, which I owe his birth, I have a greater for his heroick virtues; and David himself (†) could not be more tender of the young man's life, than I would be of his reputation. But, since the most excellent natures are always the most easy; and, as being such, are the soonest perverted by ill counsels, especially when baited with fame and glory; 'tis no more a wonder that he withstood not the temptations of *Achitophel* (‡), than it was for Adam to have resisted the temptation of the two devils, the serpent and the woman (32). Mr Dryden goes on to assign the reason why he left the subject unfinished. The conclusion of the story, says he, I purposely forbore to prosecute, because I could not obtain from myself to shew *Abfalom* unfortunate. The frame of it was cut out but for a picture to the wait; and if the draught be so far true, 'tis as much as I designed. Were I the inventor, who am only the Historian, I should certainly conclude the piece with the reconciliation of *Abfalom* to *David*. And who knows but this may come to pass? things were not brought to extremity where I left the story: there seems, yet, to be room left for a composition; hereafter, there may be only for pity. I have not so much as an uncharitable wish against *Achitophel*; but am content to be accused of a good-natured error, and to hope with *Origer*, that the devil himself may, at last, be saved. For which reason, in this poem, he is neither brought to set his house in order, nor to dispose of his person afterwards, as he in wisdom shall think fit (33).

(‡) Lord Shaftesbury.

(32) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 146, 147.

(33) Ibid.

This poem is celebrated in some commendatory verses, addressed to the then unknown and concealed author, by Mr Nat. Lee, Mr Richard Duke, and Mr N. Tate. The first of these gentlemen affirms,

'Tis spirit seen, whose fiery atoms roul  
So brightly fierce, each syllable's a soul (34).

(34) Ib. p. 1.

The second tells Mr Dryden,

Not David's self could in a nobler verse  
His gloriously offending son rehearse,  
Tho' in his breast the Prophet's fury met,  
The father's fondness, and the Poet's wit (35).

(35) Ib. p. 3.

And the last represents him as triumphing over the idol cause of faction and rebellion:

That cause, whose growth to crush our Prelates wrote  
In vain, almost in vain our heroes fought;  
Yet by one stab of your keen satire dies:  
Before your sacred lines their shatter'd *Dagon* lies (36).

(36) Ib. p. 4.

There are two translations, in Latin verse, of Mr Dryden's *Abfalom and Achitophel*: one by Dr William Coward, a Physician, of Merton-college in Oxford; published in 4to at Oxford 1682 (37): the other by Dr Francis Atterbury, afterwards bishop of Rochester; published the same year in 4to (38). That the reader may judge a little of the comparative merit of these two translations, we shall transcribe a few lines from the beginning of the original, and subjoin the different versions.

(37) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 230.

(38) Id. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1063.

The Original.

In pious times, e're priest-craft did begin,  
Before polygamy was made a sin;  
When man on many multiply'd his kind;  
E're one to one was, cursedly, confin'd;  
When nature prompted, and no law deny'd,  
Promiscuous use of concubine and bride:  
Then Israel's Monarch, after Heaven's own heart,  
His vig'rous warmth did variously impart  
To wives and slaves; and, wide as his command,  
Scatter'd his maker's image thro' the land (39).

(39) Original Poem, &c. Vol. I. p. 151.

Dr Coward's Translation.

Nondum mystarum pia fraus eluserat orbem,  
Nondum uni conjux porrexerat ora capistro;

Sed similem amplexa est, natura urgente, maritum  
Sponsaque, et innocuo residens in fornice pellex.  
Tunc qui Judaicas rerum steterat habenas,  
Jesides, caelo charum caput, integer avi,  
Igne pari nuptas arsit, servusque, tonantis  
Eclypsa syderei brevibus transcripta tabellis  
Diffundens lati vaga per confinia regni.

Dr Atterbury's Translation.

Cognovere pias nondum pia secula fraudes  
Arte sacerdotum, nondum vetuere maritos  
Multiplici celebrare jugo connubia leges;  
Cum vir sponzarum numeraverat agmen, et uni  
Non servare toro, fato adversante, coactus  
Plurima fertilibus produxit stemmata lumbis;  
Cum stimulos natura daret, nec legibus ullis  
Et sponsæ et lenæ vetitum est commune cubile;  
Tunc Israelis, caelo cedente, Monarcha  
Concubitu vario vernas nuptasque fovebat;  
Quæque erat Imperii limes, ibi messe feraci  
Transcripta Archetypi sparsim generatur imago.

An Answer was published to Mr Dryden's *Abfalom and Achitophel*, intitled, *Azariah and Hushai, a Poem*, Lond. 1682, in 4to, said to be written by Mr Elkanah Settle. A Second Part of *Abfalom and Achitophel* was undertaken, and written, by Mr Tate, at the request, and under the direction, of Mr Dryden, who wrote near two hundred lines of it himself, beginning with

Next these a troop of busy spirits press,  
and ending with

To talk like *Doeg*, and to write like thee (40); besides some touches in other places.

[I] *His Medal, a Satire against Sedition.*] This poem was occasioned by the striking of a medal, on account of the indictment against the Earl of Shaftesbury, for high-treason, being found ignorant by the Grand-Jury at the Old Bailey, in November 1681; for which the Whig party made great rejoicings, by ringing of bells, bonfires, &c. in all parts of London (41). The poem is introduced with a very satirical *Epistle to the Whigs*; in which the author says: 'I have one favour to desire of you at parting, that when you think of answering this poem, you would employ the same pens against it, who have combated with so much success against *Abfalom and Achitophel*; for then you may assure yourselves of a clear victory without the least reply. Rail at me abundantly; and, not to break a custom, do it without wit. By this method you will gain a considerable point, which is wholly to wave the answer of my arguments. — If God has not blessed you with the talent of rhiming, make use of my poor stock and welcome: let your verses run upon my sect; and for the utmost refuge of notorious blockheads, reduced to the last extremity of sense, turn my own lines upon me, and, in utter despair of your own satire, make me satirize myself (42). The whole poem is a severe invective against the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the Whig party. Mr Elkanah Settle wrote an answer to this poem, intitled, *The Medal Revers'd*, Lond. 1681, 4to.

(41) See Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 390.

(42) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 195, 196.

[K] *His Religio Laici.*] The whole title is: *Religio Laici, or, A Lay-man's Faith*. This piece is intended as a defence of Reveald Religion, and the excellency and authority of the Scriptures, as the only Rule of Faith and Manners, against Deists, Papists, and Presbyterians. The author acquaints us, in the preface, that it was written for an ingenious young Gentleman, his friend, upon his translation of Father Simon's *Critical History of the Old Testament*; and that the style of it is *Epistolary*. Whereupon he adds: 'If any one be so lamentable a critick, as to require the smoothness, the numbers, and the turn of herodick poetry in

(s) See the Epistle  
Dedicatory to  
the King.

(t) Original  
Poems, &c.  
Vol. I. p. 106.

(u) Ib. p. 243.

published a Translation of M. Maimbourg's *History of the League*; in which he was employed by the command of King Charles II, on account of the plain parallel between the troubles of *France* and those of *Great Britain* (s). Upon the death of King Charles II, he wrote his *Threnodia Augustalis*; *A Poem sacred to the happy Memory of that Prince* (t). Soon after the accession of King James II, our author turned Roman Catholick [L]; and, in 1686, he wrote *A Defence of the Papers written by the late King of blessed Memory, and found in his strong box* [M]. In 1687, he published his *Hind and Panther* [N], *A Poem* (u); and, in 1688, his *Britannia Rediviva, a Poem on the Birth of the Prince* (w). (w) Ib. p. 123.  
He

' in this Poem, I must tell him, that if he has not  
' read *Horace*, I have studied him, and hope the style  
' of his *Epistles* is not ill imitated here. The expres-  
' sions of a poem, designed purely for instruction,  
' ought to be plain and natural, and yet majestick;  
' for here the Poet is presumed to be a kind of Law-  
' giver, and those three qualities, which I have named,  
' are proper to the legislative style (43).'

(43) Ib. p. 225.

[L] He turned Roman Catholick.] Upon this occasion, Mr T. Brown wrote *The Reasons of Mr Bays's changing his Religion considered, in a Dialogue between Crites, Eugenius, and Mr Bays*. London, 1688, in 4to. Also, *The late Converts exposed: Or, The Reasons of Mr Bays's changing his Religion considered, in a Dialogue; Part the Second*. London, 1690, in 4to. There likewise appeared another piece against Mr Dryden, intituled, *The Revolter; A Tragi-Comedy, acted between the Hind and Panther and Religio Laici*. London, 1687, in 4to.

[M] His Defence of the Papers written by the late King of blessed Memory, and found in his strong box.] This piece was written in opposition to Dr Stillingfleet's *Answer to some Papers lately printed, concerning the Authority of the Catholick Church, in Matters of Faith, and the Reformation of the Church of England*. London, 1686, in 4to. Mr Dryden, in the above-mentioned piece, takes occasion, from the two Papers, published by King James II. and by him affirmed to have been found in the Strong Box of the deceased King Charles II (44), to vindicate the authority of the Catholick Church, in decreeing Matters of Faith, upon this principle, that, *The Church is more visible than the Scripture, because the Scripture is seen by the Church* (45); and to abuse the Reformation in England, which, he affirms (46), *Was erected on the Foundation of Lust, Sacrilege, and Usurpation*. Dr Stillingfleet, hereupon, published *A Vindication of the Answer to some late Papers*, London, 1687, in 4to; in which he treats Mr Dryden with some severity: And another author (47) observed, that this Tract of Mr Dryden ' Is very light, and in some places even  
' ridiculous; and shews that the author's talent lay to-  
' wards controversy no more in *prose*, than it appears  
' by the *Hind and Panther* it did in *verse*.'

(44) See the  
Complete Hist.  
of England,  
Vol. III. p. 422.

(45) Defence, &c.  
P. 2, 3.

(46) Ibid.

(47) The author  
of the Continuation  
of the present State of the  
Controversy between the  
Church of England and the  
Church of Rome,  
&c. Lond. 1688,  
4to. p. 23.

[N] His *Hind and Panther*.] It is divided into three parts, and is a direct defence of the Romish Church, chiefly by way of dialogue between a *Hind*, who represents the Church of Rome, and a *Panther*, who sustains the character of the Church of England. These two beasts very learnedly discuss the several points controverted between the two Churches, as, Transubstantiation, Church-Authority, Infallibility, &c. In the preface, the author tells us, this Poem ' Was  
' neither imposed on him, nor so much as the subject  
' given him by any man. It was written, *says he*,  
' during the last winter, and the beginning of this  
' spring, though with long interruptions of ill health,  
' and other hindrances. About a fortnight before I  
' had finished it, his Majesty's *Declaration for Liberty  
' of Conscience* came abroad; which, if I had so soon  
' expected, I might have spared myself the labour of  
' writing many things which are contained in the third  
' Part of it. But I was always in some hope, the  
' Church of England might have been persuaded to  
' have taken off the *Penal Laws*, and the *Test*, which  
' was one design of the Poem, when I proposed to  
' myself the writing of it. 'Tis evident that some  
' part of it was only occasional, and not first intend-  
' ed: I mean that defence of myself, to which every  
' honest man is bound, when he is injuriously attacked  
' in print (48).' Mr Dryden then lets us into the  
subject matter of the Poem, and the style in which it is written. ' The *First Part*, *says he*, consisting most  
' in general characters and narration, I have endea-

(48) Original  
Poems, &c.  
p. 247, 248.

' voured to raise, and give it the majestick turn of  
' heroick Poesy. The *Second*, being matter of dis-  
' pute, and chiefly concerning Church-Authority, I  
' was obliged to make as plain and perspicuous as pos-  
' sibly I could; yet not wholly neglecting the numbers,  
' though I had not frequent occasions for the magni-  
' ficence of verse. The *Third*, which has more of the  
' nature of domestick conversation, is, or ought to be,  
' more free and familiar than the two former. There  
' are in it two *Episodes* or *Fables*, which are inter-  
' woven with the main design; so that they are pro-  
' perly parts of it, though they are also distinct stories  
' of themselves. In both of these I have made use  
' of the common-places of satire, whether true or  
' false, which are urged by the members of the one  
' Church against the other (49).' In the *First Part*, (49) Ib. p. 249,  
Mr Dryden speaks of his own *conversion* in the follow-  
ing terms: 250.

But, gracious God, how well do'st thou provide  
For erring judgments an unerring guide!  
Thy throne is darkness in th' abyss of light,  
A blaze of glory that forbids the fight.  
O teach me to believe thee thus conceal'd,  
And search no farther than thyself reveal'd;  
But her alone for my director take,  
Whom thou hast promis'd never to forsake!  
My thoughtless youth was wing'd with vain desires;  
My manhood, long misled by wandring fires,  
Follow'd false lights; and when their glimpse was  
gone,  
My pride struck out new sparkles of her own.  
Such was I, such by nature still I am;  
Be thine the glory, and be mine the shame.  
Good life be now my task; my doubts are  
done—(50).

(50) Ib. p. 253.

The *Third Part* begins with an Apology for the Fable or Contrivance of this Poem; as if Mr Dryden foresaw the ridicule, to which it would expose him.

Much malice, mingled with a little wit,  
Perhaps, may censure this mysterious writ;  
Because the Muse has peopled *Caledon*  
With Panthers, Bears, and Wolves, and Beasts  
unknown,  
As if we were not stock'd with monsters of our  
own.  
Let *Æsop* answer, who has fet to view  
Such kinds as Greece and Phrygia never knew;  
And mother *Hubbard*, in her homely drefs,  
Has sharply blam'd a *British Lioness*—  
Led by these great examples, may not I  
The wanted organs of their words supply (51)?

(51) Ib. p. 290

This Poem was immediately attacked by the wits, particularly by Mr Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, and Mr Matthew Prior, who joined in writing *The Hind and Panther transferr'd to the Story of the Country Mouse and the City Mouse*. London, 1687, 4to. In the preface to which, the authors observe, That Mr Dryden's Poem ' Naturally falls into  
' ridicule,' and that, in this burlesque, ' Nothing is  
' represented as monstrous, and unnatural, which is  
' not equally so in the original.' They afterwards remark, that ' We have this comfort under the severity  
' of Mr Dryden's Satire, to see his abilities equally  
' lessened with his opinion of us; and that he could  
' not be a fit champion against the *Panther*, 'till he  
' had

He was supposed to have been engaged in translating M. Varillas's *History of Heresies*, but to have dropped that design [O]. At the Revolution, having disqualified himself for Court favours, by turning Papist, he was dismissed from the office of Poet-Laureat [P], in which he was succeeded by Mr Thomas Shadwell; against whom he wrote his *Mac Flecknoe* [Q]. The same year he published *The Life of St Francis Xavier*; translated from the French of Father Dominic Bouhours. In 1693, came out a Translation of *Juvenal* and *Perfius* [R]; in which, the *first, third, sixth, tenth, and sixteenth Satires* of *Juvenal*, and *Perfius entire*, were done by Mr Dryden, who prefixed a long and beautiful *Discourse*, by way of *Dedication* to the Earl of Dorset (x). He contributed likewise to the Translation of *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, published, several years after his death, by Dr Garth; in which, the *first Book*; the Story of *Meleagar* and *Atalanta* in the *eighth*; that of *Baucis* and *Philemon* in the same; the Fable of *Iphis* and *Iantbe* in the *ninth*; that of *Pygmalion* and the *Statue* in the *tenth*; the Story of *Cinyras* and *Myrrha*, in the same; that of *Ceyx* and *Aleyone* in the *eleventh*; the *twelfth Book*; the *Speeches* of *Ajax* and *Ulysses*, and the *Death* of *Ajax*, in the *thirteenth*; the Story of *Acis* and *Galatea*, in the same; and the *Pythagorean Philosophy* in the *fifteenth*; are Mr Dryden's (y). In 1695, he published a Translation, in prose, of M. Du Fresnoy's *Art of Painting* [S]; and, in 1697, a Translation

(x) See the remark [R].

(y) See Original Poems, &c. Vol. II. p. 150, &c. See also Mr Dryden's Fables. Lond. 1734. 12mo. p. 80, 115, 123, 127, 200, 240, 265, and 299.

'had laid aside all his judgment.' Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, speaks with great severity of this Poem, as well as of its author (52).

[O] He was supposed to have been engaged in translating M. Varillas's *History of Heresies*, but to have dropped that design.] This we learn from a passage in Dr G. Burnet's *Defence of the Reflexions on the Ninth Book of the first Volume of M. Varillas's History of Heresies. Being a Reply to his Answer* (53). The Doctor says: 'I have been informed from England, that a Gentleman, who is famous both for poetry, and several other things, has spent three months in translating M. Varillas's *History*; but that, as soon as my *Reflexions* appeared, he discontinued his labour, finding the credit of his author was gone. Now, if he thinks it is recovered by his *Answer*, he will perhaps go on with his translation; and this may be, for ought I know, as good an entertainment for him, as the conversation he has set on foot between the *Hinds* and *Panthers*, and all the rest of the animals; for whom M. Varillas may serve well enough as an author; and this *History* and that *Poem* are such extraordinary things of their kind, that it will be but suitable to see the author of the *worst Poem* become likewise the translator of the *worst History*, that the age has produced. If his grace and his wit improve both proportionably, we shall hardly find, that he has gained much by the change he has made, from having no religion to choose one of the worst. It is true, he had somewhat to sink from in matter of *wit*; but as for his *morals*, it is scarce possible for him to grow a worse man than he was. He has lately wreaked his malice on me for spoiling his three months labour; but in it he has done me all the honour that a man can receive from him; which is to be railed at by him. If I had ill-nature enough to prompt me to wish a very bad wish for him, it should be, that he would go on and finish his translation. By that it will appear, whether the English nation, which is the most competent judge in this matter, has, upon the seeing our debate, pronounced in M. Varillas's favour or me. It is true, Mr D. will suffer a little by it; but at least it will serve to keep him in from other extravagancies; and if he gains little honour by this work, yet he cannot lose so much by it as he has done by his last employment.' This passage, besides the fact it lets us into, shews how ill an opinion Dr Burnet had entertained of Mr Dryden (54).

[P] He was dismissed from the office of Poet-Laureat.] Mr Mat. Prior, in the *Dedication* of his *Poems* to the Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, having said of the great Earl of Dorset, that 'he was so inviolable in his friendship, and so kind to the character of those whom he had once honoured with a more intimate acquaintance, that nothing less than a demonstration of some essential fault could make him break with them; and then too his good nature did not consent to it without the greatest reluctance and difficulty:' adds; 'Let me give one instance of this among many. When, as Lord Chamberlain, he was obliged to take the King's pension from Mr Dryden, who had long before put himself out of a possibility of receiving any favour from the Court; my Lord allowed him an equivalent out of his own

estate. However displeas'd with the conduct of his old acquaintance, he relieved his necessities; and while he gave him his assistance in private, in public lick he extenuated and pitied his error.'

[Q] His *Mac Flecknoe*.] This is one of the best, and severest, satires in the English language. Mr Richard Flecknoe, with whose name it is inscribed, was a very indifferent Poet of those times (55), or rather, as Mr Dryden expresses it (56),

In prose and verse, was own'd, without dispute,  
Thro' all the realms of *nonsense*, absolute.

[R] The Translation of *Juvenal* and *Perfius*.] In the *Dedication* to the Earl of Dorset, Mr Dryden gives us the following account of this translation: 'I would excuse, says he (57), the performance of this translation, if it were all my own; but the better, tho' not the greater, part being the work of some gentlemen, who have succeeded very happily in their undertaking; let their excellencies atone for my imperfections, and those of my son's. I have perused some of the *Satires*, which are done by other hands; and they seem to me as perfect in their kind, as any thing I have seen in English verse. The common way, which we have taken, is not a *literal translation*, but a kind of *paraphrase*; or somewhat which is yet more loose, betwixt a *paraphrase* and *imitation*. It was not possible for us, or any men, to have made it pleasant any other way. If rendering the exact sense of these authors, almost line for line, had been our business, *Barten Holiday* had done it already to our hands.——But he wrote for fame, and wrote to scholars. We write only for the pleasure and entertainment of those Gentlemen and Ladies, who, though they are not scholars, are not ignorant: persons of understanding and good sense; who, not having been conversant in the original, or at least not having made Latin verse so much their business, as to be Criticks in it, would be glad to find, if the wit of our two great authors be answerable to their fame and reputation in the world.——This must be said for our translation, that if we give not the whole sense of *Juvenal*, yet we give the most considerable part of it: we give it, in general, so clearly, that few notes are sufficient to make us intelligible.——If sometimes any of us (and 'tis but seldom) make him express the customs and manners of our native country, rather than of Rome; 'tis either when there was some kind of analogy betwixt their customs and ours, or when, to make him more easy to vulgar understandings, we give him those manners, which are familiar to us.'

[S] His Translation of M. Du Fresnoy's *Art of Painting*.] The *Second Edition*, corrected and enlarged, was published at London, in 1716. The Title is: *The Art of Painting: By C. A. Du Fresnoy: With Remarks: Translated into English; with an Original Preface, containing a Parallel between Painting and Poetry: By Mr Dryden. As also a short account of the most eminent Painters, both ancient and modern: By R. G. Esq;* It is dedicated to the Earl of Burlington. The editor acquaints us (58), that some liberties have been taken with this excellent translation; of which

(55) Langbaine, ubi supra, p. 199.

(56) Original Poems, &c. Vol. I. p. 136.

(57) Dedication, p. 107.

(\*) Richard Graham.

(58) See the Dedication.

(52) See the next remark.

(53) Pag. 138, 139. Amsterd. 1687. 12mo.

(54) See the remark [Z].

(2) Printed several times for J. Tonson.

tion of all *Virgil's Works* [T]. Besides the *Original Pieces* and *Translations* hitherto mentioned, Mr Dryden wrote many others, published in the *Six Volumes* of *Miscellanies* (2), and

which he gives the following account. 'The misfortune that attended him (Mr Dryden) in that undertaking, was, that, for want of a competent knowledge in *Painting*, he suffered himself to be misled by an unskillful guide. *Monf de Piles* told him, that his *French Version* was made at the request of the author himself, and alter'd by him till it was wholly to his mind. This Mr Dryden taking upon content, thought there was nothing more incumbent on him, than to put it into the best *English* he cou'd, and accordingly perform'd his part here (as in every thing else) with accuracy. But, it being manifest that the *French* translator has frequently mistaken the sense of his author, and very often also not set it in the most advantageous light; to do justice to *Monf. du Fresnoy*, Mr *Jervas* (a very good Critick in the *language*, as well as in the *subject* of the Poem) has been prevailed upon to correct what was found amiss: and his amendments are every where distinguished with proper marks.' Mr Dryden, in his *Preface* (59), tells us, it was not of his own choice that he undertook this work. 'Many, says he, of our most skillful Painters, and other Artists, were pleased to recommend this author to me, as one who perfectly understood the rules of painting, who gave the best and most concise instructions for performance, and the surest to form the judgment of all who loved this noble art.' He freely owns, he thought himself incapable of performing this translation, either to the satisfaction of others, or his own credit. 'Not, says he (60), but that I understood the original *Latin*, and the *French* author, perhaps as well as most Englishmen: but I was not sufficiently versed in the *Terms of Art*.' However, having obtained the assistance of others in this particular, he tells the reader, he may assure himself of a tolerable translation. 'In this one particular only, says he, I must beg the reader's pardon: the *prose translation* of the poem is not free from *poetical* expressions, and I dare not promise, that some of them are not *rustian*, or at least highly metaphorical; but this being a fault in the first digestion (that is, the original *Latin*) was not to be remedied in the second, *viz.* the translation.' When Mr Dryden undertook this work, he was already engag'd, he tells us (61), in the Translation of *Virgil*, from whom he borrowed only two months; and he acquaints us (62), that his *preface* was begun and ended in twelve mornings: 'and perhaps, says he, the judges of *Painting* and *Poetry*, when I tell them how short a time it cost me, may make me the same answer, which my Lord Rochester made to one, who, to commend a bad Tragedy, said it was written in three weeks; *How the Devil could he be so long about it?*' Mr Pope has address'd a copy of verses To Mr Jervas, with *Fresnoy's Art of Painting*, translated by Mr Dryden; in which are these lines:

Read these instructive leaves, in which conspire  
*Fresnoy's* close art, and *Dryden's* native fire:  
And reading wish, like theirs, our fate and fame,  
So mix'd our studies, and so join'd our name;  
Like them to shine thro' long succeeding age,  
So just thy skill, so regular my rage (63).

[T] His Translation of *Virgil*.] It has passed thro' several editions, and appeared in various forms. The *Pastorals* (or *Eclogues*) are dedicated to Hugh Lord Clifford, Baron of Chudleigh. Mr Dryden tells his patron, 'What he now offers his Lordship, is the wretched remainder of a sickly age (\*), worn out with study, and oppress'd by fortune; without other support than the constancy and patience of a Christian (64);' and he adds (65), that he began this work in his great *climax*. The *Life of Virgil*, which follows this *Dedication*, the two *Prefaces* to the *Pastorals* and *Georgicks*, and all the *Arguments* in prose to the whole Translation, were given him, he tells us (66) by two worthy friends of his (||), who, seeing him straitened in his time, took pity on him, and lent him their assistance. Besides which, Mr Dryden had the advantage of perusing the Earl of Lauderdale's

translation of the *Aeneis*; of which he gives us the following account: 'The late Earl of Lauderdale sent me over his new translation of the *Aeneis*; which he had ended before I engaged in the same design. Neither did I then intend it: but some proposals being afterwards made me by my Bookseller, I desired his Lordship's leave that I might accept them; which he freely granted, and I have his letter yet to shew for that permission. He resolv'd to have printed his work; which he might have done two years before I could publish mine; and had performed it, if death had not prevented him (†). But having his manuscript in my hands, I consulted it as often as I doubted of my author's sense. For no man understood *Virgil* better than that learned nobleman (67). Mr Congreve, likewise, he tells us (68), did him the favour to revise the *Aeneis*, and compare his version with the original. And, I shall never be ashamed to own, adds Mr Dryden, that this excellent young man has shew'd me many faults, which I have endeavour'd to correct.' The translation of the *Georgicks* is dedicated to the Earl of Chesterfield; and that of the *Aeneis* to the Earl of Mulgrave. This latter dedication contains the author's thoughts on *Epic Poetry*, particularly that of *Virgil*. At the end of the *Aeneis*, is a *postscript* to the reader; in which Mr Dryden acquaints him (69), that the *First Georgick*, and the greatest part of the *last Aeneid*, were translated at *Denham-Court*, the house of Sir *William Bowyer*; and the *Seventh Aeneid*, at *Burleigh*, the seat of the Earl of *Exeter*. And speaking of some particular parts of *Virgil*, translated by other hands, he says: 'Whoever has given the world the translation of part of the *Third Georgic*, which he calls *The Power of Love*, has put me to sufficient pains to make my own not inferior to his: As my Lord Roscommon's *Silenus* had formerly given me the same trouble. The most ingenious Mr Addison of Oxford has also been as troublesome to me as the other two, and on the same account: After his *Bees*, my little swarm is scarcely worth the hiving. Mr Cowley's *Praise of a Country Life*, is rather an imitation of *Virgil*, than a version (70). Mr Dryden likewise informs us (71), that, when he began this work, Gilbert Dolben, Esq; son of Dr Dolben, Archbishop of York, made him a present of all the several Editions of *Virgil*, and all the Commentaries of those Editions in *Latin*: 'Amongst which, says he, I could not but prefer the *Dauphin's*, as the last, the shortest, and the most judicious. *Fabrini* I had also sent me from *Italy*; but either he understands *Virgil* very imperfectly, or I have no knowledge of my author.' The *Postscript* is followed by some *Notes and Observations on Virgil's Works in English*, which, the author tells us (72), he wrote *par maniere d'acquit*, because he had oblig'd himself by articles to do somewhat of that kind.

It is generally allowed, that Mr Dryden's translation of *Virgil* is, upon the whole, extremely well performed; at least, better than by any other Poet in any other language. Dr Felton says in it's commendation, that 'Those who excel him, where they observe he hath failed, will fall below him in a thousand instances where he hath excelled (73):' And Mr Pope, the best Poet of his times, speaking of Mr Dryden's translation of some parts of *Homer*, says, 'Had he translated the whole work, I would no more have attempted *Homer* after him, than *Virgil*; his version of whom (notwithstanding some human errors) is the most noble and spirited translation I know in any language (74).' Dr Trapp (75) charges Mr Dryden with grossly mistaking his author's sense in many places; with adding or retrenching, as his turn is best served by either; and with being least a translator, where he shines most as a Poet: and whereas it is a just rule laid down by my Lord Roscommon, that a translator, in regard to his author, should

Fall as he falls, and as he rises rise;

Mr Dryden, he tells us, frequently acts the very reverse of this precept; of which he produces some instances, and remarks in general, that the first six Books of

(†) My Lord Lauderdale's Translation has been since published.

(67) Ib. p. 434-435.

(68) Ibid.

(69) Ib. p. 1005.

(70) Ib. p. 100.

(71) Ib. p. 100.

(72) Ib. p. 1008.

(73) Dissertation on reading the Classics, &c. Lond. 1730. p. 130.

(74) Preface to the Iliad of Homer, translated by Mr Pope.

(75) See his Works of Virgil, translated into English blank Verse, Lond. 1735. 12mo. Pref. to the Aeneis, p. 83-89.

(59) P. 1.

(60) Pref. p. 3.

(61) Ib. p. 4.

(62) Ib. p. 60.

(63) Works of A. Pope, Esq; Vol. II. p. 67. edit. 1735. 8vo.

(\*) Mr Dryden was then sixty-six years old.

(64) The Works of Virgil, &c. edit. 1721. 12mo. Vol. I. p. 7.

(65) Ib. p. 8.

(66) Ib. Vol. III. p. 435.

(||) The Preface to (or Essay on) the Georgicks was written by Mr Addison.

and in other collections. They consist of *Translations* from the Greek and Latin Poets; *Epistles* to several persons; *Prologues* and *Epilogues* to various Plays, and on various occasions; *Elegies*; *Epitaphs*; and *Songs* (a). His last work was his *Fables* [U], *Ancient and Modern*; translated into Verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, and Chaucer. A new Collection of our author's *Poetical Works* has been lately published (b), under the title of *Original Poems and Translations*, by John Dryden, Esq; now first collected and published together [IV]. As to his performances in *prose*, besides those already mentioned, he wrote the *Lives* of *Plutarch* and *Lucian*, prefixed to the translations of those authors by several hands; the *Life* of *Polybius*, before the translation of that Historian by Sir Henry Sheer; and the *Preface* to the *Dialogue concerning Women*, by Wm. Walsh, Esq; This great Poet died the first of May 1701 (c), and was interred in Westminster-Abbey [X], where a monument has been since erected over him, by John late Duke of Bucks [Y]. We shall set down his character,

(a) See Original Poems, &c. Vol. II.

(b) For J. and R. Tonson. In two Vols. 12mo. Lond. 1743.

(c) See his epitaph in the remark [Y].

as

of the *Aeneis*, which are the best and most perfect in the Original, are the least so in the Translation, and the six last Books *vice versa*.

[U] *His Fables.*] To this work is prefixed, by way of *Preface*, a critical Account of the authors, from whom the *Fables* are translated. Among the original pieces, the *Ode on St Cecilia's Day* is justly esteemed one of the most perfect in any language, and has been set to music more than once; particularly, in the winter of the Year 1735, by that great master Mr Handel; and publickly performed, with the utmost applause, on the Theatre in Covent-Garden. Mr Pope has celebrated this Ode in the following lines:

Hear how *Timotheus*' vary'd lays surprize,  
And bid alternate passions fall and rise!  
While, at each change, the son of *Libyan Jove*  
Now burns with glory, and then melts with love:  
Now his fierce eyes with sparkling fury glow;  
Now sighs steal out, and tears begin to flow:  
*Persians* and *Greeks* like turns of nature found,  
And the world's victor stood subdu'd by sound:  
The *Power of Music* all our hearts allow;  
And what *Timotheus* was, is *Dryden* now (76).

All the other parts of this *Miscellany* are so excellent, that the reader must think Mr *Dryden* (as, he tells us (77), he thought himself) as vigorous as ever in the faculties of his soul, though he was sixty-eight years of age at the publication of this his last Work.

[W] *Original Poems and Translations*, by John Dryden, Esq; now first collected and published together.] The editor acquaints us in the *preface* with the motives to the publication of this collection. 'It was thought, he tells us, but justice to the productions of so excellent a poet, to set them free, at last, from so disadvantageous, if not unnatural, an union (*viz.* of being blended with the Compositions of inferior Writers); an union, which, like the cruelty of *Mezentius* in *Virgil*, was no less than a junction of living and dead bodies together.' And a little farther: 'It is now high time the *Partnership* should be dissolved, and Mr *Dryden* left to stand upon his own bottom. His *Credit*, as a Poet, is out of all danger, though the withdrawing his *Stock* may, probably, expose many of his *Co-Partners* to the hazard of a *Poetical Bankruptcy*.' There is a collection of *Original Poems and Translations* by Mr *Dryden*, published by J. Tonson, in 1701, in a thin folio: But, as it contains not much above half the pieces, so it does not at all answer the design of this collection, which, with the author's *Plays*, *Fables*, and *Translations* of *Virgil*, *Juvenal*, and *Persius*, is intended to complete Mr *Dryden*'s Works in twelve Vols. The First volume of this collection consists of our author's *Larger Poems*; and the Second, of his *Translations*, *Epistles*, *Prologues*, *Epilogues*, *Elegies*, *Epitaphs*, and *Songs*. Particular care, we are told, has been taken to render this edition as correct as possible, by reforming numberless errors of the press, which have been continued down through all editions hitherto published; but especially by observing the strictest accuracy in the pointing: 'An article of correctness (says the editor very justly) too generally neglected, though so much of the beauty, as well as the perspicuity, of language depends upon it.'

[X] *He was interred in Westminster-Abbey.*] There are some circumstances, relating to the funeral of Mr

*Dryden*, recorded in the *Memoirs of the Life of Mr Congreve* (78); with which we shall entertain the reader. The day after Mr *Dryden*'s death, the Dean of Westminster (79) sent word to the Lady Elizabeth Howard, Mr *Dryden*'s widow, that he would make a present of the ground, and all the other Abbey Fees. The Lord Halifax likewise sent to the Lady Elizabeth, and Mr Charles *Dryden* her son, offering to defray the expences of our Poet's funeral, and afterwards to bestow 500 pounds on a monument in the Abbey; which generous offer was accepted. Accordingly, on the Sunday following, the company being assembled, the corps was put into a velvet hearse, attended by eighteen mourning coaches. When they were just ready to move, the Lord Jefferies, Son of the Lord Chancellor Jefferies, with some of his rakish companions, coming by, asked whose funeral it was; and being told, it was Mr *Dryden*'s, he protested, he should not be buried in that private manner; that he would himself, with the Lady Elizabeth's leave, have the honour of his interment, and would bestow a thousand pounds on a monument in the Abbey for him. This put a stop to the procession, and Lord Jefferies, with several of the Gentlemen, who had alighted from the coaches, went up stairs to the Lady Elizabeth, who was sick in bed. His Lordship repeated the purport of what he had said below; but the Lady Elizabeth absolutely refusing her consent, he fell on his knees, vowing never to rise till his request was granted. The Lady, under a sudden surprize, fainted away; and Lord Jefferies, pretending to have obtained her consent, ordered the body to be carried to Mr *Ruffel*'s an undertaker in Cheap-side, and leave it there till farther Orders. In the mean time, the Abbey was lighted up, the ground opened, the Choir attending, and the Bishop waiting some hours to no purpose for the corps. The next day, Mr Charles *Dryden* waited upon the Lord Halifax, and the Bishop, and endeavoured in vain to excuse his mother, by relating the truth. Three days after, the Undertaker, having received no orders, waited on the Lord Jefferies, who pretended, it was a drunken frolick, that he remembered nothing of the matter, and he might do what he pleased with the body. Upon this, the Undertaker waited on the Lady Elizabeth, who desired a day's respite, which was granted. Mr Charles *Dryden* immediately wrote to the Lord Jefferies, who returned for answer, 'That he knew nothing of the matter, and would be troubled no more about it. Mr *Dryden* applied again to the Lord Halifax, and the Bishop of Rochester, who absolutely refused to do any thing in the affair. In this distress, Dr *Garth* sent for the corps to the College of Physicians, and proposed a funeral by subscription: which succeeding, about three weeks after Mr *Dryden*'s decease, Dr *Garth* pronounced a fine Latin Oration over the body; which was conveyed from the College, attended by a numerous train of coaches, to Westminster-Abbey. After the funeral, Mr Charles *Dryden* sent a challenge to the Lord Jefferies, which the latter refused; and Mr *Dryden* publickly declaring, he would watch every opportunity to meet and fight him, his Lordship thought fit to leave the town upon it.

[Y] *A Monument has been since erected over him by John late Duke of Buckinghamshire.*] Mr *Dryden* had no monument erected to him for several years; to which Mr *Pope* alludes in his *Epitaph intended for Mr Rowe* (80), in which is this line, speaking of *Dryden*:

(78) Compiled, &c. by Charles Wilson, Esq; Lond. 1730. 8vo. Part II. p. 3, &c.

(79) Dr Sprat, Bishop of Rochester.

(80) Works of A. Pope, Esq; Lond. 1735. 12mo. Vol. II. p. 155.

Beneath

(76) Essay on Criticism, v. 376.

(77) In the Preface.

(d) See Tom Browne's Late Converts exposed, &c. in the Preface.

represented by different writers, in the remark [Z]. It is insinuated, that he had offered himself for Holy Orders, but was refused; and had failed likewise in his application for the Provostship of Eaton-College (d). He himself tells us, he had formed a plan for an *Heroic Poem* (e); but he did not live to execute any part of it. Mr Dryden married the

(e) See the Dedication of his *Aureng-Zebe*.  
Lady

Beneath a rude and nameless stone he lies.

In a note upon which, we are informed, that the tomb of Mr Dryden was erected upon this hint by the Duke of Buckingham; to which was originally intended this Epitaph:

This *Sheffield* rais'd: The sacred dust below  
Was *Dryden* once: The rest who does not know?

Which the author since changed into the plain inscription now upon it, being only the name of that great Poet. The Inscription is,

J. D R Y D E N.

Natus Aug. 9, 1631.

Mortuus Maii 1, 1701.

Johannes Sheffield, Dux Buckinghamiensis, fecit.

[Z] *Mr Dryden's Character, as represented by different writers.*] To shew our impartiality, we shall begin with Bishop Burnet, who, speaking of the corruption of the times, says: 'The Stage was defiled beyond all example, *Dryden*, the great master of Dramatic Poesy, being a monster of immodesty and impurities of all Sorts (81).' The late Lord Lansdown took upon himself to vindicate Mr Dryden's Character from this severe imputation. He observes (82), that, 'He was so much a stranger to *Immodesty*, that *Modesty* in too great a degree was his failing. A monster of impurities of all sorts! Adds his *Lordship*: Good God! What an idea must That give! Is there any wickedness under the Sun, but what is comprized in those few words? But, as it happens, he was the reverse of all this, a man of regular life and conversation, as all his acquaintance can vouch. And, I cannot but grieve, that such rash expressions should escape from a Bishop's pen. If bearing false witness against one's neighbour is a breach of the Commandment, Can there be a more flagrant one than this?' His Lordship concludes with observing, that Mr Dryden's writings 'Will do honour to his name and country, and his Poems last as long as the Bishop's Sermons.' Mr Burnet the Bishop's son, in reply to this passage of my Lord Lansdown's, observes (83), that *Immodesty*, in the Bishop's words, is not opposed to *Modesty*, but *Chastness*, and that this expression, as well as that of *Impurities of all Sorts*, can only be meant of *Dramatick Poesy*, of which only the Bishop was speaking; and have nothing to do with Mr Dryden's life and conversation. Indeed, he acknowledges, a writer more accurate in his stile, would rather have used the terms *obscenities*. Whereupon he asks: 'Are not Dryden's *Comedies* then full of obscenities, of immodesty, and impurities?' He instances in his *Limberham, or The Kind Keeper*; and then says: 'Where is the Clergyman, who would not merit his Lordship's esteem instead of censure, for calling this play a monster of immodesty and impurities of all sorts? And this, this only is Dr Burnet's crime, for which he is to be unbishop'd, unchristian'd, and stigmatiz'd as a flagrant false witness against his neighbour.' Mr Congreve, in the *Dedication* of our Poet's *Dramatick Works* to the Duke of Newcastle, has drawn his character to very great advantage. 'Mr Dryden, he tells us, had personal qualities to challenge both love and esteem from all who were truly acquainted with him. He was of a nature exceedingly humane and compassionate; easily forgiving injuries, and capable of a prompt and sincere reconciliation with them who had offended him. — His friendship, where he professed it, went much beyond his professions. — As his reading had been very extensive, so was he very happy in a memory tenacious of every thing that he had read. He was not more possessed of knowledge, than he was communicative of it. But then his communication of it was by no means pedantick, or imposed upon the conversation; but just such, and went so far, as by the natural turns of the discourse, in which he

was engaged, it was necessarily promoted or required. He was extreme ready and gentle in his correction of the errors of any writer who thought fit to consult him; and full as ready and patient to admit of the Reprehension of others in respect of his own oversights or mistakes. He was of very easy, I may say, of very pleasing, access; but something slow, and as it were diffident in his advances to others. He had something in his nature that abhorred intrusion in any society whatsoever. Indeed it is to be regretted, that he was rather blameable in the other extremity: for by that means he was personally less known, and consequently his character might become liable both to misapprehensions and misrepresentations. — He was, of all the men that ever I knew, one of the most modest, and the most easily to be discountenanced, in his approaches, either to his superiors, or his equals. — As to his *Writings* — I may venture to say in general terms, that no man hath written in our language so much, and so various matter, and in so various manners, so well. Another thing I may say very peculiar to him; which is, that his parts did not decline with his years; but that he was an improving writer to the last, even to near seventy years of age; improving even in fire and imagination; as well as in judgment: witness his *Ode on St Cecilia's Day*, and his *Fables*, his latest performances. He was equally excellent in verse and in prose. His prose had all the clearness imaginable, together with all the nobleness of expression; all the graces and ornaments proper and peculiar to it, without deviating into the language or diction of poetry. — I have heard him frequently own with pleasure, that if he had any talent for English prose, it was owing to his having often read the writings of the great Archbishop Tillotson. His versification and his numbers he could learn of nobody: for he first possessed those talents in perfection in our tongue: and they who have best succeeded in them since his time have been indebted to his example; and the more they have been able to imitate him, the better have they succeeded. — In his *Poems*, his Diction is, wherever his subject requires it, so sublimely and so truly poetical, that it's essence, like that of pure gold, cannot be destroyed. Take his verses, and divest them of their rhimes, disjoint them in their numbers, transpose their expressions, make what arrangement and disposition you please of his words, yet shall there eternally be poetry, and something which will be found incapable of being reduced into absolute prose. — What he has done in any one species, or distinct kind (of writing), would have been sufficient to have acquired him a great name. If he had written nothing but his *Prefaces*, or nothing but his *Songs*, or his *Prologues*, each of them would have entitled him to the preference and distinction of excelling in his kind.' It should be remembered, that Mr Congreve, in drawing this character of Mr Dryden, discharged an obligation laid upon him by our Poet in these lines (84):

Be kind to my remains; and O defend,  
Against your judgment, your departed friend!  
Let not th'insulting foe my fame pursue,  
But shade those laurels which descend to you.

Dr Garth, in his *Preface* to the translation of *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, in which Mr Dryden's share is considerable, speaks of him as follows: 'I cannot pass by that admirable English Poet, without endeavouring to make his country sensible of the obligations they have to his Muse. Whether they consider the flowing grace of his versification; the vigorous fallies of his fancy; or the peculiar delicacy of his periods; they'll discover excellencies never to be enough admired. If they trace him from the first productions of his youth, to the last performances of his age, they'll find, that, as the tyranny of rhyme never imposed on the perspicuity of the sense, so a languid

(84) See his verses to Mr Congreve on his Comedy called *The Double Dealer*; prefix'd to that play.

(81) Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I.

(82) Letter to the author of the *Reflexions Historical and Political*, &c. p. 5.

(83) Remarks upon the Lord Lansdowne's Letter, &c. p. 25.

Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Earl of Berkshire, who survived him about eight years, and by whom he had three sons, Charles, John, and Henry [AA].

‘ sense never wanted to be set off by the harmony of  
‘ rhyme. And as his earlier works wanted no matura-  
‘ rity, so his latter wanted no force or spirit. ———  
‘ As a translator, he was just; as an inventor, he was  
‘ rich. ——— With all these wond’rous talents, he was  
‘ libelled in his life-time by the very men, who had no  
‘ other excellencies, but as they were his imitators.  
‘ Where he was allow’d to have sentiments superior to all  
‘ others, they charged him with theft: But how did  
‘ he steal? no otherwise than like those, that steal  
‘ beggars children, only to cloath them the better.’  
The testimony of so great a Poet, and so good a  
judge, as Mr Pope, must not be omitted, when we are  
setting down the praises of Mr Dryden. In a letter to  
Mr Wycherley, dated December the 26th, 1704 (85),  
he says: ‘ It was certainly a great satisfaction to me,  
‘ to see and converse with a man, whom in his writ-  
‘ ings I had so long known with pleasure. But it was  
‘ a high addition to it, to hear you at our very first  
‘ meeting doing justice to your dead friend Mr Dryden.  
‘ I was not so happy as to know him; *Virgilium tan-  
‘ tam vidi*. Had I been born early enough, I must  
‘ have known and loved him. For I have been af-  
‘ fured, not only by yourself, but by Mr Congreve  
‘ and Sir William Trumbul, that his personal qualities  
‘ were as amiable as his poetical, notwithstanding the  
‘ many libellous misrepresentations of them; against  
‘ which the former of these Gentlemen has told me  
‘ he will one day vindicate him (\*). I suppose those  
‘ injuries were begun by the violence of party; but  
‘ it is no doubt they were continued by envy at his  
‘ success and fame. And these scribblers, who attack-

‘ ed him in his latter times, were only like gnats in a  
‘ summer’s evening, which are never troublesome, but  
‘ in the finest and most glorious season; for his Fire,  
‘ like the Sun’s, shone clearest towards it’s setting.’  
The Editor of *Original Poems and Translations* by  
*John Dryden, Esq; &c.* (86), speaking, in the *Preface*,  
of his Character, says: ‘ Posterity has been just to his  
‘ Fame, and he stands now in full possession of that  
‘ *established Reputation*, so justly due to the spright-  
‘ liness of his wit, the liveliness of his imagination,  
‘ the beauty of his sentiments and expression, but  
‘ especially that *improved harmony* of his Numbers,  
‘ so happily begun by his predecessor Mr *Waller*; and  
‘ if since brought to a greater perfection by a P O E T  
‘ of our own times (+), it is what he himself always  
‘ owned to be owing to the foundation laid by Mr  
‘ *Dryden*. To this honour may be added another,  
‘ that he improved our Prose as much as our Verse,  
‘ and is, in that way too, one of the most correct  
‘ writers in the English Language.’

[AA] He had three sons, Charles, John, and Henry.]  
Charles became Usher of the Palace to Pope Clement XI.  
and, upon his return to England, left his brother John  
to officiate in his room, and was drowned in swim-  
ming cross the Thames near Windsor, in 1704. He  
wrote several pieces, and translated the *Sixth Satire* of  
*Juvenal*. Mr John Dryden translated the *Fourteenth*  
*Satire* of *Juvenal*, and was author of a Comedy in-  
titled, *The Husband his own Cuckold* (87). He died  
at Rome not many months after his father. Mr Henry  
Dryden entered into a religious Order. T

(86) In two vo-  
lumes, 12mo.  
1743.

(+) Mr Pope.

(87) Printed in  
1696.

(85) Works of  
A. Pope, Esq;  
Vol. V. p. 2.  
edit. 1737. 12mo.

(\*) He did so in  
the Dedication of  
Mr Dryden’s  
Plays to the  
Duke of New-  
castle. See to-  
wards the be-  
ginning of this  
remark.

(a) See Miller,  
Brook, Vincent,  
Dugdale.

(b) Of which  
there are many  
instances, as par-  
ticularly in  
Touchet Lord  
Audley, the  
younger son’s  
taking the name  
of Audley.

DUDLEY, the surname of a noble family in England, formerly Viscounts L’Isle,  
Earls of Warwick and Leicester, and Dukes of Northumberland (a). In order to give  
the reader a clear and distinct account of this great House, concerning which many of  
our best writers have fallen into palpable errors, it is requisite to observe, that this sur-  
name was taken from the castle of Dudley, and assumed as the antient custom of England  
was, by the younger children of the Barons of that place (b). This castle stands upon  
the very edge of Staffordshire, on the summit of a lofty rock, affording a free and plea-  
sant prospect over a vast extent of country (c). So much as remains of it, (for, in spite  
of the injuries of time, and of men far less merciful, there are still some remains,) may  
claim the honour of being part of one of the oldest fortresses in this island (d). Dudo,  
an English Saxon, bestowed his name upon it about the year 700 (e). At the time of the  
Norman Conquest it was granted to a Norman Baron, whose name was Fitz-Ausculph  
(f), but did not remain long in his family; for the daughter of William Fitz-Ausculph  
being married to Fulk Paganel, brought with her the inheritance of Dudley-Castle, which  
descended to her son Ralph Paganel, who took up arms for the Empress Maud against  
King Stephen (g). His son Gervase Paganel married Isabel, daughter to Robert Earl of  
Leicester, by whom he had a daughter Hawise, who was first married to John de So-  
mery, and afterwards to Roger de Berkeley, of Berkeley-Castle (h). Her son by the  
first marriage, Ralph de Somery, was Baron of Dudley in right of his mother, and  
flourished in the reign of Richard I. The male heirs of this family ended in John de  
Somery, who died in the fiftenth of Edward II. leaving his sisters, Margaretta and Joan,  
coheiresses. The eldest of these sisters, Margaret, married Sir John Sutton, of the an-  
tient Saxon family of Sutton in Nottinghamshire, who became, in her right, Baron of  
Dudley (i). This noble person, taking part with Thomas Earl of Lancaster against the  
evil Ministers of Edward II. was compelled, in order to save his life, to convey all his  
right and title in the castle and manor of Dudley, and many other large estates, to Hugh  
le Despencer, son to Hugh Earl of Winchester; but, in the first of Edward III. he ob-  
tained restitution of them all (k). His son John married Isabel, daughter to John de  
Charlton, Lord of Powis, by whom he had a son named John, concerning whom there  
occurs little either in Records or History, except that he inherited a great estate from his  
grandmother (l). He died in the eighth of Henry IV. leaving a son of the same name,  
who was then five years of age, and who carried the standard at the solemn funeral of  
Henry V (m). He was in great favour with King Henry VI. or rather with his uncle  
the good Duke of Gloucester, by whom he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,  
and sworn into that high office in the month of January 1428 (n). According to Sir  
William Dugdale’s account, this noble person was honoured with many other high em-  
ployments in that reign, and lived much beyond it; of which there is some reason to  
doubt, since we have the positive authority of Sir Philip Sydney to the contrary (o), who  
seems to have been well acquainted with, and to have taken great pains about, the  
genealogy

(c) Plot’s Natu-  
ral History of  
Staffordshire,  
ch. x. §. 27.

(d) Camden’s  
Britan. in Staf-  
fordshire.

(e) Dugdal. Mo-  
nast. Anglican.  
Vol. II. p. 122.

(f) Camden’s  
Britannia in Staf-  
fordshire.

(g) Liber niger  
Scaccarii, p. 62.

(h) Dugdal. Mo-  
nast. Anglican.  
Vol. II. p. 912. a.  
n. 30.

(i) Clauf. 10  
E. II. in Dotti,  
m. 27.

(k) Clauf. 1 E. III.  
p. 1. m. 7.

(l) Lib. cedul.  
2 II. IV. p. 17.

(m) Hollinshed,  
p. 584. a. n. 20.

(n) This appears  
from the table  
of chief Govern-  
ors of Ireland,  
collected from  
Records published  
in Sir James  
Ware’s Works.

(o) In his Re-  
marks on a Book  
entitled Robert  
Earl of Leicester’s  
usurpation.

genealogy of his family. It is therefore highly probable, that his son John Sutton, Baron of Dudley (*p*), succeeded him in that title pretty early in that reign, and was employed in many great affairs during the continuance of it, and particularly in an embassy to France, where he was attended by Leon d'Or, a Pursuivant of his own (*q*). After his return he obtained several large grants from the Crown, was advanced to be Treasurer of the King's Household, and, in the 39th year of his reign, was elected one of the Knights Companions of the most noble Order of the Garter (*r*). After the accession of King Edward IV. he grew likewise into great favour with that Prince, and, in the very first year of his reign, obtained a special discharge, under the Broad Seal, for all such sums of money as might be due and owing from him on account of the post he held in the former reign (*s*); in the fourth year of the same King he obtained a grant of one hundred marks *per annum*, out of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, for his great integrity, and in consideration of his large expences in the King's service; and the year following had another grant of one hundred pounds a year for life, out of the customs of the port of Southampton (*t*). He was also employed, together with the Earl of Arundel, and other noble persons, to treat with the French King for a continuance of peace, and intrusted in many other affairs of great consequence by his royal master (*u*). Sir William Dugdale was of opinion, that he died towards the close of that reign, and mentions his being succeeded in his barony by his grandson John, who, he assures us, was summoned to Parliament the first of Richard III (*w*). It is however evident, from the Register of the Order of the Garter, that the old Lord lived not only through that reign, but even so low as that of Henry VII (*x*), and that there never was any such grandson as Sir William Dugdale, misled by more antient writers, supposes [*A*]. On the contrary, this John Sutton, Lord Dudley, was appointed

(*p*) This may be collected from what appears on record as to his son Edmund Sutton Lord Dudley.

(*q*) Exit. Pell. m. 25 H. 6.

(*r*) Anstis's Register of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 163.

(*s*) Pat. 1 E. IV. p. 1. m. 10.

(*t*) Pat. 4 E. IV. p. 1. m. 10. P. 4 E. IV. p. 2. m. 29.

(*u*) Rot. Franc. 17 E. IV. m. 2.

(*w*) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 216.

(*x*) Anstis's Register of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 230, 231.

[*A*] As Sir William Dugdale, misled by more antient writers, supposes.] It is a point that enters strictly within the plan of this work, and must at the same time be of much publick utility, to correct, where it can be done, the genealogies of great families, more especially when the mistakes about them receive countenance from authors of great character. This happens to be the case of the Suttons, Barons of Dudley, whose succession the learned Sir William Dugdale found recorded in the Heralds books, particularly in the collections of Glover, who was a man of great reputation; and to these he laboured, as well as he could, to reconcile the circumstances he met with in the patent rolls, and those of Parliament. Now there being great mistakes in those collections, it was impossible that Sir William Dugdale, reducing the facts he met with to these erroneous pedigrees, should fail of adding to the mistakes, as we shall plainly prove he did: but first let us see what that great man has said.

After observing that John Sutton Baron of Dudley, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, and widow of the Lord Powis, had issue three sons, Edmund, John, and William, and a daughter Margaret (*1*), in which he is certainly right, he proceeds thus: 'Which Edmund, in 7 Edward IV, being then a Knight, accompanied (*2*) John Earl of Worcester, Deputy to George Duke of Clarence, Lieutenant of Ireland, into that realm, for the safeguard thereof: and in the thirteenth of the same reign, in consideration of his expences (*3*) in the King's service, as well in this realm as in Ireland, obtained the stewardship of the manor of Aberbury in the county of Salop, then in the King's disposal, by reason of the minority of George, son and heir to John Earl of Shrewsbury, but died in his father's life-time, leaving issue by Joyce, his first wife, sister and co-heir to John Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, John his son and heir, as also four other sons, *viz.* Arthur, Geoffry, Thomas, and George, and a daughter called Alianore, married to Charles Somerset Earl of Worcester: and by Maud his second wife, daughter of Thomas Lord Clifford, two sons, Thomas, who married \_\_\_\_\_, daughter and coheir to Lancelot Threlkeld of Gerworth, and Richard a Clerk: as also four daughters, *viz.* Joyce, married to William Middleton, of Stokkelde in the county of York, Esq; Margaret to Edward Lord Powis; Alice to Sir John Ratcliffe, of Ordsale in the county of Lancaster, Knight; and Dorothy, to Sir John Musgrave, Knight (*4*). Which John, in the first of Richard III, obtained a grant to himself, and the heirs male of his body, of the manors of Derlaston, Bentley, Tittesovre, Hertwel, Pakynton, and Newton in the Moors, *in com.* Stafford, Bruggenorth in the county of Salop, and Rokeby in the county of Warwick. And by his testament, bearing date the 17th of Au-

gust anno 1487 (2 Hen. VII. (*5*)) he bequeathed his body to be buried (*6*) within the priory of St James at Dudley, appointing that a tomb should be set over his grave. Also that twenty four new torches should be lighted during the performance of divine service at his funeral; likewise that every Priest or religious person coming thereto should have four pence, and every Clerk singing three pence. Moreover, that twenty marks in money should be disposed in alms the same day, and on the morrow, to poor people to pray for his soul, and for the soul of his wife and all their friends. Furthermore, that a thousand masses should be said for him so soon as possible after his burial, which masses to cost sixteen pounds thirteen shillings, and fourpence. And having been summoned to Parliament (*7*) from the first of Richard III till the third of Henry VII, died soon after, leaving issue by (*8*) Cecily his wife, daughter of Sir William Willughby, Knt. Edward his son and heir, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter (*9*), elected shortly after the beginning of King Henry VIIIth's reign: and summoned to Parliament from the seventh of Henry VII, to the twenty-first of Henry VIII, inclusive.'

The first error that occurs in this account, is, that Edmund did not die in the life-time of his father John, Baron of Dudley, but succeeded him in that honour. The next, that by his wife Joyce he was not father of any of the children mentioned by Dugdale, but had by her an only son whom he does not mention, *viz.* Edward, who succeeded him in the barony, and was Knight of the Garter, whom Dugdale makes his grandson. As to the children by the second marriage they are right, except the first, whose name was Jane and not Joyce. With respect to the grants made to, and the will made by, John Lord Sutton, son to Edmund, they really relate to his father; and whereas he says, that this John married Cecily, daughter to Sir William Willughby, the truth is, that Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, son of Edmund Lord Dudley, married that Lady, and had by her John Sutton Lord Dudley, and also a daughter Eleanor, who married Charles Somerset Earl of Worcester, which Lady, Dugdale makes to have been the daughter of Edmund Sutton Lord Dudley, by his first wife. These facts are set right from a manuscript Peerage of England written in the year 1596 (*11*), and that they are really set right will appear from hence, that whereas Dugdale makes John, Baron of Dudley, son to Edmund, decease in the beginning of the reign of Henry VII, it is evident beyond all contradiction from the register of that most noble Order, this was John Sutton Lord Dudley (*12*), Knight of the Garter, not the son, but the father of Edmund. The reason of these mistakes was this, Sir William Dugdale was persuaded, that John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, who was born in the third year of Henry

(*1*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 216.

(*2*) Rot. Franc. 7 Ed. IV. m. 12.

(*3*) Pat. 13 E. IV. p. 1. m. 1.

(*4*) Ex coll. R. Gl. 8.

(*5*) Pat. 1 R. III. p. 3.

(*6*) Miles, qu. 3.

(*7*) Clauf. de iisd. ann. in dorso.

(*8*) Ex coll. R. Gl. 8.

(*9*) Infit. &c. of the Garter, per E. A.

(*10*) Clauf. de iisd. ann. in dorso.

(*11*) Baronagium Anglæ, magni tum scilicet illi Regni stemmat recentiora, ad consanguinitate affinitateque, per intermixta connubia delineatas Fol.

(*12*) Anstis's Register of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 231.

appointed, by King Edward V. which is very remarkable, to hold the feast of St George at Windsor; which he accordingly did on the 24th of May 1483 (y). He was also present in a Chapter of the Order held in King Richard the Third's palace in Westminster, in the first year of his reign. In the third year of King Henry VII. the feast of St George being held with extraordinary solemnity, and offerings then made for the Knight's Companions deceased, according to the custom of the Order, we find the sword of John Lord Dudley, or, as they spelt it in those days, Dudely, offered by the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Lord Denham (z). This noble person espoused Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, of Beverston in the county of Gloucester, Knight, by whom he had issue three sons and one daughter; his eldest son Edmund Sutton (a), from whom the Barons Dudley descended; which title remains to our times, as will be shewn in the notes [B]; William, who became, in process of time, Bishop of Durham, and died in 1483 (b), was the youngest son; Margaret his daughter married Sir George Longueville, of Little Billing in the county of Northampton, Knight. The second son of this noble Peer was Sir John Dudley, Knight, who married Elizabeth, one of the two daughters of Sir John Bramshot, of Bramshot in the county of Suffex, Knight (c), and by her he had only one son Edmund, of whom in the next article.

(y) Liber niger Ord. n. P. 1. p. 155.

(z) Anstis's Register of the Garter, Vol. II. p. 231.

(a) Baronagium Anglie, fol. 21.

(b) Godwin, de praeval b. P. II. p. 135.

(c) Baronagium Anglie, fol. 21.

Henry IV, was Knight of the Garter in the reign of Henry VI, and father to Edmund Sutton; whereas, in truth, he was his grandfather by another John whom he does not mention at all: farther still, whereas Dugdale says that John Sutton married Cecily, daughter of Sir William Willughby, Knt. and had by her Edward his son and heir; whereas the manuscript before cited says, that Edward Lord Dudley married that Lady, and had by her a son John and a daughter Alianore. We can prove from Sir William Dugdale himself, that the account in the manuscript is right, and his own is wrong; for, speaking of Charles Somersset Earl of Worcester, he tells us, that his third wife was Eleanor, daughter of Edward Lord Dudley (13), and not John Lord Dudley, as set forth in the article of that noble family. But notwithstanding these mistakes, and those that have been discovered by others, his work is truly valuable, since, before it appeared, we had nothing upon the subject in any degree worthy of it, and we should have had, in all probability, nothing worthy of it yet, if Sir William Dugdale's labours had never appeared; but the most diligent and careful man living may be misled if he trusts to bad guides, or if he travels at a time when none but bad guides are to be had.

[B] As will be shewn in the notes In the former note we have shewn that Edward Lord Dudley, by Cecily his wife, had issue John, his son and heir, who married Cecily daughter of Thomas Gray, Marquis of Dorset, by whom he had his son and successor, Edward Lord Dudley (14), who was in great favour with Queen Mary (15), and who deceased July 4, 1586: He married, first, Catherine, daughter to the Lord Chandos, by whom he had an only daughter (16); secondly, Jane, daughter to the Earl of Derby, by whom he had two sons, Edward and John; and thirdly, he married Mary, daughter to William Lord Howard of Effingham (17). His son Edward, Lord Dudley, espoused Theodosia, daughter of Sir James Harrington, Knight, by whom he had a son, Ferdinando, and three daughters; Mary married to James Earl of Hume, in Scotland; Anne, who was the wife of Baron Schomberg, and the mother of the great Marshal Schomberg; and Margaret, who married Sir Miles Hobart, Knight of the Bath (18): As for his son Ferdinando, he was made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, and espousing Honora daughter to the Lord Beauchamp, and grand-daughter to the Earl of Hertford, had issue by her an only daughter, Frances (19). He died November 22,

1621, in his father's life-time. The old Baron of Dudley being a man of very dissolute life, ruined the large estate which descended to him from his ancestors, and to repair it married his grand-daughter Frances to Humble Ward, Esq; (20), the son of a rich Goldsmith of London, descended from the ancient family of the Wards, in Norfolk. This Gentleman adhering steadily to his Sovereign, King Charles the First, in all his troubles, was by him knighted at Oxford, June 24, 1643, and on the 23d of March, the same year, was created Baron Ward of Birmingham, in the County of Warwick, and in that year, likewise, deceased the old Lord Dudley, by which the honour descended to Lady Ward (21). Humble, Lord Ward, died October 4, 1670, having had issue three sons and four daughters; Edward, the eldest son, succeeded in the honour and estate, John died an infant, and William, the third son, settled at Willingworth in the County of Stafford (22). Edward, Lord Ward, became, a very little before his death, Lord Dudley, by the decease of his mother in 1701; by his Lady Frances, daughter of Sir William Brereton of Cheshire, Baronet, and sole heiress to her brother, he had three sons, John, William, and Ferdinand, and three daughters; the eldest and youngest of his sons died unmarried, William, the second son, married Frances, daughter of Thomas Dilkes, Esq; by whom he had three sons and a daughter, Frances, who married William Lea, Esq; of Hale-Owen, in the County of Salop, and died in the life-time of his father; upon the demise therefore of Edward, Lord Dudley and Ward, the titles descended to the eldest son of William, beforementioned: Which Edward Lord Dudley and Ward, married Diana, daughter of Thomas Howard of Ashled, in the County of Surrey, Esq; and dying March 28, 1704, under-age, left his Lady big with child of a son, who was Edward Lord Dudley and Ward. He dying September 6, 1731, unmarried, his honours and estate devolved upon his uncle William, son to William Ward, Esq; second son to Edward, first Lord Dudley and Ward, and he dying unmarried, the title of Dudley descended to Ferdinando Dudley Lea, son of Frances, daughter of William Ward, Esq; beforementioned (23). As for the barony of Ward, it descended to John Ward of Sedgley Park in the county of Stafford, Esq; grandson of William Ward of Willingworth, third son of Humble, first Lord Ward of Birmingham, and this Nobleman is now in possession of Dudley castle (24).

(20) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 217.

(21) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 32.

(22) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 472.

(23) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 34.

(24) From private information.

E

DUDLEY (EDMUND), a celebrated Lawyer, and able Statesman, in the reign of Henry VII. He was, as we have before informed the reader, the grandson of John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, and Knight of the Garter, by his second son Sir John Dudley (a); and, therefore, the malicious reports of his being the son of a Mechanick, and that the whole story of his descent was a fable, framed by his son's flatterers in the time of his greatness, though adopted by some authors of reputation, is equally groundless and ridiculous (b) [A]. He was born some time in the year 1462, in the second year of the reign

(a) Baronagium Anglie, fol. 21.

(b) Dugdale's Warwickshire, 2d edit. Vol. I. p. 120.

[A] Is equally groundless and ridiculous. We cannot set this matter in a clearer light, than by giving the reader what the famous Dr Fuller has said upon

this subject (1). 'Edmund Dudley, Esq; says he, 'was son to John Dudley, Esq; second son to John Sutton first Baron of Dudley, as a learned Antiquary

(1) Worthen in Strutt's Brit. p. 43.

reign of Edward IV. and his father having, in his own, and in his wife's right, a very plentiful fortune, he received a suitable education (c); and, discovering very early the great pregnancy of his parts, he was sent, in the year 1478 (d), to the University of Oxford, being then about the age of sixteen. When he had spent there some time in the study of ancient learning, he was removed to London, and, being intended for the profession of the Law, he was placed in Gray's-Inn (e), where, when he afterwards became so eminent, his arms, finely depicted, amongst those of many other noble and illustrious persons, were placed in one of the windows of the Hall (f). It is very certain, that he studied the Law with great diligence, and came to be very soon considered as one of the most considerable

(c) Bale's Scrip. Britan. cent. xi.

(d) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 11.

(e) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordshire, p. 43.

(f) Origines Juridicales, p. 309.

‘ hath beheld his pedigree derived. But his descent is controverted by many, condemned by some, who have raised a report that John, father to this Edmund, was but a Carpenter, born in Dudley town, (and therefore called John Dudley) who travelling southward to find work for his trade, lived at Lewes in Suffex, where they will have this Edmund born, and for the pregnancy of his parts, brought up by the Abbot of Lewes in learning. But probably some who afterwards were pinched in their purses by this Edmund, did in revenge give him this bite in his reputation, inventing this tale to his disparagement. I must believe him of noble extraction, because qualified to marry the daughter and heir of the Viscount L'Isle, and that before this Edmund grew so great with King Henry VII, as by the age of John his son, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, may probably be collected.’ This writer is frequently unhappy in his accounts, in which he is too often followed by such as have written since his time. He says that Edmund Dudley was the grandson of John Sutton, first Baron of Dudley; in the very page before this he informs us, that William Dudley Bishop of Durham, who died in 1483, was the son of John Dudley, the eighth Baron of Dudley, of Dudley castle in the county of Stafford (2). Now there is nothing more certain, than that this William Dudley was the uncle of our Edmund Dudley, and that his father John Dudley, the eighth Baron of Dudley, was the very same person with John Sutton the first Baron of Dudley, which Dr Fuller might easily have discerned, if he had considered the time when these Dudleys lived. The story of the Carpenter he had out of a manuscript intitled *A View of Staffordshire, by Samson Erderfwick, Esq;* which he highly commends (3). This tale, which Fuller treats as it deserves, passed for true History with all the enemies of the Leicester family. In a famous Popish libel in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, I find it observed of Robert Earl of Leicester (4). ‘ That he was the son of a Duke, the brother of a King, grandson of an Esquire, and great grandchild of a Carpenter. *The Carpenter, says my author, was in all likelihood the happiest of his race, for he perhaps was an honest man and died in his bed.*’ But though Dr Fuller is right in his criticism, yet he is right upon wrong grounds, for he did not marry the daughter and heir of the Viscount L'Isle before he was high in King Henry's favour, since that match was the pure effects of it, the Lady being the King's ward (5). His other argument is still worse, for John, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, was not born till eight years after the marriage, and not quite six years before the King's death (6); so that if it proves any thing, it must prove directly the reverse of what he cites it to prove. In our subsequent articles the reader will see the true reason, why the foolish story of the Carpenter came to gain any credit, and that was the endeavours of this Gentleman's son to deprive the chief of his family of his honour and dignity, and to attribute to himself, in a direct descent from his ancestors, the barony of Dudley, to which indeed they never had any title at all; and thus from a malignant ambition in him to be descended wholly from Lords, his enemies took the advantage of suggesting, that his grandfather was not so much as a gentleman, and so turned his own art upon himself, or rather upon his descendants.

But we cannot part with this matter thus. There was another writer of much greater figure than Dr Fuller, whom the story of the Carpenter alarmed, and who, though he professes that he was satisfied this was false, yet he saw no reason to believe that our Edmund Dudley was descended from the Barons of Dudley, though he knew that with his own hand that Gentle-

man, in a pedigree of his family, asserted himself to be (7). But notwithstanding this, Sir William Dugdale thinks he might be the son of some Gentleman of the name of Dudley, but not of the Baron's family, of which he says there are many in several parts of England. Upon the whole he suggests, that though the father of Edmund Dudley was without doubt a Gentleman, since he married a woman of considerable family and fortune, yet it was not impossible that his grandfather might be a Carpenter, or if not his grandfather, his great-grandfather. In answer to this we shall observe, first, that it is a very strange thing Sir William Dugdale should doubt, that so wise and learned a man as Mr Dudley is on all hands confessed to be, should not know who his grandfather was as well as Mr Erderfwick, the father of this tale of the Carpenter. In the next place, Why, since this tale is absolutely false as to his father, which is the matter of fact affirmed, must it be supposed true of his grandfather, or his great-grandfather, of which there is not a word said any where? But, thirdly, though Sir William Dugdale asserted this in his History of Warwickshire, yet afterwards, when he came to examine things better, in order to compose a History of our Nobility in general, he thought fit to abandon this notion, and though his account of the Suttons, Barons of Dudley, is not very exact, yet he is very clear that Edmund Dudley was really the son of John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, and consequently allows that neither his grandfather, nor his great-grandfather, could be a Carpenter.

But since we have said so much upon this head, we will go a little farther, and put it entirely out of doubt, both by reason and authority. In the first place let it be observed, that Edmund Dudley, Esq; was admitted into the service and Council of King Henry VII. in the first year of his reign, when that gentleman was in the twenty-third or fourth year of his age, and in the life time of his grandfather, John, Lord Dudley, Knight of the Garter. Now, though it is said that he owed this preferment to his prudence and reputation, yet is it not reasonable to suppose, that these might have been overlooked, if he had not been also a man of quality? In the next place, when Perkin Warbeck published a proclamation, in which he reproached King Henry VII. with admitting many mean and low men into his Councils, of whom he gives a long catalogue (8). Can one imagine, that if Edmund Dudley's birth had not been truly noble, he would not have stood there, as well as Sir Richard Empson, Bishop Fox, and Sir Reginald Bray? Thirdly, How came Bale, Pitts, and all the old writers in general, to insist so expressly on the nobility of his birth, without the least note of doubt, or suspicion of the matter? Fourthly, when so much weight is every where laid upon the mean birth of Sir Richard Empson, who was the son of a sieve-maker at Towcester; how can it be conceived that Edmund Dudley, in the same condemnation, should be mentioned by the same writers with so much respect for his birth, if it had not been in those times, as clear as any thing could be? or, what but respect to his family could move King Henry VIII. to restore his son, a child of eight years old, in blood, and give him his estate. Lastly, in point of authority, I shall mention but one writer, because his name is sufficient to silence all disputes, it is the famous John Leland, who, in his Itinerary, has these words (9). ‘ The Viscount (9) Vol. VIII. p. 29. ‘ Duddleley now being, is of the Suttons, that married the heirs general of the Duddelys. He cometh by his mother side, of the Talbot, Lord or Viscount Lisle.’ This is spoken of Sir John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, and being set down in a note book merely for his proper use, cannot be suspected, since no Antiquary desires to deceive himself.

(7) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 420.

(8) See the substance of this proclamation in Lord Bacon's History.

(9) Vol. VIII. p. 29.

[B] During

considerable persons of the profession; which induced Henry VII. a Prince who was an excellent judge of the talents of men, to take him very early into his service (g); it is also said, that, for his singular prudence and fidelity, he was sworn of the King's Privy-Council, in the 23d year of his age (h); and, as Polydore Virgil affirms this, who was then here, there can be no cause to doubt. In 1492 we find he was one of those great men in the King's army near Bologne, who offered propositions to the King for the conclusion of a treaty with France, and advised him to comply with them (i); which he at their intercession did, and a peace was accordingly signed November 6th, 1492. This was the finest stroke in politicks of that reign; and though the peace was very far from being well received in England, yet it answered the King's purposes compleatly, and was highly honourable for this nation, since an annual tribute was, in plain terms, stipulated, and actually paid during the remainder of this reign and part of the next (k) [B]. It is highly probable, that Mr Dudley was one of the King's principal instruments in this intrigue, since, two years afterwards, we find he obtained the wardship and marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Grey, Viscount L'Isle, sister and coheirefs of John Viscount L'Isle, her brother (l). In 1499 he was one of those who signed the ratification of the peace before-mentioned, by authority of Parliament (m). This plainly shews, that he was a person in great credit with his country, as well as in high favour with his Prince, whom he served in promoting the filling of his coffers, under colour of the Law, though with very little respect to the principles of equity and justice, as an able and excellent author informs us (n) [C]. But, in what capacity he did this, is not at all in our power to assert. We

(g) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordshire, p. 43.

(h) Polydor. Virgil. Hist. Ang. lib. p. 357. n. 10.

(i) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XII. p. 490.

(k) See that p. in: explained in the note.

(l) Efc. 20 H. VII.

(m) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XII. p. 710.

(n) Lord Bacon in his life of Henry VII.

[B] During the remainder of this reign, and part of the next.]

It was a maxim with Henry VII. to have as little to do with the Continent as possible, but when he was obliged to have to do with it, he carried things as high as he could. In the beginning of his reign, he had temporized with the French King, to prevent having a foreign war and domestick broils to deal with at the same time. But finding the French grew upon him, he resolved to make war in such a manner, as should procure him peace for the future (10). He laid before the Parliament, therefore, the ground of his quarrel, in which he was certainly right. For this induced them to espouse the proposal of a war very warmly; but to avoid oppressing the meaner sort of people in raising money for the support of it, they granted the King a benevolence by law, which was collected by way of request, but of the better sort only, and brought in a vast sum of money (11). The King on his part, raised an army of twenty-five thousand foot, and one thousand six hundred horse, and attended by the flower of his Nobility, passed the seas after Michaelmas 1492. And as if he intended no time should be lost, he afterwards actually opened the siege of Bologne, though propositions had been made for amicably composing all disputes; upon which a negotiation was begun, and while the siege went on, a peace was concluded by the commissioners, to continue for both Kings lives; 'in which, says Lord Bacon (12), there was no article of importance, being in effect, rather a bargain than a treaty. For all things remained as they were, save, that there should be paid to the King, seven hundred and forty five thousand ducats, in present, for his charges in that journey, and five and twenty thousand crowns yearly, for his charges sustained in the aids of the Britains. For which annual sum, though he had Maximilian bound before for those charges, yet he counted the alteration of the hand, as much as the principal debt. And besides, it was left somewhat indefinitely, when it should determine or expire, which made the English esteem it as a tribute carried under fair terms. And the truth is, it was paid both to the King, and to his son King Henry VIII. longer than it could continue upon any computation of charges. There was also assigned by the French King, unto all the King's principal Counsellors, great pensions, besides rich gifts for the present. Which, whether the King did permit to save his own purse from rewards, or to communicate the envy of a business that was displeasing to his people, was diversly interpreted. For certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this peace. And therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had, underhand, procured some of his best captains and men of war, to advise him to a peace under their hands in an earnest manner, in the nature of a supplication. But the truth is, this peace was welcome to both Kings. To Charles, for, that it assured unto him the possession of Britain, and freed

the enterprize of Naples. To Henry; for, that it filled his coffers; and, that he foresaw at that time, a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after brake forth. But it gave no less discontent to the nobility and principal persons of the army, who had many of them sold, or engaged their estates upon the hopes of the war. They stuck not to say, that the King cared not to plume his nobility and people to feather himself. And some made themselves merry with, that the King had said in Parliament, that after the war was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay itself; saying, he had kept promise.' The curious reader may find a very fair and full account of this matter in the French Historians, which will convince him, that they differed very little in their judgment of the matter from us, that is, they thought the honour of the nation highly concerned, and blamed Lewis XII. who succeeded in 1498, for renewing this treaty, and undertaking to continue the payment of those sums annually, which had been stipulated by his father (13). This they say he might very well do for the sake of peace, but then he should have done it as an act of his own, and not as heir and successor to his father, and so bound to comply with, and discharge his engagements (14).

[C] As an able and excellent author informs us.] In all our general histories, this matter is handled in the gross, so that it is very difficult to conceive wherein the crimes of Empson and Dudley consisted; but Lord Bacon, who understood the matter well, relates every circumstance freely and fully, in the following manner (15). 'As Kings do more easily find instruments for their will and humour, than for their service and honour; he had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley, bold men and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist. Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language. But Empson, that was the son of a Sieve maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever. These two persons being Lawyers in science, and Privy-Counsellors in authority, turned law and justice into worm-wood and rapine. For first, their manner was to cause divers subjects to be indicted of sundry crimes, and so far forth to proceed in form of law; but when the bills were found, then presently to commit them: and nevertheless, not to produce them in any reasonable time to their answer, but to suffer them to languish long in prison, and by sundry artificial devices and terrors, to extort from them great fines and ransoms, which they termed compositions and mitigations. Neither did they toward the end, observe so much as the half face of justice in proceeding by indictment, but sent forth their precepts to attach men, and convent them before themselves and some others, at their private houses in a Court of Commis-

(10) P. Daniel Hist. d'France, Vol. VI. p. 671.

(11) Recueil des Roys des France leurs Couronne et Maison, par J. du Tillet, P. ii. p. 380.

(12) In his Hist. of H. VII. in the 2d Vol. of his Works, p. 491.

(10) Polydor. Virgil. Hist. Ang. lib. xxvi.

(11) Hollinshed, Str. lib. xxvi.

(12) Hist. of H. VII. in the 3d Vol. of his Works, p. 447.

are assured by Stowe, that, in 1497, he was Under-Sheriff of London, and continued so for six years (o); which might, indeed, put it in his power to pack Juries, and to have a hand in other enormities with which he was charged; but, that the same person should, at the same time, be Under-Sheriff of London, one of the most distinguished Lawyers at the Bar, and a Privy-Counsellor, is not to be conceived (p). The ingenious Dr Fuller gives us a more plausible account, for he makes him a *puisne Judge* (q); but it happens unluckily, that, had he been so, it must have appeared, which it does not. Besides, as a Judge, he could not have meddled with the King's revenue; as a Baron of the Exchequer he might, but neither was he that. Polydore Virgil, who was well acquainted with those times, tells us, what both he and Sir Richard Empson were, but he tells it us in Latin; they were, says he, *Fiscales Judices* (r); the misfortune is, that we do not know how to put this into English. It might, perhaps, be no improbable guess, that they were Attorney and Solicitor General; for which, however, no direct authority can be alledged. In the Parliament held in 1504, Edmund Dudley, Esq; was Speaker of the House of Commons (s), and, about the same time, was, by the King's writ, discharged from the state and degree of a Serjeant at Law (t), as Sir William Dugdale tells us; another writer calls it degraded, which, however it may sound, was, in reality, an act of favour (u) [D]. In the Parliament in which this Gentleman was Speaker, there were several acts passed, much for the publick benefit; but which, at the same time, very plainly discovered, that they were framed and digested by Lawyers; and this, perhaps, was one reason why they were found very practicable in the execution, and, like many other laws made in this reign, have been since admired for going clearly and directly to the ends that they were meant to accomplish (w) [E]. In consideration, as it may be presumed,

(o) Annals, p. 487.

(p) See this point examined in note [D].

(q) Worthies in Staffordshire, p. 43.

(r) Hist. Angliz, p. 613. n. 10.

(s) Bacon's Hist. H. VII. in his Works, Vol. III. p. 494.

(t) Chronica Series, p. 77.

(u) Chronica Juridicialia, p. 147.

(w) Lord Bacon's Hist. H. VII.

ing by examination, without trial of jury, assuming to themselves there, to deal both in pleas of the Crown, and controversies civil. Then did they also use to enthrall and charge the subjects lands with tenures in capite, by finding false offices, and thereby to work upon them for wardships, liveries, premier seifins, and alienations, being the fruits of those tenures, refusing, upon divers pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverse those false offices according to the law. Nay, the King's wards, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to have livery of their lands, without paying excessive fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates. They did also vex men with informations of intrusion, upon scarce colourable titles. When men were outlaw'd in personal actions, they would not permit them to purchase their charters of pardon, except they paid great and intolerable sums, standing upon the strict point of law; which, upon outlawries, giveth forfeiture of goods: Nay, contrary to all law and custom, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of mens lands and rents, during the space of full two years, for a pain, in case of outlawry. They would also ruffle with jurors, and enforce them to find as they would direct; and if they did not, convent them, imprison them, and fine them.' It appears from Polydore Virgil, that at first, these proceedings were carried on with much temper and address; that is to say, the penalties levied, were not very severe, and those who paid them, were commonly persons in pretty good circumstances, which prevented any great clamour: but by degrees, when the legality of these proceedings seemed to be thoroughly established, they were extended farther, and then it was, that they created such a general dissatisfaction, as induced the King to promise restitution, and to part with his Ministers, Sir Richard Empson, and Edmund Dudley.

[D] Which however it may sound, was in reality an act of favour.] That learned Herald and Antiquary mentioned in the text, gives us a large account of this matter (16). 'In the nineteenth of Henry VII, says he, he was Speaker of the Parliament, and should the same year have been made a Serjeant at Law, but, for what reason I will not take upon me to assign, he desired that he might be discharged from assuming that degree, whereupon the King directed his precept to William, Bishop of London, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, commanding his forbearance of making out any writ to him for that purpose.' This sufficiently shews Dr Fuller's mistake in affirming our Dudley to have been a *Puisne Judge*, for if so he must have been a Serjeant. We have a large account of the antient manner of making Serjeants at Law, from an author of great dignity (17), who informs us, that the Chief Justices of the Common-Pleas, with the advice of the other Judges of that Court, were

went to set down the names of a certain number of the discreetest persons who had most profited in the Laws; and were thought to be of best disposition, which being presented to the Lord Chancellor of England in writing, he, by the King's writ, charged every of the persons elect, to be before the King at a day by him assigned, to take upon him the state and degree of a Serjeant at Law, under a great penalty which in those writs was specified. But there were many reasons why persons thus named chose to avoid taking upon them that dignity, though it may be doubted whether this was not the first instance of a person's being discharged by the interposition of the royal authority, but it was soon followed, for we find in the second year of Henry VIII, that the King granted to Richard Brooke (18) an exemption from being called to the degree of a Serjeant against his good will, or if he was called, to refuse it. Sometimes also they were discharged from that degree in order to their enjoying some office that was inconsistent therewith, which was the case of Thomas Fleming, Serjeant at Law, who was discharged by writ directed to himself from Queen Elizabeth, November 5, in the thirty-seventh year of her reign, in order to his being made Solicitor-General (19). Now, from what Sir William Dugdale says, it looks as if there was some particular reason for Mr Dudley's desiring his discharge, and it is not impossible that it might be for obtaining the office of Solicitor-General. It is very true that Sir William Dugdale mentions but two Solicitors in the whole reign of Henry VII, viz. Andrew Dimmock, who obtained that office in the first of Henry VII, and John Ernley, who came into it in the twenty-second of the same reign (20). But that there were other persons in that office within that space of time, may be concluded from hence, that Andrew Dimmock was raised to the degree of a Baron of the Exchequer in the eleventh year of that King, and one cannot suppose, that in so busy a reign there should be no Solicitor for eleven years together. Something of the same kind might be said as to the post of Attorney-General, in which we find Sir James Hobart during that whole reign.

[E] That they were meant to accomplish.] We have this matter admirably set forth by the wise and judicious Historian of this reign (21). 'In this Parliament, says he, there were not made any statutes memorable touching publick government. But those that were, had still the stamp of the King's wisdom and policy. There was a statute made for the annulling of all patents of lease or grant, to such as came not upon lawful summons to serve the King in his wars against the enemies or rebels, or that should depart without the King's licence, with an exception of several persons of the long robe. Providing nevertheless, that they should have the King's wages from their house till their return home again. There hath

(18) See the Chronica Series in that year.

(19) See the copy of that writ in the Origines Juridicialia, p. 140.

(20) In his Chronica Series, p. 79.

(21) Bacon's Hist. of H. VII. in the 3d Vol. of his Works, p. 494.

(16) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 420.

(17) From a MS. of the Lord Chancellor Ferrisbee.

sumed, of the great services rendered by him in this high station, we find, that, two years afterwards, he obtained a grant of the Stewardship of the rape of Hastings, in the county of Suffex (x). This was one of the last favours that he received from his Master, who, at the close of his life, is said to have been very much troubled at the oppressions and extortions of which his Ministers, particularly Empson and Dudley, had been guilty, infomuch that he expressed a willingness to make restitution to such as had been injured, and directed the same by his will (y). Polydore Virgil (z), and some other courtly writers, take occasion from hence to free that Monarch, in a great measure, from blame, discharging, as is commonly done, all the errors and evil practices in his government upon the shoulders of Empson and Dudley (a), who, it is very certain, lost their heads for them. But, that they did not drive the King, or even deceive him, into such measures, the judicious Lord Bacon (b) has very plainly proved, from instances that are worth the reader's notice [F]. The King died at Richmond on the 21st of April 1509 (c); and he was scarce laid in his grave before Mr Dudley was sent to the Tower, the clamour

(x) Hist. 22 H. VII. p. 2.

(y) Hollinshed, Stowe.

(z) Hist. Angl. lib. xxvi.

(a) Hall, Cooper, and Stowe.

(b) Hist. of Hen. VII. See also Grafton's Chronicle in the same reign.

(c) Polydor. Virgil. Hist. Angl. p. 790.

hath been the like made before for offices, and by this statute it was extended to lands. But a man may easily see, by many statutes made in the King's time, that the King thought it safest to assist martial law by law of Parliament. Another statute was made, prohibiting the bringing in of manufactures of silk wrought by itself, or mixed with any other thread. But it was not of stuffs of whole piece (for that the realm had of them no manufacture in use at that time) but of knit silk, or texture of silk; as ribbons, laces, cauls, points, and girdles, which the people of England could then well skill to make. This law pointed at a true principle, that where foreign materials are but superfluities, foreign manufactures should be prohibited. For that will either banish the superfluity, or gain the manufacture. There was a law also of resumption of patents of gaols, and the reannexing of them to the sheriffwicks, privileged officers being no less an interruption of justice than privileged places. There was a law likewise to restrain the bye-laws, or ordinances, of corporations, which many times were against the prerogative of the King, the common law of the realm, and the liberty of the subject, being fraternities in evil. It was therefore provided, that they should not be put in execution without the allowance of the Chancellor, Treasurer, and the two Chief-Justices, or three of them, or of the two Justices of Circuit where the corporation was. Another law was in effect to bring in the silver of the realm to the mint, in making all clipped, minished, or impaired coins of silver, not to be current in payments, without giving any remedy of weight, but with an exception only of reasonable wearing, which was as nothing in respect of the uncertainty; and so upon the matter to set the mint on work, and to give way to new coins of silver which should be then minted. There likewise was a strong statute against vagabonds, wherein two things may be noted, the one, the dislike the Parliament had of gaoling them, as that which was chargeable, pestiferous, and of no open example. The other, that in the statutes of this King's time (for this of the nineteenth year is not the only statute of that kind) there are ever coupled the punishment of vagabonds and the forbidding of dice and cards, and unlawful games unto servants and mean people, and the putting down and suppressing of ale-houses, as strings of one root together, and as if the one were unprofitable without the other. As for riot and retainers, there scarce passed any Parliament in this time without a law against them, the King ever having an eye to might and multitude. There was granted also that Parliament a subsidy, both from the temporality and the clergy. And yet nevertheless, e'er the year expired, there went out commissions for a general benevolence, though there were no wars, no fears. The same year the city gave five thousand marks for confirmation of their liberties; a thing fitter for the beginnings of Kings reigns than the latter ends. Neither was it a small matter that the mint gained upon the late statute, by the recoinage of groats and half groats.

[F] *That are worth the reader's notice.* The turn given by some writers to these oppressions and exactions, is this, that the King intended one thing, and his Ministers did another. He found many of his subjects either too rich, or too proud, to stoop to the laws, which conceiving to be the effects of those domestick

commotions with which the realm had been often troubled, he judged that the best physick for this state malady, was the calling great and opulent offenders to justice; but Sir Richard Empson, and Mr Dudley, extended this plan, so as to take in all ranks of people, and at the same time stretched the laws, and heightened the severities of them beyond the intention of the legislators; with all which, when the King was thoroughly informed, he was highly offended (22). But that there was little or no truth in this; that the King was himself as severe, and as rapacious as his Ministers could be; and that there is very small reason to suppose he was at all ignorant of any of their proceedings, will appear from the following instances; one of which, the noble author had from good authority, and the other he relates from his own knowledge: so that if we aim at discovering truth in this business, we may easily discern it (23).

(22) Polydor. Virgil. Hist. Angl. lib. xxvi.

(23) Hist. of H. VII. in the 3d Vol. of his Works, p. 492, 493.

‘ There remaineth to this day, says Lord Bacon, a report, that the King was on a time, entertained by the Earl of Oxford, his principal servant, both for war and peace, nobly and sumptuously, at his castle at Hemingham; and at the King's going away, the Earl's servants stood in their livery-coats, with cognizances ranged on both sides, and made the King a lane. The King called the Earl to him, and said to him, my Lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech: these handsome gentlemen and yemen which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants. The Earl smiled, and said, it may please your Grace, that were not for mine ease, they are most of them my retainers that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace. The King started a little, and said, by my faith, my Lord, I thank you for my good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight, my Attorney must speak with you. And, it is part of the report, that the Earl compounded for no less than fifteen-thousand marks. And to shew farther the King's extreme diligence, I do remember to have seen a book of accompt of Empson's, that had the King's hand almost to every leaf, by way of signing, and was in some places postilled in the margin with the King's hand; likewise, where was this remembrance.

‘ Item, *Receiv'd of such a one, five marks for a pardon to be procured, and if the pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid, except the party be some other-ways satisfied.*

‘ And over against this memorandum, of the King's own hand,

‘ *otherwise satisfied.*

It was by such small sums as these, as our excellent Historian well observes, that King Henry collected that immense mass of treasure of which he died possessed, and how immense that wealth was, in comparison of those, or indeed of these times, that learned and painful Antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, has told us, from a book of receipts and payments kept between the King, and Mr Edmund Dudley, viz. four millions and a half in coin and bullion, exclusive of rich furniture, wrought plate, and jewels. It appears likewise from the same book, that the extraordinary, or casual reve-

of the people being so great, that this step was thought absolutely necessary to quiet them (d); tho' Stowe seems to think, that both he and Sir Richard Empson were decoyed into the Tower, or they had not been so easily taken (e). At the same time numbers of their subordinate instruments were seized, imprisoned, tried, and punished (f). On the 16th of July, the same year, Edmund Dudley, Esq; was arraigned, and found guilty of High-Treason, before Commissioners assembled in Guild-Hall (g) [G]. The King taking a progress afterwards into the country, found himself so much incommoded by the general outcry of his people, that he caused Sir Richard Empson to be carried down into Northamptonshire; where, in the month of October following, he was also tried and convicted, and then remanded back to the Tower (h). In the Parliament which began January 21st, 1510, of which Sir Thomas Ingleby was Speaker, Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, Esq; were attainted of High-Treason (i). The King, however, was unwilling to execute them; and Stowe (k) informs us, that a rumour prevailed, as if Queen Katherine had interposed, and procured Mr Dudley's pardon. To give some employment to his thoughts during his tedious imprisonment, and, perhaps, with a view of extricating himself happily out of all his misfortunes, he composed a very extraordinary piece (l), which he addressed to King Henry VIII; but, as it never came to his hand, so it could not contribute to save the head from which it sprung [H]. The clamours of the people continually increasing;

(d) Lord Herbert's Hist. of H. VIII. p. 1.

(e) Annals, p. 486.

(f) See Grafton, Stowe, Hollinshed.

(g) Petition in Parliament for the restitution of his son, 3 Hen. VIII.

(h) Hollinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 804.

(i) Polydor. Virgil. Hist. Angliæ, lib. xxvii.

(k) Annals, p. 487.

(l) Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 798.

venue arising from the sale of offices, composition of penalties, and dispensing with the laws, was advanced to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year (24).

[G] Before Commissioners assembled in Guild-Hall.] It appears from the account given by Stowe, that Sir Richard Empson, and Mr Dudley, were sent for to attend the King in the Tower of London at such a time, very probably, as his Privy-Counsellors were sworn; and having thus put themselves in the power of those who had no good will to them, they were committed to prison, contrary, as he insinuates, to their expectations (25). Grafton tells us, that in the last year of King Henry VIIth's reign, they were by special Commission, appointed to enquire of the offenders against penal laws, which they diligently prosecuted; but, says he, the malice of the people was so increased against them, for their endeavours and service in the said Commission, the new King, to pacify the populace, was obliged to proceed against them (26). Accordingly, Edmund Dudley, Esq; was brought, on the day mentioned in the text, before Edward, Duke of Buckingham; Henry, Earl of Northumberland; Thomas, Earl of Surrey; George, Earl of Shrewsbury; Thomas, Earl of Derby; Thomas, Prior of St John's of Hierusalem, in England; Charles Somerset, of Herbert, Knight; Stephen Jennings, Mayor of the City of London; John Fineux, Knight; Robert Rede, Knight; William Hodie, Knight; Robert Brudnele, Humphry Coningsby, John Fisher, Knight; John Boteler, William Grevill, Thomas Lovell, Knight; Edward Poynings, Knight; Henry Marney, Knight; Thomas Englefield, Knight; and Robert Drury, Knight; Justices to enquire, &c (27). He was then indicted, together, as it seems, with Sir Richard Empson, for high-treason; in proof of which, it was alleged, that during the sickness of the late King, in the month of March preceding, they summoned certain of their friends to be in arms at an hour's warning, and upon the death of the said King, to hasten to London. Out of which, and other circumstances, it was collected by the jury, that their intention was to seize on the person of the new King, and so to assume the sole government, or, if they could not attain this, to destroy him. It was a very strange inference, that because a man who had the misfortune to labour under the publick hatred, desired the assistance of his friends, in order to come safe to London, therefore this implied a design to imprison and destroy the King; but as strange as it was, the jury it seems thought it credible. However, Sir Richard Empson was sent down into the country, and there tried for as strange a felony as this was a treason (28). To ratify all this, they were attainted in Parliament, notwithstanding an excellent speech made by Sir Richard Empson, which was not, as is generally supposed, written for him by the Lord Herbert (29); for the substance of it was long before printed in one of our chronicles (30). The whole of these proceedings, which were in the first and second years of the reigns of Henry VIII. were recited at large in the petition exhibited in the name of John Dudley, the son of Edmund, by his guardian Edward Guildford, Esq; in the third year of the same reign, upon

(24) Discourse of foreign war, with an account of all the taxation's from the Conquest to the end of the reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 53. in which the sum is written in words at length.

(25) Annals, p. 486.

(26) Brief Chronicle of England, fo. 120. b.

(27) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 420, 421.

(28) Hollinshed, Vol. II. p. 804.

(29) Hist. of the reign of H. VIII. p. 2.

(30) Hollinshed, Vol. II. p. 803.

which he obtained a special Act of Parliament, for the repeal of this attainder; which sufficiently shews, that it was founded rather in clamour, than in justice, and that the Parliament were as willing to remove that precedent as to make it.

[H] To save the head from which it sprung.] It is somewhat strange, that this book, though seen and perused by many, and thence made often the theme of publick discourse, should never yet see the light; as from the title and contents it seems well to deserve. We will first give the reader these, next speak of the fate of the author's original book, and lastly, say somewhat of its consequences. It was entitled (31),

*The Tree of the Commonwealth, by Edmund Dudley, Esq; late Counsellor to King Henry VII, the same Edmund, being at the compiling thereof, prisoner in the Tower, in 1 Hen. VIII.*

'The effect of this treatise, consisteth in three especial points.

'First, Remembrance of God, and the faithful of his holy Church, in the which, every Christian prince had need to begin.

'Second, Of some conditions and demeanors necessary in every prince, both for his honour and assuredty of his continuance.

'Thirdly, Of the Tree of Commonwealth, which toucheth people of every degree, of the conditions and demeanors they should be of.'

As to the original book, as it missed the King's hands, so it seems the family were also deprived of it; but many years afterwards, it was met with by that faithful historian and curious collector, of whatever regarded our antiquities, honest John Stowe; who believing the sight of it would be welcome to the grandson of this great man, then Earl of Warwick, he set himself to make a very fair transcript of it; which, when he had performed, he carried to that noble person, by whom it was very graciously accepted, John Stowe receiving in return, as much thanks, and as many good words as he could wish (32). The original, that industrious man kept to his death; long after which, with the greatest part of his historical collection, it came into the possession of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, who purchased them at a considerable price, about the time that he began to collect his noble library of manuscripts, afterwards purchased by the late worthy Earl of Oxford, in which it is highly probable, this original work is to be found, though several copies of it have been, and are still to be met with in other Libraries, besides that before specified in the margin, which probably was transcribed from the Earl of Warwick's.

It may be conjectured, that if this piece had been presented, as it's author intended, to King Henry VIII. it might have delivered him from his misfortunes; but as Camden says on another occasion, some ill star seems to have waited upon all such undertakings. King Henry VIII. being very desirous of having such a book as our author Dudley had composed for his use, assigned this employment to another of his father's Counsellors, Dr Thomas Ruthall, Bishop of Durham (33), a man famous for his abilities, and who executed it with all the

(31) Cat. Lib. MSS. Ang. & Hib. Oxon. Tom. II. p. 102. where it is said, there is a copy of it among the MSS of Wm. Bromley, of Baginbush, in Warwickshire, Esq;

(32) See Strype's life of Stowe, prefixed to his edition of the Survey of London.

(33) Godwin. de Presulibus, P. II. p. 136.

increasing, and being rather exaggerated than softened by seeing numbers of mean fellows, whom these great men had employed as informers and witnesses, convicted and punished, while they were spared, the King was, at last, obliged to issue his writ for their execution, in obedience to which the Sheriffs of London, August 18th, 1510 (m), brought Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, Esq; out of the Tower to a scaffold upon the Hill, where they both lost their heads. The same night their bodies were interred; that of Empson in White-Friers, and that of Dudley in the Black-Friers Church (n). Such was the end of our great Lawyer and Statesman, in the forty-eighth year of his age. We are assured, that he inherited some estate from his father, and a better from his mother, to whom he was found heir at her death, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. He was a gainer by both his marriages, and a great gainer by the last; to which if we add the profits of his profession, what he received from his Master's bounty, and what might be diverted into his own coffers, in it's passage to the royal treasury, we have no great reason to scruple what Stowe relates as a fact, that, at the time of his fall, he had an estate of eight hundred pounds a year, and above twenty thousand pounds in money, exclusive of plate, jewels, and rich furniture (o). As to his character, it sufficiently appears from what has been said, as well of his abilities as actions; and, in reference to his family, because there are many disputes about it, and we go somewhat a different road from that in which those travelled who went before us, we shall speak of it at large in the notes [I]. The reader may observe, in this and the subsequent articles, that we are careful in giving him matters of fact, without adopting the sentiments of any of our Historians, farther than we find them supported by evidence. Several of them ascribe all the exactions and prosecutions under colour of penal laws, which began in this reign, almost as soon as the Civil Wars ceased, to Sir Richard Empson and Mr Dudley; but there is no proof at all to support this, more especially with respect to the latter, who seems to have entered into the management of such affairs but a very few years before the King's death. The Noble Historian, who has so impartially written the history of Henry VII, speaks clearly to this point; of which, if we consider his profession, he must be allowed a much better judge than any who have taken upon them to treat of the same subject. The King's close and griping disposition, he plainly admits, was the cause of all these rigorous proceedings; but he observes, that Cardinal Morton, Sir Reginald Bray, and some other Ministers in the beginning of his reign, took much pains to bridle his avaricious disposition; which, however, was not so understood by the people, who, measuring the merits of Ministers by those events which fell out under their administration, attributed to them those mischiefs which, but for their interposition, had been far greater than they were. The wise Lord Bacon tells us, that, upon their demise, and the coming of Sir Richard Empson, and Edmund Dudley, Esq; into the direction of these matters, the King made no account of them at all, farther than as they obeyed his orders, and carried all things as far as they would go, which Polydore Virgil, and other writers, say they did; and Lord Bacon also says much the same: and, if this be the truth, then they were strictly and properly the King's instruments; but it may be with some distinction in their practices: for, if Dudley had been as guilty as Empson, he might have been convicted for such offences as he was, whereas the matter objected to him was treason: as to the other great men of this line, they are treated much in the same way, and writers give what colour they think fit to their actions; which makes their characters uniform indeed, but in a way that will not satisfy impartial readers, who know that all actions may be set in different lights, and will therefore expect to be told, why they are set in one light rather than another. This, whenever it is in our power, we shew; and when not, we content ourselves with the bare matters of fact, knowing that even the greatest men are inconsistent, and that there is no such thing as guessing, with any degree of certainty, at their secret intentions. Lastly, it is to be observed, that, when we speak of rewards, honours, or offices, conferred for the wisdom, fidelity, and great services of those who receive them, we speak commonly in

(m) Stowe's Annals, p. 488.

(n) Ho. Hist. Chron. cl. p. 809.

(o) Stowe's Annals, p. 487.

skill and accuracy imaginable. It happened however a little unluckily for him, that, prompted by the same desire which warmed the breast of his master, he had drawn up a book of the same kind, with respect to his Bishoprick of Durham, and caused both, according to the custom of those times, to be very neatly bound in parchment, precisely in the same manner. When therefore, Cardinal Wolsey came from the King, to enquire for this system of government for his use, the Bishop directed his Secretary to reach the new parchment book, who by mistake, reached him that of the Bishoprick of Durham. The Cardinal taking the liberty to read the book first, then carried it to his master with this complement; I bring your Grace a mine, out of which, when your occasions require it, you may take a large mass of treasure: it was not long before this mistake reached the Bishop's ears, which affected him so strongly, that, falling into a fever, he died, and Wolsey succeeded him. Another treatise of the like nature, was penned for the special use of King Edward

VI. by William Thomas, Esq; Clerk of the Council in his reign (34), who afterwards had the misfortune to be hanged, drawn, and quartered for high-treason, in that of Queen Mary.

(34) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 175.

[I] We shall speak of it at large in the notes.] Sir William Dugdale takes no notice at all of this gentleman's having two wives, and indeed, I do not find any writer that mentions his having had issue by the first, except the manuscript Baronage, which has been so often cited; from thence, we learn that he married, first, Anne, Daughter of Sir Andrews Windsor, afterwards Lord Windsor, then the widow of Sir Roger Corbet, of Morton, in the County of Salop, by whom he had a daughter Elizabeth, who married William, Lord Stourton (35). His second wife, was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, Lord Lisle, and sister and coheirrefs to John, Viscount L'Isle, by whom he had three sons, John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, of whom in the next article, Sir Andrews Dudley, Knight of the Garter, and Jerom Dudley, Esq; concerning

(35) Baronage, Angl. ic, to. 216.

in the words of the grant, and mean thereby no more, than to declare the causes expressed by the Royal Donor, without pretending to maintain that these were never mistaken.

cerning whom we know very little, except that he lived long in the family of his brother the Duke of Northumberland, and that he was provided for by the will of the Dukes. As to the Lady Elizabeth Grey, about five years after the decease of her husband Edmund Dudley, she married Arthur Plantagenet, son to Edward IV. by Lady Elizabeth Lucy, who in her right upon the resignation of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who had married that lady's niece, was created

Viscount L'Isle. By this noble person she had three daughters; Bridget, married to Sir William Carden, Knight; Frances, who espoused John Basset, Esq; first, and afterwards, Thomas Monk of Potheridge, in the County of Devon, Esq; from whom descended, George, created by King Charles II. Duke of Albe-marle; and lastly, Elizabeth, the wife of Sir Francis Jobson, Knight (36).

(36) See the Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

DUDLEY (JOHN), son of the former, Baron of Malpas, Viscount L'Isle, Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Northumberland; reputed, by many of our Historians, the most powerful subject ever flourished in this kingdom. He was born some time in the year 1502, when his father was in the very zenith of his power, and stood in equal credit with the King and his subjects, as appears by his being chosen, the year after, Speaker of the House of Commons (a). At the time his father was put to death, this John, his eldest son, was about eight years old; and it being well enough known, that the severity exercised in that act was rather to satisfy the people than justice, John Dudley, by Edmund Guilford, Esquire of the body to the King his Guardian, petitioned the Parliament that the attainder might be reversed of Edmund Dudley, his late father, and himself restored in blood; which was accordingly obtained, and a special act passed for that purpose in 1511 (b). There is no reason to doubt, that all due care was taken of his education, by a mother equally distinguished by her virtues and her quality, and by a Guardian, who is celebrated for being one of the finest Gentlemen in a Court then esteemed the politest in Europe (c). But, as to any particulars, Historians are silent. When his mother, with the King's consent, married Arthur Plantagenet, who, in her right, was created Viscount L'Isle (d), which was about the year 1523, we find that he was brought to Court, and, being a young Gentleman of a fine person, and highly accomplished, he attended the King's favourite Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in his expedition into France (e); where his gallant behaviour not only entitled him to the special notice of his noble General, but procured him also the honour of knighthood (f). It may be reasonably presumed, that, upon his return, he met with a kind reception at Court, having many relations in great favour; but it seems he trusted chiefly to his own abilities, and very wisely attached himself to the King's First Minister Cardinal Wolfey (g), whom he accompanied in his embassy to France, in the nineteenth year of that reign (b); and, making a proper use of the advantage which this afforded, entered, not long after, into the King's service, as appears from a patent (i) granted him for the office of Master of the Armory in the Tower, with the allowance of a groom. His hopes at Court did not hinder him from attending to his concerns in the country, where he was very careful to improve his interest amongst the Gentry; and, in 1536, was Sheriff of Staffordshire, where he lived hospitably, and had the good-will of his neighbours in a much greater degree, than when he was exalted to a far superior station (k). About two years after this he entered himself of the society of Gray's-Inn (l); but that he ever studied the Laws there, as his father did, seems to be very doubtful; though some authority might be brought to prove it (m). The Court was still his home, and Wolfey his patron so long as he had power. He was also in great confidence with the next Prime Minister Thomas, Lord Cromwell; so that upon the coming over of Lady Anne of Cleves, whom that Statesman had engaged the King to marry, when that Lord was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Essex, and Great Chamberlain of England, he was made Master of the Horse to the intended Queen (n). On the first of May 1539, he was the first of the challengers in the triumphant tournament held at Westminster, in which he appeared with great magnificence (o) [A]. The fall of the Earl of

[A] *In which he appeared with great magnificence.* We are told that this great man, who did not rise over hastily at the beginning, took a great deal of pains to qualify himself for the King's service; in order to which he made a tour to Italy, and remained some time at Rome: as with the like design he visited France, by which means he became a very compleat Courtier, and capable of employments of very different kinds (1). In this, which was to make way for his future honours, he, to please the King, accepted an office in the household of a Queen who was not like to enjoy that honour long, it being well enough known in the Court, that the King had not married her from affection but from policy (2). This tournament, in which he made the principal figure, had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all comers to try their prowess against the English challengers, who were Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir George Carew,

Knights, Anthony Kingston, and Richard Cromwell, Esquires. They came into the lists upon May-day, preceded by a band of Knights and Gentlemen, all dressed in white velvet, the furniture of their horses was of the same, but the challengers themselves were very richly dressed. The first day there were forty-six defendants, amongst whom were the Earl of Surrey, Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell, son to the Prime-Minister who was a little before created Earl of Essex. Sir John Dudley, by some mischance of his horse, had the misfortune to be overthrown by one Mr Breme, but however he mounted again and performed very gallantly. After this was over, the challengers rode in state to Durham House, where they entertained the King, Queen, and Court. On the second of May, Anthony Kingston and Richard Cromwell were made Knights; on the third, the challengers fought on horseback with swords against twenty-nine defendants. Sir John Dudley and the Earl of

Surrey

(a) Lord Herbert's Hist. of H. VIII. p. 6.

(b) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 218.

(c) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(d) Pat. 15 H. VIII. p. 1.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 519, 520.

(f) November 6th, 1523.

(g) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(h) Stowe's Annals, p. 531.

(i) Pat. 26 H. VIII. p. 1.

(k) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordshire, p. 53.

(l) Origines Judiciales, p. 299.

(m) Heylin's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 189.

(n) Hollinshed's Chron. p. 919. b.

(o) Stowe's Annals, p. 579.

(1) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 421.

(2) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 271.

of Essex, which happened soon after, did not in the least affect the favour or the fortune of Sir John Dudley, who had a very great dexterity in maintaining himself in the good graces of powerful Ministers, without embarking too far in their designs (p), preserving always a proper regard for the sentiments of his sovereign, which kept him in full credit at Court in the midst of many changes, as well of men as of measures. It was owing to this wise conduct of his, as well as to his splendid manner of living, and great liberality, not only to the extent but beyond the limits of his estate, that he never wanted friends to solicit in his behalf, and to excite, in his Royal Master, a just attention to his services (q). This very clearly appeared soon after the death of his father-in-law, when the King, by letters patents, bearing date the twelfth of March 1542, raised him to the dignity of Viscount L'Isle (r), with very singular marks of his esteem and consideration [B]. At the next festival of St George he was also elected Knight of the Garter (s). This was soon after followed by a much higher instance, both of kindness and trust; indeed, such an instance, as had scarce any example in former times, and has not been considered as a precedent fit to follow in those that have succeeded since; for the King, considering his prudence, his courage, and his activity, as well as the occasion he had, and was like to have, for a man of such talents in that office, constituted him Lord High-Admiral of England for life (t). The next year he commanded a fleet of two hundred sail, with which he proceeded to the Scotch coasts, where he performed all the service that was expected from him, and, having landed his forces, marched through the southern provinces of Scotland by land, and most effectually restored the tranquillity of the marches (u) [C]. He next embarked for France, and, on the twenty-eighth of July 1543, appeared before Bologne, then besieged by King Henry VIII. in person, and, by his great diligence and courage, facilitated very much the taking of the place, of which the King left him the charge, with the title of his Lieutenant (w). In this important employment he did more than his master had reason to expect, and as much as the nation or himself could desire [D]. On the twenty-seventh of March 1646, the King declared him, by patent, Lieutenant-General, and Commander of all his forces at sea (x), for the more effectual carrying on of

(p) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 411.

(q) Strype's Memorial.

(r) Pat. 34 H. VIII. p. 3.

(s) Register of the Order of the Garter.

(t) Pat. 34 H. VIII. p. 7.

(u) Cowper, Holinshed, and Strype.

(w) Stowe's Annals, p. 585.

(x) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 84.

Surrey running first with equal advantage. On the fifth of May they fought on foot at the barriers against thirty defendants. In the course of these military diversions, the challengers, at a vast expence, entertained both Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and their wives, and all the persons of distinction then in town, as a reward for which, the King gave to each of them a house and a hundred marks a year for ever, out of the revenues of the Knights of Rhodes, which had been given to his Majesty by the Parliament then sitting (3).

[B] *Of his esteem and consideration.* We have before observed, that, upon the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Viscount L'Isle, and widow of Edmund Dudley, Esq; to Sir Arthur Plantagenet, he was raised to that dignity, which was limited to his heirs male by that Lady, in prejudice of her children by the first marriage, but he dying in the Tower on the third of March 1542 (4), it was represented to the King that this honour naturally descended to Sir John Dudley, to which therefore he was advanced by patent (5), in consideration (as the preamble sets forth) not only of the acceptable and laudable services of his beloved and faithful subject Sir John Dudley, Knt. variously done, but also his vigilance, foresight, faithfulness, valour, and illustrious descent. To hold the said title to him, and the heirs male of his body, and to enjoy seat and place in Parliament among the Viscounts of this realm of England, and in all other the King's dominions, with a grant of an annuity of twenty marks, payable half yearly out of the revenues of the counties of Warwick and Leicester, by the Sheriffs of the said counties.

[C] *The tranquillity of the marches.* We find the Lord Viscount L'Isle, from the time of his being promoted to the great office of Lord High-Admiral, commonly mentioned, by that title, in all our histories. It is plain enough, that he had served with reputation at sea, before he obtained that honour, since we are told, by a person who attended him in all his expeditions, that he boarded and took the Admiral of Sluys, fighting her ship to ship (6). In this expedition to Scotland, he had a fleet of two hundred sail, on board of which, at Newcastle, he embarked an army of ten thousand men; on the 4th of May, 1544, he landed the troops about four miles from Leith, from whence, they marched to Edinburgh, the Lord Admiral commanding the van-guard, and the Earl of Hertford the main battle (7); the former, had the credit of routing the Scots, and of forcing the principal gate

of Edinburgh, into which, he was the first man that entered (8); the fleet also, did infinite mischief, ruining the sea-coasts, and taking all the ships which the Scots had in those parts, particularly, the Salamander, a very fine ship of war, presented by the French King, to his son-in-law King James, at the time of his marriage; and the Unicorn, built by order of the King of Scots. The fleet quitted Leith on the 15th of May, after spoiling the port, destroying the pier, burning the town, ruining the towns and villages on each side the river, as high as Stirling, and sinking every vessel, great and small, that they did not carry away. The land army, in its return, proceeded with the same rigour, and, in our histories, there is a long list of places, by the ruin of which, their rout was distinguished (9). This was, in execution of the King's orders: afterwards, it seems, his Historian thought of it in another light, when he said, we did on that occasion too much for lovers, and for conquerors, too little (10).

[D] *As the nation, or himself could desire.* The siege of Bologne, was formed on the 19th of July, by the Duke of Suffolk; the King came to the camp in person on the 26th, the Lord Admiral arrived there on the 28th of the same month, where he encamped the nearest the town of any of the King's forces. In this siege, he was present in most of the attacks, and had there, the misfortune to lose his eldest son. The place was surrendered on the 14th of September, and on the 18th, the King made his public entry into it, and soon after, delivered the keys of the place to the Lord Admiral, with the title of Governor; and upon his embarking for England, on the 30th of the same month, declared him his Lieutenant-General (11). The Dauphin being not far off, with an army of upwards of fifty thousand men, he first formed a design of retaking the place by siege; and afterwards, on the 9th of October, attempted it by surprize, in which, through the vigilance, care, and courage of the Lord Admiral, and his garrison, the French were repulsed, with the loss of eight hundred men of their best troops; and this, all our writers allow (12), to have been one of the gallantest actions performed in that war, none of the breaches being repaired, and the place in a manner open. On the 1st of February following, the Lord Admiral sallying out of Bologne, with a small body of horse and foot, attacked a much superior corps of French forces, under the command of Mons. de Beiz, forced them to retire precipitately, and made themselves masters of twelve pieces of canon (13).

(8) Lancaster-Herald's account of his exploits before cited.

(9) Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 963.

(10) Lord Herbert's Hist. of H. VIII. in the Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 243.

(11) From the Journal of this Siege, inserted in Lord Herbert's History.

(12) Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 957. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 342.

(13) Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 967.

(3) Hollinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 950, 951.

(4) Dugdale's Paragon, Vol. II. p. 312.

(5) Pat. 34 H. VIII. p. 3.

(6) The valiant exploits of the Right Honourable the Viscount L'Isle, Lord Admiral, &c. by Mr Cock, Lancaster-Herald, preserved amongst the papers of the Sidney family.

(7) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 331.

the war against France; and this at a time when the French, by the help of money, and alliances with the maritime powers of Europe, had drawn together a very great naval force, and threatened to make the English feel the weight of it, not only at sea, but by covering an invasion, which they had long meditated; all which vast designs were frustrated by the courage and conduct of the Lord Viscount L'Isle, with a force much inferior to theirs (*y*). After this the Lord High-Admiral returned their visit, landed five thousand men upon their coasts, burnt the town of Treport, and some other villages; and the French army advancing offered them battle, which they declined; and he thereupon re embarked his troops, having, in this expedition, lost only a single man, and done infinite mischief to the enemy (*z*) [*E*]. The same year he was, together with Dr Cuthbert Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, and Dr Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York, appointed a Commissioner to take the oath of Francis the French King, for observing the treaty of peace signed June 7th, 1546 (*a*); which he performed with great solemnity. On the sixteenth of October following he was, together with many other persons of rank, named in a commission for settling the accompts of the army. This was one of the last services he performed in the reign of that great Prince, to whom he owed all his honours and fortune, receiving from him, towards the close of his reign, very large grants of Church-lands, which delivered him from the inconveniences that must otherwise have ensued from his unbounded generosity; which grants, however, created him many enemies (*b*) [*F*]. The King's health daily declining, his Majesty made the best provision he could for the safety and quiet of his son's reign; in order to which he caused his last will and testament to be framed, with much deliberation, by the ablest and wisest of his Counsellors, which he sealed and subscribed December 30th, 1546 (*c*); and therein, as the last mark of his affection and trust, he named Sir John Dudley, Lord Viscount L'Isle, one of his sixteen executors, and gave him also a legacy of five hundred pounds, which was the highest that he bestowed upon any of them (*d*). By this will they were constituted Privy-Counsellors, and had the government put into their hands, which gave them a legal authority, since this will was founded upon an act of Parliament (*e*). On the last day of the month of January succeeding, King Henry VIII died, and his son Edward VI succeeded him, to the general joy and satisfaction of the nation (*f*). It was not long before great alterations were made in the dispositions by the late King's will; which alterations were, in truth, the source of all the mischiefs that followed. The Earl of Hertford, who was the King's uncle, and, by that near relation, in very great credit about his person, thought that sufficient regard had not been shewn to him, by the bare nomination to a seat in the Council, among so many where, at first, he did not perceive that he was like to have any precedency. He therefore pressed to be declared Protector, that the State might have some visible head; to which, very probably, from their own views, the major part of the Council yielded, much against the will of the Lord Chancellor Wriothesly, who shewed, that this was departing entirely from the will of Henry VIII, which was the only legal rule they had (*g*). The Protector soon after took from him the Seals, and thought of nothing so much as how to establish his own power. It is indeed reported, by many writers, that he was excited to these steps by a wiser man than himself, by whom they mean the Lord Viscount L'Isle (*h*); but of this, as there is no evidence, so in truth there is not much probability. Amongst the first of the Protector's projects one was, to get his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, made High-Admiral, in whose favour the Lord Viscount L'Isle resigned, not willingly (*i*) to be sure, but upon the

(*y*) The valiant exploits of the Right Honourable the Viscount L'Isle, Lord Admiral, &c. by Mr Cock, Lancafter-Herald, preserved among the papers of the Sidney family.

(*z*) Hayward's life of Ed. VI. p. 16.

(*a*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 98.

(*b*) See this point explained in the note.

(*c*) Alen, Qu. p. 32.

(*d*) See the King's Will in Fuller's Church History.

(*e*) See Lord Herbert's Hist. of H. VIII. and Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

(*f*) Stowe's Annals, p. 593.

(*g*) Hayward, Burnet, Strype.

(*h*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 422.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 594.

[*E*] *And done infinite mischief to the enemy.*] The French King at an immense expence, hired from several of the Italian powers, what in those days was accounted a very large fleet; it consisted of upwards of two hundred sail of all sorts, besides galleys; which, however, met with an accident when it first put to sea, one of their best ships, of the burthen of eight hundred ton taking fire (14). Between Alderney and Guernsey, their galleys attacked the Lord Admiral, who, had but a small squadron with him, bending all their endeavours to take his own ship; which, however, he defended so well against eighteen of those vessels at once, that they were at length glad to retire (15). The whole French fleet appearing before St Helens, and making a shew of attempting something upon the coast, the Admiral advanced, with his small fleet of sixty sail, but after exchanging some shot, the French retired. The English fleet being then reinforced, and taking some troops on board, offered them battle again, forced them to retire to their own coasts, where they were spectators of those mischiefs done by the English (16), which are briefly mentioned in the text. All these transactions happened between the beginning of June, and the end of August, 1545.

[*F*] *Which grants, however, created him many enemies.*] The Abbey of Hales-Owen, in Shropshire, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and St John the Evan-

gelist; which, at the dissolution, had lands of the annual value of three hundred thirty-seven pounds, fifteen-shillings and six-pence, according to Speed, was granted to Sir John Dudley, by King Henry VIII, in the thirtieth year of his reign (17); the hospital of Burton Lazars, in Leicestershire, which, was the largest foundation of that kind in England, being valued, both according to Dugdale and Speed, at the annual rent of two-hundred sixty-five pounds, ten shillings, was granted to the Lord L'Isle, by the same monarch, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign (18); the Manor of Chosel, near Ringstead, in the County of Norfolk, was about the same time granted to him, as being annexed to the hospital beforementioned; by the same grant, he acquired the Hospital of St Giles's (19), without the Bar of the Old Temple, London. The same King, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, granted to John Dudley, Lord Viscount L'Isle, and Lord High-Admiral of England, as well in consideration of his service, as for the sum of one thousand pounds sterling, the site, circuit, and precinct of the Hospital, or Priory of St John of Jerusalem (20), only the lead, bells, timber, stone, glass, and iron, and other things of the church, were specially reserved to the King's Majesty. I have likewise seen accounts of some other small grants, with which I will not trouble the reader.

(17) Tanner's Notitia Monastica, p. 452.

(18) Ibid. p. 239.

(19) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 500. Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 602, 611.

(20) Ibid. p. 668.

[*G*] *And*

the best terms he could make. Accordingly, February 17th, 1547, the very same day that the new Lord Admiral's patent passed, he was created Earl of Warwick, and made Great Chamberlain of England; neither was it long before he had great grants from the Crown, particularly Warwick Castle and Manor (k). This has occasioned several writers to represent the promotions made, and titles conferred about this time, as proceeding from his intrigues; whereas, in truth, he had a title by descent to the Earldom of Warwick; King Henry VIII intended to have created him Earl of Coventry (l); and the new King's coronation made it natural to do something extraordinary to grace it. The Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, finding himself under a necessity of marching an army into Scotland, resolved to command it in person, and took the Earl of Warwick with him, in quality of his Lieutenant-General (m); in this expedition he added to that great reputation which he had already acquired, as even his enemies themselves confess, being the chief author of that victory which was then obtained, and would also have pushed the war to a glorious conclusion, if he had been intrusted with the sole command; as it was, his conduct was universally commended, and all the blame fell elsewhere (n) [G]. He was next employed by the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, in conjunction with many other honourable persons, to compromise matters with the French, who, after the death of King Henry, were very desirous of getting Bologne again into their hands (o), which it was of great consequence to the Protector to prevent, and yet to avoid, if possible, engaging in a war; both which ends were effected for the present; to which the industry and authority of the Earl of Warwick did not a little contribute (p). It was this activity of his in business, which was generally attended with success, that chiefly recommended him to the Protector Somerset, who certainly had much slowness and timidity in his nature, which made him admire men of quick parts and solid abilities, whose advice he used from time to time, but more especially listened to the counsels of Warwick, Sir William Paget, who was Secretary, and Sir William Cecil, who afterwards enjoyed the

(k) Patten's Relation, p. 6, 9.

(l) Rymer's Memorials.

(m) Stowe's Annals, p. 595.

(n) See Patten's Relation, inserted both in Hayward and Hollinshed.

(o) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 135.

(p) Hayward, Burnet, Strype.

[G] *And all the blame fell elsewhere.* Sir John Hayward, who took upon him to write the History of this reign, was no friend at all to the noble person who is the subject of this article, and yet he allows him all the honour of this expedition. We will first give the reader a short character of the Earl of Warwick as he has drawn it, and afterwards some other passages, which will fully justify what we have advanced in the text (21). 'The Earl of Warwick, says he, was a man of antient Nobility, comely in stature and countenance, but of little gravity or abstinence in pleasures, yea sometimes almost dissolute, which was not much regarded, if, in a time when vices began to grow into fashion, a great man was not over severe. He was of a great spirit and highly aspiring, not forbearing to make any mischief the means of attaining his ambitious ends. Hereto his good wit and pleasant speeches were altogether serviceable, having the art also by empty promises and threats to draw others to his purpose. In matters of arms he was both skilful and industrious, and as well in foresight as resolution present and great. To say truth, for enterprises by arms he was the minion of that time, so as few things he attempted but he achieved with honour, which made him more proud and ambitious when he had done. He generally increased both in estimation with the King, and authority among the Nobility, doubtful, whether by fatal destiny to the State, or whether by his virtues, or at least by his appearances of virtues.' After this character, the same author proceeds to give us the following relation (22): 'As the English directed their way towards the place where they understood the Scots assembled, they came to a river called Lynne, crossed with a bridge of stone. The horsemen and carriages passed through the water, the footmen over the bridge, which, because it was narrow, the army was long in setting over. The avant guard marched forth, and the battail followed; but as the rear was passing over a thick mist did arise. The Earl of Warwick having before espied certain plumps of Scottish horsemen in ranging the field, returned towards the rear, to prevent such danger as the thickness of the mist, the nearness of the enemy, and the disarray occasioned by the narrowness of the bridge, might cast upon them. The Scots conjecturing, as it was, that some personage of honour stayed to have a view of the rear, called to the English to know if any Nobleman were near, for that one whom they named, well known to be of honourable condition, would present himself to the General, in case he might safely be

conducted. Certain young soldiers, not used to such trains, made rash and sudden answer, That the Earl of Warwick was near, under whose protection he might be assured. Hereupon they passed the water, placed two hundred of their prickers behind a hillock, and, with forty more, cast about to find the Earl. Now the Earl espying six or seven of them scattered near the army, and taking them to be of the English, sent one to command them to their array, and to that end himself rode an easy pace towards them, followed only with ten or twelve on horseback: he that had been sent before, was so heedless either to observe or advertise what they were, that the Earl did not discover them to be enemies until he was in the midst among them. Certainly a Commander should not carelessly cast himself into danger, but when either upon necessity or misadventure he falleth into it, it much advanceth both his reputation and enterprize, if bravely he behave himself. Now, the Earl espying where he was, gave so rude a charge upon a Captain of the Scots, named Dandy Care, that he forced him to turn, and chased him above twelve score at the lance's point. Herewith the residue retired deceitfully towards the place of their ambush, from whence issued about sixty more. Then the Earl gathered his small company about him, and, with good countenance, maintained the fight. But the enemy in the end, whether perceiving some succours advancing from the army where the alarm was then taken, or whether intending to draw the English further into their ambush, turned away an easy pace. The Earl forbade his men from following, fearing a greater ambush behind the hill, as in truth there was. At his return he was received with great applause by the English soldiers, for that he did so well acquit himself in the danger, whereunto, by error, and not by rashness, he had been carried. One of his men was slain; another hurt in the buttock; a third, named Vane, so grievously hewn, that many thousands have died of less than half his hurts, whereof, notwithstanding he was cured afterwards. Of the Scots three were taken prisoners, and presented to the General by the Earl. When a challenge was brought in the name of the Earl of Huntley, to the Lord Protector, the Earl of Warwick told the trumpeter, that he would undertake that Lord, and give him at housand crowns reward upon his bringing news that his offer was accepted (23). In the battle of Musleborough, fought Sept. 10, which was one of the greatest defeats the Scots ever received, the victory was the pure effects of the courage and

(23) Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 984. in which Patten's Relation is inserted in his own words; and there it is but one hundred crowns, whereas Hayward makes it one thousand.

(21) Hist. Ed. VI. p. 15. in which what regards the war with the Scots is by far the best written part of the book, being drawn from Patten's Relation. Stowe's Chronicle, p. 594.

(22) Hayward's Hist. of Ed. VI. p. 17.

(g) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 424. the same place (g). Happy had it been for him, if he had constantly followed their opinions. But it so fell out, that, without regarding the feebleness of the government, he persisted in a war with Scotland, which was very indifferently managed, assumed the direction of affairs at home entirely to himself, undertook too many great enterprizes at once, which unluckily crossed one another, and, by degrees, brought all into confusion (r). His own brother, the Lord Admiral, entered into strange practices against him, which occasioned much disturbance in the Court; but there is no sign that the Earl of Warwick had any correspondence with him, but, on the contrary, discountenanced his proceedings, and, in appearance at least, supported the cause of the Duke of Somerset, who, after temporizing a long time, caused the Lord Admiral, in the end, to be attainted by Parliament, and executed (s). In the midst of these troubles the common people in most parts of the kingdom, as is usual when any State is distracted by factions, began to grow mutinous and disobedient, and, at last, broke out into insurrections (t). The Protector Somerset permitted these to grow to a great head, either from an unwillingness to shed the blood of his countrymen, for he was certainly a man of a mild and merciful disposition, or that he might gain time to bring in foreign troops, which he might have afterwards at his own disposal. In Devonshire they grew so strong, that they besieged the city of Exeter, and, before they could be reduced by the Lord Russell, a new rebellion broke out in Norfolk, under the command of one Robert Ket, a Tanner, who was very soon at the head of ten thousand men (u). The swiftness of their progress excited a commotion in Yorkshire, and, in both places, the rebels went upon levelling principles, thought of nothing but pulling down the Nobility, and changing the Constitution at their fancy: this was an evil not to be trifled with, and therefore an army of six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, which was to have been employed against the Scots, received orders to march towards the rebels, under the command of John Earl of Warwick, whose known military abilities rendered him fittest for this service. He preserved Norwich with some difficulty, and afterwards fought with the rebels, who both, in drawing up their men, and, in the course of the action, behaved much better than could have been expected from such raw soldiers (w). The Earl, however, defeated them, and killed about a thousand men, other writers say many more. This greatly discouraged, but did not dissipate them; on the contrary, they collected all their scattered parties, and offered him battle a second time. The Earl marched directly towards them, but, when he was on the very point of engaging, he sent them a message, *That he was sorry to see so much courage expressed in so bad a cause; but that, notwithstanding what was passed, they might depend upon the King's pardon on delivering up of their leaders; to which they answered, That he was a Nobleman of so much worth and generosity, that, if they might have this assurance from his own mouth, they were willing to submit* (x). The Earl accordingly went amongst them, upon which they threw down their arms, delivered up Robert Ket and his brother William, with the rest of their chiefs, who were hanged; upon hearing which the Yorkshire rebels dispersed, and so all was quiet again (y). This rebellion being suppressed in the summer, the Lords of the King's Council, amongst whom was the Earl of Warwick, began in the autumn to confer amongst themselves, as to the causes of that distressed and discontented state into which the nation was reduced. The Protector upon this sent Secretary Petre to know the meaning of their meetings, whom they kept with them; and, October 8th, 1549, they went into the city, where, having acquainted the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, that they had no other views than for the safety of the King's person, the redress of grievances, and the restoring the peace of the kingdom, the city thankfully concurred with them; upon which the Protector, who had removed the King from Hampton-Court to Windsor, submitted himself, and was sent prisoner to the Tower on the 28th of the same month (z). The Earl of Warwick was again made Lord High-Admiral, by the King's letters patents, with very extensive powers (a). At this time, it is said, the Papists had some hopes that he would favour their religion; but, whether as a Politician he gave them any grounds for these hopes, whether they took them up without grounds, or whether, as others had done, he altered his system when he came into power, certain it is that he adhered steadily to the Reformation, and, shortly after

(r) There is a long and very distinct relation of this expedition in Speed.

(s) Hollinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1036.

(t) Stowe's Annals, p. 597.

(u) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 136.

(v) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 194.

(24) Lancaster-Herald's account of his exploits, before cited. Hayward, Hollinshed, Stowe.

(25) Hist. of the Reform. Vol. II. p. 35.

and conduct of the Earl of Warwick. The Lord Grey began the battle, contrary to his orders, and being soundly beaten, had like to have thrown all into confusion, but the Earl of Warwick stood firm, though very much exposed, and, giving his orders with great presence of mind, recovered all, and drove the Scots out of the field. What little was done afterwards was by his command, and the execution of it trusted to his brother, Sir Andrews Dudley (24). But the Protector had his reasons for returning as soon as possible to London; and Bishop Burnet says, that the Earl of Warwick was not displeas'd with that, because he saw it would lessen the Duke's reputation; which is a conjecture only, and ought to be considered as such, and not at all esteemed a fact, since there is no evidence to support it (25). At that time the Protector had so

good an opinion of the Earl of Warwick, that he left him behind in the North to treat with the Scots, which proved indeed a thing of no consequence, as the Scots never intended to treat, but made that proposal to the Duke of Somerset, only to gain time, as the Duke accepted it, because it afforded him a fair pretence for returning into England (26). It has little or no relation to the Earl of Warwick's character, whether this war was wisely or imprudently entered into; since it is universally acknowledged, that he discharged the trust reposed in him with great capacity, hazarded his person freely, and, by a right application of his military skill, gained a glorious victory, which procured him, at that time, what he certainly deserved, a very high and general reputation.

after, procured the removal of some who differed in opinion from him in that and many other respects (b) [H]. He stood, at this time, so high in the King's favour, and had settled so firm a friendship with the rest of the Lords of the Council, that nothing was done but by his advice or consent; to which, therefore, we must attribute the release of the Duke of Somerset out of the Tower, and restoring him to some share of power and favour at Court. The King was much pleased with this, and, being desirous that the friendship of these two great men should not be barely in appearance, a marriage was proposed between the eldest son of the Earl of Warwick and the Lady Anne Seymour, daughter to the Duke of Somerset; which, at length, was brought to bear, and, on the third of June, 1550, was solemnized in the King's presence, who expressed great satisfaction thereat (c). The King's favour to him still continued, or rather increased, so that upon his surrendering the office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England, which was bestowed upon the Marquis of Northampton, the King was pleased to make him Lord Steward of his Household, by Letters Patents (d), not only expressive of his Majesty's affection and esteem, but containing also some other matters that deserve the reader's notice [I]. In the month of April, 1551, he was constituted Earl Marshal of England (e); but whereas a certain Historian says, that he was joined in an embassy with William, Marquis of Northampton, to the French King, about the same time (f), it is clearly a mistake; since it appears, from unexceptionable authority, that it was his son the Lord Viscount L'Isle. On the 15th of August the same year, Sir Robert Dudley, one of the Earl's younger sons, was sworn one of the six ordinary Gentlemen of the Chamber (g); a short time afterwards the Earl of Warwick was made Lord Warden of the Northern Marches (b); and, on the 11th of October the same year, he was advanced to the dig-

(b) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 139.

(c) Taken from King Edward's Journal.

(d) Pat. 4 Ed. VI. p. 2.

(e) Pat. 5 Ed. VI. p. 4.

(f) Sir John Hayward, in his Hist. of Ed. VI. from whom it has been often transcribed.

(g) Taken from King Edward's Journal.

(b) Pat. 5 Ed. VI p. 7.

[H] *In that and many other respects.* If we consider the removal of the Lord Protector Somerset from the government, as it is stated by Stowe and other plain writers, it will appear that the far greatest part of the King's Council concurred in that measure, and offered very plausible reasons for their so doing (27). Sir John Hayward is very clear, that the whole was a contrivance of the Earl of Warwick's, that the rest were but his tools, and that the articles objected against the Protector were invented to make him odious (28). It is very true, that when the Council met to take this bold step of pulling down the King's uncle, it was at Ely house, where the Earl of Warwick then resided; yet it no where appears that he was at the head of this business, nor indeed could he be, when the Lord Chancellor Rich, and the Lord St John, who was President of the Council, were at all the consultations. The articles against the Protector are extant in our Histories, there is nothing in them of black and heinous crimes, but of presumption, overbearing, and high indifferences, many of the facts in them were notoriously known, and the Duke of Somerset confessed them in his submission (29). When the Lords went to the King to justify their complaints, the Earl of Warwick went not with them, which Sir John Hayward says was a piece of craft, it might be so, and it might also be the effects of tenderness and modesty. He was appointed by the Council one of the Lords to attend upon the King's person, which was a great honour, but then he shared it with five others (30). Sir John Hayward speaks much of his secret conferences with the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, and affirms, that not being able to work these great Peers to serve his purposes, he got them both excluded from the Council. Bishop Burnet is of quite another opinion, he suggests, that the Papists were in hopes of making some great advantage by this notable change in the government, because they were sure of the other two Earls, and had a favourable opinion of Warwick (31). But it seems he was a very great politician, he saw that the King was a firm Protestant, and perhaps he made it a rule with him to be of the religion of the Crown; so that it is very likely his conferences with Arundel and Southampton might be upon this subject, Whether it was best to stop the reformation of religion or to promote it? and there is nothing more certain, than that in this they differed, that the two Earls were for the old Popish road, but the Earl of Warwick was for marching in the King's high-way; and therefore it is no wonder that he procured their exclusion from Councils, in which he was determined to lead, and knew very well they were not inclined to follow (32). In all this he acted like a great Statesman, though perhaps not upon virtuous or religious principles; whatever censures he may deserve for this, must light upon him in common with many others, for few Statesmen are very remarkable for

a steady adherence to any thing but their own interest, and if his happened at this time to concur with the true interest of his country, he was so much the less to blame.

[I] *That deserve the reader's notice* These letters patents bear date, February 20th, 1550, in the fourth of Edward VI (33), wherein the King recites, 'That whereas Henry VIII, late King of England, granted to his most beloved Cousin and Counsellor, Charles, late Duke of Suffolk, deceased; the office of Lord Steward of the Household, by the name of Great Master of the Household, or the Great Master of the King's Household: and, whereas, by Act of Parliament, in May 22 Hen. VIII, it was enacted, that during the time the late Duke of Suffolk, and his successors in the said office, should enjoy the said post of Lord Steward; they should be called Lord Steward of the King's Household, as by the said Act appears. That, attributing much to the loyalty, wisdom, and virtue of his beloved Cousin and Counsellor, John, Earl of Warwick, &c. and having always experienced his constancy in the Christian Religion, his valour in war, sedition, and riots; his friendly and faithful inclination towards him, and desiring his abode and residence in his Palace, and attendance on his Royal Person. By advice of his Privy-Council, he grants to the said Earl of Warwick the office of Lord, or Great Master of his Household for life, with all fees, wages, &c. as the said Duke of Suffolk, Earl of Wiltshire, or any Steward of the King's Household, held, or enjoyed. And commands, that the said Earl of Warwick, have his Letters Patent, without fine or fee, great or small, to his use to be paid.' At this time he was looked upon as so warm a Protestant, that the most zealous Divines had recourse to his favour and protection; amongst the rest, Dr Hooper, appointed about that time, Bishop of Gloucester, who scrupled much the wearing the episcopal habit, and for whom, the Earl, out of respect to the tenderness of his conscience, actually interposed; but afterwards, when the Earl became better acquainted with the state of the question, and was made sensible of the consequences that might follow from indulging such a singularity in sentiments, he withdrew his protection, and Dr Hooper was forced to submit (34). On the other hand, tho' it is certain, that Dr Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, wrote him a letter of complement after the fall of the Protector, yet he never shewed him any countenance, nor did he give the least opposition to his being deprived of the rich Bishoprick of Winchester, when he knew that Archbishop Cranmer, considered it as a thing necessary to the peace of the Church (35). The reader is left to judge from these facts, whether he was a man wholly indifferent about religion, or a deep dissembler, willing to do any thing that might either gain, or preserve power.

(33) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 203, 208.

(34) Fuller's Church Hist. cent. xvi. p. 403. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 152, 154.

(35) See the account of his deprivation in Burnet and Strype.

[K] *Of*

(27) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 597. Hollinshed, Vol. II. p. 1057.

(28) Hist. Ed. VI. p. 522.

(29) Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. Vol. II. p. 138.

(30) King Edward's Journal of his own reign, in the Appendix to Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.

(31) Hist. Ed. VI. p. 103, 112. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 139, 140.

(32) See what is said upon this subject in Leicester's Commonwealth,

(i) Pat. 5 Ed. VI.  
P. 4.

(k) Burnet's Hist.  
of the Reformat.  
Vol. II. p. 179.

(l) See the pro-  
ceedings against  
Edward Duke  
of Somerset, in  
the 7th Vol. of  
the State-Trials.

(m) Fuller, Hay-  
ward, Strype.

nity of Duke of Northumberland (i), at the same time that the Marquis of Dorset was created Duke of Suffolk. In a few days after these promotions, the conspiracy of the Duke of Somerset, as it was called, broke out, being betrayed by Sir Thomas Palmer; the Duke, his Duchefs, and several other persons, were sent prisoners to the Tower; and the King, being persuaded that he had really formed a design to murder the Duke of Northumberland; resolved to leave him to the law (k). Accordingly, on the 1st of December, he was brought to his trial in Westminster-Hall, where the Duke of Northumberland, which was very indecent, sat as one of his Judges (l). He was acquitted of the treason, but found guilty of the felony, upon a statute made in the third year of that reign, received sentence of death, and on the 22d of January following, was executed upon Tower-hill; which many considered as an effect of the potent Duke of Northumberland's resentment (m) [K]. About this time, or rather a little before, he was elected Chancellor of Cambridge

[K] *Of the potent Duke of Northumberland's resentment* ] This business of the Duke of Somerset's death, is very warily related in our old chronicles, more especially those written nearest the time, yet in one of these (36), we have the following account. ' Sir Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, was again apprehended and cast into the Tower of London, by means of Sir John Dudley, lately made Duke of Northumberland, at this time, of great authority in the realm. It was laid to the Duke of Somerset's charge, that he proposed, and went about, the death of the Duke of Northumberland, being one of the Privy-Council, and therefore, by statute, was guilty both of treason and felony. Of this he was after arraigned at Westminster, and by his peers acquitted of treason, but condemned of felony. At this time many of the people rejoiced, being persuaded, that the King's uncle should never be put to death for felony, and thereby, thought he should have escaped: but he was had again to the Tower, and there kept, until he was brought out to his death.' Sir John Hayward, according to his usual custom, charges it roundly upon the Duke of Northumberland, as if he conspired against the Duke of Somerset, and not that Duke against him, he relates the matter thus (37). ' The Duke of Northumberland, being now inferior unto none of the nobility in title of honour, and superior to all in authority and power, could not restrain his haughty hopes from aspiring to an absolute command. But, before he would directly level at his mark, the Duke of Somerset was thought fit to be taken away, whose credit was so great with the common people, that although it sufficed not to bear out any bad attempt of his own, yet, was it of force, to cross the evil purposes of others. And now to begin the third act of this tragedy, speeches were cast, that he caused himself to be proclaimed King in divers countries; which albeit, they were known to be false, inasmuch, as the Miller's servant at Battle-Bridge, in Southwark, lost both his ears upon a pillory for so reporting; yet, the very naming of him to be King, either as desired by himself, or by others esteemed worthy, brought with it a distasteful relish, apt to apprehend suspicion to be true. After this, he was charged to have persuaded divers of the nobility to chuse him Protector at the next Parliament. The Duke being questioned, neither held silence as he might, nor constantly denied it, but entangled himself in his doubtful tale. One Whaley, a busy-headed man, and desirous to be set on work, gave first light to this appeachment, but the Earl of Rutland did stoutly avouch it. Herewith, Sir Thomas Palmer, a man neither loving the Duke of Somerset, nor beloved of him, was brought by the Duke of Northumberland to the King, being in his garden. Here he declared, that upon St George's day last, before the Duke of Somerset, being upon a journey towards the North, in case Sir William Herbert, Master of the Horse, had not assured him, that he should receive no harm, would have raised the people; and that he had sent the Lord Grey before, to know, who would be his friends: also, that the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Pembroke, and other Lords, should be invited to a banquet, and if they came with a bare company, to be set upon by the way; if strongly, their heads should have been cut off at the place of their feasting. He declared further, that Sir Ralph Vane, had two thousand men in readiness; that Sir Thomas Arundel, had assured the Tower;

(36) Cooper's  
Chronicle, fo.  
352.

(37) Hist. of Ed.  
VI. in the 2d  
Vol. of the Com-  
pleat Hist. of  
England, p. 320.

that Seymour and Hammond would wait upon him, and that all the horse of the Gendarmorie, should be slain. To this, Mr Secretary Cecil added, that the Duke had sent for him, and said, that he suspected some ill meaning against him, whereto Mr Secretary answered, that if he were not in fault, he might trust to his innocency, if he were, he had nothing to say, but to lament him. The Duke being advertised of these informations against him, by some, who had some regard to honesty, did forthwith defy the Secretary by his letters. Then he sent for Sir Thomas Palmer, to understand what he had reported of him, who denied all that he had said; but by this hot and humourous striving, he did but draw the knots more fast. We have this account afterwards repeated, and a little diversified, in speaking of the Duke's trial, sentence, and execution. Bishop Burnet speaks with much more tenderness of this unfortunate nobleman; and though he bears pretty hard every where upon the Duke of Northumberland, yet he does not venture to charge that Duke of with forging any of the circumstances of this conspiracy (38); to say the truth, the friends of Somerset, in the very same breath that they charge Northumberland with bringing him by art to the block, let fall things that seemed to speak quite the contrary; for instance, a certain author (39), delivers himself thus. ' The Duke of Somerset is trained by his enemies to such fears and jealousies, as transport him beyond his own good nature, to an attempt one morning upon the Earl of Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, a bed, where being received with much kindness, his heart relented, and he came off *re infecta*. At his coming out, one of his company asked him if he had done the deed? he answered, no; then, said he, you are, yourself undone. And indeed, it so fell out, for when all other accusations failed, this only stuck by him, and could not be denied, and so he was found guilty by a statute of his own procurement, viz. *That if any should attempt to kill a Privy-Counsellor, although the fact were not done, yet it should be felony, and to be punished with death.*' This fact of Somerset's going with an intention to murder Northumberland in his chamber, is related more at large by a foreign author of the highest credit, who is known to have had his materials from the most knowing persons in this kingdom, who might perhaps be more free in their communications, than they would have been in penning a history, for which they must have been accountable themselves, if it had been published; the reader will be probably pleased to see what he says (40). ' Northumberland having drawn the chief power into his own hands, he had nothing else to do, but to remove Somerset himself out of the way, towards whom he shewed such a contempt, as drove the other upon the thoughts of killing Dudley, for the vindication of his own authority. Somerset therefore went to his house, under pretence of a visit, covered with a coat of mail under his cloaths, and carrying with him, a party of men, whom he left in the next chamber; but, when he was introduced in the civilest manner to Dudley, who was naked, and lying upon his bed, the good natured man repenting, he would not execute his design, and departed without striking a stroke.' It is the observation of the very learned and judicious Mr Camden (41), that *the Duke of Somerset lost his life for a very small crime, and that upon a nice point, subtilly devised and managed by his enemies.* Now if Doctor Fuller may be admitted to explain this short text, he will bring it home

(38) Burnet's  
Hist. of the Re-  
formation, Vol.  
II. p. 178, 179.

(39) Lloyd's State  
Worthies, p. 425,  
426.

(40) President  
de Thou's Hist.  
of his own  
times, translated  
by the Reverend  
Dr Wilton,  
Vol. II. p. 409.

(41) Camden's  
Britannia, in  
English, 2d edi-  
tion, col. 97, 98.

Cambridge (n), in the room of that unfortunate Peer of whom we have been speaking; but at what time he became High-Steward, which Dr Heylyn assures us he was (o), and that these two offices have never been in one person before or since, is very uncertain. This great Politician had now raised himself as high as it was possible, in point of dignity and of power; the ascendancy he had gained over the young King was so great, that he directed him entirely at his pleasure; and he had, with such dexterity, wrought most of the great Nobility into his interests, and had so humbled and depressed all who shewed any dislike to him, that he seemed to have all things to hope, and little to fear (p). We ought, therefore, to attribute to this situation, and that vain pride which naturally triumphs in the breasts of ambitious men, his mean and barbarous usage of the head of his family, and his near relation, John, Baron of Dudley, whose estate being entangled by usurers, he, by purchasing assignments of mortgages, drew by degrees entirely into his own hands, so as at last to compass what he for many years desired, the possession of the antient castle of Dudley; which he not only thoroughly repaired, but added also a most noble structure, worthy of his wealth and greatness, which was called the new building, adorning all parts of the castle, with the arms of the noble families from which, by his mother's side, he was descended, that, in succeeding times, it might not be taken for an acquisition, but the patrimony of his family (q). This was certainly going far enough, or rather much too far; yet he ventured still farther, and, having despoiled his poor cousin of his castle and estates, thrust the titles of Dudley and Somerie amongst his other baronies, leaving his unhappy kinsman a new and strange title in their stead; for living, as well as he could, amongst the great families in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, who pitied his misfortunes, he went there currently by the name of Lord Quondam, till, by a sudden revolution, he became master of Dudley castle again, and his son obtained, out of the forfeiture of this potent Duke, an ample fortune, free from all incumbrances, with a clear title. But to return to our History. Many writers there are who insinuate, that, from the time the Duke of Northumberland and his family came to have the person of the King, as well as the direction of the Government, in their hands, the health of that young Prince began to decline; but these, perhaps, are no other than calumnies, since the decay of the King's health may, with great probability, be attributed to his having the measles and small-pox in a short time, one after the other, which could not but harrass extremely a constitution naturally tender; and these were diseases which artifice or intrigue could never procure, though they might have afforded a better colour to bad designs, if such had been really entertained, than a lingering consumption which followed them (s). It does not indeed appear, that the Duke of Northumberland had any cause to suspect the loss of his power while that King lived, nor did he seem to fear it; but, when he discerned his Majesty's health to decline apace, it was very natural for him to consider how he might render himself and his family safe. This appears plainly, from the hurry with which the marriage was concluded between the Lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and his fourth son Lord Guildford Dudley, which was celebrated in the month of May, 1553, that is, not above two months before the King died (t). We may however suppose that he had, for some time, been contriving in his mind that plan, for the disposal of the Kingdom, which he carried afterwards into execution [L]. In the Parliament held a little before the King's death, the Duke of Northumberland procured a considerable supply to be granted, and, in

(n) Hist. of Cambridge, p. 128.

(o) Hist. of the Reformation p. 161.

(p) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. 11. p. 176.

(q) Antiquities of Warwickshire, Vol. 1. p. 423.

(r) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. 11. p. 216.

(s) See the account of the King's sickness at large in Burnet and Strype.

(t) Stowe's Annals, p. 609.

home to the noble person whose article we are writing, speaking of Somerset's accusation (42); he says, 'Here I must set John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, as a transcendent, in a form by himself, being a competent lawyer, son to a Judge, known soldier, and able statesman, and acting against the Protector, in all these his capacities. Indeed, he was the very soul of the accusation, being all in all, and all in every part thereof.' It may be presumed, that the King was as well informed in these points, as any writer whatever; and it appears as well from his Journal, which he kept very exactly, and very secretly (43), as from a private letter of his to Mr Barnaby Fitzpatrick (44), that he did not judge his uncle altogether so innocent, or, that he was convicted without evidence. But after all can be said, the resentment of the Duke of Northumberland, was certainly seen in his execution, if not in his condemnation; since the King might have been easily prevailed on to spare his uncle, if he had been applied to; or rather must have been drawn with difficulty to consent to the death of him, he had so long considered as a parent. Here then lay the cruelty of Northumberland, which was generally remembered when his fall came, and loudly charged upon him by the people (45); and yet it may be urged, if not in justification, yet in excuse, that he was not bound to regard his own life less than Somerset did his, who, for his security, procured that act of Parliament on which he died, nor could it be well expected, that he should have more pity or commiseration for his rival in those

unhappy circumstances, than Somerset, when Protector, had for his own brother. [L] Which he carried afterwards into execution.] We are told by Sir John Hayward, that after the creation of the Marquis of Dorset, and the Earl of Warwick, Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, and other promotions and alterations made at court (46), there followed somewhat of still greater consequence, which he introduces thus: 'And which was the accomplishment of mischief, Sir Robert Dudley, one of the Duke of Northumberland's sons, a true heir, both of his hate against persons of the Nobility, and of his cunning to dissemble the same, was sworn one of the six ordinary gentlemen. He was afterwards, for lust and cruelty, a monster of the Court, as apt to hate, so a most sure executioner of his hate; yet, rather by practice, than open dealing, as wanting rather courage than wit. After his entertainment into a place of so near service, the King enjoyed his health not long.' After laying this foundation, he takes it for granted in several passages in the subsequent part of his work, that the King was poisoned by the procurement of the Duke of Northumberland; yet the reverend Mr Strype censures him for writing so positively without authorities, and not without reason. His very introduction is ill grounded; for, as the King tells us himself, Sir Robert Dudley was sworn one of his gentlemen in ordinary, August 15th, 1551 (47), and the promotions of which, Sir John Hayward makes this a consequence, were in the October following. It was

(42) Church History, p. 406.

(43) There is a full account of the conspiracy and trial of the Duke of Somerset, in that Journal, Dec. 1, 1551.

(44) This letter is in Fuller's Church History.

(45) When he was brought prisoner to the Tower, a woman thrust a handkerchief in his face dipped in the Duke of Somerset's blood.

(46) Hist. of Ed. VI. in the 2d Vol. of the Compleat Hist. of England, p. 320.

(47) King Edward's Journal under that date.

(u) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 195. Stowe's Annals, p. 609.

(w) Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 222.

(x) This appears from the instrument for establishing the Lady Jane.

(y) See Judge Montague's relation, which is inserted in Fuller's Church History.

in the preamble of that act, a direct censure of the Duke of Somerset's administration; and, having wisely answered his purposes by this single measure, dissolved that Parliament immediately (u). He then applied himself to the King, and shewed him the necessity of setting her aside, from the danger the Protestant religion would be in, if the Lady Mary, should succeed him; in which, from the piety of that young Prince, he met with no great difficulty. Bishop Burnet says, he did not well understand how the King was prevailed upon to pass by his sister Elizabeth, who had been always much in his favour (w); perhaps he might be told, that it was impossible to assign any reasons for disinheriting one sister, that might not also be applied for the other; so that there was a necessity of depriving both, or neither. Yet, when this was done, there was another difficulty in the way. The Duchess of Suffolk was the next heir, and she might have sons, and, therefore, to bar these in favour of Lady Jane Dudley seemed to be unnatural, as well as illegal; the Duchess herself contributed, as far as in her lay, to remove this obstacle, by devolving her right upon her daughter, even if she had male issue; which satisfied the King, who was but in the sixteenth year of his age, and might not therefore perceive the fallacy of resigning not only her own claim, but that of those who might descend from her, which she could not possibly have power to do (x). The King's consent being obtained, the next point was to procure a proper instrument to be drawn by the Judges; in doing which the Duke of Northumberland made use of threats as well as promises, and when done at last, it was in such a manner, as plainly shewed it to be illegal in their own opinions (y) [M]. At this

was in the month of April 1552, that the King had the measles and the small-pox, and his health did not begin to decline till some time afterwards, so that there is great impropriety in saying, that after his coming into a place so near him, the King enjoyed his health not long. All the rest of our historians speak very doubtfully of the King's death, chiefly from a great indiscretion, which was the putting him into the hands of a woman, after the Physicians began to doubt whether he could be saved by their skill; from which time it is certain, that he did grow worse, and so the Physicians were called in again (48); yet there are many who will hardly take this for a testimony of his being poisoned, though Sir John Hayward, says, *she was a schoolmistress well instructed for the purpose* (49), but will rather conceive, that the Duke of Northumberland consented to this, in hopes of saving the King's life; which, if he was a sound politician, he must have considered, as of greater consequence to him, than to any other man in the kingdom. But be this as it will, there is no sort of proof, that the Duke took such early care as he might have done for his family, if he had any foresight of the King's death; but his doing things as he did in a hurry, seems to shew quite the contrary, and indeed, there is a letter of his to Sir William Cecil, which looks as if he had deceived himself much in this particular, and entertained hopes of the King's recovery, after they were lost by others. Yet it cannot be conceived, that while the whole nation was alarmed by the King's sickness, the Duke should be wholly unconcerned as to the event, which is the reason of it's being said in the text, that he might have digested in his mind that scheme of the succession, some time before he mentioned it to the King; and that looking upon it as a dangerous undertaking, and his last shift, he delayed it till the necessity became pressing.

[M] *As plainly shewed it to be illegal in their own opinions.*] The full narrative of this whole important transaction, and of the Duke of Northumberland's behaviour therein, is thus briefly and clearly delivered by Bishop Burnet (50). 'On the 11th of June, says he, Montague, that was chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, and Baker and Bromley, two Judges, with the King's Attorney and Solicitor, were commanded to come to Council. There they found the King with some Privy-Counsellors about him. The King told them, he did now apprehend the danger the kingdom might be in, if, upon his death, his sister Mary should succeed, who might marry a stranger, and so change the laws and the religion of the realm; so he ordered some articles to be read to them, of the way in which he would have the crown to descend. They objected, that the Act of Succession, being an act of Parliament, could not be taken away by any such device: yet the King required them to take the articles, and draw a book according to them: they asked a little time to consider of it. So having examined the statute of the first year of this reign, con-

cerning treasons, they found that it was treason, not only after the King's death, but even in his life, to change the succession. Secretary Petre, in the mean while pressed them to make haste: when they came again to the Council, they declared they could not do any thing; for it was treason, and all the Lords should be guilty of treason, if they went on in it. Upon which, the Duke of Northumberland, who was not then in the Council-Chamber; being advertised of this, came in great fury, calling Montague a traitor, and threatened all the Judges, so that they thought he would have beaten them. But the Judges stood to their opinion. They were again sent for, and came with Gosnald added to them, on the 15th of June. The King was present, and he somewhat sharply asked them, why they had not prepared the book as he had ordered them? they answered, That whatever they did, would be of no force without a Parliament. The King said, he intended to have one shortly. Then Montague proposed, that it might be delayed till the Parliament met. But the King said, he would have it first done, and then ratified in Parliament, and therefore, he required them on their allegiance, to go about it, and some Counsellors told them, that if they refused to obey, that they were traitors. This put them in a great consternation; and old Montague thinking it could not be treason whatever they did in this matter while the King lived, and at worst, that a pardon under the Great-Seal would secure him, consented to set about it, if he might have a commission, requiring him to do it, and a pardon under the Great-Seal when it was done. Both these being granted him, he was satisfied. The other Judges being asked, if they would concur, did all agree, being overcome with fear, except Gosnald, who still refused to do it. But he also being forely threatened, both by the Duke of Northumberland, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, consented to it the next day. So they put the entail of the crown, in form of law, and brought it to the Lord Chancellor, to put the seal to it. They were all required to set their hands to it; but, both Gosnald and Hales refused. Yet the former was wrought on to do it, but the latter, though a most steady and zealous man for the Reformation, would upon no consideration yield to it: after, that the Lord Chancellor for his security, desired that all the Counsellors might set their hands to it, which was done on the 21st of June, by thirty-three of them, it is like, including the Judges in the number. But Cranmer, as he came seldom to Council after the Duke of Somerset's fall, so he was that day absent on design. Cecil, in a relation which he made one write of this transaction for clearing himself, afterwards, says, that when he had heard Gosnald and Hales declare how much it was against law, he refused to set his hand to it as a Counsellor, and only signed it as a witness to the King's subscription. But Cranmer still refused to do it, after they had all signed

(48) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 224.

(49) Hist. of Ed. VI. in the 2d Vol. of Compleat Hist. p. 327.

(50) Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 223.

this time indeed the Duke, either from the hurry of his passions, the fear he had of what might happen from delays, or the haughtiness arising from a series of good fortune which had so long continued, began to lose much of his former gentleness and affability, as he shewed himself amazingly rapacious in the grants which he obtained from a King, whose age, exclusive of his sickness, made it indecent at least, if not illegal, to accept such mighty bounties, the worth of which he could never be presumed to know, from his giving them thus lavishly away. The Duke was no less careful in drawing to himself as much power, and diffusing his interest as wide as possible; so that whatever happened he might not want a retreat, or find his schemes in danger of being broken through an opposition by the discontented Nobility, in which schemes, notwithstanding their difficulty, he succeeded to his wish, his estate being enlarged, and his offices multiplied, beyond any thing that had in former times been bestowed upon any subject (z) [N]. The Letters Patents for disposing of the Crown were signed by King Edward on the 21st of June (a), and on the 6th of July that Monarch expired, expressing to the last great satisfaction in the provision he had made for the security of the Protestant Religion, and the happiness of his people (b). It is said, that the Duke of Northumberland was very desirous of concealing the King's death for some time, but this being found impossible, he carried his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane, from Durham-House to the Tower for the greater security, and on the 10th of July proclaimed her Queen (c); the Council also wrote to Lady Mary requiring her submission, but they were very soon informed that she was retired into Norfolk, where many of the Nobility, and multitudes of people, resorted to her (d). It was then resolved to send forces against her under the command of the Duke of Suffolk, but Queen Jane, as she was then stiled, would by no means part with her father, and the Council earnestly pressed the Duke of Northumberland to go in person, to which he was little inclined, as doubting their fidelity. He signified as much in the speech he made at taking his leave, and was answered with the strongest assurances that men could give; the Earl of Arundel particularly told him, he was sorry it was not his chance to go with him, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood even at his feet (e). On the 14th of July the Duke, accompanied by the Marquis of Northampton, the Lord Grey, and others, marched through Bishopsgate with two thousand horse, and six thousand foot; but, as they rode through Shoreditch, he could not forbear saying to the Lord Grey, *The people press to see us, but not one says God speed us* (f). His activity and courage, for which he had been so famous, seemed, from this time, to have deserted him; for though he advanced to St Edmund's-Bury in Suffolk, yet finding his troops diminish, the people little affected to him, and no supplies coming from London, though he had wrote to the Lords in the most pressing terms, he retired back again to Cambridge (g). In the mean time the Council thought of nothing but how to get out of the Tower, and at last effected it, under pretence of going to the Earl of Pembroke's house at Baynard's Castle, to give audience to the foreign Ambassadors. This was on the 19th of the same month, and the first thing they did when they came there, was to send for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, whom they accompanied to Cheapside, and there Garter King at Arms proclaimed Queen Mary; the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Paget, went the same night

(z) See this at large in the note.

(a) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 222.

(b) Fuller's Church History, cent. xvi. p. 425.

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 610.

(d) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 233.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 610, 611.

(f) Heylin's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 161.

(g) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 238.

signed it, and said he would never consent to the inheriting of the daughters of his late master. Many consultations were had to persuade him to it. But he could not be prevailed on, till the King himself set on him, who used many arguments from the danger religion would otherwise be in, together with other persuasions; so that by his reasons, or rather importunities, at last he brought him to it.

[N] *Been bestowed upon any subject*] If all the instances that might be alledged of this, were carefully collected, they would swell this note very much beyond its proper bounds; and therefore, it shall suffice to alledge here, the testimony of the industrious Strype, who, though in other places he has distinctly considered them, thus sums up the matter at once, speaking of the Duke's state and condition, in the year 1553 (51). Dudley, the great Duke of Northumberland, now bore all the sway at Court, and, in effect, did what he listed. This year, besides the County Palatine of Durham, the honour and power of which was like to fall to him; the King gave him Bernard's Castle there, with very great additions of lands and lordships in that county, and in Northumberland, Westmoreland, and York, or any other where in the Bishoprick of Durham for life. He had also granted to him, the manors of Feckenham, Bromesgrove, King's Norton in Worcestershire, with many other lands. The year before, he was made Chief Steward of the East-riding of York, and of all the King's lordship in Holderness and Cottingham in the said county. The year before that, he was constituted General Warden, or Keeper of the Marches of

England, towards Scotland, namely, of the East, West, and middle Marches. Which were scarcely before, put into one man's hand (except the Marquis of Dorset immediately before him) and he to appoint his deputy-wardens. And his patent was ordered to be drawn up in the most large and comprehensive manner, endowing him with as much authority, power, pre-eminence, commodity, and liberty, as any before him had enjoyed, from Richard the second's time, to Henry the eighth, as the warrant ran. Besides these things in the North, he obtained of the King, great and spreading demesns in Somersethire, Warwick, and Worcestershire, and many other counties. So that by this time, the Duke had prodigiously enriched himself, and made himself formidably great, by lands and lordships, honours and offices, castles and places of trust heaped upon him by the King, by whom it was not safe to deny him any thing he asked. He had strengthened his interest also, by raising himself friends upon the King's cost, as more especially the Lord Clinton, and Sir John Gates, and his brother, Sir Andrews Dudley, Master of the Wardrobe, and taken into the order of the Garter; and his own sons, John, raised to the degree of Earl of Warwick, and master of the King's horse (52); Sir Robert Dudley made a Lord (53), and the King's Carver, and Guildford Dudley, whom the Duke was now marrying to one of the royal blood, viz. the Lady Jane, eldest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk.

(52) This was only by his father's being created Duke of Northumberland.

(53) He was a Lord barely by courtesy, as all the rest of the Duke's sons were.

(51) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 422.

(b) Heylin's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 164.

(i) Stowe's Annals, p. 612.

(k) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 239. Stowe's Annals, p. 612.

(l) Hollinshed and Speed.

(m) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 21, 22.

(n) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 243. Stowe's Annals, p. 614.

(o) Hollinshed, Stowe, and Speed.

(p) Book of Martyrs, Vol. III. p. 12, 13.

night post to pay their duty to her (b). The Duke of Northumberland had advice of this on the 20th, and about five in the afternoon the same day, caused her to be proclaimed at Cambridge, throwing up his cap and crying, *God save Queen Mary!* with how much joy and sincerity may be easily imagined (i); about an hour afterwards came letters from the Council to the Duke of Northumberland, by one of the Heralds, requiring him to disband his forces, upon receiving which the Duke gave leave to every man to depart, and soon after he was arrested in King's-college by Slegge, Serjeant at Arms; but other letters coming from the Council, that all men should go each his way, the Duke said to those that kept him, *Ye do me wrong to withdraw my liberty, see ye not the Council's letters, without exception, that all men should go whither they would.* Whereupon they who guarded him and the other Noblemen, set them at liberty, and so they continued for that night, and the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Northumberland's son, was ready in the morning to have rode away, at which time the Earl of Arundel came from the Queen to the Duke into his chamber, who, when he saw him, said, *For the love of God consider, I have done nothing but by the consent of you, and all the whole Council.* My Lord, replied the Earl of Arundel, *I am sent hither by the Queen's Majesty, and in her name I arrest you. I obey it,* said the Duke, *I beseech you, my Lord of Arundel, use mercy towards me, knowing the case as it is.* My Lord, answered the Earl, *you should have sought for mercy sooner, I must do according to my commandment.* And thereupon committed the charge of him, and of others, to the guard, and Gentlemen that stood by (k). The 25th of July, the Duke, with the rest, were brought to the Tower of London, under the conduct of Henry Earl of Arundel, with a body of light horsemen (l). On Friday the 18th of August he was arraigned, a great scaffold being set up in Westminster-Hall, with John, Earl of Warwick, his son and heir, and William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, before Thomas Duke of Norfolk, High-Steward of England on that occasion. As to his behaviour at his trial, which was equally modest and decent, some particulars of it will be mentioned in the notes (m) [O]. After his condemnation he was carried back to the Tower, where he remained a close prisoner. Monday, the twenty-first of August, was the day fixed for his execution, when a vast concourse of people assembled upon Tower-Hill, all the usual preparations being made, and the executioner ready; but, after waiting some hours, the people were ordered to depart. This delay was to afford time for his making an open shew of the change of his religion, since that very day, in the presence of the Mayor and Aldermen, as well as some of the Privy-Council, he heard mass in the Tower (n). The next day he was actually brought out to suffer death, on the same scaffold, on Tower-Hill, where he made a very long speech to the people; of which there remains nothing but what relates to his religion, which he not only professed to be then that of the Church of Rome, but that it had been always so, taking upon himself the odious character of a hypocrite in the sight of God, as well as a dissembler with men (o). John Fox affirms, that he had a promise of pardon even if his head was upon the block, if he would recant and hear mass (p); and some have believed that he entertained such a hope to the last, from a passage in his speech [P]. However that may be, it is allowed that he behaved with becoming

[O] Will be mentioned in the notes.] The indictment having been read, containing a charge against him of high-treason. The Duke of Northumberland, with great reverence towards the Judges, protested his faith and allegiance to the Queen, whom he confessed grievously to have offended, and said he meant not to speak any thing in defence of his acts, but requested to understand the opinion of the court in two points (54):

First, Whether a man doing any act by the authority of the Prince's Council, and by warrant of the Great Seal of England, and doing nothing without the same, might be charged with treason for any thing he might do by warrant thereof.

Secondly, Whether any such persons as were equally culpable in that crime, and those by whose letters and commandments he was directed in all his doings, might be his judges, or pass upon his trial as his Peers?

To which it was answered: 'That the Great-Seal which he had for his warrant, was not the Seal of the lawful Queen of the realm, nor passed by authority, but the Seal of an usurper, and therefore could be no warrant to him. And that if any were as deeply to be touched in the case as himself, yet so long as no attainder was of record against them, they were persons able in law to pass on any trial, and not to be challenged but at the Prince's pleasure.' After which answer the Duke used few words, but confessed the indictment; by whose example the other prisoners arraigned with him did the like, and thereupon had judgment. The Duke, on receiving his sentence, said: 'I beseech you, my Lords, all to be humble suitors to the Queen's Majesty, and to grant me four requests: First, That I may have that death which Noblemen

have had in times past, and not the other, Secondly, That her Majesty will be gracious to my children, which may hereafter do good service, considering that they went by my commandment, who am their father, and not of their own free wills. Thirdly, That I may have appointed to me some learned men for the instruction and quiet of my conscience. And fourthly, That she will send two of the Council to commune with me, to whom I will declare such matters as shall be expedient for her and the commonwealth. And thus I beseech you all to pray for me.'

[P] From a passage in his speech.] Several authors agree in affirming that he made a long speech at the time of his death, and we have reason to regret that only a part of it is preserved, which is what follows: (55) 'Good people, all you that be here present to see me die, though my death be odious and horrible to the flesh, yet I pray you judge the best in God's works, for he doth all for the best. And as for me I am a wretched sinner, and have deserved to die, and most justly am condemned to die by Law. And yet this act whereof I die was not altogether of me, but I was procured and induced thereunto by others; I was I say induced thereunto by others. Howbeit, God forbid that I should name any man unto you, I will name no man unto you, and therefore I beseech you look not for it. I, for my part, forgive all men, and pray God also to forgive them, and if I have offended any of you here, I pray you and all the world to forgive me, and most chiefly I desire forgiveness of the Queen's Highness, whom I have most grievously offended. And I pray you all to witness

(54) Stowe's Annals, p. 614.

(55) Ibid. p. 615.

becoming courage and composure, putting off his damask gown when he had done speaking, and then kneeled down, saying, to them that were about him, *I beseech you all to bear me witness that I die in the true Catholick faith*, and then said the Psalms of *Miserere*, and *De profundis*, his *Pater noster*, and six of the first verses of the Psalm, *In te Domine speravi*, ending with this verse, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit*. And when he had thus ended his prayers, the Executioner asked him forgiveness, to whom he said, *I forgive thee with all my heart, do thy part without fear*. And bowing towards the block, he said, *I have deserved a thousand deaths*; then laid his head on the block, and was beheaded; whose body, with the head, was buried in the Tower by the body of Edward Duke of Somerset, so that there lie between the high altar in St Peter's church, two Dukes between two Queens, viz. Queen Anne and Queen Catherine, all four beheaded (q). Such was the end of this potent Nobleman, who, with the title of a Duke, exercised, for some time, a power little inferior to that of a King, in the fifty-first, or at most in the fifty-second year of his age, one differently represented by our Historians [2], but

(9) Stowe's Annals, p. 615.

(\*) Dr Nich. Heath.

witness for me, that I depart in perfect love and charity with all the world, and that you will assist me with your prayers at the hour of death. — And here I do protest unto you, good people, most earnestly, even from the bottom of my heart, that this which I have spoken is of myself, not being required nor moved thereunto by any man, nor by any flattery or hope of life; and I take witness of my Lord of Worcester (\*) here, mine old friend and ghostly father, that he found me in this mind and opinion when he came to me, but I have declared this only upon mine own mind and affection, and for the zeal and love that I bear to my natural country. I could, good people, rehearse much more even by experience, that I have of this evil that hath happened to this realm by these occasions, but you know I have another thing to do, whereunto I must prepare me, for the time draweth away. And now I beseech the Queen's Highness to forgive me mine offences against her Majesty, whereof I have a singular hope, forasmuch as she has already extended her goodness and clemency so far upon me, that whereas she might forthwith, without judgment, or any farther trial, have put me to most vile and cruel death, by hanging, drawing, and quartering, forasmuch as I was in the field in arms against her Majesty. Her Highness nevertheless, of her most merciful goodness, suffered me to be brought to my judgment, and to have my trial by law, where I was most justly condemned. And her Highness hath now also extended her mercy and clemency upon me, for the manner and kind of my death. And therefore my hope is, that her Grace, of her goodness, will remit all the rest of her indignation and displeasure towards me, which I beseech you all most heartily to pray for, and that it may please God long to preserve her Majesty, to reign over you in much honour and felicity. I must confess it does not appear to me, that this speech of the Duke implies any persuasion of pardon, but quite the contrary; he recapitulates those instances of justice and kindness, which he would have the people believe, he, in his own opinion, had received from the Queen, and from thence infers, that her Majesty would retain no resentment against him after he was dead, and consequently would not proceed against his family, of which many were obnoxious to her justice, and all of them to her suspicions. If, therefore, any promises were made to him, it is more likely that they should relate to his children, and his brother, in favour of whom he might possibly resolve to die as he lived, like a Courtier, as he evidently did.

[2] One differently represented by our Historians ]

We have the following character of this great man, drawn by the hand of a famous Ecclesiastical Historian (56). Such was the end of this great person, the first Earl of Warwick, and the last Duke of Northumberland of this name and family. By birth he was the eldest son of Sir Edmund Sutton, alias Dudley, who, together with Sir Richard Empson, were the chief instruments and promoters under Henry VII for putting the penal laws in execution, to the great grievance and oppression of all sorts of subjects. For which, and other offences of a higher nature, they were both sacrificed to the fury of the common people, by King Henry VIII, which possibly might make him carry a vindictive mind towards that

King's children, and prompt him to the disinheriting of all his progeny. First trained up (as his father had also been before him) in the study of the Common Laws, which made him cunning enough to pick holes in any man's estate, to find ways by which to bring their lives in danger. But finding that the long sword was of more estimation than the long robe in the time of that King, he put himself forward on all actions wherein honour was to be acquired, in which he gave such testimony of his judgment and valour, that he gained much on the affections of his Prince, by whom he was created Viscount L'Isle, on the 15th of March, anno 1541, installed Knight of the Garter in 1543, and made Lord Admiral of England. Employed in many actions against the Scots, he came off always with success and victory, and having said this, we have said all that was accounted either good or commendable in the whole course of his life. Being advanced unto the title of Earl of Warwick by King Edward VI, he thought himself in a capacity of making Queens, as well as Richard Nevil (one of his predecessors in that title) had been for setting up and deposing Kings; and they both perished under the ambition of those proud attempts. Punished as Nevil also was, in having no issue male remaining to preserve his name. For though he had six sons, all of them living to be men, and all of them to be married men, yet they went all childless to the grave, I mean, as to the having of lawful issue, as if the curse of Jeconiah had been laid upon them. With him died also the proud title of Duke of Northumberland, never aspired to by the Piercys, though men of eminent nobility. The reader may compare this with the following sketch of his character by Bishop Burnet, than whom no man could be better acquainted with the History of those times (57). Thus died the ambitious Duke of Northumberland. He had been, in the former parts of his life, a great Captain, and had the reputation of a very wise man: he was generally successful, and they that are so, are always esteemed wise. He was an extraordinary man in a lower size, but had forgot himself much when he was raised higher, in which his mind seemed more exalted than his fortunes. But as he was transported by his rage and revenge out of measure, so he was as servile and mean in his submissions. Fox, it seems, was informed, that he had hopes given him of his life, if he should declare himself of the Popish religion, even though his head were laid on the block; but which way soever he made that declaration, either to get his life by it, or that he had really been always what he now professed, it argues that he regarded religion very little, either in his life, or at his death. But, whether he did any thing to hasten the King's death, I do not find it was at all enquired after. Only those who consider how much guilt disorders all people, and that they have a black cloud over their minds, which appears either in the violence of rage, or the abjectness of fear, did find so great a change in his deportment in these last passages of his life, from what was in the former parts of it, that they could not but think there was some extraordinary thing within him, from whence it flowed. We may well suppose, that some shining qualities were very conspicuous in this unfortunate Duke, since the greatest enemy his family ever had, at the close of his most virulent invective against his son, the Earl of Leicester, has these words, which

(57) Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II, p. 244.

(56) Heylin's Hist. of the Reformation of the Church of England, p. 189.

but, of whom it may be truly said, that though even his enemies could not deny he had many great, and some good, qualities, yet the best friends to his memory must confess, they were much overballanced by his vices. His relict, Jane, Duchefs of Northumberland, was a Lady of great piety and virtue, of whom therefore we shall give a short account in a note [R]. His brother, Sir Andrews Dudley, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, fell under the same condemnation with himself, but, through the clemency of Queen Mary, his life was spared; some particulars of which the reader will find at the bottom of the page [S]. This great Duke had also a numerous issue, viz. eight sons and five daughters, of whom some went before him to the grave, others survived, and lived to see a great change in their fortunes; we shall likewise give a succinct account of them, for the reader's satisfaction [T]. It may not be amiss to remember here, that Sir John Sutton, Baron of Dudley, was taken into the new Queen's favour, though he did not live to enjoy it long, dying in less than a month after the great Duke his cousin, and, by the Queen's special command, was, on the 21st of September 1553, buried with great pomp and ceremony at Westminster, the Heralds attending at his funeral, when his stile and titles were publickly proclaimed (r). His son Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, received still higher marks of her Royal beneficence, since, by her Letters Patents, she restored to him and the heirs of his body all the manors of Horburne and Smethwick, with the advowson of the church of Horburne in the county of Stafford; as also the whole priory of Dudley, and the tithes of Norfield and Sedgeley, with divers messuages and lands, parcel of the possessions belonging to the same priory, then in the possession of the Crown by the attainder of John, Duke of Northumberland (s). This Lord taking to wife Catherine, the daughter of Sir John Bridges, Lord Chandos of Sudeley, one of the Ladies in ordinary attending on the Queen, she granted to him, and to the heirs of their two bodies, the lordships of Sedgeley, Himley, and Swinford, with the parks of Etinshall, Sedgeley, and Himley; the hays, forests, and chaces, of Ashwood and Chaspell, with all the land called Willingworth, and divers other lands and tenements

(r) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 34.

(s) Pat. 1 & 2 P. & M.

(58) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 178.

(59) Catalogue of Nobility, by Ralph Brook, p. 149, 150.

(60) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 219.

(61) Weever's Funeral Monuments, in his Cat. of Heralds.

which falling from him are very remarkable (58). In his father, no doubt, there were to be seen many excellent good parts, if they had been joined with faith, honesty, moderation, and loyalty. For all the world knows that he was very wise, valiant, magnanimous, liberal, and assured friendly where he once promised, of all which virtues, my Lord his son hath neither shew nor shadow. That he was a good master, and that he had a servant in whom the memory of past favours out-lived the Duke, as well as his fortunes, will appear from the following passage, recorded in an old History of our Peerage (59), and except the last sentence transcribed by Sir William Dugdale (60). John Cock, Lancaster Herald, some time servant to this Duke, begged of Queen Mary to bury the head of his old master in the Tower of London, which was granted him with the whole body, and performed accordingly. In remembrance whereof, the said Lancaster, did ever after bear for his crest, a bear's head, silver; crowned, gold. It may not be amiss to add here, that it was also in gratitude for this good office he was made Lancaster Herald in 1585, when Robert, Earl of Leicester, son to this Duke, went Governor of the Low-Countries, whom he attended (61).

[R] A short account in a note.] The name of this lady, was Jane Guilford, daughter and heir of Sir Edward Guilford, Marshal of Calais, Lord-Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Master of the Ordnance under King Henry VIII, by Eleanor, sister and heiress of Thomas West, Lord la Warre. It seems this was a marriage of affection, their fathers having been intimate friends, and themselves brought up together while children. The Duke married her when he was scarce of age, so that they had lived together thirty years at the time he lost his life, when her estate was truly deplorable, being, in the strict sense of the words, turned out of doors, all her furniture seized, left without fortune, without friends, and without necessities, her husband and her son executed, her other sons living, but by permission; so that considering her age, her quality, and the manner in which she had spent her days, the Duke being as absolute in his own house, by affection, as in the state by power, she could not but be very miserable. By degrees however things grew better, more especially after the marriage of Queen Mary to King Philip, the Spanish lords and ladies of his court, employing all their interest in her favour, as appears from her will, written with her own hand, in which she expresses a very grateful sense of their kindnesses. But no reason has been assigned hitherto for their behaviour towards her, though there

was a very good one; for her uncle Henry Guilford had served long in Spain, was knighted by King Ferdinand, and for his gallant behaviour in war, had the arms of the kingdom of Granada granted him, as an augmentation of his paternal coat; she deceased at her house at Chelsea, in the forty-sixth year of her age, on the 22d of January 1554-5, and was buried with great funeral solemnity in the church there, on the 1st of February following, and had a noble monument erected there, with a suitable inscription to perpetuate her memory (62).

[S] At the bottom of the page.] It does not appear, at what time this gentleman received the honour of knighthood, but we find, that by the title of Sir Andrews Dudley, Knight, he had the manor of Whitney granted him by King Edward VI, in the year 1551 (63). A like grant of the manor of Minster Lovel, and the hundred of Chadlington, passed in the month of February, 1552; in the month of October, the same year, upon his being recalled from the castle of Guines, of which he was captain, he was appointed one of the four gentlemen in ordinary of his Majesty's Privy-Chamber (64); he was also keeper of the palace of Westminster, and, as the warrants to him plainly shew, Master of the Wardrobe (65); but the last and greatest favour he received in that reign, was his being elected, April 23d, in the sixth year of Edward VI, one of the Knights Companions of the most Noble Order of the Garter (66). He joined, as it was natural for him to do, with the Duke his brother, and for that offence, on the 19th of August 1553, received judgment to die as a traitor, notwithstanding which, he was reprieved, and afterwards pardoned, and discharged out of the Tower, Octob. 18, 1554, living the remainder of his life privately, at his house in Tothill-street, where he deceased in 1559, but it does not appear that any notice was taken of him by Queen Elizabeth, so that, at the time of his demise, his fortune was but small (67).

[T] For the reader's satisfaction.] We are here to speak of the Duke of Northumberland's posterity, and first of the sons, which were eight.

I. Henry, who was killed at the siege of Bologne, at the age of nineteen, married to Wynefred, daughter to the Lord Rich; upon whose death there is an elegy extant, by Leland (68).

II. Thomas, who died when he was two years old.

III. John, who had the title of Earl of Warwick in his father's life-time; at the coronation of Edward VI, he was made one of the Knights of the Bath; in the fifth year of that monarch's reign, he accompanied the Marquis of Northampton, who carried the Order of the Garter to the French King (69). In the sixth of Edward

(62) These particulars are taken from the Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(63) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 497.

(64) From the King's Journal.

(65) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 233, 234. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 520.

(66) Register of the Order.

(67) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(68) Published by Hearne, at the end of Ross of Warwick's History.

(69) MS. sub effig. Jul. C. IX in Bibl. Cotton.

(v) Pat. 1 & 2 P. & M.

(u) Pat. 21 Eliz. per infam.

(70) Pat. 6 E. VI. p. 51.

(71) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 111.

(72) Hist. of Ed. VI. in the Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 256. Earnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 206.

(73) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 202.

(74) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 319.

(75) Brook's Catalogue of the Nobility, p. 218. Milles's Cat. of Honour, p. 319.

in the county of Stafford (*t*): her Majesty also granted him, though the date does not appear, the whole castle of Dudley, the park called the Conigree, the old park of Dudley, with divers other lands lying in Dudley, Rowley, and Sedgley, in the county of Stafford; all which came to the Crown by the forfeiture of the said John, Duke of Northumberland (*u*). The Queen also made this Lord Governor of the castle of Hampnies in Picardy, for the term of his natural life (*v*). By his Lady beforementioned, he had only one daughter, Anne, married to Thomas Wylmer, Esq; Counsellor at Law (*x*). As to his other marriages and issue, the reader has seen them already in another place (*y*); we shall therefore add nothing farther here, than that this noble Peer dying July 4, 1586, in the twenty-eighth year of Queen Elizabeth (*z*), his body was interred in the church of St Margaret, Westminster.

Edward VI. he was made Master of the Horse, with a fee of one hundred pounds per annum (70). He had the wardship granted him, of Sir Edward Seymour, Knight, son to the Protector (71). But whereas it is said, by certain writers, that when his father caused the Lord Paget to be deprived of the Garter (72), it was to make room for his son the Earl of Warwick, that is not likely to be true, because this young nobleman never had it at all; he was condemned with his father, but reprieved and released out of the Tower with his uncle, and going to his brother's house at Penhurst in Kent, died there in two days time; so that it is probable, he was dying when he was discharged (73). He was, as a certain writer informs us, a nobleman of great hope, and one of the mirrors of his age for religion, learning, and military affairs (74). He deceased, October the 21st, 1554, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, leaving no issue by his Countess, the daughter of the Duke of Somerset, who after his death, married Sir Edward Umpton, Knight (75).

IV. and V. Ambrose and Robert, of whom hereafter.

VI. Guilford, who, as we have shewn in the text, married Jane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, in the

month of May, 1553, and on the 12th of February following, lost his life, together with his unfortunate lady, upon the scaffold (76).

VII. Henry, who married Margaret, the sole daughter and heiress of Thomas, Lord Audley, High-Chancellor of England, and was killed at the siege of St Quintins, in 1557. His widow married Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and from her descended the Howards, Earls of Suffolk (77).

VIII. Charles, who at his death, was but four years old. The daughters were five, *viz.*

1. Mary, who married Sir Henry Sydney, Knight of the Garter, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Lord President of Wales, from whom descended the Earls of Leicester of that name (78).

2. Margaret, who died when she was ten years old.

3. Catherine, who became the wife of Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntington, and Lord President of the North, by whom she had no issue, she survived him long, and deceasing in the month of August, 1620, was interred by her mother in Chelsea church (79).

4. Temperance, who died at a year old (80).

5. Another Catherine, who died at seven years of age (81).

(v) Pat. 1 & 2 P. & M. p. 4.

(x) Catalogue of Nobility, by R. B.

(y) In note [B] in the article of DUDLEY.

(z) F. F. In officio arm. 101. 13. a.

(76) Baronagium Angliae, fo. 21.

(77) Milles's Cat. of Honour, p. 818.

(78) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(79) Milles's Cat. of Honour, p. 818. Memoirs before-cited.

(80) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 220.

(81) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

DUDLEY (Lady JANE), see GRAY (Lady JANE), or, as Heylyn styles her, QUEEN JANE.

DUDLEY (AMBROSE), son of John, Duke of Northumberland beforementioned, afterwards Baron L'Isle, and Earl of Warwick, through the favour of Queen Elizabeth. He was born, as I conjecture, either in 1530 or 1531, and was carefully educated in his father's family, and shewing an early propensity to arms, he attended his father, then Earl of Warwick, when he went into Norfolk against the rebels in the year 1549 (*a*), and there it was, in all probability, that he deserved the honour of knighthood, which was conferred upon him November the 17th, with the Duke of Lunenburgh, Sir John Perrot, Sir Nicholas Pelham, and Sir Thomas Russel (*b*). We find him very high in King Edward's favour in 1552, when he assisted at several tournaments, made, as some writers insinuate, to amuse the young King, while his uncle the Duke of Somerset was under sentence of death (*c*). He was then stiled Lord Ambrose Dudley, and received by that title some marks of benevolence from the King his master (*d*). He continued all that reign, as the reader may conceive, in much credit at Court, and being in arms at the same time with the Duke of Northumberland on the behalf of Lady Jane, he was attainted, received sentence of death, and remained a close prisoner till October 18, 1554 (*e*), when he was discharged out of the Tower, and pardoned for life (*f*). Upon the demise of his mother, the Duchess of Northumberland, in the succeeding year, he became possessed of the Lordship of Hale Owen, charged with some annuities to his younger brothers by the Will of that Lady (*g*). In 1557, in company with both his brothers, he attended the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Viscount Montacute, the Lord Wilton, and the Earl of Lincoln, who, in the month of May, with a body of eight thousand men, passed over into the Low-Countries, and joined the Spanish army that lay then before St Quintins (*h*). He had his share in the famous victory that was gained over the French who came to the relief of the place, and was likewise present during the remaining part of the siege, which after the battle was resumed (*i*). Having had the misfortune to lose there his youngest brother, who was a person of great hopes, and a singular favourite with King Edward VI (*k*), this matter was so represented to Queen Mary, that she consented to restore the whole family in blood, and accordingly an act passed this year for that purpose, by which Sir Ambrose Dudley, Knight, was entirely freed from the inconveniencies derived upon him by the attainder of John, Duke of Northumberland, his father (*l*) [A]. On the

(a) Cooper, Hollinshed, Stowe.

(b) Nom. Equit. MS. in Bibl. Cotton. Not. Claudius c. ii. p. 186.

(c) Taken from King Edward's Journal.

(d) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 500.

(e) Ibid. Vol. III. p. 208.

(f) Cole's Esc. Lib. ii. Not. 6 r. A. 13. in Bibl. Harley.

(g) See the Duchess's will in the Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney papers.

(h) Hollinshed's Chron. p. 1133.

(i) Stowe's Annals, p. 631.

(k) As appears by several passages in the King's Journal.

(l) An. 4 & 5 Ph. & Mar. No. 12.

[A] By the attainder of John, Duke of Northumberland, his father. It is highly probable, that this restitution in blood was obtained by the power of King Philip, on account of the good services that had been performed by all the brothers at St Quintins, where

the youngest, Henry, in the last assault given to the place, was killed by a shot, as he was stooping to draw his stocking over his knee, that it might not incommode him in scaling (1). This act of Parliament recites (2), that by reason of the attainders of John, Duke

(1) Hollinshed's Chron. p. 1134.

(2) An. 4 & 5 Ph. & Mar. No. 12, Duke

(m) This appears from several MSS of Dr John Dee, to whom he was a bountiful patron.

(n) Pat. 1 Eliz.

(o) Camden. Ann. Eliz. p. 33.

(p) Pat. 2 Eliz. p. 4.

(q) Pat. 4 Eliz. p. 6.

(r) Pat. 4 Eliz. p. 2. in dorso & Rymer.

(s) Hollinshed's Chron. p. 1222.

the accession of Queen Elizabeth, he became immediately one of the most distinguished persons at her Court, and was called, as in the days of her brother, Lord Ambrose Dudley (m). In the first year of her reign, he obtained a grant of the manor of Kibworth Beauchamp in the county of Leicester, to be held by the service of Pantler to the Kings and Queens of this realm at their coronation (n), which seemed to be a happy omen of the restitution of his family, since that office had been, by his father, and other his ancestors Earls of Warwick, enjoyed. In the first promotion however he had no higher preferment given him, and was also passed by in the first creation of Peers (o). In the second year of her reign, the Queen bestowed on him a much stronger mark of her kindness, by advancing him to the great office of Master of the Ordnance (p), and to shew her confidence in him the greater, he was so constituted for life. On Christmas day, in the fourth year of her reign, he had the antient honour of his family, though with some change in the title, conferred upon him, being created by patent Baron of Kingston L'Isle in the county of Berks, in consideration of his illustrious blood, fidelity, valour, prudence, and other great merits, as the preamble of that patent recites (q); and the very next day was advanced to the honour of Earl of Warwick, with very singular circumstances of the Queen's esteem [B]. It was about this time judged necessary to send over a body of English troops to Normandy, upon a promise made by the Protestants to Queen Elizabeth, that they should have a very important port put into their hands, which being considered as a matter of the highest importance, the Council recommended to her the Earl of Warwick, as the properest person to be entrusted with the command. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1562, he was honoured with a commission to be the Queen's Lieutenant in Normandy, where the important town of Havre de Grace, called by our writers New Haven, was delivered to him, and he was with great solemnity sworn into his office (r). He behaved himself, in the course of that expedition, with the greatest courage and conduct, executed the Queen's orders with the utmost punctuality, and when he found himself shut up in the place, defended it with all the firmness and prudence imaginable; neither would he deliver it up, though warmly pressed by a great army, and attacked within by famine and pestilence, till he received the Queen's express commands, and then obtained an honourable capitulation (s) [C]. While he commanded in France, the Queen caused him to be elected Knight

Duke of Northumberland, the said Ambrose Dudley, and Robert Dudley, Knights, now remain out of all name and reputation, to their great discomfort, grief, and daily sorrow. And for as much as the said Ambrose and Robert be, and always, ever since the said attainders have been, and always hereafter intend to be, her Highness's true and faithful subjects: It may therefore please her Highness, &c. at their most humble petitions, for the true and faithful service which they had done, and intend to do during their lives; and having already given good proof and trial of their fidelity, &c. it was therefore enacted, with the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons in Parliament assembled, That the said Ambrose Dudley, and Robert Dudley, Knights, the Lady Mary Sidney, and Lady Catherine Hastings, and every of them, and their heirs, and the heirs of every of them, from henceforth, may, and shall, by authority of this act, be restored and enabled in blood and name, and made heir and heirs, as well to the said Sir John Dudley, Knight, late Duke of Northumberland, their said father, as also to any other their ancestor or ancestors, lineal or collateral, in such manner and form, as if the said late Duke their father, or they, or any of them had never byn attainted, and as yf no such attainder or attainders were, or had byn had: the corruption of blood between the said late Duke their father, and your said subjects, or any of them, or the corruption of blood between your said subjects, and any other their ancestor, or ancestors, or any act of Parliament, or judgment at Common-Law, concerning the attainder of the said late Duke their father, or of the said Sir Ambrose Dudley, or of the said Sir Robert Dudley, or any of them, or any other thing, whereby the blood of the said late Duke their father, or of the said Sir Ambrose Dudley, or of the said Sir Robert Dudley, or any of them, is, should, or might be, corrupted, &c. And it was also enacted, that the said Ambrose Dudley, and Robert Dudley, the Lady Mary Sidney, and the Lady Catherine Hastings, and every of them, and their heirs, &c. shall be enabled to demand, ask, have, hold, and enjoy, all such lands, tenements, and hereditaments, &c. which at any time hereafter shall descend, come, remain, or revert from any their ancestor, or ancestors, as if the said Duke their father, or any of them had never byn attainted,

and as though no such attainder of their said late father, or of them, or any of them had ever been had or made.

[B] *With very singular circumstances of the Queen's esteem* ] It is no unreasonable conjecture, that the Queen had the raising of this noble person and his brother much at heart, from the very beginning of her reign; at which, though some historians affect much amazement, and have recourse to the influence of the stars, to account for what they could not comprehend (3), there seems however, to be no great difficulty in the case. In her youth, the princess Elizabeth, had conversed very intimately with Ambrose and Robert Dudley. saw them high in her brother King Edward's favour, and probably had made use of their interest in those times of prosperity. They had been also, abating the great distance in their rank, companions in adversity under Queen Mary; nor is it at all improbable, that they might render the Princess Elizabeth very acceptable service, during the latter part of that reign, when both the brothers had recovered some degree of favour. But notwithstanding all this, the Queen proceeded slowly, and with much deliberation. The preamble to his patent for the Earldom of Warwick sets forth (4), That the Queen considering that the way to increase her royal dignity, is by advancing men to titles of honour, eminent for their abilities and valour, and of such, the more she prefers, the brighter her crown shines. And Sir Ambrose Dudley, Knight, Baron L'Isle, being lawfully descended from the illustrious and ancient race of the Earls of Warwick, as also he is at the present eldest son of John, late Duke of Northumberland, and Earl of Warwick. She therefore being willing to restore the family, has created him Earl of Warwick, by girding him with a sword, and placing a cap of honour and circle on his head; to hold to him, and the heirs male of his body, with remainder to Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, Master of the Horse to her Majesty, otherwise called Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, brother of the said Sir Ambrose Dudley, Knight, Baron L'Isle, and now Earl of Warwick, and to the heirs male of the body of the said Sir Robert, with a grant of twenty pounds annually, out of the fee-farm rent of the city of Coventry, payable by the sheriff and citizens of the said city.

[C] *And then obtained an honourable capitulation* ] About this time, the first civil wars on the score of religion

(3) Camden. Ann. p. 109.

(4) Pat. 4 Eliz. p. 6.

Knight of the Garter, and the ensigns of the Order were sent over to him thither (t). Upon his return he was received with great kindness by his Sovereign, who continued to him her accustomed favour, and gave him, upon many occasions, extraordinary marks of her confidence. In 1566 he was created Doctor of Laws by the University of Oxford (u), and, in 1568, he was added, with some other Noblemen, to the Lords of her Majesty's Privy-Council, as a Commissioner in the great cause of the Queen of Scots, upon her retiring into England; and took the oath of secrecy imposed upon that occasion (w). In 1569 he, together with the Lord Clinton, was appointed jointly and severally the Queen's Lieutenants in the North, upon that dangerous rebellion which broke out under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, which, by his care and vigilance, was happily suppressed. In 1570 the Queen was pleased to grant him the office of Chief-Butler of England (x). In the beginning of the succeeding year, when the unfortunate Thomas Duke of Norfolk was brought to his trial before George Earl of Shrewsbury, as Lord High-Steward of England, he was one of the Peers appointed, by the Queen's Commission, to sit upon the trial (y). In the same year he was sworn one of the Members of her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Council (z). We find him in all the great and publick services during this active and busy reign, but never in any of the intrigues with which it was blemished; for he was a man of great sweetness of temper, and of unexceptionable character, so that he was beloved by all parties, and hated by none (a). He distinguished himself particularly as the zealous patron of the trade and manufactures of his country, which induced him to promote a design, formed by some Merchants of London, for opening the trade to Barbary; which, however, was not attended with so much good fortune as they expected; upon which that noble Lord, in 1585, procured a licence from the Queen, for the sole transporting of cloths into those parts for two years, that Thomas Starkey, Gerard Gore, and other Merchants of London, who were embarked in the first unfortunate adventure, might repair the losses they had sustained (b). In 1586 he was one of the Peers that assisted at the trial of Mary Queen of Scots, and to whom, as a person for whom she had a particular regard, that unfortunate Princess addressed herself when the Assembly broke up (c). In the last years of his life he endured great pain and misery, from the wound received in his leg, when he defended Newhaven against the French, and this, at last, brought him so low, that, submitting to the opinion of Physicians and Surgeons, he consented to an amputation, which was accordingly performed, but without success, so that he departed this life soon after at Bedford-House, Bloomsbury, February 20th, 1589, when he was about the age of threescore (d). As the long decline of his health gave him timely notice of the approach of death, he made a long and very remarkable will, some few passages of which the reader will find in the notes [D].

(t) Funeral's MS. Not. 31, in Bibl. Joh. Anstis, Arm.

(u) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 91.

(w) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 171.

(x) See the inscription upon his monument.

(y) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 245.

(z) See the inscription upon his monument.

(a) Fuller's Worthies in Staffordshire.

(b) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 450.

(c) See the proceedings at the Castle of Fotheringay.

(d) Camden. Annal. p. 621.

This

ligion broke out in France, King Charles IX, being then in his minority. The Guises, who were at the head of the Papists, had the King, and the Queen his mother, in their hands, which induced the Prince of Condé, and the other Chiefs of the Protestants, to desire the protection of Queen Elizabeth, which she accordingly granted. The Earl of Warwick embarked at Portsmouth, October the 17th, 1562, but was obliged by ill weather to put into Dover, from whence he failed again, and was again forced back, so that he did not arrive at Newhaven till the 29th of the same month; he found the place in the hands of Sir Adrian Poyning, who had taken possession of it on the 2d of September. While the Civil-War continued, the English Lord-Lieutenant, gave all the assistance possible to the Protestants, but they having made up their quarrel with the Court, declared against the English, upon which, the Lord-Lieutenant obliged all the French to quit the town (5). It was not long before the place was invested by a numerous army, under the command of the Constable Montmorency, the Protestants being as active against the English as any, that they might recover the favour of the Court. The place was quickly deprived of fresh water, partly through the dryness of the season, and partly by the pains taken by the French to cut off the aqueducts, which obliged the soldiers to boil their victuals in salt water. This produced an epidemick distemper, by which numbers perished. Notwithstanding all this, the Lord-Lieutenant continued to make an obstinate defence, and frequently repulsed the French in their assaults, as is very largely related by our own Historians, and is also clearly admitted by theirs (6). The Queen having intelligence of the state that things were in, expressed with tears her commiseration for her subjects, and that she might no longer expose so many brave men at once to sickness and the sword; she publickly applauded their noble courage, and at the same time directed the Earl of Warwick to capitulate upon honourable terms. He

sent accordingly commissioners to treat, and on this occasion, going himself upon the rampart without armour, to speak to a French officer of distinction, he was basely, and against the rules of war, shot with a poisoned bullet in the leg, which proved not only the cause of his losing that limb, but afterwards his life (7). It was not long before the articles of surrender were adjusted, and were in substance these, viz. That the town, with all the ammunition, shipping, and furniture, which belonged to the French King and his subjects, should be surrendered. That the large tower should forthwith be delivered up to Montmorency. That the prisoners taken on both sides should be exchanged without ransom, and that the English should have free liberty to depart in six days, if the wind served, with all things that belonged to the Queen and them. The hostages delivered were, Sir Oliver Manners, the Earl of Rutland's brother; the captains, Leighton, Pelham, and Horsey. The last that stayed, says Camden, was Colonel Edward Randolph, who out of a piety, never enough to be commended, carried upon his shoulders the sick and deceased soldiers into the ships. Thus was Newhaven, after it had stood the siege of a sickness, more violent than the enemies fire, left at last to the French, after the English had been masters of it eleven months. The soldiers that were brought back to England sick of the infection, scatter'd the bad influence thereof so unhappily, that it seized on the whole kingdom in a miserable manner, and there were carried out of the city of London alone, which then consisted of an hundred and twenty-one parishes, twenty-one thousand five hundred and thirty corps (8).

(7) As appears from Sir Wm. Dethick's account in the MS. preserved in the Office of Arms cited in the text.

(8) Camden, Annal. Eliz. p. 101.

(9) Ex Regist. vocat. Drury, n. 75. qu. 43. in cur. praeleg. Cantuar.

[D] The reader will find in the notes.] These passages are at the close of the will, and are produced to shew the temper of mind in which he died, the great affection he had for his friends, and who those friends were (9). 'Concerning all our goods, chattels, and moveables whatsoever, I do give and bequeath them to my aforesaid beloved wife, whom I do ordain and

20 K

make

(5) Hollinshed's Chron. p. 1201.

(6) Stowe, Hollinshed, Camden, Mezeray, P. Daniel.

This noble person was thrice married, first to Anne, daughter and heir of William Whorwood, Esq; Attorney-General to King Henry VIII, by his first wife Cassandra; daughter to Sir Edward Grey, Knight, which Lady died on the 26th of May 1552, his and her only son John dying before her (e). He married next Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gilbert Talboys, Knight, sister and sole heiress to George, Lord Talboys (f); and, after her decease, by whom he had no issue, he married Lady Anne Russell, daughter to Francis, Earl of Bedford, by whom also he had no issue (g). Sir William Dethick had the direction of his funeral, which was performed with great solemnity; Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, who had married his sister, was chief mourner, and his corps was attended to the grave by the Earls of Kent, Bedford, Cumberland, and Pembroke, the Lords Dudley and St John, Sir William Russell, Sir Henry Knevet, Sir John Harrington, Sir Fulk Grevil, Sir Drew Drury, and Sir Henry Lea (h). He was interred April 9th, 1590, in the midst of the chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, at Warwick, where a curious altar-monument is erected to his memory, by the pious care of his relict Anne, Countess of Warwick, with his effigies in armour, and mantle of an Earl lying thereon; his head resting on a mattress cut in marble, with his hands conjoined, as in prayer, and, at his feet, a bear couchant muzzled, all painted to the life (i). On this monument there is a large inscription, which, being already inserted in several books (k), it would be needless to transcribe; and, therefore, let us conclude with observing, that he was called by the people, long before and after his decease, THE GOOD EARL OF WARWICK (l).

(e) Cole's Efc. Lib. ii. p. 14.

(f) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 822.

(g) Baronagium Angliae, MS. fo. 21.

(h) Funeral's MS. Not. 31, in Bibl. Joh. Anstis, Arm.

(i) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney Papers.

(k) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 447, 448.

(l) Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 821.

' make my sole and only executrix of this my last will and testament, requiring her to have an honourable consideration of all my servants, according to their special deserts and times spent in my service, as in part, I do declare by a codicil hereunto annexed. And I do instantly intreat my very assured good Lords, the Lord Burleigh, Lord-Treasurer of England, the Earl of Cumberland, the Earl of Huntingdon, to be overseers of this my said will, beseeching them to yield their honourable and friendly furtherance unto my said executrix, for the better performance of the same: and in testimony of my most dutiful and faithful heart towards her most excellent Majesty, whose days I instantly beseech God to lengthen here upon earth, to the comfort of his Church and this realm with much happiness, and after her pilgrimage here ended, she may everlastingly reign with him. I do will and bequeath to her Highness, my best jewel set with an emerald, most humbly beseeching her gracious acceptation, notwithstanding the baseness thereof; and that it would please her Highness to continue her good favour towards my said wife, whom I leave to continue her most faith-

ful, and devoted servant, recommending this most effectually as my last petition to her Majesty. I do give and bequeath to my said very good Lord, the Lord-Treasurer, my collar of gold of the Order, and my George annexed thereunto. And to the Earl of Cumberland, my brooche with diamonds, with an agate therein; and to my Lord of Huntingdon, my second best George and best garter, and a bason and ewer of silver, of forty pounds at the least: and to my dear sister the Countess of Huntingdon, a jewel worth five-hundred marks; and to my neice the Countess of Pembroke, a diamond of fifty pounds; and to my very good Lord, the Lord-Chancellor, my best George, with a chain and garter. To my Lord Cobham, and Lord Grey of Wilton, either of them a George. To Mr Secretary Walsingham, my honourable good friend, a bason and ewer of silver of forty pounds. And to my little neice Sidney, a jewel of one-hundred marks. And to Mr Vice-Chamberlain, a pair of gilt livery pots of twenty pounds. And to Mr Roger Manners, my best foot cloth nag, and the best furniture belonging to the same. In witness, &c. E

D U D L E Y (ROBERT), Baron of Denbigh, and Earl of Leicester, son of John, Duke of Northumberland, and brother to Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, before-mentioned. We have no certainty at all as to the time of his birth, or distinct account of the manner of his education, except that he had a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue, and was thoroughly versed in the Italian (a). He received the honour of knighthood when he was but a youth, and came very early into the service and favour of King Edward (b). It was one of his father's maxims to marry his children while they were young, as the surest means of fixing their fortunes, bringing them into a settled course of life, and giving him an opportunity of procuring for them valuable grants, or places of honour and profit. Accordingly June the 4th, 1550, being the day after the marriage of his brother the Lord L'Isle to the Duke of Somerset's daughter, Sir Robert Dudley espoused Amy, daughter of Sir John Robsart (c), at Sheen in Surrey, the King honouring their nuptials with his presence [A]. He was, not long after, made Master of the King's

(a) Upon both which he is complimented by Dr Wilson, in his Dedication to him of a Discourse upon Usury.

(b) This appears from the King's Journal, and all the histories of that reign.

(c) See this explained in the note.

[A] *The King honouring their nuptials with his presence.* There is not any article in this collection, encumbered with more difficulties than this of Queen Elizabeth's distinguished favourite, the third in descent of the same family, to the third in descent of the same royal house. Edmund Dudley, Esq; was the chief Minister of Henry VII. John, Viscount L'Isle, honoured, living and dying, with the favour of King Henry VIII; and, by the title of Northumberland, ruling all things under Edward VI; and this Robert, Earl of Leicester, from the very entrance of Queen Elizabeth's reign, taking in the space of near thirty years, in as high credit and power as a subject could be; but notwithstanding all this, and that hardly any nobleman's name occurs more frequently in our Histories, yet there are many particulars relating to his life, which are very obscure, chiefly from the different views which those persons had, by whom they

were recorded, and these we shall principally endeavour to clear up, as far as the narrow bounds which the nature of such a collection prescribes will allow.

As to this marriage, King Edward enters it thus in his Journal (1). 'June 4, 1550, Sir Robert Dudley, third son to the Earl of Warwick, married Sir John Robsart's daughter, after which marriage, there were certain gentlemen that did strive who should first take away a goose's head, which was hanged alive on two cross posts.' Authors differ as to the name of this lady. Brooke, in his first edition (2), calls her Amy, in which he agrees with some ancient authorities that I have seen; but in his second edition, following the general course of other authors, he styles her Anne (3), and indeed, in old writings it is very difficult to distinguish between *Anie* and *Anne*. She was a very considerable heiress, and descended of a noble family in Norfolk,

(1) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. in the Appendix, p. 15.

(2) Cat. of Nobility, p. 136.

(3) Vincent's Errors in Brooke's Cat. p. 310.

(d) Pat. 4 Ed. V. King's Buckhounds for life (d), and, on the 15th of August 1551, he was sworn one of the Six Gentlemen of the King's Chamber in Ordinary, together with Mr Barnaby Fitzpatrick (e). In the month of October he was, amongst many other persons of distinction, appointed to wait upon the Queen-Dowager of Scotland, and appears to have had a share in most of the King's diversions, who gave him, upon all occasions, very pregnant marks of his singular affection (f). In the first year of Queen Mary he fell into the same misfortunes with the rest of his family, was brought prisoner from the Queen's camp to London, sent to the Tower, indicted of high-treason, and, upon his pleading guilty (g), received sentence of death, but was pardoned for life, and set at liberty October 18th, 1554 (h). He was restored in blood at the same time, and by the same act of Parliament with his brother (i), but had the advantage of him in one respect, being raised to the important post of Master of the Ordnance by Queen Mary (k), which has been thought to give some credit to the earliest piece of secret history that is to be met with in respect to this great man, if we except what regards King Edward's death (l); though, perhaps, both are without foundation [B]. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth it very soon appeared, that the change of Sovereigns had created no alteration but in the degree of his favour: he was immediately entertained at Court as one of the new Queen's principal favourites, promoted to the office of Master of the Horse, with the fee of one hundred marks *per annum* (m), and named first in the commission for compounding with such as might be called to receive the honour of knighthood at the Queen's coronation, by the name of Lord Robert Dudley (n). On the 4th of June 1589, he was installed Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and sworn of the Council (o). These great preferments excited some degree of envy, the rather, because this noble person, in compliance with his Sovereign's humour, and perhaps with his own, lived at a very high rate, and, in point of magnificence, surpassed most of the Nobility, tho' he had not as yet any other title than he derived from courtesy. In 1562 he obtained from the Queen the Castle and Manor of Kenilworth, together with Astell-Grove in Warwickshire, the Lordships, Manors, and Castles of Denbigh and Chirk, of very large value (p). The same year he became High-Steward of the University of Cambridge, and obtained prodigious grants from the Crown, and from others, in virtue of that influence which he was known to have at Court [C].

(e) See King Edward's Journal of that date.

(f) Strype, Holinshed, Stowe, Speed, Burnet.

(g) Stowe's Annals, p. 618.

(h) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(i) See DUDLEY (AMNORSE) Earl of Warwick.

(k) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 208.

(l) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 425.

(m) Pat. 1 Eliz. P. iv. m. 12.

(n) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 493.

(o) From the plate in St George's Chapel at Windsor.

(p) Stowe's Annals, p. 657, 658.

All

(4) See this explained in note [D].

(5) Leicester's Commonwealth.

(6) Strype's Memorials.

Norfolk, one of her ancestors by the father's side, having been a peer of the realm in the reign of Henry V, and two of them Knights of the Garter in the reign of that prince, and of his son (4). So, that as we observed in the text, this match at the time it was made, agreed perfectly with his father's maxim, and afforded Sir Robert Dudley a very good establishment for a younger brother, which he improved, by procuring grants to his father-in-law and himself.

[B] *Though perhaps both are without foundation.* We are told in that famous book, which is ascribed to Persons the Jesuit, that at the very close of K. Edward's reign, the Duke of Northumberland wrote flattering letters to the Lady Mary, promising to assist in establishing her succession (5), which seems not a little incredible. It is not however at all unlikely, that his younger sons, Ambrose and Robert, might express an affection for her cause, and a great unwillingness to act against her, which turned afterwards highly to their advantage; but in this, as in the succeeding reign, the younger brother shewed himself the more expert courtier of the two, attaching himself wholly to King Philip after his marriage; so that we find him made choice of to carry messages between the King and Queen, riding post (6) upon such occasions, and neglecting nothing that might ingratiate him with either of these princes. This assiduity recommended him to the post he obtained under the Queen, and in all probability he had a great share in King Philip's favour, not only then, but long after, which, at the first-accession of Queen Elizabeth, he employed for her service, and was for some years looked upon as a person well affected to his Catholick Majesty, and rather a friend than an enemy to the Popish interest; yet without running any hazards in their defence, and purely by observing great civility towards them, which he afterwards excused out of gratitude for favours formerly received. But when the Papists felt the severity of the laws, and saw this noble person set himself at the head of the Puritans, they made no scruple of affirming loudly, that he was once theirs; that if Queen Mary had lived, he would have neglected nothing to ingratiate himself with her; and that following his father's example, he was ready to embrace, or at least to profess, any Creed that might promote his own progress at Court, and lessen the greatness of those who refused to depend upon him.

[C] *Which he was known to have at Court.* The

intelligent reader will observe, that notwithstanding the revenues of the Crown were far inferior in those days, to what they are now, yet such as had the favour of the prince, knew how to turn it to greater advantage than can be done at this day; as for instance, the Earl of Leicester having obtained a licence for transporting cloths, sold it immediately to some of the Merchant-Adventurers, for the sum of six-thousand two-hundred sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence (7). He made such a display of his power over the Queen his mistress's mind, that even her best friends, and oldest servants, were glad to court his favour, as appears by a letter in a very humble stile, from Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, with a present (8). By the reputation of this high influence, he obtained whatever he sought, almost from all hands. As for example, he had a patent of the stewardship of the Bishoprick of Ely, confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of that place, also the office of Chamberlain of the County Palatine of Chester. And these following were after conferred on him, the stewardship of the forest of Snoden; the stewardship of Reading; the stewardship of Abingdon; the stewardship of Harrow on the Hill, from Roger, Lord North. The stewardship of Tewsbury, Cleve, Swell, and Longney, with the fees of eleven pounds *per annum*, and the Bailiwick, with the fees, of sixty-six shillings and eight pence. The stewardship of Clun. A patent of master of the game and liberties belonging to the Bishoprick of Coventry and Lichfield, with licence to muster his tenants, &c. with a fee of ten pounds *per annum*. A patent from the Archbishop of York, of the high-stewardship of his possessions, and master of his game, with a fee of ten pounds. The stewardship of the Church of Norwich, with a fee of ten pounds. A grant of a rent-charge of six pounds *per annum*, from the Bishop of Winchester, for term of his life, out of the manor of Taunton, and other lands in Somersetshire, confirmed by the Dean and Chapter. The stewardship of the lands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a rent charge of ten pounds *per annum*, granted by the Dean and Chapter of Christ-Church, Canterbury. And a patent in reversion, of the stewardship of the lands of the Bishop of London, with a fee of ten pounds *per annum*, granted by Edwin, Bishop of London, and a confirmation of the same from the Dean and Chapter. The stewardship of the honour of Tickhall, with the accustomed fee.

(7) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(8) Peck's De-fiderata, Vol. II. Lib. vii. p. 28.

All things gave way, at this time, to his ambition, influence, or policy, so that whatever he desired for himself, or his friends, were obtained as soon as demanded. He had a grant of Windsor-Park, in terms as ample as he could desire, or the Queen could give (q). In his attendance on the Queen, when she visited the University of Cambridge, the highest reverence was paid him; he was lodged in Trinity-College, consulted in all things, requests made to the Queen through him, and, August 10th, 1564, he, on his knees, entreated the Queen to speak to the University in Latin, which she accordingly did (r). At Court, however, Thomas, Earl of Suffex shewed himself averse to his counsels, and strongly promoted the overture of a marriage between the Queen and the Archduke Charles of Austria, as much more worthy of such a Princess than any subject of her own, let his qualities be what they would. This was resented by Lord Robert, who insinuated, that foreign alliances were always fatal, that her sister Mary never knew an easy minute after her marriage with King Philip, and that her Majesty ought to consider, she was herself descended of such a marriage as, by those lofty notions, was decried; so that she could not condemn an alliance with the Nobility of England, but she must, at the same time, reflect on her father's choice, and her mother's family (s). These disputes created a kind of civil war in the very palace, both Lords openly avowing their distaste to each other, and keeping their servants armed about their persons, and, whenever they went abroad, as if things were to be decided by the sword. But the Queen taking up the matter, reconciled them, or rather prevented an open rupture (t). But this without any diminution of Lord Robert Dudley's ascendancy, who continued daily to solicit and obtain new grants and offices for himself, and his dependants, which, by degrees, grew so numerous, and made so great a figure, that he was stiled the *Heart of the Court* by the common people. It was thought necessary to give some colour to these extraordinary marks of royal indulgence, and therefore the Queen thought proper to propose him as a suitor to the Queen of Scots, promising that Princess all the advantages that she could expect or desire, either for herself or her subjects, in case she consented to the match (u). The sincerity of this was suspected at that time, when the deepest Politicians believed, that, if the Queen of Scotland had complied, it would have served only to countenance the preferring him to his Sovereign's bed. But the French faction at the Court of Queen Mary represented to her, that such a step would be highly dishonourable to a Queen-Dowager of France, and a Queen of Scotland in her own right; which induced her to reject the proposal (w), in a manner that some have thought proved as fatal to her as to another Lady, who was supposed to be sacrificed to his ambition of marrying a Queen (x) [D]. Whatever truth there might be in these suggestions, very certain it is, that, on the

(q) Pat. 3 Eliz. p. 5.

(r) Journal of the Queen's visit to the University of Cambridge.

(s) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 117.

(t) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. iv.

(u) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 102.

(w) Life of Mary Queen of Scots, by Sanderson.

(x) See this fully explained in the note.

fee. The stewardship of the city of Bristol, with the fee of four pounds; also the stewardship of the Bishoprick, with the same fee. The stewardship of Evesham, with the fee of forty shillings. The stewardship of the honour of Grafton. He was also chosen High-Steward of the Manor and Hundred of Andover, by the Bailiffs and Burgesses there; also steward of the town of great Yarmouth, and Recorder of the town of Malden in Essex (9).

[D] To his ambition of marrying a Queen.] The death of this lady, happened Sept. 8. 1560, at a very unlucky juncture for the Earl's reputation, because the world at that time conceived it might be much for his conveniency to be without a wife, this island then holding two Queens, young and without husbands. The manner too of this poor lady's death, which Mr Camden says, was by a fall from a high place (10), was another untoward circumstance, which added to the number of this favourite's enemies, filled the world with the rumour of a lamentable tragedy. The reader will perhaps expect to be gratified with some account of this, and it so falls out, that the industrious John Aubrey, Esq; speaking of Cumnor in Berkshire where this happened, inserts the following relation, which is very circumstantial, and carries in it strong pretences to absolute certainty. At all events it is very curious, and much clearer than any thing else that is to be met with on this subject (11). Robert Dudley, Earl of

Leicester, a very goodly personage, being a great favourite to Queen Elizabeth, it was thought, and commonly reported, that had he been a bachelor or widower, the Queen would have made him her husband; to this end, to free himself of all obstacles, he with fair flattering intreaties, desires his wife to repose herself here, at his servant Anthony Forster's house, who then lived in the manor-house of this place; and also prescribed to Sir Richard Varney (a promoter to this design) at his coming hither, that he should first attempt to poison her, and if that did not take effect, then by any other way whatsoever to dispatch her. This was proved by the report of

Dr Walter Bayley, some time Fellow of New-College; then living in Oxford, and Professor of Physick in that University; who, because he would not consent to take away her life by poison, the Earl endeavoured to displace him. This man reported for certain, that there was a practice in Cumnor, among the conspirators, to have poisoned this innocent lady a little before she was killed, which was attempted after this manner. They seeing her sad and heavy, as one that well knew by her other handling, that her death was not far off, began to persuade her, that her present disease was melancholy and other humours, and would needs counsel her to take some potion, which she absolutely refusing to do, as suspecting the worst; they sent a messenger for Dr Bayley, and intreated him to persuade her to take some little potion by his direction, and they would fetch the same at Oxford, meaning to have added something of their own for her comfort, as the Doctor upon just cause and consideration did suspect, seeing their great importunity, and the small need the lady had of physick, and therefore he peremptorily denied their request, misdoubting, as he afterwards reported, least if they had poisoned her under the name of his potion, he might after have been hanged for a colour of their sin; and the Doctor remained still well assured, that this way taking no effect, she would not long escape their violence, which afterwards happened thus. Sir Richard Varney, who by the Earl's order, remained that day of her death alone with her, with one man only; and Forster, who had that day forcibly sent away all her servants from her to Abingdon fair, about three miles distant from this place; they first stifling her, or else strangling her, afterwards flung her down a pair of stairs and broke her neck, using much violence upon her; but however, tho' it was reported, that she by chance fell down stairs, but still, without hurting her hood that was upon her head; yet the inhabitants will tell you there, that she was conveyed from her usual chamber where she lay to another, where the beds head of the chamber

(9) Extract of Grants to Robert Earl of Leicester, amongst the Sidney MSS.

(10) Annal. Eliz. p. 102.

(11) Antiquities of Berkshire, Vol. 1. p. 149—254.

the 28th of September 1564, the Queen created him Baron of Denbigh (y), and the next day Earl of Leicester, with all the ceremony imaginable, which, in the preamble of the patent, is said to be in consideration of his noble blood, great loyalty, eminent valour, distinguished prudence, and other numerous virtues; as also on account of his being lawfully descended from the illustrious and ancient Earls of Warwick (z). He received, before the close of the year, a very considerable addition to his new honours, by being elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford (a). His great influence in the Court of England was not only known at home but abroad, which induced the French King, Charles IX. to send him, as well as the Duke of Norfolk, the Order of St Michael, then the most honourable in France; and both these great Peers were installed with the greatest solemnity possible January 24th, 1565 (b), and a very particular relation of the whole ceremony has been carefully preserved to posterity (c). If we may trust the reports of Camden, and other Historians, he was the principal mover in the affair of the Duke of Norfolk's suit to the Queen of Scots, which proved so fatal to them both (d). The Duke wanted not friends to dissuade him from that dangerous enterprize, or to shew him how much hazard he might run, by exciting the hate of one Queen, thro' his discovering so much affection for the other; but Leicester infused bolder counsels, and made him believe, that Queen Elizabeth should not have power to hinder or resent his marriage if she would (e). But he was fatally deceived, and, as the Lord Burleigh long before hinted to him, the pursuit of that match cost him his head, the Earl of Leicester being one of those Peers that sat in judgment upon him in 1572, and condemned him to death (f). About this time it is supposed, and some writers pretend that it has been legally proved, that the Earl married Douglas, Baroness-Dowager of Sheffield (g); which, however, was carried with such privacy, that it did not come to the Queen's ears, though a great deal of secret history was published, even in those days, concerning the adventures of this unfortunate Lady [E]. One might be tempted to suppose, notwithstanding the confidence with

(y) Stowe's Annals, p. 658.

(z) Pat. 6 Eliz. p. iii. m. 18.

(a) Hist. & Ant. Oxon. L. i. p. 286.

(b) Stowe's Annals, p. 659.

(c) Ashmole's Order of the Garter, p. 369, 370.

(d) Camden. Annal. p. 171.

(e) Leicester's Commonwealth.

(f) See the arraignment of that Duke in the State-Trials.

(g) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II, p. 222.

chamber, stood close to a privy postern door, where they in the night came and stifled her in her bed, bruised her head very much, broke her neck, and at length flung her down stairs, thereby believing the world would have thought it a mischance, and so have blinded their villainy. But behold the mercy and justice of God in discovering this lady's murder; for one of the two persons that was a coadjutor in this murder, was afterwards taken for felony in the Marches of Wales, and offering to publish the manner of the aforesaid murder, was privately made away in the prison, by the Earl's appointment; and Sir Richard Verney, the other, dying about the same time in London, cried miserably, and said to a person of note not long before his death, that all the Devils in Hell did tear him in pieces. Forster, likewise after this fact, being a man formerly addicted to hospitality, company, mirth, and musick, was afterwards observed to forsake all this with much melancholy and pensiveness; some say with madness, pined and drooped away. The wife also of Bald Butler, kinsman to the Earl, gave out the whole fact a little before her death, Neither are the following passages to be forgotten, that as soon as she was murdered, they made great haste to bury her before the Coroner had given in his inquest; which the Earl himself condemned, as not done advisedly, and her father, Sir John Robertsett, hearing, came with all speed hither, caused her corps to be taken up, the Coroner to sit upon her, and further enquiry to be made concerning this business to the full; but it was generally thought, that the Earl stopped his mouth; and to make plain to the world, the great love he bare to her while alive, and what a grief the loss of so virtuous a lady was to his tender heart, caused her body to be re-buried in St Mary's church in Oxford, with great pomp and solemnity. It is also remarkable, that Dr Babington, the Earl's chaplain, preaching the funeral sermon, tript once or twice in his speech, by recommending to their memories, that virtuous lady so pitifully murdered, instead of saying, 'pitifully slain.' There are some things in this account not very consistent, which in so dark an affair, is not at all strange, but with respect to the least intelligible passage of all, which is her father's being so silent about a matter which opened the mouths of all the world besides; a very probable account may be given, which is this, the Inquisition taken after the death of this Lady, was to determine who were her heirs, for her father was long before dead, and this was the reason that inquisition produced no other effect, than preserving the family estate, which was very considerable, to John

Walpole, Esq; ancestor to the present Earl of Orford. It may not be amiss to observe, that the Lord Robert Robfart, came over from the Low Countries with King Edward III, and that he left behind him three sons, John, Lewis, and Theodorick; or, as we wrote it in those days, Tyrrey; Lewis, the second brother became Lord Bouchier by his marriage, and was a Knight of the Order of the Garter, but dying in the life-time of his elder brother, he became his heir (12). This Sir John Robfart, was also a Knight of the Garter, and dying in 1450, left his estate to Sir John Robfart his son, who had issue, Sir Theodorick, or Sir Tyrrey Robfart, who married the daughter and heirs of Sir Thomas Syderston, in the County of Norfolk, by whom he had issue, Sir John Robfart, and a daughter Lucy, who married Edward Walpole, Esq; of Houghton (13). Sir John Robfart left behind him an only daughter, Amy, who was the wife of Lord Robert Dudley, and by the Inquisition before mentioned, John Walpole, Esq; in right of his mother Lucy Robfart, aunt to this unfortunate Lady, was found to be her next heir, and came into possession of her lands (14).

(12) Esc. 9 H. VI. n. 52.

(13) Carta, 27 H. VIII.

(14) Visit. de Cem. Norf. in offic. Arm.

[E] Concerning the adventures of this unfortunate Lady.] It may seem a little strange, to insert in the notes to a Statesman's life, the memoirs of several Ladies, and of many of his intrigues; but the misfortune is, that we have no remedy; the learned Camden, and the judicious Sir William Dugdale, have been forced to take the same method, which, as it is a proof of the necessity, so it amounts to a vindication of the practice. This Lady Douglas Howard, was the grand-daughter of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, the daughter of William Howard, the first Baron of Effingham, and Knight of the Garter, and the widow of John, Lord Sheffield of Butterwick, who died suddenly of an extream rheum in his head, which the malicious people of those times, called a Leicester cold (15). It is beyond all doubt, that the Earl of Leicester had by her a son, Sir Robert Dudley, of whom we shall speak of hereafter, and to whom, by the name of his base son, he left the bulk of his fortune, as also a daughter. It likewise appeared by depositions taken long after in the Star Chamber, upon the oath of Lady Douglas Sheffield herself, and of several other persons, that she having been first contracted in Cannon Row (16), within the liberties of Westminster, about two years before, was solemnly wedded to him at Asher, in the County of Surry, by a lawful Minister, according to the form of matrimony by Law established in the Church of England, in the presence of Sir Edward Horsey, Knt. who gave her in marriage, as also of Robert Sheffield, Esq; Dr Julio, Henry Frodsham, and five other persons, who

(15) Leicester's Commonwealth.

(16) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II, p. 222.

with which these stories are told, that they must be exaggerated at least, if not false, since the Earl, at this juncture, obtained an act of Parliament to enable him to erect an Hospital at Warwick; which he afterwards did, and plentifully endowed it, that it might bear his name, and preserve his memory as a most religious person, the character which of all others he most affected, to succeeding times (b) [F]. Yet very great doubts have been moved upon this subject, some affirming, that, in the former part of his life, he inclined to favour the Papists, but, at the persuasion of his friend the Lord North, altered his conduct, and became the patron of the Puritans (i). In the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth he procured, from the Earl of Arundel, an assignment of the Wardenship of New Forest, which had been granted to his ancestors in the sixth of Edward III (k). He is reported to have had much of his father's temper, which appeared in nothing more than the pains he took to adorn his Castle of Kenilworth, and to render it, as his father had done Dudley-Castle, one of the fairest, as well as one of the strongest, places in England,

(b) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney Papers.

(i) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 10.

(k) Grants to Robert Earl of Leicester, amongst the Sidney MSS.

whose names are there specified, and that the ring wherewith they were so married, was set with five pointed diamonds, and a table diamond, which had been given to him by the then Earl of Pembroke's grandfather, upon condition, that he should not bestow it upon any but whom he did make his wife. Likewise, that the Duke of Norfolk was the principal mover of that marriage; but that this Earl, pretending a fear of the Queen's indignation, in case it should come to her knowledge, made her to vow not to reveal it till he gave leave, whereupon all her servants were commanded secrecy therein. And it was also farther deposed, that within two days after the birth of this Sir Robert Dudley, which happened at Sheen, where he was christened by a minister sent from Sir Henry Lea, having to his godfathers, the Earl of Warwick his uncle, and the same Sir Henry, and to his godmother, the Lady Dacres of the South, by their deputies; the said Lady Douglas, received a letter from this Earl, which one Mrs Erifa (then Lady Parker) read, wherein his Lordship did thank God for the birth of this his son, who might be their comfort and staff of their old age, as are the words of the letter, and subscribed your loving husband, Robert Leicester. Likewise, that the said Lady Douglas, was after this served in her chamber as a Countess, until he commanded the contrary, for fear the marriage should be disclosed. Some of the Wits in the Court of Queen Elizabeth, after the Earl's publick marriage with the Countess Dowager of Essex, filed these two Ladies, Leicester's two Testaments, calling Lady Douglas the old, and Lady Lettice the new (17). In order to stifle this affair, however, as much as possible, the Earl made several propositions to Lady Douglas Sheffield, to desist from her pretensions, particularly, as she herself deposed, in the close arbour in the Queen's gardens at Greenwich, where, in the presence of Sir John Hubbard and George Digby, he offered her seven hundred pounds a year, adding at the same time threats, that if she would not comply, he would never come near her, nor should she receive from him one penny of money. Being able to do nothing, either by fair means or foul, he went somewhat farther, so that the poor Lady, to shelter herself from his resentment, was constrained to marry Sir Edward Stafford, a person of high birth, great honour, and the Queen's Ambassador in France (18), which being, as she herself confessed, an act which did the greatest wrong possible to her own pretensions, and to those of her son; she upon her oath declared, that her motive thereto was this, that having had some ill potions given her, which occasioned the loss of her hair and nails, she knew no other way to preserve her life (19). Such is the history of the Lady Douglas, whom some reckon the second wife of this potent Earl.

(17) Leicester's Commonwealth.

(18) Camden. Annal. p. 320.

(19) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 222.

(20) D'Ewes's Journal of the Parliaments in the Reign of Q. Eliz. p. 147.

(21) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

[F] Which of all others he most affected, to succeeding times.] The statute mentioned in the text, to have been passed in the 13th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, gave power and authority to him, his heirs, executors, and assigns, to establish an Hospital, either in Warwick, or in Kenilworth, to have continuance for ever, with a perpetual succession, and to be ruled, governed, and directed in all things as they should appoint (20). The Earl long after, by deed-poll under his hand and seal, November 1st, 1585, reciting (21), 'That since the said act, he had appointed a house in the town of Warwick, for the said Hospital, and had placed therein one master, viz. Ralph Griffin, Professor of Divinity, and twelve poor brethren, who

ever since the making of the said act, had their abode and relief there, at the Earl's charge. Now the said Earl calling to remembrance, that the good and charitable deeds and works of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and others his ancestors, being provided and intended for the relief of the poor within the said town of Warwick, but instituted and ordained according to the error and superstitious ignorance of those former times, are abrogated and taken away. And withal, being continually mindful of the great mercy and goodness of Almighty God, freely bestowed upon him many ways, and especially by the singular bounty and favour of his most gracious sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth. And in respect thereof, by the authority of the said statute, ordains, establishes, and appoints an Hospital in the said town of Warwick, to have continuance for ever; for the finding, sustentation, and relief of poor needy and impotent men, and especially of such as should be hereafter wounded, maimed, or hurt in the wars, in the service of her Majesty, her heirs and successors; and did found and establish the said Hospital, to consist of one master, and twelve poor brethren, to be called the Hospital of Robert, Earl of Leicester, in Warwick. And the said Ralph Griffin, having lately been preferred by her Majesty, at the earnest suit of the said Earl, to the Deanry of Lincoln, in the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, he thereupon ordained, that Thomas Cartwright should be, during his life, master of the said Hospital, unless removed, or resigning, and in that case, such persons as the Earl, or his heirs, should appoint, should be master. And did further ordain, that the twelve persons there named, then dwelling and abiding in the said Hospital, should be the then present twelve brethren of the said Hospital. And that upon the death, resignation, deprivation, or other lawful removing of any of them, such person or persons, as by the said Earl, or his heir or heirs after his death, should be named or appointed a brother, or brethren of the said Hospital, should be the brethren of the said Hospital for ever. And if the said Earl, or his heir or heirs, did not from time to time, within three months next after the said twelve brethren, or any of them should die, resign, be deprived, or otherwise lawfully removed from the said Hospital; then such person and persons, as from time to time, upon the default of the said Earl, and his heirs, in form aforesaid, should be appointed, and preferred to be a brother, or brethren, by the Bishop of Worcester for the time being, and the Recorders of Coventry and Warwick for the time being, or any two of them, under hands and seals, should be a brother, and brethren of the said Hospital for ever. And he appointed the said master and brethren, a Body Corporate and Politick, &c. and the lands, tenements, &c. thereof, should be for ever thereafter, ruled, governed, ordered, and directed, according to such rules, statutes, and ordinances, as were thereto annexed, or at any time thereafter should be set forth, made, devised, and established by the said Earl, by writing, or writings under his hand and seal; which writing, containing a complete body of Statutes, the Earl executed on the 26th of the same month. It may not be amiss to observe here, that Thomas Cartwright beforementioned, was the great chieftain of the Puritans, by which, having obtained this preferment for himself, he condescended for some time to leave the Church undisturbed (22).

(22) Fuller's Worthies in Hertfordshire, p. 27.

[G] At

land, which, if Sir William Dugdale was well informed, was a project that cost him about sixty thousand pounds (l). There, in the month of July 1575, he entertained the Queen his Mistress for ten days, with the greatest elegance as well as magnificence, at a boundless expence (m). Of this, none of the least remarkable transactions of his life, some farther account is given at the bottom of the page [G]. In 1576 happened the death of Walter, Earl of Essex, which, as we have elsewhere shewn, drew upon this noble Peer many suspicions, more especially after his marriage with the Countess of Essex was declared (n); as to which the reader will not be displeas'd to see, in the notes, some particulars that were reserved for this place [H]. In 1578, the Duke of Anjou pressing the match that had been propos'd between him and Queen Elizabeth, and sending over Monsieur Simier, a very gallant Gentleman, attended by a large train of French Nobility, the Earl of Leicester was doubtful whether the marriage might not take effect. The Earl, as it is said by our Historians, had, some time before, founded the Queen's disposition in choosing him for a husband, and not receiving a favourable answer (o), he abandoned all thoughts thereof, and privately married the Countess of Essex, as before related. This marriage Simier discovered to the Queen, apprehending his Lordship to be the greatest bar to the Duke's pretensions; and Camden relates, that she was so enraged thereat, that she commanded him not to stir from the Castle of Greenwich, designing to have committed him to the Tower, but was dissuaded from it by the Earl of Suffex (p): this he repented so far, as it was thought he had some intention to cause him to be murdered; and one day Simier waiting on her Majesty in her barge, not far from Greenwich, a gun was discharged from a neighbouring boat, and one of the Queen's bargemen wounded through both his arms; this was suggested to be intended to dispatch Simier, but, on enquiry, it appeared to have been wholly accidental, and the man, who had been apprehended, was set at liberty (q) [I]. The Duke of Anjou sending an embassy, compos'd

(l) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 249.

(m) Hollinshed's Chron. p. 1299.

(n) See the article of DEVE-REUX (WALTER) Earl of Essex.

(o) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 37.

(p) Camden. Annal. p. 329.

(q) Hollinshed, Stowe, Speed.

[G] *At the bottom of the page.* There was a large relation of the Queen's entertainment at this palace, written by George Gascoign, Esq; out of which, Sir William Dugdale tells us (23), that the Queen was surprized at her entrance, with the sight of a floating island on the large pool there, bright blazing with torches, on which were clad in silks, the Lady of the Lake, and two nymphs waiting on her, who made a speech to the Queen in metre, of the antiquity and owners of that castle, which was clos'd with cornets and other musick. Within the base court, was a noble bridge set up of twenty feet wide, and seventy feet long, over which the Queen pass'd; on each side whereof, on posts erected, were presents on them to her by the Gods, viz. a cage of wild fowl, by Sylvanus; divers sorts of fruits, by Pomona; of corn, by Ceres; of wine, by Bacchus; of sea-fish, by Neptune; of all habiliments of war, by Mars; and of musical instruments, by Phœbus. Also, during the several days of her stay, various rare shews and sports were exercised, viz. In the chace, a Savage man with satyrs, bear-baitings, fire-works, Italian tumblers, a country bride-ale, with running at the Quinting, and morrice dancing; and that nothing might be wanting which those parts could afford, the Coventry men came and acted the ancient Play, long since used in that City, called Hock's Tuesday, setting forth the destruction of the Danes in King Ethelred's time, which pleas'd the Queen so much, that she gave them a brace of bucks, and five marks in money, to bear the charges of a feast. Likewise, on the pool, there was a Triton riding on a Mermaid eighteen foot long, as also Arion on a Dolphin, with rare musick. The costs and expences of these entertainments, may be guess'd at by the quantity of beer then drunk, which amounted to three-hundred and twenty hogsheds of the ordinary sort; and for the greater honour thereof, Sir Thomas Cecil, son and heir to the Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer; Sir Henry Cobham, brother to the Lord Cobham; Sir Thomas Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Tresham, were then knighted, and the next ensuing year, the Earl obtained a grant of the Queen for a weekly market at Kenelworth, on the wednesday, with a fair yearly on Midsummer-day (24). There is also in Strype (25), a long and very circumstantial narrative of all that pass'd at this royal visit, by one who was present, and is very well worth the reading, as it shews the temper of the Queen, and manners of those times.

[H] *Some particulars that were reserved for this place.* In that famous book of Persons the Jesuit, or whoever else was the author of this favourite's secret history, besides the account quoted in another place, there is a short detail of this iniquitous transaction, which

follows an hint of Lord Sheffield's being taken off in the same manner, and for the same reason, that is, because this great man had a mind to his wife. This relation runs thus (26). 'The like good chance had he in the death of my Lord of Essex, as I have said before, and that at a time most fortunate for his purpose; for when he was coming home from Ireland, with intent to revenge himself upon my Lord of Leicester, for begetting his wife with child in his absence (the child was a daughter, and brought up by the Lady Shandois, W. Knolles's wife) my Lord of Leicester hearing thereof, wanted not a friend or two to accompany the Deputy, as among other, a couple of the Earl's own Servants; Crompton, if I miss not his name, yeoman of his bottles; and Lloyd, his Secretary, entertained afterward by my Lord of Leicester, and so he died in the way of an extreme flux, caus'd by an Italian recipe, as all his friends are well assured; the maker whereof was a Surgeon, as is believed, that then was newly come to my Lord from Italy, a cunning man, and sure in operation.' The judicious Mr Camden, in treating expressly upon this subject, leaves it doubtful and open, but glancing occasionally at it elsewhere, he shews plainly his own belief, that this imputation was not false. Sir Robert Naunton goes farther, and having in all probability the very book, we have first cited, in his eye, proceeds thus (27). 'I am not bound to give credit to all vulgar relations, or to the libels of the times, which are commonly forced and falsified, suitable to the moods and humours of men in passion and discontent; but that which leads me to think him no good man, is, amongst others of known truth, that of my Lord of Essex's death in Ireland, and the marriage of his Lady, yet living, which I forbear to press, in regard, that he is long since dead, and others living, whom it may concern.'

[I] *Was set at liberty.* It may not be amiss, for a reason which will be hereafter given, to exhibit two accounts that are yet extant of this great peer's malice to this French gentleman, which arose, as the writer of his secret history says, from his having had the boldness to tell the Queen of the Earl's marriage, with the widow of Essex, which though celebrated at Wanstead, in the presence of the Earl of Warwick, the Lord North, Sir Francis Knolles, and others; at Mr Stoner's house, by one Dr Culpeper, a clergyman, yet the Queen heard nothing of it in several days. This it was that provok'd Leicester first to attempt taking him off by poison (28). 'And when that failed (says this author) he appointed, that Robin Tider, his man, as after, upon his ale-bench he confessed, should have slain him at the Black-Friars at Greenwich, as

(23) Warwickshire, p. 249.

(26) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 23.

(27) Fragmenta Regalia, cap. iii.

(28) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 37.

(23) Warwickshire, p. 249.

(24) Pat. 18 Eliz. p. 6.

(25) Annals, p. 391-394.

posed of some persons of the first distinction in France, into England in 1581, they were received by the Queen with all possible marks of distinction, and the Earl of Leicester was one of the Noblemen appointed to confer with them, and that engaged for their diversion, in justings, barriers, and turney; but the people in general shewing great discontent at the proposed marriage, it induced the Queen to issue her proclamation, under a severe penalty, that none of her subjects should either strike, or draw weapon, within four miles of London, or the Court (r). And the Duke thinking his presence might contribute to his point more than the oratory of his Embassadors, who signified to him the Queen's declining the marriage, he came in person to prefer his suit; but having remained in England the space of three months, and finding his application to be ineffectual, he set out on the sixth of February for Sandwich (s); the Earl of Leicester, with a train of one hundred Gentlemen, and three hundred others of inferior sort, attending him to Antwerp, as did also the Lord Hunsdon, and the Lord Charles Howard, who had each of them one hundred and fifty followers (t). The Confederates of the Low-Countries, believing it might please the Queen, had sent over their agents to the Duke in England, to desire he would be their protector against the Spaniards, and the Queen promising him aid, he accepted of their offer, and, on his arrival at Antwerp, was, with the Earl of Leicester, who accompanied him, entertained with great state and solemnity; and, having seen him invested in the government of the said Provinces, the Earl, on the 19th of February, together with the English Nobility, and their trains, returned to England (u). In 1584 he prevailed on the chief of the Nobility and Gentry in the kingdom to subscribe an association, by which they bound themselves to pursue unto death, whosoever should attempt any thing against Queen Elizabeth; and this, by some authors, is said to be in hatred to the Queen of Scots, and that a plot being formed to set her at liberty, he was for making her privately away (w). His aversion against that unhappy Princess is supposed to have rose from a private view, of conveying the Crown into the family of the Dudleys, as a certain author informs us (x), by advancing the Earl of Huntington to the Throne, who had a claim to the Crown as being descended, in a direct line, from George, Duke of Clarence (y), who had married the sister of the Earl (z), and was ever after closely attached to his interests [K]. As he was now in the very height of power and influence,

(r) Stowe's Annals, p. 689.

(s) Hollinshed's Chron. p. 1130.

(t) Stowe's Annals, p. 690.

(u) Hollinshed's Chron. p. 1344.

(w) Camden. Anal. p. 418.

(x) Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians.

(y) Leicester's Commonwealth.

(z) Observations on the Reign of Q. Elizabeth.

he went forth at the garden gate; but missing also that purpose, for that he found the gentleman better provided and guarded than he expected; he dealt with certain Flushiners, and other pirates, to sink him at sea, with the English gentlemen his favourers, that accompanied him at his return into France. And though they missed of this practice also (as not daring to set upon him, for fear of some of her Majesty's ships, who to break of this designment, attended by special commandment, to waft him over in safety) yet the aforesaid English gentlemen, were holden four hours in chace at their coming back, as Master Rowley well knoweth, being then present; and two of the chacers, named Clark and Harris, confessed afterward the whole designment. Mr Camden (29), much to the same purpose, 'That in the mean while, Simier continued amorously to solicit Queen Elizabeth in Anjou's behalf. And altho' she excused herself a long time, yet he brought her to that pass, that Leicester, who from his heart was against the marriage, and others, spread rumours abroad, that by love potions, and unlawful arts, he had insinuated into the Queen's affection, and induced her to the love of Anjou. M. Simier on the other side, left no means unessay'd to remove Leicester out of his place and favour with the Queen, revealing to her his marriage with Essex's widow; the Queen thereupon grew into such a passion, that she commanded Leicester not to stir out of the Castle of Greenwich, and intended to have committed him to the Tower of London, which his enemies much desired. But Suffex, though his greatest adversary, and one that earnestly endeavoured to promote the marriage, dissuaded her, as out of a solid judgment, and the innate generosity of his noble mind, he was of opinion, that no man ought to be troubled for his lawful marriage, which hath ever been had in honour and esteem. Yet glad he was, that by this marriage, he was now put beside all hopes of marrying with the Queen. Nevertheless, Leicester was so incensed thereat, that he bent himself to revenge the wrong he had received. And there wanted not some, who accused him, as if he had suborned one Teudor, of the Queen's guard, a bravo, to take away Simier's life. This is certain, the Queen commanded by publick proclamation, that no man should offer any affront to Simier, his attendants, or ser-

vants, either by word or deed. About this time it happened, that while the Queen for her pleasure, was rowed in her barge upon the Thames, near Greenwich, attended by Simier, the Earl of Lincoln, and Hatton, her Vice-Chamberlain, a young man discharged a piece out of a boat, and shot one of the bargemen in the Queen's barge, through both his arms. who was presently apprehended and led to the gallows, for a terror to him; but he solemnly protesting, that he did it unwittingly, and thought no harm, was soon discharged. Neither would the Queen believe what some buzzed in her ears, that he was purposely set on to mischief, either her or Simier. So far was she from giving way to any suspicion against her subjects, that she was wont to say, *she could believe nothing of her people, which parents would not believe of their children.* The reader will plainly discern, that whatever we may think of such things now, they were looked upon, even by wise men, as very credible at the time in which they are said to have happened.

[K] And was ever after closely attached to his interests.] In this note, it is intended to discuss the several suspicions that were entertained of Leicester's views upon the Crown, some of which are thought to have been as early as the close of King Edward's reign, and that the great Duke of Northumberland meant not to deprive, or to depress the two princesses farther, than to bring them to certain matches which he had proposed, and which, having once brought to bear, he would have put down his daughter-in-law, Queen Jane, with the same facility that he set her up (30). This scheme is so fine spun, that one can hardly believe there is so much in it as a thread of truth; and yet his proclaiming Queen Mary at Cambridge, his desiring to confer with the Queen's Counsellors, his compliance with the old religion at his death, the sudden restitution of his family in the next reign, and the early favour of his son Robert in this, in which none of his wives had any share, are circumstances not easily accounted for; indeed so far from it, that Mr Camden has more than once recourse to the stars (31). The first scheme in this reign, was with respect to the Queen of Scots, whose title Leicester openly abetted, and, in conjunction with the Earl of Murray, drove on the marriage between that Queen and the Duke of Norfolk, which he is afterwards said to have betrayed

(29) Annal. Eliz. p. 329.

(30) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 85.

(31) Annal. Eliz. p. 70—583.

influence, so he stood exposed, as might be naturally expected, to the shafts of envy, and as, except his father, who had the rule in a minority, there never was any subject in England greater than himself, so the attempt made upon his character surpasses any thing that is to be met with in antient or modern story (a). This piece, which is commonly called LEICESTER'S COMMONWEALTH, was published at least, if not written, beyond the seas, but imported hither in great quantities; and from the books having leaves edged with green, and the supposed author's name, it was stiled *father Persons's Green Coat* (b). The drift of this book was to represent to the people, that the English Constitution was subverted, and a new form imperceptibly introduced, to which no name could be so properly given as that of a *Leicestrian Commonwealth*; and, in order to render this notion plausible, the Earl of Leicester was not only represented as an Atheist in point of Religion, a secret traitor to the Queen, an oppressor of her people, an inveterate enemy to the Nobility, a compleat monster with regard to ambition, cruelty, and lust; but it was also suggested that, pursuing his father's plan, he had thrown all offices of trust and profit into the hands of his creatures and dependants; so that the Court, the Fortresses, the Navy, the Kingdom of Ireland, the Northern and Welsh Marches, the Isle of Wight, and, in short, every thing was in his power, and the Queen had scarce any thing left her but a titular sovereignty (c). It is no wonder that a libel like this should make a very great noise, or that the Queen and her Ministers should take the alarm as they did; but it is really somewhat surprizing, that her Majesty thought the properest method for removing the impression this bitter performance was sure to make upon the vulgar, should be issuing letters from the Privy-Council, in which all the facts contained therein were declared to be absolutely false, not only to their knowledge who signed them, but also of the Queen herself (d); which however she did, as appears from some of those letters yet extant (e) [L]. His nephew, the learned and ingenious Sir Philip Sidney, undertook to refute

(a) Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, cap. lii.

(b) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 360.

(c) This, in few words, is the scope of that treatise.

(d) Strype's *Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 339.

(e) See a copy of such a letter in the notes.

to Queen Elizabeth for his own security, that is to say, himself said it by way of excuse; for that he first promoted, then revealed, and at length prosecuted it as a crime, are undeniable facts (32). His enemies gave this turn to the whole, that by these practices, he meant to remove the Duke of Norfolk, the most powerful and popular nobleman in England, out of his own way, and Mary's title out of the way of the Queen. This being effectually done, there followed an Act of Parliament, in 1571, of a very strange nature, of which, as it is almost the only thing the Historian speaks of, as from his own knowledge, Camden (33) shall give an account to the reader. 'The iniquity of these times, and the love which the Parliament of England (now met at Westminster) bare to their prince and country, was the occasion of a law, for preventing the practices of seditious persons; whereby, according to the tenor of former laws, it was provided, that if any man should attempt the death, or personal hurt, of the Queen, or raise war, or excite others to war against her; or if any one should give out, that she is not the lawful Queen of this realm; but that any other can claim a juster title thereto, or should pronounce her to be an Heretick, Schismatick, or Infidel, or should usurp the right and title of the kingdom during her life, or should affirm, that any other has a right to the Crown, or that the laws and statutes cannot limit and determine the right of the Crown, and the succession thereof, every such person should be guilty of high-treason. That if any one during the Queen's life, should, by any book, written or printed, expressly maintain, that any person is, or ought to be the Queen's heir and successor, except the *natural issue* of her body, or should publish, print, or disperse any books or writings to that effect, he, and his abettors, should for the first offence be imprisoned for a whole year, and forfeit the one-half of his goods. If any should offend a second time, he should incur the penalty of a Premunire, that is, loss of all his goods, and perpetual imprisonment. Some looked upon this as too severe, who thought it would tend to the establishing the quiet of the nation, if an heir apparent were declared. But it is incredible, what jests those that lewdly catch at words, made upon that clause, except the *natural issue* of her body, since the Lawyers term those children *natural*, which are begotten out of wedlock, whom nature alone, without the intervention of honest matrimony, hath begotten, and those they call *lawful*, according to the tenor of the Common-Law of England, who are in lawful matrimony begotten of such a one's body. So that I myself, being then a young man, have often heard people say, that this word

' was inserted in the act by Leicester, with a design, that one time or other he might impose some *bastard son* of his upon the English, for the Queen's natural ' *issue*.' We have the same thing confirmed to us by various authors, but whatever view there might be from this act, it was held, that the Earl of Leicester entertained a good opinion of his brother Huntington's pretensions, which produced a very close correspondence between those two Lords, who had not been always upon such friendly terms (34). The nature of this title was very plausible, and could not but found pleasing enough in the ears of the people, more especially, such as were inclined to Puritanism, of whom that Peer was a declared protector. In respect to his pretensions, they were very clear and short; Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, who had married Lady Katherine Dudley, daughter to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, was the son of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon, by Katherine his wife, one of the daughters, and heirs of Henry Pole, Lord Montacute, who was son and heir to Sir Richard Pole, Knight of the Garter, by Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, who was the daughter and heiress of George, Duke of Clarence, brother to King Edward IV (35). It is said, that this title was commonly discoursed of by such as favoured it, or would be thought to favour it, because the power of the Earl of Leicester was such, that no-body durst complain of their discourses; and, on the other hand, few or none thought it their business to question it, for fear of being drawn within the statute abovementioned, made on purpose to tie peoples tongues upon that subject; in which, upon the whole, it proved of service to the true heir. Some however there were, who insinuated, that the Earl of Leicester meant to set up his brother-in-law, as his father, the Duke of Northumberland, had done his daughter-in-law; that is, till such time as he could make a better title in his own family, by the marriage of his son to the Lady Arabella (36); and it is highly probable, that these crooked schemes of his, after the death of Mary Queen of Scots, induced the Cecils to reconcile themselves to her son; and thus there was a compleat turn made by Queen Elizabeth's Ministers, since, in the beginning of her reign, Leicester was the avowed Champion of the Queen of Scots title, and was very near ruining Lord Keeper Bacon, and Secretary Cecil (37), for being secret favourers of the house of Suffolk.

(34) Leicester's *Commonwealth*, p. 87.

(35) Heylin's *Hist. of the Presbyterians*, p. 277. Brook's *Cat. of Nobility*, p. 269.

(36) Leicester's *Commonwealth*, p. 86, 87.

(37) Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, cap. ix.

[L] As appears from some of those letters yet extant Amongst the papers of Dr William Chaderton, Bishop of Chester, who had been formerly the Earl of Leicester's Chaplain, there was found one of these circular letters directed to Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange,

(32) Stowe, Strype.

(33) *Annal. Elis.* p. 241.

refute this invective, and actually composed an answer, which is still preserved, but, either from the multiplicity of his affairs, or from other reasons with which we are not acquainted, was never finished, or at least never published (*f*). Yet, notwithstanding all the pains that were then and afterwards taken to suppress and discredit it; this secret history gained a most unaccountable currency; nor was the mystery of the writing, printing, and publishing, any more than the name of its real author, ever certainly discovered, which, with other concurrent circumstances, has induced a suspicion, that not only the Popish exiles abroad, but some abler heads, who were jealous of Leicester's power and influence at home (*g*), had a great hand therein, or, at least, furnished the materials [*M*]. In 1585 the association, contrived by the Earl of Leicester, was approved in Parliament, and a law passed to carry it into execution (*b*); which, with many other penal statutes, affrighted many of the Nobility; so that Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and son to the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk, endeavoured to retire out of the kingdom, which brought him into great troubles; the Earl of Northumberland, being sent prisoner to the Tower, destroyed himself with his own hands, and the Lord Paget sought shelter beyond the seas; all of whom pretended to charge their misfortunes on the severities with which they were prosecuted at home (*i*). At this time the affairs of the Protestant Low-Countries were in a perplexed situation, and the States thought that nothing could contribute so much to their recovery, as prevailing upon Queen Elizabeth to send over some person of great distinction, whom they might set at the head of their concerns, civil and military (*k*); which proposition, Camden says, so much flattered the ambition of this potent Earl, that he willingly consented to pass the seas upon this occasion, being well assured of

having

(*f*) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State-papers.

(*g*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 360.

(*b*) D'Ewes Journal of the Parliaments of Q. Eliz. p. 324.

(*i*) Camden. Anal. Eliz. p. 411.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 352.

(38) Peck's Considerata Curiosa, Vol. I. Lib. iv. p. 46.

the Bishop himself, and the rest of the Justices of Peace in the counties of Lancaster and Chester (38); in which, after taking notice of the industry with which libels were spread, and describing the nature of this infamous one against the Earl of Leicester, one of her Majesty's principal Noblemen, and one of her Chief Counsellors of State, which had moved her Majesty, by letters under her own hand to the Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London, to declare and testify his innocence; they thought it their duty to follow her Majesty's example, which induced them to write this letter to inform them, first, that her Majesty had noted in them some slackness in the prosecution and suppression of former libels, therefore she expected upon this second notice, that they would use greater diligence in searching out and preventing the circulation of this mischievous book; after which they proceed, first in the Queen's name, and then in their own, in the following terms:

' That she (the Queen) verily looketh for the most strict and precise observation thereof, in the sharpest manner that may be devised, testifying in her conscience before God unto you, that her Highness not only knoweth in assured certainty, the books and libels against the said Earl to be most malicious, false, and scandalous, and such as none but an incarnate devil himself could dream to be true, but also thinketh to be of the fulness of malice, subtilie contrived to the note and discredit of her princelie government of this realm, as though her Majesty should have failed in good judgment and discretion in the choice of so principal a Counsellor about her, or be without taste, or care of all justice and conscience, in suffrynge suche heynous and monstrous crimes, as, by the said books and libels, be infamous imputed to pass unpunished, or finally, at the least, to want either good will, ability, or courage, if she knew these enormities were true, to call any subject of her's whatsoever to render sharp account of them, according to the force and effect of her laws. All which defects (God be thanked) we, and all good subjects, to our unspeakable comforts, do know, and have found to be far off from the nature and vertue of her most excellent Majesty. As of the other side, both her Highness, of her certain knowledge, and we, to do his Lordship but right, of our synccare consciences must needs affirm, these strange and abominable crimes to be raised of a wicked and venomous malice against the said Earl, of whose good service, sincerity of religion, and all other faithful dealings towards her Majesty and the realm, we have had long and true experience. Which things considered, and withal knowing it to be an usual trade of traiterous minds, when they would render the Prince's government odious, to detract, and bring out of credit the principal persons about them, her Highness, taking the abuse to be offered to her own

' self, hath commanded us to notify the same unto you, to the end, that, knowing her good pleasure, you may proceed therein as in a matter highly touching her own estate and honour. And therefore we wish and require you, to have regard thereof accordingly, that the former negligence and remissness shewed in the execution of her Majesty's commandment, may be amended by the diligence and severity that shall be hereafter used. Which amendment and carefulness in this cause chiefly, her Majesty assuredly looketh for, and will call for account at all your hands.  
' And so we bid you heartily farewell. From the Court at Greenwich this 20th day of June, 1585.

' Your very loving friends,

' T. Bromley, Canc.	' J. Hunsden;
' W. Burghley,	' F. Knollys,
' Geo. Shrewsbury,	' H. Sydney,
' H. Derby,	' Chr. Hatton,
' F. Bedford,	' Fr. Walsingham.
' C. Haward,	' Wal. Myldmay.

[*M*] Or at least furnished the materials.] We are at a loss for the original title of this book, for it has gone by many; it is very probable however, that it was at first called A Dialogue between a Scholar, a Gentleman, and a Lawyer (39). but in the body of the book the author plainly declaring, that the old English Monarchy was now changed into a Leicestrian Commonwealth, the book was again printed with the title of *Leicester's Commonwealth, &c* (40). Both these editions were printed beyond the seas, without any name of author or Printer, or so much as the place of the impression, or the year; yet that it was in 1584, is plain enough from the facts mentioned in it (41). Dr Thomas James (42), who was a very learned and knowing man, ascribed it to Robert Persons the Jesuit. Anthony Wood says (43), that it was commonly supposed to be written by him, and adds, in a parenthesis, that he had most of his materials for the composition thereof, from Sir William Cecil Lord Burleigh. Upon what foundation this report stands it is not easy to say, but this is certain, that Persons himself denied that he was the author of it, neither is it reckoned amongst his works either by Pits or Rybadeneira. Yet whoever considers and compares the conference about the succession which Persons published under the name of Doleman, will not easily believe that he was not the author of this book also, though perhaps he might not call it Leicester's Commonwealth, and therefore might think himself at liberty to deny his writing a book under that title. As to Lord Burleigh's furnishing the materials, when we consider the paper signed by him, which the reader has seen in the foregoing note, it must appear very improbable, It may not however be amiss to observe, that it is on all hands agreed, that our

(39) So I collect from an old MS. of it.

(40) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 358.

(41) Such as the death of Thomas, Earl of Suffex, and the sickness of the Lord Denbigh, who was the Earl of Leicester's son.

(42) In the life of Father Persons, printed at the end of the Jesuits Downfall, 1612. p. 55, 56.

(43) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 360.

having ample powers granted him, and some sort of authority, over the Lord High-Admiral of England (*l*), which, as it was without example, could not but be highly grateful to one of his high temper, who loved command; more especially over such as might, in other respects, esteem themselves his equals. Accordingly, October 22d, in the same year, he was constituted Captain-General of all such forces as served, or thereafter should serve, in the Low-Countries, for the relief of the inhabitants there: and was empowered to levy in England, or the dominion of Wales, five hundred able and sufficient men, of his tenants and servants, to attend his person beyond the seas; and in his passage thither, and returning from thence, them, and every of them, to employ in his service, as he shall think convenient; which retainers and followers, under his hand and seal signifying the same, were, during the time so employed in his service, to have the Queen's protection for their bodies, lands, and goods; any law, statute, or restraint, to the contrary thereof, in any wise, notwithstanding: With a mandate to all Justices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, &c. and all other officers, to be obedient thereto (*m*). Before his departure the Queen admonished him to have a special regard to her honour, and to attempt nothing which should be inconsistent with the employment to which he was advanced; and particularly she required him to search into the method of the States raising and falling the value of money, that so the soldiers might not receive their pay at one rate, and give it out at another; and very affectionately recommended to his care the young Noblemen of the country, and more especially the sons of the late Prince of Orange (*n*). On the eighth of December, 1585, he embarked, having with him fifty sail of ships; and those that accompanied, or soon after followed him, were the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Essex, the Lord Audley, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Sheffield, the Lord North, and the Lord Borroughs, Sir William Russell, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Robert Sidney, Sir Henry Stanley, Sir Gervase Clifton (*o*), Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir William Pelham, Lord Marshal of the Field, Sir Arthur Basset, Sir Walter Walter, with many other persons of distinction (*p*). On the 10th he arrived at Flushing, with his whole train, his person being guarded by fifty archers, bearing bows and arrows, fifty halberds, and fifty musqueteers, were magnificently entertained by Sir Philip Sidney, Governor of the town for her Majesty, by Grave Maurice, second son to the late Prince of Orange, by the Queen's Embassador and the States, and all sorts of people, expressed the greatest joy on his arrival (*q*). This was carried to a very extraordinary height on both sides, great feasts given, and nothing to be seen during the remaining part of that month but mirth and diversions; on the fifteenth of January following all the points of ceremonial were settled, for the establishment of such an administration as might be for the common benefit, and prevent all disputes; accordingly, on the 26th of the same month, the Earl was sworn to the States, and the States to the Queen, and to obey the Earl as her Lieutenant (*r*). On the sixth of February following they published their placard concerning his authority, which was very ample; his Excellency then entered upon the discharge of his office, and some exploits were performed against the Spaniards, which highly raised the reputation of the English troops, and the characters of the officers who commanded them (*s*). On the 23d of April, 1586, being at Utrecht, his Lordship kept the feast of St George with prodigious magnificence, in which, as one of our Historians says, he appeared most Prince-like, invested in his robes of the Order, guarded by the principal Burghers in the town, and his own guard of fifty halberdiers, in scarlet cloaks, edged with purple and white velvet (*t*). It seems the Queen was not at all pleased with these proceedings of the States, or of her Lieutenant, and therefore sent over her Vice-Chamberlain (*u*), with letters written in so sharp a stile, as made both the States and the Earl very uneasy [*N*]. Upon explanations from the one, and very deep submissions from the other,

(*l*) Annal. Eliz. p. 438.

(*m*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 799.

(*n*) Annal. Eliz. p. 458.

(*o*) Stowe's Annals, p. 711.

(*p*) Annal. Eliz. p. 458.

(*q*) Hollinshed's Chron. p. 1424.

(*r*) Stowe's Annals, p. 712.

(*s*) Hollinshed's Chron. p. 1432.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 1433.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 459.

our famous Historian Mr Camden had his materials for the first part of the Annals of Queen Elizabeth, from that noble person, and many are of opinion that he actually wrote them; now, upon examination it will be found, that a great many of the facts in Leicester's Commonwealth are likewise related, though in a softer and less peremptory stile, in those Annals, of which we have given in this work several instances; from whence it may be concluded, that whoever was the author of this book was well supplied with intelligence, and that, notwithstanding the declaration of the Privy Counsellors, it was not universally believed to be a heap of falsehoods, though undoubtedly there are abundance of falsehoods in it, and many things represented as indubitable facts, that are no more than exaggerated suggestions. No pains were spared in circulating it abroad as well as at home, for in the year after it's original publication, it was translated into French under the title of *La Vie Abominable, Rusée, Trahisons, Murtres, Impositions, Empoisonnements, Paillardises, Atheïsmes, & autres tres Iniques Conversations, duquel ia use & use Journellement, le my Lord de Lecestre Machiaveliste, contre l'Honneur de Dieu, la Majeste de la Royné d'An-*

*gletterre sa Princeesse, &c.* not mentioning where printed; but in 8vo, 1585. It has been several times reprinted in English, particularly in 1600 in 8vo, in 1631 in the same size, the running-title in this edition being a letter of State of a Scholar of Cambridge; in 1641 in 4to and in 12mo, with the addition of Leicester's Ghost; and again reprinted in 1706 in 8vo, under the title of secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, with a preface by Dr Drake, who pretended it was printed from an old manuscript. The design of reprinting it in 1641 was to give an ill impression of the government of Charles I, and the like was supposed to be the design of Dr Drake in his publication; to say the truth, it may be considered as a standing libel upon all overgrown Ministers and governments by faction.

[*N*] *As made both the States and the Earl very uneasy.*] In order to apprehend this matter clearly, it will be necessary to see, first the power granted by the States, which over and above the powers granted him by the Queen's commission and their own, were expressed to be in their placard of the 6th of February, 1586 (44). 'The highest and supreme commandment and absolute authority above, and in all matters of warfare

(44) Annal. Eliz. p. 459. Strad. de Belg. Belg. Lib. vi. p. 477.

(w) History of the Wars of Flanders, P. ii. p. 240.

(x) Strada de Bello Belgic. Lib. vii. p. 488.

(y) Stowe's Annals, p. 718.

(z) Camden. Annal. p. 461.

(a) Stowe's Annals, p. 733.

(b) Camden. Annal. p. 462.

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 736.

other, the Queen was pacified, and his Excellency left to prosecute the duties of his charge (w). His expedition for the relief of Grave, a place of great importance, besieged by the Prince of Parma, was, at first, attended with great appearance of success; but, after he had taken the forts that impeded his passage to the place, the Dutch Governor very unexpectedly surrendered, at the persuasion, as was reported, of his mistress; for which, notwithstanding he obtained an honourable capitulation, his Excellency caused him, and two other officers of note, to be put to an ignominious death (x). The English forces continued to render great service, the Lord Lieutenant himself driving the Spaniards out of the whole island of Betawe (y). The Lord Willoughby, at Bergen-op-Zoom, beat a convoy going to Antwerp, which was a thing of great consequence; and Count Maurice, assisted by Sir Philip Sidney, took Axel by surprize (z). His Excellency had to deal with one of the best officers that age, or indeed any other, had produced, the Prince of Parma, who is said to have projected the taking of Utrecht when the Lord Lieutenant was there in person, and, with that view, intended to have sent in a considerable number of men, in various disguises; but it seems his plot was discovered, and disappointed (a). The Prince of Parma then invested Reinberch, in which there was a garrison of twelve hundred English troops, under the command of Colonel Morgan; his Excellency thought himself obliged to disengage that place, and yet was unwilling to hazard a battle, and therefore besieged Zutphen, which had the desired effect, for the Duke of Parma marched immediately to engage the allied army; accordingly, on the 22d of September, the vanguards came to action, in which the English distinguished themselves, though with some loss; and there it was that the famous Sir Philip Sidney received a mortal wound (b). The Spaniards, however, had been certainly beaten, if the Duke of Parma, with his whole army, had not advanced to their assistance. The siege of Zutphen was notwithstanding continued, and some very brave actions performed before it; but, however, they were not able to reduce the place (c) [O]. Upon his Excellency's return to the Hague he found the States uneasy and discontented;

warfare both by sea and land, to execute and administer the same to the resistance of the enemy, even as his Excellency should think most commodious to the preservation of those countries, and so further, to do all such things as appertain to the office of a general Captain. And furthermore, we commit the administration and use of policy and justice over the aforesaid united Provinces and associated cities, and members of the same, into his hands, to execute and administer the same, with such power and authority as have had in times past, all the other Governors of these Low-Countries before him, and especially, as have been exercised, and lawfully administered in the time of Charles the fifth, &c. We therefore command all Governors of Provinces and Cities, all Admirals, Vice-Admirals, all Officers and Soldiers by sea and land; and furthermore, all other Counsellors, Officers, Treasurers, Receivers, Bailiffs, Burgomasters, Magistrates, &c. of what quality or condition soever, to honour, respect, and obey him, as they ought to do, &c. In the Queen's letter, among other expressions, were these. 'How contemptuously you have carried yourself towards us, you shall understand by this messenger, whom we send to you for that purpose. We little thought, that one, whom we had raised out of the dust, and prosecuted with such singular favour above all others; would, with so great contempt, have slighted and broken our commands, in a matter of so great consequence, and so highly concerning us and our honour. Whereof, though you have but small regard, contrary to what you ought by your allegiance, yet think not that we are so careless of repairing it, that we can bury so great an injury in silence and oblivion. We therefore command you, that, all excuse set apart, you do forthwith, upon your allegiance which you owe unto us, whatsoever Heneage our Vice-Chamberlain shall make known to you in our name, upon pain of further peril.' She also wrote to the States-General. 'That to her disgrace, and without her knowledge, they had conferred the absolute government of the confederate Provinces upon Leicester her subject, though she had absolutely refused it herself, &c. she therefore advised them to turn Leicester out of that absolute authority, whose commission she had limited, not that she thought their cause unworthy to be favoured, but to provide for, and secure her own honour, which she esteemed more dear to her than life itself.' Bentivoglio (45), intimates as though this step must have been before secretly made known to the Queen, or the Earl of Leicester would not have accepted the Government, without her private consent. And Strada (46), more

openly charges her Majesty with an ambitious view of seeking to add the Low-Countries to her dominions, by permitting Leicester to take upon him the sovereignty. But this is improbable. The Provinces had been twice offered her by a solemn embassy from the States, her Parliament had solicited the acceptance, and promised her supplies to support it, and the universal inclination to submit to her, in conjunction with the forces she had ready to send over, must have rendered all oppositions impracticable. It has been observed, that Strada was an Italian Jesuit in the pay of Spain, and consequently the English could expect no fair representation from him, who hated them as heretics and as enemies. Yet he says, the Earl of Leicester was such an absolute master of his own temper, that he could as he pleased adapt it to any man's humours or designs. Agreeable to this, Mezeray calls him a subtle, dextrous courtier; and what other Historians cite, argues him to be a man of great abilities, though the general hatred and envy of many people suppressed his real virtues, or imputed them to artifice and design.

[O] They were not able to reduce the place.] While the Earl of Leicester continued the siege, viz. on the 4th of October, the great fort demanded a parley, which being granted, Count Hollock, or as we now write Hohenloe, stepped out to confer with them (47), but in the midst of the conference, as the Count was speaking, he was shot through the mouth, and the ball took off the jewel at his Ear. To revenge this treachery, the English repeated their attacks, and the same day made an assault on the lesser fort sword in hand. Captain Edward Stanley, was the first who mounted the breach, and perhaps truer courage was never shewn (48). He was opposed by the Captain of the fort, who standing alone in the breach, aimed his pike at his breast as he was entering. On which, with great presence of mind, laying hold of the pike, he strove with all his force to pluck him from his post, if he refused to let go his hold. But finding his strength insufficient to effect his purpose, he suffered himself to be raised up by his competitor on the rampart, and his soldiers following, so terrified the garrison with his unexpected presence, that deserting the defence, as many as were able, made their escape by a back gate, and fled to Zutphen, leaving their Captain prisoner. The Earl of Leicester knighted Stanley for his courage, presented him with forty pounds sterling, and settled a pension on him for life. He likewise knighted Captain Reade, who also shewed great bravery on that occasion. And the enemy, much terrified, abandoned the great fort the next night. But the Earl judged it not convenient

(45) Hist. of the Wars of Flanders, P. i. l. iv. p. 240.

(46) De Bello Belgic. Lib. vii. p. 477.

(47) Stowe's Annals, p. 738.

(48) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 462. Stowe's Annals, p. 738, 759. Strada de Bello Belgic. p. 553.

discontented; they received him coldly, and, as their own writers say, with expostulations and complaints. He endeavoured to satisfy them, and, for that purpose, entered into a long detail of what had been effected, and of the causes why more was not effected, which, however, did not answer his purpose; he then attempted to dissolve the Assembly, failing in that too, he declared in anger his resolution of returning to England (*d*). However, being afterwards brought into a better temper, he gave them to understand, that though he still persisted in his resolution of returning home, it should be so far from being prejudicial to them, that he would make it turn to their advantage (*e*). Whatever exterior marks of satisfaction this might produce, it is very certain that the States retained their displeasure, which proceeded from the suspicions, that notwithstanding the oath of fidelity he had taken, he practised upon the minds of the people, and laboured to possess them with an opinion, that he was better affected to the Protestant religion and the publick good than themselves (*f*), the consequences of which they clearly foresaw, and very much feared [*P*]. His subsequent behaviour did not lessen their apprehensions, for when the day came for his departure, he, by a publick act, gave up the care of the Provinces into the hands of the Council of State, but privately, by an act of restriction of the same date, he reserved to himself an authority over all Governors of provinces, cities, and forts, and not contented with that, deprived the Council of State, and those who had the chief direction in the Provinces, of their accustomed jurisdiction (*g*). He experienced in his passage all the difficulties of the season and the country, being obliged to embark and land several times, and to make use part of the way of a waggon. He arrived at the Court at Richmond on the 23d of November (*h*), where, notwithstanding all that was past, he was very well received by the Queen. Her Majesty was at that juncture more uneasy than ever about the Queen of Scots, apprehending herself to be in great danger from the practices set on foot for obtaining the liberty of that Princess, whom she had now taken a resolution to remove, and was therefore glad of the Earl of Leicester's presence, in whom she had ever a great confidence (*i*). When the matter came to be debated in Council, which was before his return, he was consulted by letter; and it is said that the Earl

(d) Bénédicti gl'ia  
H. v. et the  
V. v. of Plan-  
da 3, p. 224.

(e) Grotius de  
Pob. Belg. l. v.

(f) Camden An-  
nal. p. 463.

(g) Brandt's Hist.  
of the Reformat.  
B. xiv.

(h) Stowe's An-  
nals, p. 741.

(i) Naunton's  
Fragmenta Re-  
galia, c. iii.

venient for his army to continue any longer before Zutphen, till the rigour of the season should be abated, it being sufficiently blocked up by the garrisons which lay in the towns round about it. Many persons of eminent rank amongst the English nation having highly distinguished themselves, the Earl of Leicester (49), in reward of their merit and for his own honour, conferred in his camp, the dignity of a Knight Banneret on the Earl of Essex, and the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Audley, and the Lord North; and knighted Sir Henry Goodyere, Captain of the Guard, Sir Henry Norris, Sir John Borroughs, Sir John Winkfield, Sir Roger Williams, Sir Robert Sidney, Sir Philip Butler, Sir Henry North, Sir Thomas Denis, Sir William Knolles, Sir George Farmer, Sir George Digby, Sir — Steward, and Sir — Beauford. On the 15th of October, his Excellency, after securing of Deventer, came to Arnheim to visit his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, whom he found past all hopes of recovery, dying two days after to his infinite regret, and was bewailed by him with great sorrow, shutting himself up for a whole day, as Stowe relates, who is very circumstantial in whatever regards this noble person.

[*P*] *And very much feared.*] But notwithstanding these outward professions of regard, they were jealous of him (50), and privately proceeded to straiten his authority. And in other letters to the Queen, would have inserted a clause to limit his command on his return to them, had not the Lord Buckhurst interposed, and laid before them the mischief it would have produced from his Lordship's power with her Majesty. These proceedings were not agreeable to the majority of the people, who were firm in the interest of the Earl of Leicester, and threatened to be revenged of the States, if the Queen should take any offence at their alterations (51). In Friesland, the Clergy offered her Majesty the sovereignty of the Low-Countries without any restriction, having held two Synods on the occasion. The Synod at Sneek presented a petition to the Lord Buckhurst, in which they invited her Majesty to come to the assistance of Christ, who threw himself and his children into her arms, and implored her protection (52), and several other towns protested they would depend only on her Majesty; also the preachers at Amsterdam, openly inveighed against the magistrates from their pulpits, and libels were set up against the States. But as the people seemed determined to take up arms, the Lord Buckhurst signified

to them from her Majesty, That it was her inclination to send back the Earl of Leicester, to compose their differences, by re-assuming the Government. And this expectation of his Lordship's presence, gave a check to their violence, and put a further stop to the proceedings of the States, who had begun to introduce a new scheme of government. Prince Maurice was brought to profess all good will and amity to his Lordship, and Count Hollock promised to receive him with all honour and friendship; also the States-General, and Council of State, both publickly and privately assured the Lord Buckhurst, of all duty and fidelity to him. But before the Queen was prevailed on to give consent to his Lordship's return, she required Lord Buckhurst, by letter, to let the States know, she expected they should send an army into the field, on his arrival, of ten or twelve thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and give assurances, that one hundred thousand pounds, arising from the extraordinary contributions, should be delivered at such reasonable times, as might serve to defray the charges of the said army, into the hands of some person of the country, who should be nominated by the Earl of Leicester, to be treasurer of the army, and to be issued out by his Lordship's direction, with the privity of the Council of State. But this not being agreeable, the Lord Buckhurst acquainted the Queen with their sentiments; and that on their non-compliance he had declared to them, he had no commission to promise his Lordship's return. On this, they resolved to provide for their own security, and accordingly established new superintendants on their frontiers, which was opposed by Lord Buckhurst, as contrary to the twenty-fourth article of their contract, by which the nomination of them was reserved to her Majesty's Lieutenant, yet his opposition produced no effect. However, as their perils increased continually on them, there seemed no other means left to prevent their entire ruin, but the settlement of a present Government, attended with a proportionable supply of men and money. The Lord Buckhurst, out of a true sense of those difficulties which the States laboured under, and the uncertainty of his Lordship's return, drew up a new scheme for the establishing such a government in the United Provinces; which very highly offended the Earl of Leicester, and seems to be the principal motive of the aversion and hatred he ever after expressed towards him (53).

(49) Stowe's An-  
nals, p. 739, 740.

(50) Willis's Let-  
ters to the Earl  
of Leicester and  
Walsingham,  
Cab. P. ii.  
p. 9, 32, & seq.

(51) Brandt's  
Hist. lib. xiv.

(52) Cabala, p. 9.

(53) Cabala, P. ii.  
p. 28—32, 33  
—35.

Earl gave it as his opinion, that it would be the safest and best expedient to make use of poison, which was vigorously opposed by Secretary Walsingham, to whom, though a Court Divine was sent to settle his conscience as to the lawfulness of this method, he remained fixed in his sentiment, that it ought to be done by form of Law (*k*). Accordingly a commission was drawn, grounded upon the late Act of Parliament, in which all the Members of the Privy-Council were appointed to be her Judges, and, amongst others, the Earl of Leicester; but being abroad, he neither assisted at the trial, nor at the judgment given in the Star-Chamber, neither was he present in Parliament; yet sufficient care was taken to make all the world sensible that he approved these measures, by printing the applications to the Queen from both Houses, in a letter directed to him, and in this very form, together with that letter, they are still to be found in one of our old Chronicles (*l*). It is no wonder, therefore, that, laying aside all thoughts of what had distasteful her in his misconduct in the Low-Countries, the Queen was wonderfully pleased to have him near her again upon such an occasion, more especially as the same point upon which he had been consulted before, came again upon the carpet; for the trial had done little for the Queen's satisfaction if execution did not follow, and how that might be done with least discredit to Queen Elizabeth, remained a point difficult to decide. The Earl of Leicester kept to his first notion, and proposed making her away privately; another scheme was offered, as little honourable though more extravagant, which was, to send her back to Scotland and have her put to death upon the frontiers of both countries. The majority of the Council approved neither, but inclined rather to prosecute the legal method in the end as well as at the beginning (*m*). The Queen seems to have concurred with the Earl of Leicester, as appears from the letters written to Sir Amias Pawlet and Sir Drew Drury, which not taking effect, the other way was at last resolved on, and Davison, by a very artful piece of management, bore all the blame (*n*). About this time he was constituted Lord Chief-Justice in Eyre of all the forests south of Trent (*o*), and, as appears from several letters in the Cabala, was highly favoured by Queen Elizabeth [*Q*]. During his absence from the Low-Countries the Spaniards had bribed York and Stanley, two Englishmen whom the Earl had appointed, the first Governor of a fort near Zutphen, and the other of Deventer, to deliver those places into their hands, which, by the treachery of York, so wrought on Stanley as he complied, and the loss thereof gave occasion to loud exclamations and complaints against the Earl of Leicester (*q*). Whereupon the States-General immediately assembling, agreed to invest Prince Maurice (*r*) with the full power and authority of Stadtholder and Captain-General of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, and to give him command over all the militia within the said Provinces. And pursuant to this determination, they obliged all their officers to receive a new commission from him, and to take a new oath to the States, and discharged all recusants whatsoever from the service. Queen Elizabeth was displeased with these alterations in their government, and resented the diminution of the Earl of Leicester's authority as an injury offered to herself, and thereupon immediately directed the Lord Buckhurst, her kinsman, to enquire into, and complain of, the innovations introduced in the absence of the Earl, and to settle all differences between them; and the States, in return, assured her Majesty, that their late proceedings were but provisional, and enforced through fear of a general revolt on the loss of Deventer; but that, at his Lordship's arrival, they would readily acknowledge both him and his authority, in as ample a manner as it had been granted to him at the first (*s*). Also in their letter to the Queen, March 1, they represented to her, that they were infinitely sorry her Majesty should entertain any sinister conceit of their actions and proceedings, which they attributed to the practice of their enemies, and concluded with desiring the Earl might return to his government, which they alledged was highly necessary to their safety [*R*].

The

[*Q*] *Was highly favoured by Queen Elizabeth.*] It might have been expected, that, after the indignation expressed against him by his Sovereign, for exceeding his authority in the Low-Countries, could have little hopes of obtaining new marks of favour, considering more especially how many places of honour and profit he held already. Yet the Earl was so compleat a Courtier, that he knew how to turn this disagreeable accident in a little time to his service. His conduct in the affair of the Queen of Scots, was very acceptable to the temper of Queen Elizabeth; his intelligence from Spain, which he never wanted, and was never trusted either to the eye or ear of a Secretary of State, gratified her Majesty highly, who knew by experience that it deserved entire credit; but what proved of the highest service of all, was his opening her Majesty's eyes in relation to the double-dealing of the Duke of Parma, who, while engaged in a treaty with England, was taking all the necessary measures to invade it. By these steps he regained the Queen's confidence entirely, and then it was suggested, that as he had been so unfortunate to incur her displeasure, of which he had received very public marks, as well by letters, as by the message with which Vice-Chamberlain Heneage

had been entrusted, it was necessary, for the satisfaction of the world in general, and of the States of Holland in particular, that this should be cancelled by some extraordinary act of grace, by which it might be known both at home and abroad, that he was cleared from all imputations, and stood on as good terms with the Queen his Mistress as ever. This affords us a pregnant instance of his art and address, and many other like instances might be given, sufficient to shew, that whenever he met with cloudy weather at Court, he could never be brought to believe that it was fair again, unless he felt the warmth as well as splendor of sunshine; and thus every return to favour cost her Majesty a fine for her anger, and brought him an ample reward for the humility of his submissions (54).

[*R*] *Was highly necessary to their safety.*] While the negotiations mentioned in the text were carrying on between the Queen's Minister and the States, the creatures of the Lord Lieutenant in the Low-Countries were far enough from being inactive; on the contrary, they were so busy, and took such exceptions to every thing that was done by the States in the Earl's absence, that at last they intimidated them to such a degree, as to be almost afraid of acting at all, and even to wish

sincerely

(*k*) Camden, Annal. p. 485.

(*l*) Hollinshed's Chron. p. 1580.

(*m*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 519.

(*n*) See the article of DAVISON in this Dictionary.

(*o*) 1. Pat. 28 Eliz. p. 1.

(*q*) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 552, 553.

(*r*) Brandt's Hist. of the Reformation in the Low-Countries, p. 409.

(*s*) Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, lib. iv. p. 345.

(*s*) Cabala, P. ii. p. 14. Brandt's Hist. of the Reformat. B. xiv.

(54) Leicester Commonwealth

The Queen yielded to this, but with some difficulty, so that his Lordship did not go back to his charge, as was desired and expected, in the beginning of the spring, which his friends in Holland gave out afforded great advantage to the enemy. The Duke of Parma began the campaign with the siege of Sluys, the most considerable town in Flanders, except Ostend, that remained in possession of the States. He first attacked the fort of Blanchenberg, commodious for the conveying succours to the besieged by land, which made little resistance, as his coming thither was unexpected, and no provision made to oppose him (t). His next step was to raise a fort in the island of Casante to cut off all relief by sea. But before he could execute his design, Sir Roger Williams, with five companies from Bruges, entered the town, and supplied it with provisions and ammunition to hold out a considerable time against him. Whilst this town was besieged, the Earl of Leicester, on the 18th of June, was made Lord Steward of the Queen's Household (u), and setting sail from England on the 25th of the same month, landed in Zealand about the latter end of it. He brought with him a considerable supply both of horse and foot. Prince Maurice and the Deputies of the States attended on him at Flushing, to congratulate his return, and left Count Hollock to watch the motions of the enemy. When they had conferred on raising the siege, it was determined to attempt it by sea, to which end they shipped five thousand foot and six hundred horse, with all necessary provisions for the relief of the town, and on the fleet's appearing in the channel, the Earl of Leicester made signals to the besieged that he was come to their assistance (w). But on examination, finding the channel blocked up, and the passage secured, he saw it would be in vain to proceed that way. For three days he continued in suspense what step to take, and then weighing anchor he bent his course towards Ostend, with a resolution to succour the besieged by land. The Earl of Leicester had no sooner landed his forces, but he prepared to attack the fort of Blanchenberg, and, joining the whole garrison of Ostend to his army, marched directly against it. The loss was of no less consequence to the Duke of Parma, than the gaining it would have been advantageous to the Earl, and therefore the Duke, leaving the siege every where well provided, led the remainder of his army to the defence of the fort against his Lordship (x). The English were ready to begin their batteries when the Duke of Parma came up, but on sight of the army they deferred their hostilities, and after some consultation retired to Ostend, from whence they returned with the same fleet where they had before been at anchor, not far from Sluys, and the Duke of Parma again presented himself to their view, whereby they found themselves under a necessity to retire once again, and never more attempted to raise the siege. The loss of Sluys renewed the misunderstanding between the Earl of Leicester and the States, whilst the blame of the action was thrown by each party on the mismanagement of the other. The Earl complained of the State's negligence, in not making sufficient preparations, and not restraining the first attempts of the Spaniards against the town. And the States, in return, virulently inveighed against his Lordship, and imputed the whole misfortune to his ill conduct, and the delay of the English forces. And this dissatisfaction increasing, they refused to establish him in that absolute authority which had been conferred on him at his first arrival. This diminution of his power was so highly resented by him, that he openly expressed his displeasure against the States, and the Dutch writers charge him with having entered into indirect practices to regain it, by forming parties in his progress through the country, and conversing chiefly with the Ministers and private persons (y), so that they, and the common people, were so transported with his appearances of piety, and his zeal for their interests, as to approve of all he did, and loudly exclaimed against the proceedings of the States [S]. The Queen, however, being well apprized by her Ministers at home

(t) Cobals, P. 1.  
P. 42.

(u) Stowe's Annals, p. 741.

(w) Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, P. ii. l. iv. p. 246.

(x) Brandt's Hist. lib. xiv.

(y) Bentivoglio, and Brandt's Hist. p. 414, 416.

sincerely for the return of the Lord Lieutenant, that some degree of weight might be restored to the government. In these practices the Earl's most indefatigable agents were the Clergy, and how very able he was to manage a set of men, who, of all others, delight themselves most in managing the minds of the multitude, will appear from the following letter, which certainly is a master-piece in it's kind, though both in the matter and the stile, it differs not much from many of this noble person's epistles (55).

GENTLEMEN,

THAT I did not return such an answer to several of your letters as you desired and expected, was not for want of good will towards serving the cause of God, and defending the poor people, but it was because I had not yet received her Majesty's resolutions, about what was farther necessary to be done for the service of your country. But the Queen having given me full directions with regard to the forces she will send to your assistance, and having laid her commands upon me to return, I therefore, postponing all private views and considerations, and abandoning all those advantages which

God has bestowed on me in this kingdom, intend to hasten over, and satisfy the desires of a people who have so often called for me, to which the zeal and good inclinations of some have more induced me than the demerits of others, that suffer themselves to be made tools for keeping me back by slanders and detractions, which I shall nevertheless enter into my book of oblivion, that no harm may befall those who seek to do me such disservices. And I hope I shall never give the people any cause to diminish their good will and affection for me. In the mean time I intreat you to go on in your duty, and to admonish and excite those under your care to peace and unity, to the end that they may more and more deserve all the benefits they receive. For the rest I refer myself to my arrival, and so I recommend you, Gentlemen, to the protection of the Almighty.

Given at London,  
Jan. 7, O. S.

Your good friend,

R. LEICESTER.

[S] And loudly exclaimed against the proceedings of the States.] At his second departure from the Low-Countries.

(55) Brandt's History of the Reformation, B. xiv. p. 413.

home of the situation of affairs in the Low-Countries, thought proper to re-call him by an instrument dated November 9, 1587, and at the same time appointed Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, Captain-General of her forces (z). Camden relates, that the Earl of Leicester, on his return, finding an accusation was preparing against him by the Lord Buckhurst and some other of his enemies, for his misconduct in the management of affairs in the Low-Countries, and that he was summoned to appear before the Council, privately implored the Queen's protection, and earnestly besought her, 'Not to receive him with disgrace upon his return, whom, at his first departure, she had sent out with honour; nor bring down alive to the grave, whom her former goodness had raised from the dust (a).' And that the Queen was so pacified with his expressions of humility and sorrow, as to pass by the displeasure she had conceived against him, and to admit him into her former grace and affection. The day when it was expected he should have given in his answer, he took his place at the Council table, and when the Secretary had begun to read his accusation, he rose up and interrupted him, complaining of being injured, and declaring that his publick commission was limited by private instructions, and making his appeal to the Queen, he evaded the accusation, and came off in triumph; and by his power with her Majesty, he so far prevailed, that a censure was passed upon the Lord Buckhurst, who was confined thereupon to his house for several months. It is very certain, that how much soever this noble person's employment in the Low-Countries might gratify his ambition, or perhaps his vanity, it was very far from turning in any other manner to his advantage; since, at his last going over, he took up very large sums of money at high interest upon his barony of Denbigh (b), which, after his return, he found it impossible to discharge, upon which the Merchants who had lent the money, most of whom had borrowed it upon their own private credit in order to supply him at that juncture, finding themselves very much distressed by this disappointment, applied for redress to the Lord Treasurer as well as to the Lord Chancellor, but it does not appear that any thing was or could be done for their relief. Whether it was in regard to this affair, or some other relating to the transactions in the Low-Countries, certain it is, that the Earl had frequent differences with the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, which at length rose so high, that his Lordship told the Earl plainly at Council, *that he found his Lordship very much inclined to cross him upon all occasions, and more especially before the Queen; and that he liked it so ill, that he could and would find ways to anger him as well;* adding some other speeches, which the Lord Treasurer took as a charge against him for acting to the Queen's prejudice, upon which, the very same night, he resolved to expostulate the matter freely with the Earl by letter, which he sent him the next day, and received an answer in the evening (c). This as it serves to shew the temper of this noble Peer much better than any of the accounts we have of him extant, and as the reader may possibly think it a better vindication than any that

(z) Rymer's  
Fœd. Tom. XVI.  
p. 13.

(a) Annal. Eliz.  
p. 556.

(b) Strype's An-  
nals, Vol. III.  
p. 498, 499.

(c) See this at  
large in the notes.

Countries, the Earl of Leicester left the free administration of publick affairs to the States, without making use of any such precaution as he had taken when he was there before; notwithstanding which we are positively told, and therefore it must rest upon the Historian's (56) credit who says it, that he had it in his head to usurp the government, and to send the Prince of Orange and the Pensionary Barnevelt, prisoners into England; so that he reckons it amongst the many wonderful escapes of the inhabitants of these provinces, from the open tyranny of Philip II, and from the fox-like subtleties of William, Prince of Orange, that they were not subdued by the all-grasping ambition of our potent Earl of Leicester. It is indeed certain, that before he quitted that Government, the Earl distributed amongst his particular friends, some gold medals, of which there are yet to be found in the cabinets of the curious; on the face (57), the Earl's effigies in bust armed, with this inscription, ROBERTUS DUDLEUS. COM. LEYC. BELG. GUBER, i. e. Robert Earl of Leicester, Governor of the Low-Countries; on the reverse, a Shepherd's dog looking back upon the flock, from which he is going; and in the *exurgue*, under the dog's legs, INVITUS DESERO, i. e. unwillingly I abandon; about the circle, NON GREGEM SED INGRATOS, i. e. not the flock, but the ungrateful. These insinuations had such an effect upon the minds of the people, that the whole nation was in confusion, some Dutch garrisons affecting to adhere to the English; and on the other hand, Sir William Russell taking such steps, as gave no small jealousy to the State, which was augmented (58), by the coming of the Lord High-Admiral of England upon their coasts, just at that juncture. These jealous suspicions, at last rose so high, that the Dutch well affected to their own government, according to the genius of that people, to which the Earl of Leicester conformed in his medals, struck others, upon which were the old allusion of the two pots swimming

at sea, with this inscription, *si collidimur, frangimur;* i. e. if we clash we are undone. The Lord Admiral did all he could to settle the minds of the States, and of their subjects; which, however, was not effected till the Queen sent her orders to the Lord Willoughby, to reduce by force, if that should be necessary, such places as refused to yield obedience to the States, which convinced them, that they had at least done her Majesty wrong, whatever foundation there might be for questioning the upright meaning of the Earl of Leicester, who in this command, says the Historian, was the first Englishman that bore the swelling title of *Excellency*; and therefore, many at home were very well pleased to see him forced to lay it down with so little honour (59). The nature of the subject, a just regard for truth, and a sincere desire the reader should want no lights that is in our power to give, oblige us to observe, that the Earl of Leicester's medal, is far from being any conclusive evidence of his bad intentions, since the words, fairly construed, mean no more than that he left with reluctance, those whom he had considered in the light of a flock committed to his charge; and this, notwithstanding some of them had repaid with ingratitude, all the care he had taken. We must also remark, that those who disliked the Earl in England, concurred with his enemies in Holland, to give a sanction to all their jealousies and surmises, which, whatever effects they might have in those times, cannot pass for unsuspected testimonies in these. The Earl of Leicester had his faults, and those very great faults too, but other ministers might not be without them, or even without a propensity of magnifying those of the Earl of Leicester, in order to prejudice him with their sovereign, in whose confidence, while he had so large a share, it was impossible that he should escape envy, or that such as envied him, should (contrary to the nature of that passion) always speak truth.

(56) Camden, An-  
nal. Eliz. p. 555.

(57) Evelyn's Dis-  
course of Medals,  
p. 98.

(58) Camden,  
Annal. Eliz. p.  
556.

(59) Camden, An-  
nal. Eliz. p. 555.

than have been offered of his proceedings, we have placed it at the bottom of the page [T]. It has before been observed, that the Duke of Parma, who was a great Politician as well as a great Captain, set on foot a negotiation with the English Court, as if it had been in his power to have concluded an absolute peace; upon which, the Earl of Derby, and some other persons of credit and distinction, and amongst the rest Sir James Crofts, Comptroller of the Queen's Household, were sent over with the title of Commissioners to negotiate with them, in the month of April 1588 (d). A great deal of time was spent to very little purpose, and notwithstanding the Duke of Parma was earnestly solicited, he could never be prevailed on to produce the commission by which his Catholick Majesty impowered him to treat and conclude, because in reality, he had no such commission to produce. Sir James Crofts, who was a plain man, and heartily desirous that a peace between England and Spain should take effect, made a journey to Brussels, without having any authority to do, in order to confer with the Duke (e); in which, though the rest of the Commissioners allowed that he was too forward, yet they cleared him from any ill intention, as well as from doing any thing that was amiss; yet, upon their being recalled in the month of August following, Sir James Crofts was accused by the Earl of Leicester, for his unadvised journey to Brussels, and by an order of the Privy-Council, committed to prison (f). The whole nation was by this time alarmed with the apprehensions of the Spanish Armada, and amongst other precautions that were taken, an army was assembled at Tilbury, consisting of between sixteen and seventeen thousand men, of which the Earl of Leicester was made Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of Essex commanded the horse (g). Queen Elizabeth, that she might encourage her subjects by her presence, went to review that army in person; and upon that occasion, made a short and memorable speech, which as it contains a character of this nobleman, given by his Sovereign to her people, it is requisite to insert (h). ' I myself, said she, will be your General, Judge, and Rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardness, you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a Prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my Lieutenant-General shall be in my stead, than whom, never Prince commanded a more noble, or worthy subject, not doubting, but by your obedience to my General, by your concord in the camp, and your valour

(d) Camd. Annual, Eliz. p. 567.

(e) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 510.

(f) Transactions with Spain amongst the MSS. of Lord Burleigh.

(g) Stowe's Annals, p. 750.

(h) Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 395.

[T] At the bottom of the page.] We have the circumstances mentioned in the text, from Mr Strype, who had taken notice of a former difference between these noblemen, and preserved two excellent letters occasioned thereby (60), but much too long to be inserted here. As for the letter written by the Lord-Treasurer, upon this last quarrel, that gentleman does not give us so much as a line of it, though he has preserved the Earl of Leicester's answer entire, and a very extraordinary paper it is (61).

My Lord,

I Know not from whence my hap hath it, but it hath fallen out sundry times, both contrary to my expectations, and much less by any desert of mine, that I have found your Lordship more ready to thwart and cross my endeavours than any other man's, especially in the presence of her Majesty, and for such cause as I have been the more earnest in, when by your Lordship's own allowance and opinion, it had been so resolved on by our conference before, as fit and meet advices to be given her Majesty, for the best furtherances of her own services. And these causes have lately been most in question; in which, I myself, by her appointment, have been furthest employed, viz. about assistance of the Low-Countries. And therefore, did both at your Lordship's hands, and other my Lords, hope to be assisted and comforted, so far as my opinion should tend to the service of her Majesty, and to matters, being before, by your Lordship and others, debated, and agreed upon. Wherefore, finding it to fall out otherwise, and to draw difference in argument, where there was good assent before; what was it? but to leave me in her Majesty's opinion, to be a man either affectionate or opinionative in mine own conceits; and withall, to see her Majesty's service hindred, and to take lack through such needless and unprofitable controversies among Counsellors. Albeit, I know and grant among Counsellors, there may, and must rise, by way of argument, divisions in opinion, which is both lawful and very convenient, and oft doth, without any causes of dislike at all. And God forbid there should be. But, my Lord, in these causes, we have been two or three times before her Majesty, we had debated the matter before. And the course I took, was no other than your Lordship did best

like and most advise. And to fall into contrary opinions before her Majesty, caused me both to take it ill, and to shew it plainly to you as I did. And the words which I added withal, which your Lordship doth set down in your letter, that I did charge you with some matters towards her Majesty; assuredly, my Lord, I used no such words. But finding myself grieved with such cross handling, as both at this and at other times I have done, I told your Lordship, I saw your Lordship very ready to cross me now-a-days before her Majesty. That I like it so ill, that I would and could find way to anger you as well. And that I had not dealt in this sort either with you or any of your's, but much otherwise. And so my Lord I have done to my poor power, and with as much desire to have you my assured friend, as any friend you have found in England. Which finding these occasions more than once falling to my lot, I can hardly dissemble or bear the unkind dealing of them, but rather to deal as I am dealt withal, when all kindness is not only so little regarded but hardly requited. In which conceit, my Lord, I pray you think I can be as others are to me. And to that end was my speech and my meaning, and that I said was to your Lordship's self, and before none other, but moved, as your Lordship said, in passion. And as I have been loth to have the occasion that should drive me to take such hard or unkind courses, as I see some do, and my self very deeply felt. Thus much, my Lord, I have thought good to set down, which receiving your Lordship's letter, even as I came from the Court, had no time till late this night to answer. Wherein I will not hide the conceit I had upon the causes I have shewed, finding myself indeed heartily moved and grieved, but plainly and flatly to deliver my mind, rather than to dissemble as many can. Leaving to your Lordship to consider of my doings, how you have found them, if I be well used. And so in very haste, leaving the rest till I speak with yourself, I commit you to the Lord. From my house, this Monday night.

Your Lordship's very friend, if you so regard me,

R. LEYCESTER.

30) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 31, in the Appendix.

31) Ib. Vol. III. p. 205, in the Appendix.

‘ in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.’ At this time, there is nothing plainer than that he stood as well with Queen Elizabeth as ever; and it is highly probable, that the Earl of Leicester, than whom no man understood a court better, was persuaded of this himself, otherwise he would never have sought an employment still greater than any he had, which was that of the Queen’s Lieutenant in England and Ireland, nor would he have obtained it as he did, if the Queen’s favour had not been as strong towards him as ever; but a stop was put to the passing the letters-patents prepared for this purpose, by the Lord Chancellor Hatton, and the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh, who are said to have shewed the Queen in time, what hazards she might run, by intrusting so large, or rather so exorbitant, a power in the hands of a single person (*i*). It is not at all improbable, that the danger of the Spanish Invasion being by this time over, made the Queen think so extensive a command unnecessary, which inclined her to listen to the suggestions of those two great Statesmen upon this subject. Whether the Earl of Leicester conceived any dislike at this, and thought of retiring from Court, as some have suggested, or whether, as it was usual with him, he was desirous of enjoying the pleasures of privacy in the country at that season; certain it is, that he set out about the end of August, for his Castle of Kenelworth (*k*), but making some stay at his house at Cornbury in Oxfordshire, he there breathed his last, September the 4th 1588, when he was about the age of fifty-six (*l*). At the time of his demise, he was of the Queen’s Privy-Council, Lord-Steward of the Household, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, High-Steward of that of Cambridge, Chief Justice in Eyre in the Counties beyond Trent, the Queen’s Lieutenant and Captain-General of the Forces in Holland, Governor and Captain-General of the United Provinces, and General of the forces raised in England against the Spaniards; Knight of the French King’s Order of St Michael, and of the most noble Order of the Garter (*m*). Some writers add, Earl-Marshal of England (*n*), but without authority; for certainly, he never enjoyed that office (*o*). As to the manner of his death, there are very different opinions, and all countenanced by some authority. We are told by Camden, that he died of a fever (*p*). Sir Robert Naunton (*q*), who was well acquainted with the transactions of those times, informs us, that though he ended not his days by so violent a death, or by the fatal sentence of judicature, as his father and grandfather, yet (as is suggested) by that poison which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare artist [*U*]. At Court an opinion prevailed, that he did not leave the world by a natural disease, but by some practices of a diabolical nature; concerning which, several examinations were taken before the Privy-Council (*r*), with which, perhaps it may not be amiss to make the reader acquainted [*W*]. That he died under a cloud, which time and emula-

(*i*) Camden. Annals. Eliz. p. 583.

(*k*) Strype’s Annals, Vol. III. p. 593.

(*l*) Stowe’s Annals, p. 750.

(*n*) Annal. Eliz. p. 583.

(*n*) Stowe’s Annals, p. 750.

(*o*) See Camden, and Spelman’s Accounts of Earl Marshals.

(*p*) Annal. Eliz. p. 583.

(*q*) Fragm. Regal. cap. iii.

(*r*) Strype’s Annals, Vol. III.

(62) Fragmenta Regalia, c. iv.

(63) Leicester’s Commonwealth.

(64) Strype’s Annals, Vol. II. p. 238, 239.

(65) Annal. Eliz. p. 221.

[*U*] *Wherein they report him a rare artist.*] It appears from hence, that Sir Robert Naunton (62) did not entirely discredit the reports that ran upon this subject, which were indeed very publick, and the names of the persons frequently mentioned who were employed in these pernicious practices, as well as those who suffered by them. As to the former, there was one Salvadore, a domestick of the Earl’s, who died himself very suddenly; and Dr Julio (63), who was very highly in his favour. As to the latter, besides the Lord Sheffield and the Earl of Essex, who are thought to have been removed for the sake of their wives, there are some others that have been publicly said to travel the same road, by the same conveyance, though for other reasons. As for instance, the Cardinal Chastillon, who died at Canterbury in 1570, as he was going out of England, and who is said to have offended this great Earl, by informing the Queen of the arts which he used to disgust such foreign Princes as sought her Majesty in marriage. That this Prelate was highly carested by the Queen is beyond all doubt, and that he was poisoned is likewise certain, but by whose contrivance is by no means clear (64). The case of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton may be accounted, of all others, that which bears the hardest upon the Earl in point of circumstances; he is said to have been poisoned in a sallad at Leicester-House, being taken ill at table, and dying before he could be removed: the latter part of this story is acknowledged by the Earl of Leicester himself, in a letter to Secretary Walsingham; and as to the former, it depends upon a family tradition, that Sir Nicholas accused the Earl upon his death-bed. However, it was the report generally prevailed, and Camden does not speak of it as a thing entirely groundless (65). The same story is told of his great competitor the Earl of Suffex, but with no great shew of probability or truth, much less of certainty, though said to have been taken from his own mouth. He was indeed the Earl’s enemy to the very last, for on his death-bed he is reported to have given this caution

to his friends (66): ‘ I am passing into another world, and must now leave you to your fortunes, and to the Queen’s grace and goodness, but beware of the gipsy (Leicester) for he will be too hard for you all, you know not the beast so well as I do.’ All these tales would be absolutely incredible, if the proposal for taking off the Queen of Scots by a dose was not positively vouched by Camden, and the Lady Sheffield’s loss of her hair and nails testified by herself upon oath. Hence it was a saying in those days, That folks often fell without seeing the hand that pushed them, and that many died who knew not their own disease.

[*W*] *To make the reader acquainted.*] We have observed in the text, that, upon the return of Sir James Crofts, Comptroller of the Household, who was one of the Commissioners in the Low-Countries, he was committed for acting imprudently in the discharge of his trust. After the Earl of Leicester’s death, among other reports that flew abroad, one was, that the son of this Gentleman had been instrumental in his Lordship’s sudden end (67). Upon this Mr Edward Crofts, and several other persons, were brought before the Privy-Council, when the following facts came out, as they are transcribed from the original minutes; being examined concerning the Earl of Leicester’s death, he (Edward Crofts) saith, that after his father Sir James Crofts was committed, this examine came home to his own house at Charing-Crofts, and lamenting, said unto Smith and Pille’s wife, that he and all his were undone except he had help. And Smith said he would do what he could; and willed this examine to give him the names of all the Council, which he did. And Smith promised to tell him who were his father’s enemies; and did after tell him that the Earl of Leicester was his great enemy. Within two or three days after, Smith, walking up and down with this examine, made a flirt with his thumb, and bad him be of good comfort, for the bear is tied to the stake, or muzzled, whether he doth not remember; and in what manner or fort the Earl was dealt withal

(66) Naunton’s Fragm. Regalia, c. iv.

(67) Strype’s Annals, Vol. III. p. 594. Appendix, p. 269.

tion, the companions of great ones brought upon him, as a certain writer suggests (1), one would think a little improbable; since Camden assures us, that the Queen expressed a very deep concern for his death, but then, the force of this assertion is lessened, by his adding, that she suffered his goods to be sold by publick auction, for the discharge of a debt due to the Crown, in pursuance of a maxim, from which she rarely departed, of remitting to none the claims upon them from her Treasury (2). Whatever the disposition of his Sovereign might be to him, he left the strongest testimonies of duty and fidelity towards her, that words could possibly express, in his last will, penned by his own hand, during his last residence in Holland; which is a piece so singular, that it cannot but afford pleasure to see a part of it in the notes (u) [X]. In that instrument, which is written with  
(1) Fragm. Regal. c. iii.  
(2) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 534.  
(u) Memoirs prefixed to the Sidney State Papers.

he doth not know. That Smith told him, that his father should not remain in prison a full month. And that this examine should be the man that should obtain the warrant for his delivery, and so he did. All the persons abovementioned were examined as well as Mr Crofts, who confirmed every tittle of what he had said, particularly Smith himself; but what punishment they suffered, or whether they suffered at all, is not mentioned. We learn also from the same author, that the Earl of Leicester was in good health on the 2<sup>th</sup> of August, when he wrote a letter to the Lord Treasurer Barleigh in behalf of a friend of his, excused his going out of town without taking leave of him, and declared his intention to return speedily, which is a plain proof that he did not retire from any discontent.

[X] In the notes.] There is no need of any introduction to this piece, after what is said of it in the text, it begins thus (68): ' This is the last Will and Testament of me Robert Earl of Leicester, her Majesty's Lieutenant-General of all her forces in the Low-Countries, and Governor and Captain-General of all the United Provinces, written with his own hand the first of August, in Middleborough, 1573. First, I take it to be the part of every true Christian, to make a true testimony of his faith at all times, and especially in such a case and such a time as this is. And therefore I do mean here faithfully to make a short declaration, to testify in what faith I do live and depart from this world, through the grace of my Lord and Saviour, to continue me in the same till the separation of this life and body. And so I do acknowledge my creation and being to be had and continued by the Providence of our Almighty God, the creator of all things both in Heaven and Earth, and do confess that above all deeds that his Divine Majesty hath done for mankind, is the gift of his blessed son Christ Jesus to be the Redeemer and Saviour of his people that be faithful, by whose only merits and passion I verily believe, and am most assured of, the forgiveness of all my sins, be they never so great or infinite, and that he only is the sufficient sacrifice that hath appeased the wrath of his father, and that blessed lamb which innocently suffered all torments, to bear the bitter burden due to us miserable wretches, for his most tender compassion over all that have grace to believe on him. All which his grace's goodness and mercy I most faithfully take hold on, being so promised by himself, who is the only truth itself, that I am the child of salvation, and to be the inheritor of his everlasting kingdom, and to meet with him at the joyful day of resurrection with all the faithful children and saints of God. In this faith I now live, and in this faith I trust to change this life, with continual prayer to the Throne of Grace, to grant me, during this pilgrimage of mine, a true, humble, and penitent heart, for the due recognition of all my offences, and the willing amendment of the same, and to fly instantly to the sure anker-hold, my Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, glory, and dominion, for ever, Amen. Thus being in perfect health and memory, and having set down my faith as a true Christian, and being uncertain of the hour of death, I think it my part to settle my worldly matters in as good estate as I can, especially being hastily and suddenly sent over, and likewise having very little leisure since my arrival to get any time for my private business. But first, my will is to commit this wretched body of mine, when it shall please God to separate it from the soul, to the order of my dear friends that shall be living, as my executors, and my overseers of this my last Will and Testament, and they to take

' such order for the burial of my body as they shall think meet, always requiring that it may be done with as little pomp or vain expences of the world as may be, being persuaded that there is no more vain expences than that is; a convenient tomb or monument I wish there should be. And for the place where my body should lie it is hard to appoint, and I know not how convenient it is to desire it, but I have always wished, as my dear wife doth know, and some of my friends, that it might be at Warwick, where sundry of my ancestors do lie, either so, or else where the Queen's Majesty shall command; for as it was, when it had life, a most faithful, true, loving servant unto her; so living, and so dead, let the body be at her gracious determination if it shall so please her. Touching my bequests, they cannot be great by reason my ability and power is little, for I have not dissembled with the world my estate, but have lived always above any living I had (for which I am heartily sorry) lest that through my many debts from time to time, some men have taken los by me. My desire therefore is, and I do charge my executors to have due consideration, that if any person shall justly, after my decease, make such complaint, that they shall be satisfied as far as it shall be found in any equity it is due unto them, with advantage to them. Besides I do here appoint my most dear well beloved wife, the Countess of Leicester, to be my sole executrix of this my last Will and Testament, and do require her, for all love between us, that she will not only be content to take it upon her, but also to see it faithfully and carefully performed. And albeit there may many imperfections be found with the making of this Will, for that I am no Lawyer, nor have any Counsel with me to place things in such form as some are able, yet as my true meaning is, I trust, to express, that accordingly it may be interpreted, for I mean to make it as plain as I can. And first of all, before and above all persons it is my duty to remember my most dear and most gracious Sovereign, whose creature under God I have been, and who hath been a most bountiful and princely mistress unto me, as well in advancing me to many honours, as in maintaining me many ways by her goodness and liberality. And as my best recompence to her most excellent Majesty, can be from so mean a man chiefly in prayer to God, so, whilst there was any breath in this body, I never failed it even as for mine own soul. And as it was my greatest joy in my life-time to serve her to her contentation, so it is not unwelcome to me, being the will of God, to die and end this life for her service. And yet, albeit I am not able to make any piece of recompence of her great goodness, yet will I presume to present unto her a token of an humble and faithful heart, as the least that ever I can send her, and with this prayer withal, that it may please the Almighty God, not only to make her the oldest Prince that ever he gave over England, but to make her the godliest, the virtuouslest, and the worthiest in his sight, that ever he gave over any nation. That he may indeed be a blessed mother and nurse to this people and Church of England, which the Almighty God grant for his Christ's sake. The tokens I do bequeath unto her Majesty, is the jewel with three great emeralds, with a fair large table-diamond in the midst, without a foil, and set about with many diamonds without foil, and a rope of fair white pearl, to the number of six hundred, to hang the said jewel at, which pearl and jewel was once purposed for her Majesty, against a coming to Waustead, but it must now thus be disposed, which I do pray you my dear wife see performed, and delivered to some of those whom  
I shall

(68) Ex. Regist. vocat. Leicester, ca. 1. in Cur. Prerog. Cantuar.

(w) See the next article.

(x) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 450.

(y) Annal. Eliz. p. 583, 584.

(z) Fuller's Worthies, Staffordsh.

(a) See Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. c. xxviii.

(b) Stowe's Annals, Burnet, &c.

(c) Dugdale's Orig. Juridical.

(d) Leicester's Commonwealth.

(e) Scrinia Reclusa, p. 315.

(f) Character of the Earl of Essex, p. 35.

(g) Heylin's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 339.

(h) Camden, Naunton, Strype.

(i) Fragmenta Regalia, ch. iii.

amazing art; in as much, as the language thereof is scarce to be distinguished from that of nature, he takes great care of his family, and shews wonderful condescensions towards his wife; though after all, the bulk of his fortune is secured to his son Robert, whom he styles constantly his base son, with what meaning must be left to conjecture. As he died before his brother Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, and that noble peer was universally beloved, he had interest enough to carry his brother's testament, or at least, the most essential parts thereof into execution, which otherwise would have been attended, if we may guess from what happened in the next reign, with insuperable difficulties (w). The corps of the Earl of Leicester was removed from Cornbury Park to Warwick, where it was interred in our Lady's Chapel, adjoining to the Quire of the Collegiate Church, and a very noble monument is erected to his memory, with his effigies in armour lying on his back, with his Earl's Coronet on his head, and the effigy of his Countess lying by him, with an inscription in capitals, the substance of which, the reader has already seen; as it contains little more than a recapitulation of his employments (x). The character bestowed upon him by Camden (y), is to this effect. He was looked upon as a finished courtier in every respect; elegant in his dress, liberal in his way of living, bountiful to soldiers and men of letters; very adroit in chusing his time and carrying his point; complaisant in his temper, but insidious towards rivals; amorous in the former part of his life, and in the latter, uxorious to a strange degree. As for the rest, as he preferred an envied height of power to solid virtue; he furnished matter for a multitude of malicious detractors to descant upon, who, even in the zenith of his glory, failed not to prosecute him with their libels, which were mixed with abundance of untruths. To sum up all, what was said of him in publick, had the air of praise and panegyrick; but in private, and where people durst be free, he was represented in quite a different light. This without doubt, considering it's brevity, is an admirable description, and by far superior to the diffuse accounts that are to be met with in other writers; but as it is perfectly adapted to the Historian's subject, it may be possibly thought too succinct, to close a particular article composed of such a variety of matter, and therefore we will endeavour with the utmost impartiality, to subjoin a more copious representation of this great Statesman and fortunate favourite in publick and in private life. He is said to have inherited the parts, as his brother the Earl of Warwick was the heir of his father's virtues (z). His ambition was great, but his abilities were greater. His dexterity as a courtier, appeared as soon as he entered the Court; for he obtained under King Edward, more than any of his brethren, in point of places and donations (a), and this address continued through all his different situations; he complimented Queen Mary upon her accession (b), though he went a prisoner out of her presence; and notwithstanding he met, as might be expected, with a bad reception, yet he persevered till he obtained, not only a pardon, but a place. He secured however, so good an interest with her successor, that he was declared a favourite, as soon as she was declared a Queen, and maintained the first place in her confidence as long as he lived; as he was desirous of the graces of his Sovereign, so he studied that the world should take notice of his success, which appeared early in the magnificence beyond example, with which he discharged the office of Constable, or Prince of the Revels, in the Temple (c), and in this he persisted through his whole life, introducing creatures of his own, to elbow out any of whom the Queen took notice, without his participation, and thereby kept himself always supreme (d). But though he loved the station of a Favourite, he affected also that of a Minister (e). He would be first in all things, and he was so; in the Court, in the Camp, and in the Cabinet, at the same time; he changed his parties often, but never his views. He affected in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time, a great respect for the Spanish and Popish interest; advising her to give good words to King Philip, that she might have leisure to settle the affairs of religion, and of her kingdom, upon a solid foundation; and thus he made his court at home, and preserved his interest and intelligence abroad, which he used to the last, and is said to have bequeathed it as a legacy to his son-in-law, Essex (f). The Papists and the Puritans separating from the Church about the same time, he went over to the latter, the former having chiefs of their own, not to be removed but by prosecutions, which therefore was the way that he took (g). He professed a kindness for Mary Queen of Scots, but it was to please Queen Elizabeth, and when he proposed the Association afterwards, which proved the ruin of that Princess, it was still to please, as well as to preserve Elizabeth (h). His religious zeal was intirely governed by, or at least had a constant connection with, his temporal interests, which induced him sometimes to take measures that were not at all agreeable to those Prelates that were at the head of the Church, who could never be brought to consider him as a friend to themselves, or a well-wisher to it (i) [Y]. As great a Politician as he was, he never chose a back game, tho' no-body knew

' I shall hereafter nominate and appoint to be my overseers for her Majesty.'

[Y] Or a well-wisher to it.] In this note, it is proposed to give some account of the disputes this potent Earl had with the Clergy, which have been transmitted to posterity, with circumstances not much to his honour. He exercised his office of Chancellor of

Oxford with a very high hand, and by preferring his dependants, secured himself a great influence there, attended, as might be expected, with much clamour (69). He differed with Archbishop Grindal, and though he was much in the confidence of the Queen, brought him at first into discredit with her, and then into disgrace; nay, to such a degree was this persecution carried, that

(69) See Leicester's Commonwealth. Strype in his Annals, life of Archbishop Whitgift, &c. Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. the

knew better how to play it, when no other road to success was left (b). It was this desire of seeming as well as being powerful, that made him industrious to prevent any from being called to Council, before he knew what road they would take, and what length they would run. He sought and loved men of abilities, but took care to keep them at a distance from Court, and in stations where he might be useful to them, and they to him; thus he sent Sir Henry Sydney, his brother-in-law, over to Ireland, placed the Earl of Pembroke in Wales; Lord Hunfdon at Berwick, and the Earl of Huntington at York, with the title of President of the North (l); in a word, he reduced the management of domestic affairs into a regular system, so that there was no part of the kingdom, in which he had not an influence, and in the counties round his castle of Kenelworth, almost every thing was dependent upon him, either through hope or fear (m) [Z]. When we consider

(d) Scrinia Reclusa, p. 315.

(l) Leicester's Commonwealth.

(m) Strype, Naunton, &c.

the poor prelate desired to lay down his archiepiscopal dignity, and actually caused the instrument of his resignation to be drawn; but his enemies believing he was near his end, did not press the perfecting of it, and so he died with his mitre on his head, of a broken heart (71). He kept his house long, and was reported to be blind; a certain author, no great friend to Bishops, and whose testimony is the more credible when he speaks kindly of them, shall give the history of this Archbishop's fall, and of the share the Earl had in it, his words are these (72). There was an Italian Doctor (one Julio Bargarucci) that having a known wife alive, yet bearing himself on the countenance of some great Lord, did marry another gentlewoman. This good Archbishop not winking at so publick a scandal, convened him for that, and proceeded by ecclesiastical censures against him; letters were presently written from this great Lord to the Archbishop to stop the proceeding, to tolerate, to dispense, or to mitigate the censure, but the Bishop remained still unmoved and unmoveable; when no subjects intreaty could be found to prevail, they intreat the Sovereign to write in the Doctor's behalf, but this John Baptist, not only persisted in his *non licet habere eam*, but also, in a reverend fashion, required an account of her Majesty's faith, in that she would seem to write in a matter, that if she were truly informed, was expressly against the word of God. The Queen, in a gracious disposition, was purposed to have yielded an account in writing, but the great Lord not only dissuaded her from that, as too great an indignity, but incensed her exceedingly against him; whereupon he was privately commanded to keep his house, where, because he was sometimes troubled with sore eyes, his friends gave out he was blind. In which if he resembled Tiresias the Soothsayer, he might also have been like him in another respect, by foretelling the fate of his persecutor. For that Lord, that so persecuted this prelate about his physician's two wives, dying twenty years since, left two wives behind him, that can hardly be yet agreed, which was his lawful wife. A certain Ecclesiastical Historian acquaints us, that Dr Julio's divorce, was not the single fault of this Archbishop, it seems he would not part with Lambeth House (73), to which the Earl had a mind; but the most remarkable circumstance in this business, is, that the Archbishop's want of vigilance in suppressing Puritans, was the cause assigned for oppressing him by that very nobleman, who was known to be their principal protector, and to whom consequently this could not give any real offence (74). Dr Whitgift succeeding in the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, succeeded also in a short time to the dislike of the Earl of Leicester, who having provided for Mr Cartwright, the father and chief of the Puritans, not only by making him master of his Hospital at Warwick, but also by granting him an annuity of fifty pounds a year out of his own estate, recommended him also to the Archbishop, with whom he had had many controversies (75). Mr Cartwright on his side behaved very respectfully, and his Grace not civilly only, but kindly, for which the Earl thanked him, as if the favour had been done to himself, by letter, intimating at the same time, what good things might be expected in case Mr Cartwright was again allowed to preach; but the Archbishop would not be drawn into that, and gave his Lordship his reasons in a long epistle (76). The Earl was then silent upon this subject, but soon after addressed himself to the Archbishop upon another, which was to demand his opinion as to the lawfulness of assisting the Dutch, on the score of religion against their

Sovereign the King of Spain, which he knew, could not fail of bringing him into great difficulties. The Archbishop in his answer, declined giving any such opinion, for which conduct of his, he advanced many reasons; but these would not satisfy, and he was at last obliged to pen a resolution of what was stiled the Queen's case of conscience in that matter, which he did so wisely, that no exceptions could be taken (71). The Archbishop, and the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh, being Visitors of St John's College in Cambridge, the Earl of Leicester interposed, by his letters, to stay their proceedings, which occasioned much trouble (78). In the mean time Mr Cartwright broke out again, and the conduct of the Puritans gave the Queen so much trouble, that the Earl of Leicester to preserve the Queen's favour, thought fit to leave them. Dr Heylin gives us this account of the matter (79). 'It is worth observing, that the Puritans were then most busy, as well in setting up their discipline, as in publishing their railing and seditious pamphlets, when the Spaniards were hovering on the seas with their terrible navy. At what time they conceived, and that not improbably, that the Queen and Council would be otherwise busted than to take notice of their practices, or suppress their doings, or rather, that they durst not call them into question for their words and actions, for fear of alienating the affections of so strong a party as they had raised to themselves; the serious apprehensions of which mischievous Counsels prevailed so far on Leicester and Walsingham, that they did absolutely renounce any further intercession for them, professing that they had been horribly abused with their hypocrisy, which possibly might happen better for themselves than it did for the Church, the Earl of Leicester going to his own place before the end of this year, and Walsingham being gathered to his fathers within two years after.'

(77) That answer is extant in Strype.

(78) Strype's Annals, and Life of Archbishop Whitgift.

(79) Hist. of the Presbyterians, lib. viii. p. 234, 235.

[Z] *Either through hope or fear.* In the foregoing note, we have shewn what a stroke he had in the Church, and how little able the first subject of the Queen was to bear up against his displeasure, though conceived upon none of the justest motives. As to his power paramount in the state, we may form some idea of that, from the observance that was shewn to him, when he visited Buxton Wells, by the Earl of Shrewsbury, one of the ancientest peers in the kingdom, and the sense which Queen Elizabeth expressed of that Earl's behaviour in the following letter (80), written in her own hand, which contains, perhaps, as high a testimony of favour, as ever was expressed by a Sovereign to a subject.

ELIZABETH.

OUR very good cousin: being given to understand from our cousin of Leicester, how honourably he was, not only lately, received by you our cousin, and the Countess, at Chatsworth, and his diet, by you both discharged at Buxton's, but also presented with a very rare present; we should do him great wrong, holding him in that place of favour we do, in case we should not let you understand, in how thankful sort we accept the same at both your hands, not as done unto him, but unto our ownself: reputing him as another ourself. And therefore, you may assure yourself, that we taking upon us the debt, not as his, but our own, will take care accordingly to discharge in such honourable sort, as so well deserving creditors as ye are, shall never have cause to think ye have met with an unthankful debtor, &c.

(80) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 501.

(71) Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 580.

(72) Sir John Harrington's Brief View of the State of the Church of England, p. 5, 6.

(73) Fuller's Ch. Hist. Cent. xvi. B. ix. p. 163.

(74) See Strype's Life of Archbishop Grindall.

(75) Fuller's Ch. Hist. Cent. xvi. B. ix. p. 102.

(76) Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift.

(n) D'Ewes's Journals of Parliament, p. 314.

(o) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 458.

(p) Camden. Annal. p. 583.

(q) Many of these are preserved in the Cabala, Strype's Annals, Peck's Defiderata Curiosa.

(r) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 519.

(s) Scrinia Relucta, p. 317.

(t) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 45c.

(81) Leicester's Commonwealth.

(69) Traditional Memoirs on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, §. 19.

this attentively, we shall be the less surprized at his great weight in Parliament, where he had always a strong party in the House of Commons at his devotion; and in the House of Peers, he directed things at his will, having sometimes six, eight, or even ten proxies in his own hands (n), there being at that time no order to restrain so exorbitant a privilege. If in any thing he overshot himself, it was in accepting the command in the Low-Countries, to which those who were least inclined to him, were most ready in giving their approbation (o), and in his absence, brought Sir Christopher Hatton into high credit, with which he was much offended (p). It is certain his dignity did not answer his expectation, but served rather to hurt his fortune and to impair his power, both which however he would have recovered if he had lived, for he perfectly understood the Queen's temper, and had a great ascendancy over it. In his private life he affected a wonderful regularity, was very circumspect in his speeches, and wrote as well as any man of his time (q). It was a saying of his, that a great man ought to know every thing, and be able to do every thing by himself, or by his instruments; which he made good in his practice. But with respect to men of ordinary rank, whom he employed and admitted to great familiarities, their favour was seldom of any long date, but he found ways and means to dispose of them, either in distant employments, or otherwise, so that when he thought proper to dispense with their services, they might be able to do him no hurt (r). He carried his pretences to piety very high, though to gratify his passions, he fell into vices that could not be concealed; and though no man talked more of moderation and justice, yet he was guilty of some acts of oppression that were both violent and mean [AA]. It is wonderful, that, with these great inequalities in his behaviour, he should be able to maintain himself, and under such a reign, in the possession of absolute power, for such a number of years as he did, and that too in spite both of open and secret opposition; which fully justifies an observation that has been made upon his conduct, viz. *That his depth was not fathomable in those days, or his policy to be reached in these* (s). In a word, the family of Dudley, in three descents, furnished men of such capacities, as our Histories scarce record the like; the grandfather, the father, and the son, were all great men, but the last the greatest and most fortunate of the three, if any man can be so reputed whom flattery itself would be ashamed to stifle good. This Earl had by his last Countess, Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knolles, Knight of the Garter, and widow of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, an only son Robert, Baron of Denbigh, who died in his childhood, July 15, 1584, for whom an altar-monument was erected by that of his father at Warwick, with his effigies thereon, and a very pompous inscription to his memory (t). As for Lettice, Countess of Leicester, she survived near forty-six years after the decease of the Earl, by whom an ample

It was but an ill return that he made to this nobleman, if it be true as some have suggested, that he countenanced the stories told to his prejudice out of female jealousy by his Countess, and thereby brought him into suspicion with the Queen his mistress (81), who had confided in him formerly, as much as in any man of his quality, the Earl of Leicester himself excepted, and had been ever faithfully served.

On what account this exorbitant indulgence was shewn to the Lord Leicester by the Queen, is not for us to decide, which even in those days was but indifferently understood. However, that her Majesty was supposed to have had thoughts of marrying him, not libels and secret histories, but even the gravest and most authentick writers affirm; and therefore we may attribute to this, the singular condescension of the Queen on one side, and the lofty behaviour of the Earl on the other. Osborne (69), who lived near her time, and was a passionate admirer of this Princess, makes no manner of doubt of it, and having mentioned some of the reasons said to be used to give a colour to this marriage, he proceeds thus. 'Nor could Leicester render his bed vacant to a more thriving end, as he is rumoured to have done, than to make room for the greatest and most fortunate Princess the sun ever looked upon without blushing, in relation to oppression or blood: this may be allowed upon the score of probability, that his Lordship would hardly have been so rampant and uncivil, without some extraordinary invitation, as to draw a blow in her presence, from another Privy-Counsellor more zealous possibly than discreet; to whom, when the Queen said, *He had forfeited his hand*, his reply was, *He hoped she would suspend that judgment, till the traitor had lost his head, who did better deserve it*: but this accident bordering so near the confines of her honour, did admit no further debate, it being no other than she, in a less sprightly humour might have given him herself, none being more flexible to all kind of jollities than the minds of Princes, when unbent from publick affairs.'

In all public Commissions, the Earl of Leicester's name was sure to be inserted, and in most of them he took care to act, for he was an excellent patron, and seldom failed any body that was attached to him; he missed no opportunity of gratifying himself and his followers, and frequently obtained grants of great value, such as of timber, waste lands, encroachments upon forests, and licences for importing and exporting certain goods, all of which he sold for large sums of money (82). He valued himself not a little upon the court paid him by the nobility; and such as held themselves of too high rank to make such kind of submissions, he frequently found means to reach, when they least expected it. Such were his deeds at Court, in quality of the Queen's favourite and chief minister, which he thought title sufficient to command obedience from men of all ranks, as appears from his behaviour to the Lord Chief Justice Anderson, as we have shewn in another place (83). For all this, his Lordship was not always a courtier, he could sometimes act the patriot too, and that with equal life and spirit, as when he declared in Parliament, that a husband should be imposed upon the Queen, or that she should be obliged to nominate a successor for the security of the State (84). But it has been doubted whether he was in earnest in that bold declaration, or whether he made it with a view to discover what other great peers were of this sentiment, and then to lead them, under colour of zeal for their country, into practices which might render them obnoxious to the resentment of the crown (85).

[AA] *That were both violent and mean.*] We are informed by Camden (86), that when the Lord Paget retired beyond the seas, he complained that he was forced to take this step for his own preservation, because, through the arts of Leicester and Walsingham, he found the Queen's favour entirely estranged from him, which might possibly pass for a calumny, if soon after, upon his being attainted in Parliament, the Earl of Leicester had not procured a grant to himself of Paget, afterwards stiled Essex-House. We are told by Sir Robert Atkyns (87), that this Earl caused some of his agents

(82) Of these many instances might be given if we had room.

(83) See the article ANDERSON (Sir EDMOND).

(84) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 123, 124.

(85) Leicester's Commonwealth.

(86) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 411.

(87) History of Gloucestershire, p. 268.

ample provision was made for her, with the highest testimony of affection, in his Will, of which she was appointed executrix, and that she lost no time in proving it, appears by the date, September 6, 1588, when her Lord had not been two days dead (u). Her Ladyship was likewise very expeditious in a third marriage with Sir Christopher Blount, a gentleman who had great dependance upon her son the Earl of Essex, and whose tender friendship for him afterwards cost him his life (v). It does not appear, that, during the remaining part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Countess-Dowager of Essex had any great interest, though her son succeeded her husband in the Queen's favour. On the contrary we are told, that it was with the utmost difficulty the Earl of Essex prevailed upon the Queen to admit the Countess his mother to her royal presence, and this too after repeated disappointments; neither could he afterwards prevail in the same suit, though he urged it with much warmth (x). We need not wonder therefore, that her solicitations could avail him little in his last misfortunes, though it is very certain that she did for him all that was in her power. But in the reign of King James she had great credit at Court, at least for some time, as will be seen elsewhere. The last years of her life were spent in retirement in the country, where she lived hospitably and charitably till her decease, which happened December the 25th, 1634 (y). She was buried with great funeral pomp in the same tomb with her second husband, in the church at Warwick, and on the right hand of his monument there is a large copy of verses, in two columns, on a tablet, to her Honour, subscribed Gervase Clifton (z).

(u) Ex. Replst. vocat. Leicester, q. 1. In Cur. Prerog. Cantuar.

(v) See the article D I V E R E U X (ROBERT) Earl of Essex.

(x) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 93.

(y) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 448.

(z) Memoirs prefixed to Sidney Papers.

agents to apply themselves to the Lord Berkeley, for a sight of his family evidences, that the Earl might be the better able to shew his alliance to that noble house, some of which they took away, and then a title being set up by the Earl of Leicester, to part of Lord Berkeley's lands, he lost them for want of those evidences to support his right. We have mentioned in another part of this work, the case of Mr Arden, of Park-Hall in Warwickshire (88), who was brought to an untimely end, for despising that low method of making court to this great man, to which some of his neighbours condescended, which was by wearing his livery. Sir William Dugdale acquaints us with the injury done to one Mr Robinson of Warwickshire, who by some strange methods lost his estate, which was afterwards found in this great Earl's possession (89). But in another place we are informed, that this Robinson, was the son of a gentleman killed in the Queen's service at Newhaven, under the Earl of Warwick, that he was bred up in Leicester's service, in which he spent a great deal of money, and thereby entangled his

estate; that upon this, suits grew between him and the usurers, who at the bottom were but this Lord's instruments, and in an attempt of theirs to get possession, a man was killed by Robinson, or some of his party in their own defence, for which he was imprisoned, tried, and convicted, but lost only his estate (90); which with other lands, was afterwards conveyed to the Queen in exchange, and so all farther disputes prevented. But the Earl's power and influence, great as they were, met now and then with a check, and particularly in the case of Sir John Packington, to whom having wrote to know the titles to the Bishop and Dean of Worcester of certain lands, the honest Knight fairly sent him word, that if he meant to make any use of him to the prejudice of the Church, he had mistaken his man (91). We have carried these memoirs to an unusual length, for which the nature of them must be our excuse, since the article is certainly of great importance, and would have afforded matter for many more sheets, if we had not studied brevity, as far as was consistent with perspicuity. E

(90) Leicester's Commonwealth.

(91) Life and Actions of Sir John Packington, MS.

(88) See the article ARDEN (EDWARD).

(89) Warwickshire, p. 1129.

DUDLEY (Sir ROBERT) as he was called here, and, as he was stiled abroad, Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Northumberland. He was son of Robert Earl of Leicester by the Lady Douglas Sheffield, and was born at Sheen in Surrey in 1573, where, for reasons that we have seen in the former article, he was very carefully concealed, as well to prevent the Queen's knowledge of the Earl's engagements with his mother, as to hide it from the Countess of Essex, to whom he was then contracted, if not married (a). At the time of his birth, however, and some time after, he was considered as the Earl of Leicester's lawful son by Ambrose Earl of Warwick, and others of his nearest relations, particularly by Sir Thomas Butler and his son, who, as the Earl affirms in his Will, intended to leave his son Robert their estate. When he was about five years of age, his father, the Earl of Leicester, married Lettice, Countess-Dowager of Essex, openly, and thereupon his son Robert was no longer treated as his lawful child, but as his natural issue by the Lady Douglas Sheffield. Out of her hands the Earl was very desirous of getting him, in order to put him under the care of Sir Edward Horsey, Knt. Governor of the Isle of Wight (b), which some have imagined was with a sinister view, not against the boy, for whom Leicester had ever the greatest tenderness, but with a thought of bringing him upon the stage at some proper time, as his natural son by another Lady. At that time, however, he failed of his purpose, but not long after it seems he prevailed, and got the child into his hands; he sent him then to school at Offington in Suffex in 1583, where he was under the care of one Owen Jones, to whom, upon a certain occasion, the Earl expressed himself to this purpose (c): 'Owen, thou knowest that Robin my boy is my lawful son, and as I do, and have charged thee, to keep it secret, so I charge thee not to forget it; and therefore see thou be careful of him.' There he received the first rudiments of literature, and gave very extraordinary proofs of the wonderful pregnancy of his parts, which were not only equal, but even superior to those of any of his family. After remaining four years in this private school, he was removed, in 1587, to the University of Oxford, and there entered of Christ-Church by the stile of *Comitis filius*, i. e. an Earl's son, and placed under the care of Mr Thomas Chaloner, afterwards Sir Thomas Chaloner, and Tutor to Prince Henry (d). In about a year after he came to the university, and when he was about the age of fifteen, his father died, leaving him, after the decease

(a) See the article D E V E R E U X (WALTER, Earl of Essex.

(b) From the depositions taken in the Star-Chamber.

(c) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 223.

(d) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. l. II. p. 275.

of his uncle Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, his noble castle of Kenelworth, the lordships of Denbigh and Chirk, and the bulk of his estate, which, before he was of age, he in a great measure enjoyed, notwithstanding the enmity borne him by the Countess-Dowager of Leicester. He was at this time looked upon, and very deservedly, as one of the finest Gentlemen in England; in his person tall, well shaped, having a fresh and fine complexion, but red haired; learned beyond his age, more especially in the Mathematicks; and very expert in his exercises, and particularly in riding the great horse, in which he was allowed to excel any man of his time (e). With these accomplishments and a great fortune, it is no wonder that he was every where well received, and particularly at Court, more especially as he was of a frank and open disposition, very generous and friendly, and though few were so well versed in books, much addicted to an active life. His genius prompted him to great exploits, and having a particular turn to Navigation and discoveries, he resolved, soon after he was of age, to make a voyage into the South Seas at his own expence, in hopes of acquiring as great fame thereby as the famous Thomas Cavendish of Trimley, Esq; his dear and intimate acquaintance, whose sister he married. But after a great deal of pains taken, and much money spent, the government would not suffer him to proceed, looking upon it as a dangerous voyage, in which they thought it not fit to hazard the lives of the Queen's subjects (f). Mr Dudley was not to be cured of his desire of going to sea, even by this disappointment, and therefore fitted out a small squadron for the river Oroonoke, and the coasts adjacent, of which he took the command in person; he sailed from Southampton road November 6, 1594, and returned to St Ives in Cornwall about the end of May 1595, having performed all, and indeed more, than could be expected from him, considering his small strength, taking, sinking, and otherwise destroying, nine sail of Spanish ships, one of which was a man of war of six hundred tons, which he fought board and board for two days, till he had no powder left, and she afterwards sunk at sea (g). He wrote a particular account of this voyage at the request of the Reverend Mr Hakluyt, which he afterwards published in his large and valuable Collection [A]. In the succeeding year he fitted out two ships and two pinnaces, for the South-Seas, under Capt. Benjamin Wood, at his sole expence, and attending the Earl of Essex and the Lord High-Admiral of England in their glorious expedition against the Spaniards, he, for his gallant behaviour at the taking of Cadiz, received the honour of knighthood from the first of those noble Peers (h). In the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Robert Dudley being then a widower, married Alice, daughter to Sir Thomas Leigh (i), and settled upon her in jointure great part of his estate, and gaining by this marriage some powerful friends, he began to entertain hopes of reviving the honours of his family. He considered with himself that it was not yet too late to make proof of the legitimacy of his birth, by which he would become clearly entitled to the honour of Lord L'Isle and Earl of Leicester, as heir to his father, as also to the earldom of Warwick, by virtue of the limitations in his uncle's patent, as also to the castle of Warwick, and several fair manors in that county and elsewhere, by force of the entail; full of these hopes, in the year 1605, he commenced a suit in the Court of Audience of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the plague being then at London, obtained a Commission directed to Dr Zachary Babington, Chancellor of the diocese of Lichfield, to examine witnesses on that head, which

(e) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 225.

(f) So it appears from his own account of it in Hakluyt.

(g) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 574.

(h) Camden Annual.

(i) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 250.

[A] In his valuable Collection.] It was certainly a mark of true courage, as well as of publick spirit, that as soon as he became of age, and entered into the possession of his fortune, Mr Dudley, instead of indulging himself in the pleasures of a Court, should undertake so long and hazardous a voyage, as even the last of the two was, which he projected. The ships that he fitted out, were the Bear, of two-hundred tons, in which he commanded himself; the Bear's Whelp, Captain Monk, and two Pinnaces, the one called the Frisking, and the other the Earwig. Captain Monk returned with his vessel and two prizes, before the end of the year; of which, Mr Dudley having no knowledge, waited for him near the Azores; but hearing no news, and finding many of his men sick, he thought it better to proceed in his undertaking, as soon as it was in his power to do it conveniently. Accordingly having taken two prizes, he put Captain Benjamin Wood into the one, which he called the Intent, and Captain Wentworth into the other; so that having now three sail under his command, he made the best of his way for the island of Trinidad, in the West-Indies. Upon his arrival there, he detached the ship called the Intent, and her consort, to the Leeward-Islands, and with his own vessel, laboured to make what discovery he could of the great Empire of Guiana; the writings and example of Sir Walter Raleigh, having been no small motives to this enterprize. All the account he gives us of the countries, the rivers, and the people, as also of the reports that prevailed amongst them of very rich countries that lay farther within land, agree per-

fectly well with the relations of that learned Knight and shew plainly, that he did not magnify any thing beyond the informations that he received. Mr Dudley heard, as well as he, of silver and gold mines, particularly, one of the latter at Wakkaru, and also obtained some specimens of gold from another place. It seems, he was in expectation of Sir Walter's coming thither, and was in great hopes of their making very considerable discoveries together, which induced him to stay as long as it was safe for him to do, and then he returned to Europe, as is related in the text, having barely as much provision left as would serve for his voyage (1). After gaining, by this expedition, experience sufficient to qualify him for a sea commander; he went with the Earl of Essex, and the Lord High-Admiral Howard, to Cadiz, in quality of Captain of the Nonpariel (2), and in that warm service, shewed all the courage of an adventurous young man, and all the coolness and conduct of an old officer, as was reported of him at his return. It is probable, that the reader will be desirous of knowing what became of Captain Wood's enterprize in the South-Seas, whither he was sent with a good ship, and a pinnace fitted out in 1595, at the expence of some thousand pounds; but the misfortune is, that no information on that subject can be had, no news being ever heard, either of the ships or men (3), which was much regretted in those days, because Mr Benjamin Wood, was looked upon as a man of steady courage, great integrity, and of uncommon abilities as a seaman, which recommended him to the favour and friendship of this great genius.

(1) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 575, 576, 577.

(2) Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 148.

(3) Remarks on the several Attempts made to pass the Streights of Magellan.

[B] As

which was accordingly done (k). But no sooner had Lettice, Countess of Leicester, notice of these proceedings, than she procured an information to be filed, by Sir Edward Coke, the King's Attorney-General, in the Star-Chamber, against Sir Robert Dudley, Sir Thomas Leigh, Dr Babington, and others, for a conspiracy; and, upon the petition of Lord Sidney, an order issued out of that Court for bringing in all the depositions that had been taken by virtue of the Archbishop's commission, sealing them up and depositing them in the Council chest (l). In order, however, to keep up some appearance of impartiality, Sir Robert Dudley was allowed to examine witnesses, as to the proof of his legitimacy, in that court, which when he had done in as full a manner as in such a case could be expected, a sudden order was made for staying all proceedings, and locking up the examinations, of which no copies were to be taken but by the King's licence (m). This was such a blow to all the hopes of Sir Robert Dudley, and made it so evident that he had no favour to expect where his enemies had influence enough to preclude him from justice, that he resolved to retire abroad, in hopes that time might either lessen his misfortune, or at least mitigate the sharp sense he had of it; in order to this he applied for a licence to travel for three years, which was very readily granted him, there being many who chose to have him out of their way, and others, who bore him good will, thought that at this juncture his withdrawing for a time might be of use to him. But in the manner of his leaving the kingdom there was something that shewed, he inherited some of the vices as well as most of the great qualities of his family (n) [B]. He had not been long abroad, before such as meant him no good procured, notwithstanding his licence, a privy-seal, commanding his return into England, being very sensible that he would not obey it. The pretence for this was, that he had assumed in foreign countries the title of Earl of Warwick, which irritated some at Court extremely (o). It seems they formed a true notion of his circumstances and disposition, for Sir Robert, finding himself well received at the Court of Florence, resolved to continue there notwithstanding the letter of re-call, and this gave a handle for seizing his whole estate, which was vested in the Crown, during his natural life, by the statute of fugitives.

(k) From the proceedings in the Star-Chamber.

(l) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 224; 18 Octob. 1603.

(m) Proceedings in the Star-Chamber.

(n) See this explained in the note.

(o) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

He

[B] *As well as most of the great qualities of his family.* When Sir Robert Dudley had once settled his resolution of quitting England, he resolved to make the place of his retreat as agreeable to him as it was possible, and therefore prevailed upon a young lady, at that time esteemed one of the finest women in England, and of a family distinguished for their beauty, to bear him company in the habit of his page (4). This Lady was Mrs Elizabeth Southwell, the daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, of Woodrising in the county of Norfolk (5), who, as the reader will find in the text, he afterwards espoused, in virtue of a dispensation from the Pope; whence a certain writer, who bore him no good will, has taken occasion to say, that he left England, because he could not be allowed to have two wives (6); in which, there would have been more truth, if Sir Robert Dudley had married that Lady here, as it is very certain he did not. How much soever she might be blamed in following him as she did, yet her conduct afterwards was without exception, and as she lived in honour and esteem, and had all the respect paid her, that her title of a Duchess could demand; so it is reported, that Sir Robert never altered his affections, but to shew his high regard for her memory, caused a noble tomb to be erected to her memory in the church of St Pancratius in Florence (7), where her body lies interred, and where he desired that he might be buried with her. As to his issue by this Lady, they will be taken notice of hereafter. It is very probable, that this marriage might prove a great bar to his return into England, and might be also a motive to the passing so extraordinary a law as that was, by which Lady Alice Dudley, was enabled to dispose of her jointure during his life. But before we close this note, it may not be amiss to examine what the reasons were, which induced the Lords in the Star-Chamber to treat Sir Robert Dudley's cause as they did. It seems that Sir William Leighton, upon whose advice he chiefly depended, when he found what evidence might be produced to prove the marriage of Lady Douglas Sheffield, with Robert Earl of Leicester, gave him advice, which though wise and well laid in itself, yet gave an opportunity to Sir Robert's enemies, to cast out such insinuations as threw an odium upon his whole proceedings. For when the commission mentioned in the text was brought down, and a Notary came afterwards to speed it, Sir William resolved to commence a suit in the courts at Lichfield, in the name of Sir Robert Dudley, in which one John Bushell was raised up as the adversary upon a charge, that he should have

called Sir Robert, a Bastard three years before; upon this, one Goffe cites him to the court, in *causa probri & convitii*, and Goffe earnestly prest him to appear thereto. It was never intended by this suit to punish Bushell, but only to prove the marriage and legitimation. Bushell appeared, and made such answer as suited best for their purpose. The thirty-six articles were exhibited, thirty whereof tended to prove the marriage and legitimation, and some of the rest the defamation. And Dr Babington, then sitting in judgment in the court, and knowing the matter to be there profecuted, unduly, against a raised adversary, upon colour of defamation, admitted a very unlawful profecution of the libel, and ordered the defendant to make present answer, and then Frodsham, Salisbury, and Jones, were again examined as witnesses. And after their examinations, carried back to Clarges, Goffe, and Leigh's houses, and had diet and apparel given them by directions of Sir Robert Dudley, and Sir William Leighton. For these offences and undue proceedings, which tended to call in question the Lord of Leicester, and his then Lady's marriage, and her jointure, and the estates of many of the King's subjects, they were all committed; Sir William Leighton fined three-hundred pounds, Babington, one-hundred marks, Goffe, forty pounds, Salisbury, and Frodsham, one-hundred pounds a picce, and Jones, forty pounds. All the examinations and depositions taken in the Court of Audience by the Commissioners, and at Lichfield, suppressed and damned. The examinations and depositions in the Court, that concern the marriage between the Earl of Leicester, and the Lady Douglas Sheffield, to be sealed up by the Clerk of the Court, and never to be seen or published; Jones, Salisbury, and Frodsham, to be ever after held suspected in their testimonies touching the marriage and legitimation of Sir Robert Dudley, and the rest were acquitted (8). But this sentence takes no notice of the depositions of Lady Douglas, Sir Robert Dudley's mother; of Lady Parker, and many other persons, who deposed to his legitimacy; and yet this gave a colour for sealing and locking these up, which was what the friends of Lettice Countess of Leicester sought, and shews how dangerous a thing it was to leave matters of so high a nature to be determined in that Court, without the assistance of a jury, and without appeal (9). An inconvenience, which by degrees was so much felt, and so generally understood, that it was by Act of Parliament dissolved, at the common prayer of the whole nation.

(8) F. Regiæ. Cammer. Stellat. Pasch. A. iii. Jac. fol. 107.

(9) Compare this with the patent to Duchess Dudley.

(4) Dugdale's Bar- onage, Vol. II. p. 225.

(5) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 128.

(6) English Spa- rish Pilgrim. 4to, 1630, p. 64.

(7) So his son Charles D. of N. informed Anthony Wood.

He left behind him Lady Alice Dudley his wife, and four daughters, for whom sufficient provision was made. In this situation things continued for some years, till some persons about Henry Prince of Wales suggested to him, that Kenelworth Castle was one of the finest and most magnificent places in the inland parts of the kingdom, and very fit for his Royal Highness's residence, upon which some overtures were made to Sir Robert Dudley abroad, as well as to Lady Alice at home, the Prince desiring to have it by way of purchase. These proposals were very readily accepted, on account, as it is said, of some promises that were made of having regard to his claims when a proper opportunity offered (p). In the mean time a commission issued for enquiring into the value of this estate, and the return thereto being very curious, the reader will find it in the notes [C]. The treaty beforementioned came at last to a conclusion, and deeds were executed bearing date November 21, 1611, by which, in consideration of fourteen thousand five hundred pounds, to be paid in one year to the said Sir Robert Dudley or his assigns, the said castle of Kenelworth, together with the manor and lands bearing the same name, the manors of Rudfen, Balshall, and Long Itchington, were settled upon the said Prince and his heirs, with condition that Sir Robert should hold the Constableship of the said castle for the term of his natural life, by patent from his Royal Highness: of this purchase-money, which was but a very inconsiderable sum in comparison of the value of the estate, but three thousand pounds was ever paid, and that to a Merchant who broke soon after, not one penny coming to the hands of Sir Robert Dudley (q). Prince Henry likewise dying, his title to the castle and lands descended to his brother Charles Prince of Wales, who, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King James I, procured an Act of Parliament to enable Alice Lady Dudley, who had a jointure therein, to alienate it, notwithstanding her coverture, in consideration of the sum of four thousand pounds, to be paid her out of the Exchequer, and a yearly pension (r); which said sum was accordingly paid, as the pension likewise was for some time, but grew afterwards into arrear, through the distress of that Prince's affairs after he came to the throne (s). But though Sir Robert Dudley lived in exile, and without receiving any considerable supplies from England, he still cherished some hope of his return; to facilitate which, and to ingratiate himself with King James, he drew up a scheme for improving the royal revenue (t), which scheme falling into the hands of some persons of great distinction, and being by them made publick, this was considered as a thing of a pernicious nature, for which they were imprisoned, but upon a discovery of the true author, they were shortly after released [D]. The place which Sir Robert Dudley chose

(p) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 224.

(q) See the preamble to Duchesne's patent.

(r) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 251.

(s) So acknowledged in the preamble.

(t) Hamond L'Estrange's Life and Reign of King Charles I. p. 111.

[C] *The reader will find in the notes.* The credit of this paper, will sufficiently appear from the subject of it, and the facts that are contained therein; all that is farther requisite, is to acquaint the reader, that the original is still preserved in that great treasury of British Antiquities, the Cotton Library.

The Castle of KENILWORTH, situate upon a rock.

The circuit thereof, within the walls, containeth seven acres, upon which the walks are so spacious and fair, that two or three persons together may walk upon most places thereof.

The castle, with the four gate-houses, all built of free-stone hewn and cut, the walls in many places, of fifteen and ten foot thickness, some more, some less, the least four foot in thickness square.

The castle and four gate-houses, all covered with lead, whereby it is subject to no other decay than the glass, through the extremity of the weather.

The rooms of great state within the same, and such as are able to receive his Majesty, the Queen, and Prince at one time, built with as much uniformity and convenience, as any houses of later time, and with such stately cellars, all carried upon pillars and architecture of free-stone, carved and wrought, as the like are not within this kingdom, and also all other houses for offices answerable.

There lieth about the same in chases and parks, twelve hundred pounds *per annum*, nine hundred pounds whereof are grounds for pleasure, the rest in meadow and pasture thereto adjoining tenants and freeholders.

There joyneth upon this ground, a park-like ground, called the King's Wood, with fifteen coppices lying all together, containing seven-hundred eighty-nine acres within the same, which in the Earl of Leicester's time were stored with red deer, since which, the deer strayed, but the ground in no sort blemished, having great store of timber, and other trees of much value upon the same.

There runneth through the said grounds, by the walls of the castle, a fair pool, containing one-hundred and ele-

ven acres well stored with fish and fowl, which at pleasure is to be let round about the castle.

In timber and woods upon this ground, to the value as hath been offered, of twenty thousand pounds, having a convenient time to remove them, which to his Majesty, in the survey, are but valued at eleven-thousand seven-hundred twenty-two pounds, which proportion, in a like measure, is held in all the rest upon the other values to his Majesty.

The circuit of the castle, manors, parks, and chases lying round together, contain at least, nineteen or twenty miles in a pleasant country, the like both for strength, state, and pleasure, not being within the realm of England.

These lands have been survey'd by Commissioners from the King and the Lord Privy-Seal, with directions from his Lordship, to find all things under the true worth; and upon oath of jurors, as well freeholders as customary tenants, which course being held by them, are notwithstanding surveyed and returned at thirty-eight-thousand five-hundred fifty-four pounds and fifteen shillings; out of which, for Sir Robert Dudley's contempt, there is to be deducted ten-thousand pounds; and for the Lady Dudley's jointure, which is without impeachment of waste, whereby she may fell all the woods, which by the survey, amount unto eleven-thousand seven-hundred twenty-two pounds.

	l.	s.
The total of the		
survey ariseth	In land	16431 9
	In Woods	11722 2
as followeth.	The Castle	10401 4

His Majesty hath herein, the mean profits of the castle and premises, through Sir Robert Dudley's contempt, during his life, or his Majesty's pardon, the reversion in fee, being in the Lord Privy-Seal.

[D] *They were shortly after released* I have taken notice of this matter altogether, though there was fourteen years difference between the framing of this proposal of Sir Robert Dudley's, and the commitment of the noble persons who published it. It was written about the year 1613, and sent to King James, being

chose for his retreat, upon his leaving his native country, was Florence, where he was very kindly received by Cosmo II, Great Duke of Tuscany, and, in process of time, was made Great Chamberlain to his Serene Highness's Consort, the Arch-Duchess Magdalen of Austria, sister to the Emperor Ferdinand II, with whom he was a great favourite (u). He discovered in that Court those great abilities for which he had been so much admired in England, contrived several methods of improving shipping, introduced new manufactures, excited the Merchants to extend their foreign commerce, and by other services of still greater importance, obtained so high a reputation, that, at the desire of the Archduchess, the Emperor Ferdinand beforementioned, by his letters-patents, dated at Vienna, March the 9th, 1620, created him a Duke of the Holy Roman Empire (w), upon which he assumed his grand-father's title of Northumberland, and ten years after got himself enrolled by Pope Urban VIII, amongst the Roman nobility (x). Under the reign of the Grand Duke Ferdinand II, he became still more famous, on account of that great project which he formed, of draining a vast tract of morasses between Pisa and the sea, and raising Livorno, or Leghorn, which was then, though an ancient, yet a mean and pitiful place, into a large and beautiful town, improving the haven by a mole, which rendered it both safe and commodious; and having engaged his Serene Highness to declare it *scala franca*, or a free port, he, by his influence and correspondencies, drew many English merchants to settle and set up houses there (y), which was a thing of great importance to our Italian trade, and, considered in that light, was of very great service to his native country. It was not only in the Courts of Princes, that Sir Robert Dudley, by a happy application of his great talents, made himself admired, but also among the learned, to whom he was a generous patron and constant friend, and at the same time held a very high place himself in the republick of letters, as well on account of his skill in Philosophy, Chemistry, and Physick, as his perfect acquaintance with all the branches of the Mathematicks, and the means of applying them for the service and benefit of mankind; of all which, he has left abundant evidence in his excellent writings (z) [E]. In gratitude to his merit, and

(u) Fuller's Worthies, Surrey, p. 84.

(w) So recited in the preamble of the Duchess's patent.

(x) Il Ceremoniale del Rome, Anno 1630.

(y) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127.

(z) See this explained in the notes.

for

being in all respects, as singular and as dangerous a paper as ever fell from the pen of man, for which reason, I shall not transcribe any part of it here, but refer the reader in the margin, to the paper itself (10), which Wood supposes to have remained a manuscript; and which, considering the mischief it has done, one would have withed might have been the case. His great-grandfather's book, (was a very unlucky precedent, and this, which I take to have been a copy of it (11), suited to the times, was a paper to the full as unlucky; for though neither King James I, nor King Charles I, or their Ministers, made use of it, or intended to make use of it, yet it was turned to their prejudice, and the people were excited to abhor Statesmen, as the author of this project, who might very probably abhor it as much as they. I will give the history of it from a very able and authentick writer, the brother of that learned and worthy gentleman (12), who detected the real author of it, when it was first made the subject of public clamour. His words are these. 'It is not unworthy the notice, by what artifices they, that is the patriots in 1628, did really endeavour to make the King odious to his subjects, of which I shall only touch upon one grand imposture fobbed about by many of these chief ring leading members. And this was of a paper by them carefully and plentifully spread abroad, to discover the impertinence of Parliaments, and how by the subjects purfes, to keep the nation in a good defence against the King's enemies. And this was suggested, that the King had not only such a design on foot, but by him, or his means, this plot first took birth; whereas it was discovered by Sir David Foulis, one not ignorant of state-affairs, being thereunto several times employed by King James of blessed memory, that this paper was contrived several years before, viz. about 1613, by Sir Robert Dudley, then living at Florence, under the title of Duke of Northumberland. By which means, it seems some men would not leave any stone unturned, rather than fail of their intended ends; nor can I quit him from the same ignorance and malice, who long afterwards published it under the name of, "Strafford's Plot discovered, &c." endeavouring thereby to make him odious to the simple people, as if he had been the composer of it, and this only, because a copy of it was found in his study.'

In order to render these facts completely clear, we must not omit telling the reader who the persons were, that Whitlocke, says, were committed for the first offence (13), and against whom another writer asserts, that informations were filed by Sir Robert Heath, then

Attorney-General, in the Star-Chamber (14), viz. the Earls of Bedford, Somerset, and Clare; Sir Robert Cotton, Baronet; John Selden, and Oliver St John, Esquires; it will be likewise proper to mention, that the contrivance of salfening it upon the Earl of Strafford, was immediately after his decease, as appears from the title of the treatise expressed more at large; it ran thus, 'Strafford's Plot discovered, and the Parliament vindicated in their Justice executed upon him by the late discovery of certain propositions delivered to his Majesty by the Earl of Strafford a little before his tryal; with this inscription, Propositions for the bridling of Parliaments, and for the increasing of his Majesty's revenue, &c.'

[E] Abundant evidence in his excellent writings.] We have already spoken of the account of his voyage to the island of Trinidad, and the mouth of the river Oroonoque, to one of the islands in which it is said he gave his own name. We have also spoken of the proposition made by him in respect to Parliaments, and the increase of the revenue, either of which might sufficiently prove him a man of quick parts and solid abilities; but the work by which he is chiefly known to the learned world, and which in truth is most worthy of his general learning and great compass of knowledge, is that which follows, viz.

*Del Arcano del Mare, &c. Firenze, 1630, 1646,* in two volumes in folio. This work has been always so scarce, as seldom to have found a place even in the catalogues that have been published of rare books. It is full of schemes, charts, plans, and other marks of it's author's mathematical learning, but is chiefly valuable on the score of the projects that are contained therein, for the improvement of navigation and the extending of commerce. If we consider what has been since done, the work will appear less valuable; but capable judges will allow for the time in which it was wrote, and in that point of view it will appear truly admirable, as the author hints at many things that were in those days totally unknown, and of which, notwithstanding, he appears to have judged very right. There are also many things that have not as yet been executed, which might turn to the advantage of any maritime power that would be at the expence to prosecute his designs. In short, it is a singular treasury of curious and important schemes, which manifestly prove the author's high capacity for the advancement of useful knowledge, no man having ever had a stronger propensity to reduce speculations to practice than he, and the success that attended his labours in this respect, ought to derive an extraordinary degree

(14) Advertisements on Mr. Sunderland's Hist. of King Charles I, p. 94.

(10) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. in the Appendix, p. 12.

(11) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 128.

(12) Foulis's Hist. of Plots, B. i. p. 63.

(13) Memorials of English Affairs, p. 14.

for the support of his dignity, the Grand Duke bestowed upon him a pension of two-thousand sequins *per annum*; which, however, went but a little way in his expences, for he affected magnificence in all things, built a noble palace for himself and his family at Florence (a), and much adorned the castle of Carbello, three miles from that capital, which the Grand Duke gave him for a country retreat, and where he breathed his last, in the month of September, 1649 (b), in the sixty-sixth year of his age; leaving behind him, by Elizabeth his Duchess, to whom, by the Pope's dispensation he was married, a very numerous posterity, as the reader will see in the notes [F]. As for Alice, Lady Dudley, his second wife, whom he left in England; she, by the assistance of her friends and relations, secured to herself, and her daughters, the remains of that great fortune, which devolved to him in consequence of the Earl of Leicester's will, and other conveyances; and being herself a Lady of great parts, as well as distinguished piety, she had a great share in the favour of King Charles I, inasmuch, that upon her humble application to him at Oxford, setting forth the situation and state of her husband abroad, and the great losses she had sustained by resigning her jointure, upon expectancies which had been very indifferently fulfilled; that Prince was graciously pleased, by letters patents under the Great Seal of England, to give her the rank, stile, and title of a Duchess (c), during the term of her natural life; as also, the like privileges and precedences to her daughters, as if they had been Duke's daughters, with other signal testimonies of his gracious condescension and esteem. The preamble of this patent, as it is in itself a thing very extraordinary, and contains many points of history relative to this family, under the sanction of so high an authority, is placed at the bottom of the page [G]. This prudent and pious Lady

degree of credit, to whatever he suggests as practicable; though beyond all doubt, something of the like genius must be required, in such an attempt to make use of any of his projects, which are delivered in a manner not very intelligible to vulgar understandings.

(15) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 127. We are told by Mr Wood (15), that our author wrote a physical treatise, entitled *Catholicon*, which was well esteemed by the Faculty, but as he had never seen it, he could say no more of it, and the very same reason must excuse us. He was the author of a very famous powder, called *Pulvis Comitum Warwicensis*, or, *the Earl of Warwick's Powder*, which shews that Dr Heylin was mistaken in affirming, that he never took that title (16), by which however it is certain he was known in Italy, before the Emperor created him a Duke. This celebrated powder is thus made, *Take of Scammony, prepared with the fumes of Sulphur, two ounces; of diaphoretic Antimony, an ounce; of the Crystals of Tartar, half an ounce; make them all together into a powder.* It is directed to be made different ways, both by Schroder and Zwelfer, but this is much the readiest, and what the shops are now accustomed to use; it was not at first received by the College, but is now become common in extemporaneous prescriptions, especially as a purge for children, to whom it is convenient to give, because of the smallness of the quantity requisite for a dose; it is a smart purge, and frequently given to children against worms, from five to fifteen grains; and to grown persons, from fifteen grains to half a dram. Dr Marcus Cornacchinus (17) varied this medicine a little in the proportions of the ingredients, and then published a treatise upon it, in which he recommended it as a kind of universal remedy; but notwithstanding all his pains, the original receipt has been preferred. It may not perhaps be amiss to add, since we are speaking of his inventions, that he is believed to have been the first person who broke setting-dogs (18). One might insist upon many other particulars, if the nature of this collection did not restrain us.

(16) Advertisements on Saunderson's Hist. of Charles I, p. 94.

(17) He dedicated his treatise with very high complements to our author.

(18) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 128.

(19) So Mr Wood was informed by his son.

(20) Sir Philip Skippon's Travels, p. 673.

Duchess of Savoy, married for her second husband, the Marquis Palliotti, of Bologna, by whom she had a daughter, whose name was Adelhida (21), married to Charles, Duke of Shrewsbury, who died not many years ago, and a son who died likewise in England, in a manner suitable to his crime, but unworthy of his birth (22). These are indeed but very imperfect notices of the descents in this noble line, but they are the best that we have been able to obtain, and will serve to inform the reader of the strange vicissitudes that have happened to this great family, of which, for any thing that we know, there remains not any heir male, that is to say, descending from Edmund Dudley, father to the Duke of Northumberland; for as to the ancient house of the Suttons, Barons of Dudley, though the eldest branch of it be likewise extinct as to heirs male, yet many of the younger branches still flourish, by the surname of Dudley, for Edmund Sutton, Lord Dudley, who was brother to John Dudley, had by his second wife, the widow of Sir Thomas Harrington, a son Thomas, who left behind him three sons, and as many daughters; and Richard Dudley, the eldest of these, left likewise a numerous posterity (23); Sir William Dudley, of Clapton in Northamptonshire, is from the same stock, deriving himself from Sir John Sutton (24), the first Baron of Dudley of that name.

[G] *At the bottom of the page.* The following copy of the preamble to the Letters-Patent, by which Alice, Lady Dudley, was created a Duchess, was transcribed from the original, in 1670, then in the hands of Lady Katherine Leveson, and collated and compared by Sir William Dugdale, Garter King at Arms; so that it affords the most authentick evidence, as well as a larger account of the principal circumstances that are briefly mentioned in the text (25).

Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Archbishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, Bishops, Barons, Knights, and all other our loving subjects, to whom these our letters shall come, greeting. Whereas, in or about the beginning of the reign of our dear father, King James of famous memory, there was a suit commenced in our High-Court of Star-Chamber, against Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, and others, for pretending himself to be lawful heir to the honours and lands of the Earldoms of Warwick and Leicester, as son and heir of the body of Robert, late Earl of Leicester, lawfully begotten upon the Lady Douglas, his mother, wife to the said late Earl of Leicester, and all proceedings stayed in the Ecclesiastical-Courts, in which the said suit depended for proof of his legitimation. Yet nevertheless, did the said Court vouchsafe liberty to the said Sir Robert, to examine witnesses in the said Court of Star-Chamber, in order to the making good of his legitimacy, and divers witnesses were examined there accordingly. Whereupon,

(21) Collins's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 60.

(22) Life of Marquis Palliotti.

(23) Baronagium Angliæ. MS. fol. 21.

(24) Baronetage, Vol. IV. p. 124.

(25) Pat. Car. I. 20. Maii. 23.

Lady Alice Duchess Dudley lived after this honour was conferred upon her many years, admired for her many amiable qualities, and very justly revered for that singular zeal which she expressed in doing good, a disposition, which, by extraordinary care in their education, as well as by the force of her own excellent example, she so infused into her five daughters, that, if all their works of piety and bounty were collected together, and properly set forth, they would make a very considerable volume, independent of any pænyrick they might be thought to deserve; which is a reason sufficient, that, excepting a single instance, we shall not mention those prodigious works of charity in this article, but content ourselves with referring the reader to authors that will in some measure satisfy his curiosity (*d*). Of these daughters, Lady Alezia Dudley dying a maiden, bequeathed her fortune of three thousand pounds to be disposed of to charitable uses, at the discretion of her mother who survived her, which Will of her's was punctually fulfilled, and many feel the effects of it at this day (*e*). Lady Douglas Dudley died also a maid. Lady Katherine Dudley espoused Sir Richard Leveson, Knight of the Bath. Lady Frances Dudley was the wife of Sir Gilbert Kniveton, Knight; and Lady Anne Dudley married Robert Holborn, Esq; afterwards Sir Robert Holborn, Knt. and Solicitor-General to King Charles I (*f*). Alice, Duchess Duddeley, as she herself spells it, departed this life January 22, 1668-9, in the ninetieth year of her age, and lies buried in the church of

(*d*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Alice Duchess Dudley, prefixed to her Funeral Sermon. Dugdale's Warwickshire, and Baronetage.

(*e*) In the augmentation of small vicarages.

(*f*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 225.

Stoneley

upon, by full testimony upon oath, partly made by the said Lady Douglas herself, and partly by divers other persons of quality and credit, who were present at the marriage with the said late Earl of Leicester, by a lawful minister, according to the form of matrimony then by law established in the Church of England, and the said Sir Robert and his mother, owned by the said late Earl of Leicester, as his lawful wife and son, as by many of the said depositions remaining upon record in our said Court, still appear, which we have caused to be perused for our better satisfaction herein. But a special order being made, that the said depositions should be sealed up, and no copies thereof taken, without leave, did cause him the said Sir Robert, to leave this our kingdom. Whereof his adversaries taking advantage, procured a special Privy-Seal to be sent unto him, commanding his return into England. Which he not obeying, because his honour and lands were denied unto him, all his lands were therefore seized on to the King our father's use. And not long afterwards, Prince Henry, our dear brother deceased, made overture to the said Sir Robert, by special instruments, to obtain his title by purchase of and in Kenilworth Castle in our county of Warwick, and his manors, parks, and chafes, belonging to the same, which upon a great under-value amounted as we are credibly informed, to about fifty-thousand pounds, but were bought by the said Prince our brother in consideration of fourteen thousand five-hundred pounds; and upon his faithful engagement, and promise of his princely favour unto the said Sir Robert, in the said cause, to restore him both in honours and fortunes. And thereupon, certain deeds were sealed in the ninth year of the reign of our said father, and fines also then were levied, settling the inheritance thereof, in the said Prince our brother, and his heirs. But the said Prince our brother departing this life, there was not above three thousand pounds, of the said sum of fourteen-thousand five hundred pounds ever paid, if any at all, to the said Sir Robert's hands; and we ourselves, as heir to the said Prince our brother, came to the possession thereof. And it appearing to our said Council, that the said Alice, Lady Dudley, wife of the said Sir Robert, had an estate of inheritance of and in the same, descendable unto her posterity, in the nineteenth year of our said dear father's reign, an Act of Parliament was passed, to enable the said Lady Alice, wife to the said Sir Robert, to alienate her estate which she had by the said Sir Robert therein, from her children by the said Sir Robert, as if she had been a feme-sole, which accordingly she did, in the nineteenth year of our said father's reign, in consideration of four-thousand pounds, and further payments yearly to be made by us to her, out of our Exchequer, and out of the said castle and lands, which have not been accordingly paid unto her by us for many years, to the damage of the said Lady Alice and her children, to a very great value. Which Sir Robert, settling himself in Italy, within the territories of the Great Duke of Tuscany, from whom

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he had extraordinary esteem, he was so much favoured by the Emperor Ferdinand the second, as that being a person not only eminent for his great learning and blood, but for sundry rare endowments, as was well known, he had, by letters-patents from his Imperial Majesty, the title of Duke given unto him, to be used by himself and his heirs for ever, throughout all the dominions of the sacred Empire. Which letters-patents have been perused by our late Earl Marshal and Heralds. And whereas our dear father not knowing the truth of the lawful birth of the said Sir Robert, as we piously believe, granted away the titles of the said Earldoms to others, which we now hold not fit to call in question, nor ravel into our deceased father's actions, especially they having been so long enjoyed by those families, to whom the said honours were granted, which we do not intend to alter: and yet, as we having a very deep sense of the great injuries done to the said Sir Robert Dudley, and the Lady Alice Dudley, and their children; and that we are of opinion, that, in justice and equity, the possession so taken from them, do rightly belong unto them, or full satisfaction for the same. And holding ourselves in honour and conscience obliged to make them reparation now, as far as our present ability will enable us. And also, taking into our consideration, the said great estate, which she the said Lady Alice Dudley had in Kenilworth, and sold at our desire to us, and at a very great under value, and yet not performed, or satisfied, to many thousand pounds damage. And we also casting our princely eye upon the faithful service done unto us, by Sir Richard Leveson, Knight of the Bath, who hath married the Lady Catherine, one of the daughters of the said Duke, by his said wife, by the said Lady Alice Dudley; and also, the great services which Robert Holbourne, Esq; hath done to us by his learned pen, and otherwise; which said Robert Holbourne hath married the Lady Anne, one other of the daughters of the said Duke, by his said wife, the Lady Alice Dudley: We have conceived ourselves bound in honour and conscience, to give the said Lady Alice, and her children, such honour and precedencies as is or are due to them in marriage or blood. And therefore, we do not only give and grant unto the said Lady Alice Dudley, the title of Duchess Dudley for her life in England, and other our realms and dominions, with such precedencies as she might have had, if she had lived in the dominions of the sacred Empire, as a mark of our favour unto her, and out of our prerogative royal, which we will not have drawn into dispute. But we do also farther grant unto the said Lady Katherine and Lady Anne, her daughters, the places, titles, and precedencies of the said Duke's daughters, as from the time of their said father's creation, during their respective lives, not only in England, but in all other our kingdoms and dominions, as a testimony of our princely favour and grace unto them, conceiving ourselves obliged to do much more for them, if it were in our power, in these unhappy times of distraction, &c.

20 R

[H] T<sub>3</sub>

(g) Memorials and Characters of eminent Persons, in the Appendix, No. xxx.

(b) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 228.

Stoneley in Warwickshire, where a noble monument is erected to her memory (g) [H], yet the effects of her wisdom, piety, and charity, have established one more lasting and better. Her only child that survived her was Lady Katherine Leveson, relict of Sir Richard Leveson, who died in the month of February 1673, at Trentham in the county of Salop, and was buried in the parish-church of Lilleshull (b); of whose extensive charities some notice must necessarily be taken at the bottom of the page [I], because it will serve to

to

(26) Taken from the monumental inscription in Stoneley church.

(27) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 463.

(28) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 216.

(29) Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 465.

(30) Pat. 8 Eliz. p. 8.

(31) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 968.

[H] *To her memory.*] This stately monument at Stoneley, standing on the north side of the chapel, was built by Alice, Duchess Dudley herself, in her lifetime, with one below it, for her daughter Lady Alezia, who died May 23, 1621 (26). It may not be amiss in this note, to give some account of the Duchess's descent; her grandfather was Sir Thomas Leigh, Knt. Lord-Mayor of London, at the time of Queen Elizabeth's accession, who married Alice Barker, the niece of Sir Rowland Hill, a very rich merchant, who left her the greatest part of her fortune; their eldest son Sir Rowland Leigh, settled at Longborough in Gloucestershire, and inherited a great fortune from his godfather (27). Thomas, the second son, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and created Baronet by King James, he espoused Catherine, daughter to Sir John Spencer, of Wormleighton, Knt, ancestor to the Earls of Sunderland, and to his present Grace of Marlborough (28). Alice, Duchess Dudley, was the third daughter of this marriage; and her nephew Sir Thomas Leigh, for his steady adherence to King Charles I, in all his troubles, was created a peer of England, by the stile and title of Baron Leigh of Stoneley in the county of Warwick (29), which honours are still enjoyed by his descendant, and it may, without suspicion of flattery, be said, that the virtues of this noble family, their piety, probity, and charity, have constantly accompanied the title.

[I] *At the bottom of the page.*] What we have to deliver in this note, may be fully and at the same time succinctly set forth from the case of this Lady, with respect to the manor of Balsall in Warwickshire, which belonging formerly to the Knights Templars, was assigned by King Henry VIII, for the dowry of Katherine his last Queen, and the reversion granted by his son Edward VI, to his uncle the Lord-Proteſſor Somersſet; upon his attainder, the inheritance was granted by the Crown, to John, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, and upon his attainder, Queen Mary gave it to Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, but afterwards proposing to revive the order of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, that Lord conveyed this manor to the Crown, which put it in the power of Queen Elizabeth to grant it, as she did, by letters-patent to Sir Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and his heirs (30); who by his deed, dated in the twenty-first year of the same Queen's reign, settled this manor and Itchington after his decease, upon Ambrose Dudley his brother, then Earl of Warwick, and the issue of his body, and for want of such issue, upon the Lady Mary Sidney, daughter to John, Duke of Northumberland, sister to both the aforesaid Earls, and wife to Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord President of Wales, for her life, and after her decease, upon Sir Philip Sidney her first son, and the issue male of his body; and for want of such, upon Sir Robert Sidney, second son to the said Lady Mary. and his issue male (31). From this entail, Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, made his claim, he being son to Sir Robert Sidney, whose elder brother Sir Philip, died without issue, and after the death of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, without issue, he got into present possession of all the great estate of Robert Dudley, the old Earl of Leicester, except only what his Countess Dowager had for her jointure, of which Balsall and Itchington were part; and the favouring his title, granted him a lease of both during her life, and, he, held both after her decease, by virtue of his pretended title, by the said entail; during which he cut all the timber of Balsall heath and the demesnes, to the value of many thousand pounds. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, revoked this deed of entail; and by his last will and testament, dated at Middleburgh in Zealand, the first of August, 1587, the year before he died, he gave this estate to Ambrose, Earl of Warwick for life, and the inheritance to Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, who obtained a decree in Chancery for the whole; but

upon his retiring, the suit ceased till his death, when the Lady Katherine Leveson, and the Lady Anne Holbourn, after a long suit in Chancery, obtained Balsall and Itchington, but could not get into quiet possession thereof, till a little before the restoration of Charles II, at which time the Lady Anne Holbourn, had three parts of the estate, and the Lady Katherine Leveson a fourth part, the said Lady Holbourn, having purchased her sister the Lady Douglas's fourth part, for the sum of one-thousand pounds; and the Lady Frances Kniveton her other sister, dying without issue, it was agreed she should have her fourth part also, in consideration of the great sums of money she had expended in the law suits, the Lady Katherine Leveson having been at no charge. Which Lady Anne Holbourn in her life-time greatly repaired the church, which was in a very ruinous condition, and by her will endowed it with one-hundred pounds *per annum*, for the maintenance of a preaching minister for ever; but the Lord Viscount Brouncker, having a legacy of fifteen-hundred pounds, and doubting her estate would not hold out to pay her debts, charitable gifts, and legacies, 'tis supposed he persuaded her by a codicil annexed to her will, to reduce the salary from one-hundred pounds, to fifty pounds *per annum*. She gave also by her will, five-hundred pounds to finish the repairs of the church; and also, fifty pounds *per ann*, to be paid out of the rents at Itchington, for the augmentation of the church there, and many other great legacies; for the payment of which, and of her debts, her three parts of Itchington were by decree in Chancery sold to Serjeant Newdigate, and her three parts of Balsall, to the Lady Katherine Leveson, who, being thereby possessed of the whole, except what was given to the two churches, out of her pious care and charity, to the poor of Balsall, did by a codicil annexed to her will, bearing date, on or about the twenty-first of February, 1670, give and devise all the manor and lordship of Balsall, and all the rents and issues of her estate there, for the founding an hospital as near the church as conveniently might be, for twenty poor persons, being widows, and poor women not married, of good lives and conversations, to be chosen out of the poor inhabitants of the parish of Balsall; and if there should not be so many poor widows and poor women unmarried in the said parish, to be placed in the said house, that then such as should be wanting, for the time only, of such want, and no longer, should be chosen out of the poor inhabitants of Itchington, in the county of Warwick; of Trentham, in the county of Stafford, and Lilleshull, in the county of Salop, there to remain for their respective lives, except for their miscarriages they should be removed, and to have the yearly sum of eight pounds *per annum*, and also yearly one gown of grey cloth, with the letters K. L. in blue cloth, to be set upon the breast thereof, to be worn continually by them; and if they, or any of them, should refuse to wear the said gowns, with the letters aforesaid, then to be put out, and others elected in their rooms. That immediately after the erecting and finishing of the said house, there should be a Minister of God's word provided, who should twice every day read the scripture, and pray, either in the church of Balsall, or house, hospital, or alm-house, with the said poor persons, and instruct them for the good of their souls; for which, he should be allowed twenty pounds *per annum*, and that he should also teach and instruct twenty of the poorest boys of the inhabitants of Balsall and parish, until they shall be fit to be apprentices, not taking any thing from their parents. According to this devise, an hospital was built, and in the first of Queen Anne (32); it was enacted, that the said house should be made an hospital, and incorporated, and named, and called the Hospital of the Lady Katherine Leveson; that there should be for ever thereafter, eleven Governors, which should be incorporated and made one body politick, to have perpetual succession, and a common-seal, to be capable

(32) Account of Modern Charities, p. 95.

to compleat the history of this illustrious family. A family, at least as remarkable as any that have flourished in this kingdom; which has produced as great men, and as good women, as any that are mentioned in our Histories, and of which hitherto we have had but very imperfect accounts, which it is presumed will appear a sufficient reason to justify the care that has been taken of them in this work, a care, that, though it has rendered these articles very extensive, might have carried them to a far greater length, if we had not used all the precaution possible to avoid prolixity, without prejudice to that perspicuity, the want of which would have been destructive to our original design.

capable of purchasing lands, of suing and being sued; of making leases, of choosing officers and servants, and to have the power to enlarge the number of the alms-women, and the buildings, as to them shall seem meet and convenient. As also, that they should take care constantly to have the sum of one-thousand pounds out at interest, to answer and satisfy for any accident of fire, or otherwise relating to the said hospital; and, that in all meetings relating to the good government thereof, there should not be less than six Governors, and the majority of those present to be binding. Since which Act of Parliament, their stock increasing, they have enlarged the said hospital, and placed therein twenty-seven old women; and in the year 1721, made an order, that the same should be further enlarged, at which season it was expected, that in due time a new pile of building might be erected, and the number of persons enlarged to thirty-four, with an allowance of twelve pounds *per annum*. This pious and charitable lady, has an inscription erected to her memory, in the chapel of our Lady at Warwick, with which, in respect to the historical particulars contained therein,

we will conclude this article (33). 'To the memory of Lady Katherine, late wife of Sir Richard Leveson of Trentham, in the county of Stafford, Knight of the Bath, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, which honourable Lady taking notice that these tombs of her noble ancestors being much blenished by consuming time, but more by the rude hands of impious people, were in danger of utter ruin, by the decay of this chapel, if not timely prevented, did in her life-time give fifty pounds for it's speedy repair: and by her last will and testament, bearing date the 18th of December 1673, bequeath forty pounds *per annum*, issuing out of her manor of Foxley, in the county of Northampton, for it's perpetual support, and preservation of these monuments in their proper state, the surplufage to be for the poor brethren of her grandfather's hospital in this borough, appointing William Dugdale, of Blythe-Hall in this county, Esquire, who represented to her the necessity of this good work, and his heirs, together, with the Mayor of Warwick for the time being, to be her trustees therein.' E

(33) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 441.

DUGARD (WILLIAM) a very eminent Schoolmaster in the XVIIth century, was the son of Henry Dugard a Clergyman, and born at Bromsgrave in Worcestershire in the year 1606. He had his education chiefly under Mr Henry Bright, Master of the royal school adjoining to Worcester cathedral, and Prebendary of that church, by whose good instructions he made a great progress in all kind of classical learning. At the age of sixteen, on the 13th of September 1622, he was admitted into Sidney-college in Cambridge, and put under the tuition of his uncle, Richard Dugard Bachelor of Divinity (a). In the year 1626 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Master in 1630 (b). Soon after, he was appointed Master of Stamford school in Lincolnshire; from whence, on the 27th of July 1637, he was elected, 'with one mutual consent and agreement,' Master of the free-school in Colchester (c): which he very much improved, not only in number of scholars, but also in divers useful and necessary repairs and amendments about the house (d). He resigned it the 17th of January 1642-3 (e), and on the 10th of May 1644, was chosen Head-Master of Merchant-Taylors school in London. As he was a very diligent, exact, and excellently learned man in all grammatical learning, that school greatly flourished under his care and influence (f). But for shewing, as was thought, too great an affection to the Royal Cause [A], and especially for being concerned in printing Cl. Salmassius's Defence of King Charles I [B], he was deprived of his school on the 20th of

(a) This account is taken from the Admission-book of Sidney-Coll. and was communicated by the late Master Dr J. Adams.

(b) From the Grace-book of that college.

(c) From the Assembly Books of that town.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid. and Hist. of Colch.

(f) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addition, edit. 1720, Vol. I. B. i. p. 170, 203.

[A] But for shewing, as was thought, too great an affection to the Royal Cause.] That he was very well affected to King Charles I. and to the Royal Interest, appears from a curious register he kept of his school (1), wherein the following verses of his are entered.

On the beheading of King Charles I.

Μάρτυρ ὑπερ θεῶν πατριάρχης ἱεροῦ ὄχι ἀριστὸς  
Σκηπτοῦχος ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μὲν ἀμειτέων χερσὶν  
ἐπιπέει.

i. e. 'Charles, the best of Kings, is fallen by the hands of cruel, or wicked, men: a martyr for the laws of God, and those of his country.'

And on the burial of Oliver Cromwell's mother in Westminster-Abbey.

Μήτηρ τῆ τέκνης καταράται ἐνθάδε κείται,  
Ὅς δύο μὲν βασιλείς τε καὶ ὅλεσε τρεῖς βασιλείας.

i. e. 'Here lieth the mother of a cursed son, who has been the ruin of two Kings, and of three kingdoms.' However, it was not for these verses, as Mr Strype at first imagined (2), that he was dismissed the school, but

for being concerned in printing the book mentioned above; and also *Εὐχὴν βασιλέων* (\*).

[B] Especially for being concerned in printing *Claudius Salmassius's Defence of King Charles I.*] Of this, Mr Dugard has left the following memorandum in the Register-book above-mentioned. *Ad Februarii 20, 1649. Atque hæc sunt nomina discipulorum quos ego Gulielmus Dugard, in Scholam liberam dignissimæ Societatis Mercatorum Scissorum admisi a Maij, 10, 1644, ad Februarij 20, 1649. Quo tempore a Concilio Novi Status ab Archidiaconatus officio summotus, & in carcerem Novæ Portæ conjectus sum; ob hanc præcipue causam, quod Claudii Salmassi librum (qui inscribitur Defensio Regia pro Carolo primo ad serenissimum Regem Carolum secundum legitimum Hæredem & Successorem) typis mandandum curaveram: Typographico insuper integro spoliatus, ad valorem mille librarum minimum; Nihil jam reliquum habens, unde victum quæram uxori & sex liberis. Quos Dei misericordis, & benignissimi Patris Providentiæ alendi committo & comuendo, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.*

GULIELMUS DUGARD.

E carcere Novæ Portæ,  
Martis 7. Anno Dom. 1649.

(\*) Warstaffe's Vindicat. p. 57.

(1) Now extant in Sten College Library.

(2) Ubi supra, p. 170.

Then

of February 1649-50, and imprisoned in Newgate; his wife, and six children, turned out of doors; and a printing-press of his, which he valued at a thousand pounds, seized (g). Being soon after released, he opened, on the 15th of April 1650, a private school on Peters hill, London. But on the 25th of September, the same year, he was restored to his former station, by means of the same Council of State, who had caused him to be removed (b). There he continued with great success and credit till about the middle of the year 1661; when he was dismissed, for breaking some orders of the Company of Merchant-Tailors, having been publicly warned and admonished of it before (i). He presented a remonstrance to them upon that occasion, but to no purpose (k). Whereupon he opened a private school in Coleman-street, July 4, 1661, and by the 25th of March following, had gathered an hundred and ninety-three scholars; so great was his reputation, and the fame of his abilities (l). But he lived a very little while after; for he died in the year 1662. He gave by Will several books to Sion-College Library (m). Besides the qualifications of his mind, which made him be highly valued and esteemed; he was also an excellent Scholar, and particularly a good Orator and Poet (n). He published some few books for the use of his schools [C].

Then follows immediately.

*Nomina Discipulorum; quos ego Gulielmus Dugard admisi in privatam Scholam, quam aperui in vico vulgo dicto Peters-Hill, in ædibus conductitiis ab Aprilis 15, ad Septembris 25, 1650. Quo tempore a dignissima Societate Mercatorum Scissorum, hortatu tamen Concilii Status, ad antiquam provinciam Scholæ Mercatorum Scissorum restitutus sum (3).*

[C] He published some few books for the use of his schools. Namely, 1. A short Rhetoric. *Rhetorices Compendium*, Lond. 8vo. 2. Some select Dialogues of Lucian. *Luciani Samosatensis Dialogorum Selectorum Libri duo*. A Gulielmo Dugardo recogniti, & (variis collatis exemplaribus) multo castigatius quam ante editi. Cum Interpretatione Latina, multis in locis emendata, & ad calcem adjecta. Lond. 8vo. In the preface to

this book, he observes the danger and hurt of putting books into the hands of children indiscriminately, without selecting what is best in them, and leaving out the bad. And ascribes the corruption of manners, then too much prevailing, to the injudicious and careless use of books of all sorts. Then he affirms, that the chief regard is to be had to the morals of youth, which are not to be endangered even under pretence of the greatest learning. *Quantum enim detrimentum adolescentium animis afferant ii, qui vel hunc, vel alios id genus Authores sine rerum delectu in lucem edunt, aut legendos proponunt, nostrorum temporum perquam corrupti mores, quorum incauta lectio parens est, satis declarant. Habenda igitur potior virtutis ratio, neque committendum unquam, ut illius jacturam, vel maximæ eruditionis prætextu, Juventus faciat.* 3. Our Author also published a *Greek Grammar, &c.* C

(g) Ibid. p. 203. This was done by the then Council of State.

(b) Ibid.

(i) Ibid. p. 170.

(k) Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, p. 447.

(l) Stow and Strype, ubi supra.

(m) Catalog. &c. Histor. Biblio. Sionens. per Gul. Reading, fol. Lond. 1724, p. 41.

(n) Stow and Strype, ubi supra. He writ a very neat and beautiful hand.

(3) Stow and Strype, ubi supra, p. 203.

(a) The Life of Sir William Dugdale, written by himself, and prefixed to his Hist. of St Paul's Cathedral, 2d edit. 1716. See also the end of the Preface to his Antiquities of Warwickshire.

(b) His father read first to him Littleton's Tenures, and afterwards several other Law books. Life, &c. as above. p. v.

(c) Life, &c. as above. and Wood, Fast. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 7. &c.

(d) Blythe-hall was but eight miles from Lindley, where Mr W. Burton resided.

(e) About the year 1630. Life, &c. as above, p. v.

DUGDALE (WILLIAM) a most industrious and excellent Antiquary and Historian, in the XVIIth century, was the only son of John Dugdale [A] of Shustoke, near Coles-Hill in Warwickshire, Gent. by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Arthur Swynfen; a younger son of William Swynfen of Swynfen in Staffordshire (a). He was born at Shustoke the 12th of September 1605; and had his first education in grammar-learning under Mr Tho. Sibley, Curate at Nether Whitacre near his native place, till he arrived to the age of ten years and upwards; and afterwards under Mr James Cranford, in the free-school at Coventry, till he was near fifteen years old. Then returning home to his father, he received further instructions from him, especially in Law (b), and History; in all which he became soon after well versed by his own indefatigable industry. Mean time, his father being aged, and grown very infirm with a dead palsy, and desiring to see him matched in his life-time, he married, on the 17th of March 1622-3, Margery, second daughter to John Huntbach of Seawall in the parish of Bishbury in Staffordshire, Gent. As he was then but in the eighteenth year of his age, he boarded with his wife's father till the death of his own father, which happened on the 4th of July 1624. But, soon after that, he went and kept house at Fillongley in Warwickshire, where he had an estate formerly purchased by his father. In 1625 he bought the manor of Blythe in Shustoke aforementioned; and, the year following, sold his estate at Fillongley, and came to reside at Blythe-Hall. His natural inclination leading him to the study of Antiquities and History (c), he was greatly encouraged thereto by that great Antiquarian Samuel Roper, Esq; a Derbyshire Gentleman, and Barrister at Law, with whom he became acquainted about the year 1615. And having also, after his settling at Blythe-hall, read Mr William Burton's Description of Leicestershire, and being made known to him (d), he was by that learned person introduced (e) to Sir Simon Archer of Tamworth, Knt. a great lover of Antiquities; who delivered to him collections he had made out of divers ancient writings, and brought him acquainted with Sir Simon Archer of Brome-Court, and most other

[A] Was the only son of John Dugdale.] This John Dugdale was the only child of James Dugdale, of Cletherow in Lancashire, Gent. (which name and family had been of long continuance in those parts) and had his chief education in St John's College, Oxon. Where applying himself to the study of the Civil-Law, he took the degree of Master of Arts; and continuing there the space of fourteen years, was for some time Clerk of the Accompts for that College, and Steward of their Courts. During some years of his stay in that college, he was tutor to William Paulet, only son to the Lord Giles Paulet, younger son to William, the first Mar-

quis of Winchester, of that noble family. When he left the University, resolving to settle in the country, he took liking to the woodland part of Warwickshire, where Mr Paulet had a fair estate. Selling therefore his lands in Lancashire, he gave him a large fine for a lease of the impropriate Rectory of Shustoke, during the term of sixty years, where finding the house ruinous he all new built it. Fixing himself there, and marrying his wife Elizabeth abovementioned, he had by her our author, William; and one daughter, named Mary, which became the wife of Richard Seawall, son of Henry Seawall, Alderman of Coventry (1).

(1) Life, &c. as above; and Mr John Dugdale's epitaph in our author's Antiq. of Warwickshire, edit. 1730, Vol. II. p. 1046.

[B] He

other Gentlemen in Warwickshire. By their advice and encouragement he undertook a Description of that County, of which we shall give an account below. In 1638 he accompanied Sir Simon Archer to London, who introduced him to the learned Sir Henry Spelman: and, during his residence in that place, he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the most eminent Antiquarians in the nation [B]. Among the rest, Sir Christopher Hatton took great liking to him, and joined with Sir Henry Spelman in recommending him to Thomas Earl of Arundel, then Earl Marshal of England; who, on the 24th of September 1638, created him a Pursuivant at Arms Extraordinary, by the name of Blanch-Lyon, having obtained the King's warrant for that purpose. Afterwards, he was made Rouge-Croix Pursuivant in Ordinary, by virtue of his Majesty's Letters-Patent dated March 18, 1639-40, in the room of Mr Edward Walker, removed to the office of Chester-Herald. By which means, having a lodging in the Heralds-Office, with

[B] *He had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the most eminent Antiquarians in the nation*

Take a full account of all this in Mr Dugdale's own words. After he settled at Blythe-hall, having read the description of Leicestershire, published by Mr William Burton of Lindley in that county, (about eight miles distant from Blythe-hall) he was introduced into his acquaintance by Mr Fisher Dilke of Shustoke, a kinsman to Mr Burton, and by the said Mr Burton, into the acquaintance of Sir Simon Archer, of Tamworth in the county of Warwick, Knt. Who being much affected to Antiquities, and having made some collections out of divers ancient writings, did freely communicate to him what he had so gathered, and brought him acquainted with most of the gentlemen of note in the county; who being desirous, through his incitation, to preserve the honour of their families by some such publick work, as Mr Burton had done by those in Leicestershire, did freely communicate unto him the sight of their ancient evidences. Amongst the which he found none more knowing, and forward to encourage such a work, than Sir Simon Clarke of Bromie-Court, in the parish of Salford, who imparted to him divers things of consequence, especially the Leiger-book of the Priory of Kenilworth. Sir Simon Archer going to London with his Lady in Easter-Term, Anno 1638, much importuned Mr Dugdale to accompany him in that journey; whereunto he assenting, Sir Simon being acquainted with the learned Sir Henry Spelman, Knt (a person famous for his knowledge in Antiquities) and then near eighty years of age, brought Mr Dugdale to him: who receiving him with great humanity, and finding, upon discourse with him, and the sight of divers Collections relating to the Antiquities of Warwickshire, (which he then shewed him) that he had made some good progress in those studies, told him, That being a person so well inclined to that learning, and so good a proficient therein, he esteemed him very fit to serve the King in the Office of Arms; and that the most noble Thomas Earl of Arundel, then Earl Marshal of England, having by virtue of that office, the nomination of all such as were admitted into that society, would think it a good service to the publick, to prefer such therunto as were thus naturally qualified, and found sedulous in those studies, offering to recommend him, the said Mr Dugdale, to his Lordship for that purpose: which he did accordingly. Whereupon he was introduced unto that honourable person, first, by Sir George Gresteley of Drakelow, in the county of Derby, Bart (who was then in London,) and well known to his Lordship. Waiting some time upon Sir Henry Spelman, Sir Henry told him, That there was a Yorkshire Gentleman, one Mr Roger Dodsworth, who had taken much pains in search of Records, and other ancient memorials, relating to the Antiquities of that country, but especially as to the Monastery-foundations in the Northern parts of this realm, which work he did not a little recommend to the pains and care of some industrious and diligent searchers into Antiquities: affirming, that out of his own great affection thereto, he had in his younger years got together the transcripts of the foundation-charters of divers Monasteries in Norfolk and Suffolk (himself being a Norfolk man) much importuning Mr Dugdale to join with Mr Dodsworth in that commendable work, which by reason of his youth, and inclination to prosecute those studies, might in time be

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brought to some perfection. Unto which proposal Mr Dugdale readily assented, and, within few days after, casually meeting with Mr Dodsworth, at Mr Samuel Roper's chamber in Lincoln's-Inn, and communicating what they were in hand with, as to their farther progress in those studies, readily engaged themselves to each other, to endeavour the gaining of what transcripts they could obtain from any ancient Leiger-books, publick Records, original Charters, or other manuscripts of note, in order thereto; but still with this reservation, that Mr Dugdale should not neglect his collections touching the Antiquities of Warwickshire, wherein he had made a considerable progress. Being thus in London, and desirous to gain acquaintance with all persons of note, there, who stood affected to Antiquities, Mr Roper brought him to Mr Henry Lillye, an arms painter in Little-Britain, who according to that measure of learning he had gained, was not a little versed in those studies, having been employed by divers persons of honour and quality in framing their pedigrees, out of original evidences, and other warrantable authorities. Hereupon conversing some time with Mr Lillye, he there accidentally met with one Mr Richard Gascoigne, a Yorkshire Gentleman, who also stood much affected to those studies, especially as to matters of pedigree, wherein he had taken some pains for divers northern families; who having great acquaintance with Sir Christopher Hatton, of Kirby in the county of Northampton, afterwards created Lord Hatton, a person highly affected to those studies, and who had not spared for cost in gaining sundry transcripts from publick Records, Leiger-books, ancient Charters, and many choice MSS. brought Mr Dugdale to that most worthy person, by whom he was made welcome, with all expressions of kindness, and readines to further him in those his labours. In order thereunto Sir Christopher made him soon acquainted with Sir Thomas Fanshaw, his near kinsman, at that time the King's Remembrancer in the Exchequer (afterwards Lord Viscount Fanshaw) by means of which great office he had the custody of divers Leiger-books, and other manuscripts of great antiquity; specially that notab'e Record called the Red Book, as also Testa de Nevill, Kirby's Quest. Nomina Villarum, and others, to all which by his favour he had free access. Nor was he less careful to obtain the like access for him to the Records in the Tower of London, through his interest with old Mr Collet, the chief clerk at that time there under Sir John Barroughs, whom he amply rewarded with sundry gratuities, for his kindness and pains in furthering Mr Dugdale, as to his Collections from those rarities there reposed. During his stay also at London at that time, he was by the said Mr Samuel Roper, brought into the acquaintance of Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart. son to the most worthy Sir Robert Cotton, founder of that incomparable library in his house at Westminster, of most rare and choice manuscripts, whereby he had also free access thereto, and made such Collections as were of singular use to him in several volumes, which have been since made publick. By the said Mr Roper, he was also introduced into the acquaintance of Mr Scipio Squire, then one of the Vice-Chamberlains of the Exchequer, through whose kindness and favour he had access to that venerable Record, called Doomday-Book, as also to the Fines, Plea-Rol's, and sundry other things of Antiquity remaining in the Treasury (2).

(2) *Life, &c.* p. vi, vii.

[C] *And*

with a yearly salary of twenty pounds out of the Exchequer, and perquisites, for his support; he spent that, and part of the year following, in augmenting his collections out of the records in the Tower, and other places. In summer 1641, through Sir Christopher Hatton's encouragement, he employed himself, with one Mr William Sedgwick a skilful arms-painter, in taking exact draughts of all the monuments in the Abbey Church at Westminster, St Paul's Cathedral London, and in many other Cathedral, Collegiate, Conventual; and Parochial Churches [C], wherein any tombs or monuments were to be found; to the end that the memory of them, in case of that destruction then imminent, might be preserved for future and better times. In 1642 he received orders, by warrant under the Royal Signet Manual dated June 1, to repair to his Majesty at York, according to the duty of his place. Which he accordingly did, and continued there till about the middle of July, when he received the King's command to attend Spencer Earl of Northampton Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire (f), who was then endeavouring to secure the chief places in and near that county, and to disperse the forces assembled by the Lord Brook for the Parliament's service (g). During his attendance upon that Lord, he summoned the castle of Banbury which surrendered to his Majesty, but Warwick and Coventry refusing so to do, the persons by whom they were held, were proclaimed traitors by Mr Dugdale. He attended the King at Edge-hill battle, the 23d of October 1642 [D], and afterwards to Oxford (where on the first of November he was created Master of Arts (h)), and thence to Reading and Brentford; his Majesty intending to proceed to London. But being forced to return back to Oxford, our author continued there (i) by his Majesty's command, till the surrender of that garrison to the Parliament, June 26, 1646. And, in the mean time, was, on the 16th of April 1644, created Chester-Herald, in the room of Edward Walker, Esq; advanced to the office of Norroy. In this same year he took a journey to Worcester, and extracted out of the Registers of the Bishop, and Dean and Chapter, the like materials for his Antiquities of Warwickshire, as he had done at Litchfield. Likewise, during his long residence at Oxford, he applied himself to the search of such Antiquities, in the Bodleian and other Libraries, as he thought might any way conduce towards the furtherance of the *Monasticon*, designed by Mr Roger Dodsworth and himself; as also of whatsoever might relate to matter of History, touching the antient Nobility of this realm, of which he made good use in his Baronage. After the surrender of Oxford garrison, upon articles, in May 1646, Mr Dugdale having the benefit of them, repaired to London, and, for the sum of a hundred and sixty-eight pounds, compounded for his estate which had been sequestered. Then he, and Mr Dodsworth, vigorously proceeded to compleat their collections for the *Monasticon*, out of the Tower Records, and Cottonian Library: in which latter, Mr Dugdale sorted many bundles of original letters, and choice memorials, and caused them to be bound in eighty volumes [E]. In May 1648 he waited on the Lady Hatton to Calais, who was to meet there the Lord Hatton her husband: and when his Lordship returned to Paris, Mr Dugdale accompanied him thither, and stayed near three months in that city; where, through the favour of Mr Francis Du Chesne, he had the perusal of the collections of his learned father Andrew du Chesne (k), out of which he copied many curious things, relating to the Pories-alien in England, which were cells to great abbies in France, &c. He returned to England in August, having a safe conduct from Queen Henrietta-Maria. After which, he and Mr Dodsworth, went on compleating their collections for the *Monasticon*, and preparing them for the press. When they were ready, the booksellers not caring to venture upon so large and hazardous a work, Mr Dodsworth and Mr Dugdale hired sums of money, and printed at their own charge the first volume, which was published in the year 1655 [F], in folio, as were the second and third volumes afterwards.

In

[C] *And in many other Cathedral, Collegiate, Conventual, and Parochial Churches.* Particularly, those at Peterborough, Ely, Norwich, Lincoln, Newark upon Trent, Beverley, Southwell, Kingston upon Hull, York, Selby, Chester, Litchfield, Tamworth, Warwick, &c. The draughts were taken by Mr Sedgwick, then servant to Sir Christopher Hatton; but 'tis probable the inscriptions were copied by Mr Dugdale's exact pen. They were deposited in Sir Christopher Hatton's library (3).

[D] *He attended the King at Edge-hill battle, on the 23d of October 1642.* And about that time, committed to writing the most memorable passages in that battle, of which he had been a spectator. That the relation of all particulars relating thereto might be the better understood, he took with him, in the February following, some Gentlemen of note and a skilful surveyor, and rode to Banbury, (the Castle whereof was then his Majesty's garrison) and thence to the field of battle, which he exactly survey'd; noting where each army was drawn up, how and where the cannon on each part were placed, as also the particular graves wherein all the slain were buried: observing, from the relation of the neighbouring inhabitants, the

certain number of bodies which lay interred in every grave, which in the whole did not amount to quite one-thousand, though the general report of the vulgar made them no less than five-thousand (4).

[E] *In which latter (the Cottonian) Mr Dugdale sorted many bundles of original letters, and choice memorials, and caused them to be bound in eighty volumes.* They were bundles of most valuable papers of state, which Sir Robert Cotton had obtained from several hands: containing the transactions between Cardinal Wolsey, and others, with several of his letters; as also of T. Cromwell afterwards Earl of Essex, Secretary Paget, Cecil Lord Burleigh, Secretary Walsingham, and others, relating as well to foreign as domestic affairs; and likewise the letters and papers of Mary Queen of Scots, John Duke of Norfolk, and other eminent persons in those times. Mr Dugdale having sorted them, caused them to be bound up with clasps, with the arms of Sir Thomas Cotton on each side of every book (5).

[F] *The first volume which was published in the year 1655.* Under this title. *Monasticon Anglicanum; sive Pandectæ Coenobiorum Benedictinorum, Cluniacensium, Cistercensium, Carthusianorum. A primordiis ad eorum usque dissolutionem. Ex MSS. ad Monasteria olim*

(f) The Life of Sir William Dugdale, &c. as above.

(g) Wood, ubi supra, col. 10.

(h) Ibid. col. 7.

(i) Residing mostly in Hart-hall. Wood, ubi supra, col. 7.

(k) Author of a History of England in French, and several other curious books.

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

(4) Wood, ubi supra, col. 10; and Life, ubi supra, p. xii.

(5) Life, &c. p. xv.

In the mean time, our industrious author having finished 'The Antiquities of Warwickshire, illustrated [G],' he printed that valuable work at his own charge: and for near a year and a half, whilst it was printing, continued in London, in order to correct the press himself, because the ordinary correctors were not skilled in the pedigrees. During his residence in which place, he had an opportunity of collecting materials for The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London [H], which he published in 1658, fol. Upon the restoration of King Charles II, he was, through Lord Chancellor Hyde's recommendation, advanced to the office of Norroy King of Arms, then vacant by the promotion of Sir

*olim pertinentibus, Archiepiscopi Turrium Lond. Ebor. Curiarum Scaccarii. Augmentationum; Bibliothecis, Bedleiana, Arundelliana, Cottoniana, Selbriana, Hattoniana, aliisque, digestum.* Adorned with the prospects of Abbeys, Churches, &c. After the publication of this, the printing of the second volume was put off for above five years, till the greatest part of the impression of the first was sold, in order to raise money for going on with that expensive work (6). This is the reason why the second volume was not published till the year 1661; The title of it was, *Monastici Anglicani Volumen alterum. De Canonicis Regularibus, Augustinianis, Scilicet, Hospitalariis, Templariis, Gilbertinis, Premonstratensibus, & Maurinis sive Trinitarianis. Cum Appendice ad Volumen primum de Coenacis aliquot Gallicanis, Hibernicis, & Scoticis. Nec non quibusdam Anglicanis arta emissis, &c.* These two volumes were collected, and totally written by Mr Dodsworth; but Mr Dugdale took great pains, in methodizing and disposing the materials, in making several indexes to the two volumes, and in correcting them at the press: for Mr Dodsworth died in August 1654, before the tenth part of the first volume was printed off (7). The third volume was published in 1673, under this title. *Monastici Anglicani volumen tertium & ultimum. Addita quaedam in volumine primo, ac volumine secundo, jam pridem edita; Nec non fundationes, sive donationes, diversarum Ecclesiarum Cathedralium ac Collegatarum, continens. Ex Archiepiscopi regis, ipsius autographis, ac diversis Codic. Manuscriptis descripta.* Several curious things in this volume were communicated by Mr Ant. Wood, and Sir Tho. Herbert, Baronet (8). These three volumes contain chiefly the Foundation-Charters of the Monasteries at their first erection, the Donation-Charters in after-times being purposely omitted; which are so numerous, that twenty such volumes would not contain them.

[G] *The Antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated.* The whole title of the book is, 'The Antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated; from Records, Leiger-Books, Manuscripts, Charters, Evidences, Tombs, and Arms: beautified with Maps, Prospects, and Portraictures, Lond. 1656 fol.' The Author gives us this account of it — 'As for the work itself, it is an *Illustration of the Antiquities* with which my native country (Warwickshire) hath been honoured; in accomplishing whereof, I have spent the chiefest of my time for much more than twenty years, diligently searching into the vast treasuries of publique Records, besides a multitude of Manuscripts, original Charters, and Evidences in private hands, as the margents where they are cited do manifest (9). — A second edition of this curious and useful book was published in 1730 — in two volumes, printed from a copy corrected by the author himself, and with the original copper-plates. The whole revised, augmented, and continued down to this present time; by William Thomas, D. D. sometime Rector of Exhall, in the same county. With the addition of several prospects of gentlemen's seats, churches, tombs, and new and correct maps of the county, and of the several hundreds, from an actual survey made by Henry Beighton, F. R. S. Also complete lists of the Members of Parliament and Sheriffs taken from the original Records; and an alphabetical index and blazony of the arms upon the several plates.' One fault there is in the method of this book; namely, That the parishes are not distinguished from the villages by any particular mark. The titles at the beginning of the several divisions, should therefore have been printed in different characters: as for instance, the parishes in old English letter, or in capitals; and the villages in Italic, as they are now. The name of each parish should likewise have been put at the top of the page,

or pages, which contain an account of the same. — However, this is our author's master-piece (10), and allowed to be the best methodized and most accurate account that ever was wrote of this nature (11).

[H] *During his residence in which place, he had an opportunity of collecting materials for The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London* ] Of which he gives us himself the following account 'Meeting casually there with Mr John Reading, a Nottinghamshire Gentleman, who had formerly been Clerk of the Nisi Prius for the Midland-Circuit, and with whom before the Rebellion he was acquainted, he friendly invited Mr Dugdale to his house at Scriveners-hall, with promise to shew him some old manuscript books, original charters, and other ancient writings. Coming thither accordingly, Mr Reading brought forth five ancient manuscript books in folio, which were Leiger-books of the lands anciently given to the Cathedral of St Paul in London; and freely lent them to him, to carry into the country until the next ensuing Michaelmas Term, intimating that he should have the use of many more upon his next return to London. But in Michaelmas Term, when Mr Dugdale came to restore those books so lent, he found that Mr Reading was dead, and had constituted one Mr Williams, a Barrister at Law of the Temple, his executor. Addressing himself therefore to the said Mr Williams, and desiring a sight of the rest, he very civilly brought him to Scriveners-Hall, and there shewing him many other old manuscript-books, original charters, and very ancient writings in bags and hampers, all relating to that great Cathedral, he freely lent them to him, to carry to his own lodging, they amounting to no less than ten porters burdens.' Having them therefore thus in his private custody, and bestowing pains to sort them into order, he made extracts from them, of what he found historical in reference to that church. And to the end the memory of those noble and ancient monuments might be preserved (which were afterwards destroyed, the church being made an horse-garrison by the late rebellious usurpers) did by the help and favour of sundry worthy persons who voluntarily offered to be at the charge of those plates, in which the representations of them were cut in brass, as also the lively prospects of the whole fabrick (inside and out), accomplish the same; and having succinctly framed an historical narrative of the foundation and endowment thereof, likewise of all the chantries, and what else was most memorable therein, published it, under this title, 'The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London from its Foundation till these Times: Extracted out of original Charters, Records, Leiger-books, and other Manuscripts. Beautified with sundry Prospects of the Church, figures of Tombs and Monuments, &c.' Lond. 1658. fol. There was a Second Edition of this curious book corrected and enlarged by the author's own hand. To which is prefixed his life written by himself. Published by Edward Maynard, D. D. Rector of Boddington in Northamptonshire.' London, 1716, fol. Five of the original plates being lost, five new ones were engraved for this second edition. There are in it great additions, which were not in the former edition: particularly, a new introduction, and many additions in several places, to the quantity of some sheets in all; besides an account of the new-building of St Paul's from year to year to 1685; with a catalogue of the several benefactors, and the sums they gave towards the building of it, our author being one of the Commissioners appointed for that work: and, which is more than all the rest together, 'An Historical account of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches of York, Rippon, South-well, Beverley, Durham, and Carlisle.'

(10) Wood, as above, col. 15.

(11) See The English Topographer, &c. Lond. 1720, 8vo, p. 233.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid. and Wood, ubi supra, col. 14.

(8) Wood, ibid. col. 15.

(9) Preface, p. 1.

Sir Edward Walker to that of Garter; and his patent passed the Great-Seal on the 18th of June 1660 (m). In 1662 he published 'The History of Imbanking and Draining of divers Fens and Marshes, both in Foreign Parts and in this Kingdom, and of the Improvement thereby. Extracted from Records, Manuscripts, and other authentick Testimonies: Adorned with several Maps, &c.' fol. Written at the desire of the Lord Gorges, Sir John Marsham, Bart. and others who were adventurers in that costly and laudable work, for draining the great Level, which extends itself into a considerable part of the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Norfolk, and Suffolk. About the same time, he completed the second volume of Sir Henry Spelman's Councils, and published it in 1664 [I]. As also the second part of that learned Knight's Glossary [K]. Likewise, having in his many years search into Records, &c. taken notes, as occasion offered, of the names of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers, Lord Treasurers, Justices itinerant, Justices of the King's-Bench and Common-Pleas, Barons of the Exchequer, Masters of the Rolls, King's Attorneys and Solicitors, and Serjeants at Law; he compiled out of them a book entituled *Origines Juridiciales, &c* [L]. which he published in 1666, fol. His next work, was, *The Baronage of England* [M], of which the first

[I] He completed the second volume of Sir Henry Spelman's Councils, and published it in 1664.] Under this title, *Concilia, Decreta, Leges, Constitutiones in re Ecclesiarum Orbis Britannici; viz. Pan-Anglica, Scotica, Hibernica, Provincialia, Dioecana: Ab introitu Normannorum, An. Dom. MLXVI. ad exitum Papam, sive ad An. Dom. MDXXXI. Accesserunt etiam alia ad rem Ecclesiasticam spectantia; uti reperiuntur in eorundem Actis, Canonibus Ecclesiasticis, Principum rescriptis, Libris impressis, antiquis Manuscriptis, Chartis, Schedis, & Monumentis veteribus.* Sir Henry Spelman's name only appears in the title. And the Book is dedicated, by Charles Spelman, Sir Henry's grandson, to Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury; who, with the Earl of Clarendon, had been the chief promoters of this work, and put Mr Dugdale upon it. 'Twas printed in a very incorrect manner; but Mr William Somner took a great deal of pains, in noting all the faults, in the margin of a copy belonging to him, which was deposited in the Library of the Church of Canterbury. What great share Mr Dugdale had in this work, will best appear from hence: That, out of two-hundred and ninety-four articles whereof that volume consists, a hundred and ninety-one are of his collecting, being those that are marked with an \* in the list of the contents, at the beginning of the volume (12). The materials for it (besides those left by Sir Henry Spelman) were gathered by Mr Dugdale, out of the Archbishops and Bishops Registers, the Cottonian and other Libraries, and our ancient English Historians (13).

[K] As also the second part of that learned Knight's Glossary.] The first part was published in 1626, fol. and afterwards considerably augmented and corrected by Sir Henry. He did not live to finish the second part, but left much of it loosely written; with observations, and sundry bills of paper, pinned thereto. These Mr. Dugdale took the pains to dispose into proper order, transcribing many of those loose papers, &c. And having reviewed the first part, caused both to be printed together in 1664, (14) under this title, *Glossarium Archaeologicum, continens Latino-barbara, peregrina, obsoleta, & novæ significationis vocabula.* There was another Edition of it in 1687. The second part, digested by Mr Dugdale, began at the letter M. But Mr Wood observes (15), that it 'comes far short of the first.' Nay, some have asserted (16), 'that he or they who put out the second part of Sir Henry Spelman's Glossary, did not do right to his memory.' In answer to which, Dr R. Brady gives us the following account (17). 'The first part [of the Glossary] to the letter N. was published in the year 1626, the whole being then finished, and offered by Sir Henry Spelman, to Mr Bill the King's Printer, for the value of five pounds in books only: But he refusing to give him that small rate for the Copy, he ventured to print the first part of it at his own charge, and most of the books lay upon his hands till the latter end of the year 1637, when two Booksellers in St Paul's Churchyard took them off. The next year, Mr Dugdale being with Sir Henry Spelman, and telling him, that many learned men were very desirous to see the remaining part of that work, Sir Henry then told him what is here related, and produced both parts of the Glossary, the first

whereof was printed, and interleaved with blank leaves, as also was the second, which was in manuscript, wherein he had added and altered much. After King Charles II's Restoration, the Earl of Clarendon then Lord Chancellor, and Dr Sheldon then Bishop of London, inquired of Mr Dugdale what was become of the remaining part of the Glossary, or whether it was ever finished? He told them it was finished, and in the hands of Mr Charles Spelman, grandchild to Sir Henry, and youngest Son to Sir John. Whereupon they desired Mr Dugdale to move him to print it; which he did: but finding that the Booksellers would give nothing for the Copy, and that he was not able to print it at his own charge, and returning this Answer to the Lord Chancellor, and Bishop of London, they contributed liberally themselves, and procuring many Subscriptions to that purpose, desired Mr Dugdale to receive the money, and deal with a Printer to perform the work: which he did, and caused it to be printed as he received it, all under the proper hand-writing of Sir Henry Spelman, without alteration or addition.' This account the Reader will be pleased to compare with the beginning of this Note, which is taken out of Sir William Dugdale's Life, written by himself. But that learned Author assures us, in the same Life (18), (11) Page xix. that the second part of the Glossary was published, without any alteration from Sir Henry's Copy, as by some hath been ignorantly furnished.'

[L] *Origines Juridiciales, &c.*] The whole title, is, '*Origines Juridiciales: or Historical Memorials of the English Laws, Courts of Justice, Forms of Tryal, Punishment in Cases criminal, Law-writers, Law-books, Grants and Settlements of Estates, Degree of Serjeants, Inns of Court and Chancery. Also a Chronologie of the Lord Chancellors, and Keepers of the Great Seal, Lord Treasurers, Justices Itinerant, Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, Barons of the Exchequer, Masters of the Rolls, King's Attorneys and Solicitors, and Serjeants at Law.*' The Historical Part, which was designed as an Introduction to the Chronological Tables, is divided into seventy-eight chapters. And the book is adorned with the heads of Sir John Clench, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Randolph Crew, Sir Robert Heath, Edward Earl of Clarendon to whom the Book is dedicated, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir John Vaughan, and Mr Selden. There are also plates of the Arms, in the windows of the Temple-Hall, and other Inns of Court, &c. The first Edition, as is said above, was in 1666; and the second in 1671. having the three last Plates more than the first, but being very full of faults. There was a pretended third Edition in 1680. but it is only the second, with a new Title-page; and a Continuation, in three leaves at the end, of the Chronology and Catalogues aforesaid. Bishop Nicolson recommends this Book, as a proper Introduction to the History of the Laws of this Kingdom (19).

[M] *The Baronage of England.*] The whole title of Tome 1. is thus, 'The Baronage of England, or an Historical Account of the Lives and most memorable actions of our English Nobility in the Saxons Time, to the Norman Conquest; and from thence, of

(19) English Historical Library; under the title of that book.

(12) See the Preface.

(13) Wood, ubi supra.

(14) Life, &c. as above.

(15) Ubi supra, col. 13.

(16) Atwood, *Fani Anglorum Facies nova.* edit. p. 265.

(17) Animadversiones upon a book called *Fani Anglorum Facies nova.* edit. 1684, fol. p. 229, 230.

first tome appeared in print, in 1675, and the second and third in 1676, fol. The first treating of such of the Earls, and their descendants, as had their first advancements before the end of King Henry III's reign; and of all others, who held their honours or baronies by tenure, as antiently. The second, of those, whose original hath been (*viz.* of Earls by creation, and Barons by summons to Parliament) before the 11th year of King Richard II's reign. And the third of those and their posterity, who have had their creations by patent, as most Barons had, or by writ of summons from that time (11 Rich. II.) till the year 1676; the Dukes, Marquisses, and Viscounts, being therein likewise included, and reserved to their proper times and places (*n*). Upon the death of Sir Edward Walker, which happened on the 20th of February 1676 7, our author was appointed in his

(n) See Preface to  
Tome I, p. 2,  
col. 1.

of those who had their rise before the end of King Henry the Third's Reign. Deduced from publick Records, antient Historians, and other Authorities. — That of the second is the same, with this difference — Which had their rise, after the end of King Henry the Third's reign, and before the eleventh year of King Richard the Second. — And of the third — As had their rise, from the tenth year of King Richard the Second, until this present year 1676. These two last Volumes are generally bound together. What induced our Author to undertake this work, he tells us in the following words. I must ingenuously acknowledge, that I had not any thoughts of attempting this work here made publick, until (by God Almighty's disposal) attending the late King Charles the First, of blessed memory, in his garrison at Oxford, according to the duty of my place; and continuing in his service there, from the beginning of November An. 1642. until the end of June, 1646, I had both leisure and opportunity of perusing many excellent Historical Manuscripts, choicely preserved in the famous Bodleian Library, and sundry Colleges there; whence having gathered a large stock of fit materials in order to such a work, I grew encouraged to proceed farther; and thereupon, betook myself to a diligent search into those old Records in the Tower of London, Office of the Rolls, Exchequer, and sundry other publick places. Next into that incomparable Treasury of most antient and choice Manuscripts; which the late worthy Sir Robert Cotton Bart. had, in his time, happily got together: and after that, into divers other, no less estimable; which, with much charge, had been gained by the Right Honourable, the late Lord Hatton; and by his especial favour communicated to me; likewise into that elaborate collection from the Pipe-Rolls, made by Mr Roger Dodsworth, my late deceased friend, and into sundry other, whereunto my Quotations do refer: amongst which, those of Robert Glover, formerly Somerset-Herald, (most opportunely acquired from several hands, wherein they lay obscured) were not the least (20). The collecting of the materials for this work, cost the industrious Author a great part of thirty years labour (21). But, notwithstanding his great care and pains, there are many faults in it: so that the Gentlemen at the Herald's Office, dare not depend upon the generality of matter relating to pedigree therein (22). However, this most useful work did not deserve the severe censure, which a sour and ill-natured pedant (23), hath passed upon it, in his Three letters, containing remarks on some of the numberless errors and defects in Dugdale's Baronage (24). For, therein he is charged, with inaccuracy (25), want of capacity, and judgment (26), much negligence and ignorance (27), master-piece of stupidity (28), with gross and complicated blunders (29); who, as often as he has opportunities, falls into mistakes (30), and has fagotted his collections together (31). That, a very great number of inconsistencies, and contradictions are plentifully strewed through his whole book (32) &c. He owns indeed, that Dugdale is esteemed by much the best writer, who has yet made a general treatise on this subject [of the Peerage] for which he seemed aptly qualified, being very laborious and industrious, and having been furnished with a vast number of excellent materials; and favoured with opportunities of access to public Offices and Libraries, from whence a structure truly noble, and worthy of the subject, might have been raised; but having more regard to his profit than his honour, and the work being very large and tedious, he did

not allow himself time to examine and compare his vouchers, nor the tasks of his several *Ammanuenses* (33). — He had (says he elsewhere) a greedy appetite to Antiquities, but, like the Ostrich, he swallowed whatever came in his way, unchewed, and it passed thro' him undigested. He seems to have had little Judgment in collecting, and less care and understanding in transcribing; and his manner of composing is still less excusable, as it more affects other men. His Avarice made him undertake burdens too heavy for his shoulders, and pushed him beyond his speed. His eye was so fixed on his chief end, that he overlooked the means of deserving either praise or profit. His works (I speak as to that before me) seem to have been patched up by the help of Alphabets, and from whatever occurred, which, either by himself or his illiterate *Ammanuenses*, was thought to the present purpose; extracts were crudely huddled together, without any regard to truth or probability, or the consistence of one part with another; which is the reason that in any fact, wherein any plurality of persons is concerned, whereby it comes to be related in several places, it is very rare if such relations are not materially different, and sometimes none true. The margin of his book, I own, I have found useful, as it directs the nearest way to better information; but his authorities there, are in general erroneously vouched, that they give no evidence to the purposes for which they are produced; so that there is no depending upon him, without examining his witnesses. In fine, his disagreeing fragments of unchewed materials are so unartfully disposed, and so coarsely laid together, that the whole heap seems to me no better than *rudis indigestaque moles* (34). i. e. a rude and undigested heap. — Such is the harsh and unmannerly attack of the anonymous letter-writer, upon Mr Dugdale's book now before us. — It must be owned, that there are many mistakes in the Baronage (and mistakes are indeed hardly avoidable in a work of that nature). But the industrious and learned Author, instead of being reviled, or treated with contempt, ought to be corrected with mildness, and duly esteemed, for having proceeded, at once, so far in a work, wherein very little progress had been made before he took it in hand: all other accounts of the Nobility, by Milles, Brooke, &c. being little more than bare catalogues, or at best very lean performances. — If the letter-writer had pointed out Mr Dugdale's faults and mistakes (which he had great opportunities of discovering, by his place in the Exchequer) he should at least have treated him with decency and good manners. 'Twas the least that was due to the memory of a man, who had published so many useful books: a man whose name will be remembered with veneration and honour, while that of snarling Ch. Hornby will be buried in everlasting oblivion. — It were greatly to be wished, that Gentlemen of skill and leisure, would make a thorough review of so useful a book as the Baronage; and, after having compared it with the Records and our antient Historians, &c. give a new Edition of it. No greater service could be done to the curious and inquisitive Reader, or to any one who is a lover of the English History. — Mr Wood informs us (35), that Mr Dugdale sent to him Copies of all the Tomes of this work, with an earnest desire that he would peruse, correct and add to them what he could obtain from record or other authorities: whereupon spending a whole long vacation in that matter, he drew up at least sixteen sheets of corrections, but more additions; which being sent to the Author, he remitted a good part of them to the margin of a Copy of large paper of his Baronage.

(33) Page 41

(34) Page 62,  
63.

(35) Ubi supra,  
col. 16.

o) Preface to  
ol. I. p. 1, 2.  
1) Life, &c.  
above, p. xix.  
2) Wood, ubi  
supra, col. 16.  
3) Supposed  
to be Charles  
Hornby, Esq; late  
Secretary of the  
Treasurer's Office.  
4) Lond. 1738,  
p. 79.  
5) Page 4.  
6) Page 20.  
7) Page 18.  
8) Page 51.  
9) Ibid. & p.  
10) Page 58.  
11) Page 47.  
12) Page 10.

(o) There was a great dispute then between the King and the Earl-Marshal, about the Right of Nomination to that office. See our author's Life, p. xix. &c.

(p) Life, &c. as above, p. xxi.

(q) This is mostly taken from W. Wyrley's book entitled, *The true Use of Ar-mory*, &c. Lond. 1592, 4to. See Wood, ubi supra, col. 16; and Vol. I. col. 427.

(r) Life, &c. p. xxii, xxiii.

his room Garter Principal King of Arms (o). His patent for that office passed the Great-Seal April 26, 1677; and he was solemnly created Garter, the 24th of May following, at the College of Arms. The next day he received from his Majesty the honour of knight-hood, much against his will by reason of the smallness of his estate (p). But, to return to his works. In 1681 he published 'A Short View of the late Troubles in England; Briefly setting forth, Their Rise, Growth, and tragical Conclusion. As also, some Parallel thereof with the Barons-Wars in the Time of King Henry III But chiefly with that in France, called the Holy League, in the Reigns of Henry III and Henry IV, late Kings of that Realm. To which is added, A perfect Narrative of the Treaty at Uxbridge in *ann.* 1644.' Oxford, fol. And, 'The antient Usage in bearing of such Ensigns of Honour as are commonly called Arms (q).' With 'A true and perfect Catalogue of the Nobility of England. A true and perfect List of all the present Knights of the Garter, &c. as they now stand in St George's Chapel in Windsor-Castle, Sept. 10, 1681.' And, 'A Catalogue of the Baronets of England, from the first erection of that dignity, until the 4th of July 1681 inclusive.' Oxf. 1681, 8vo [N]. There was a second edition of it in the beginning of the year following, wherein the Catalogue of Baronets was continued to the 6th of December. The last thing he published was, 'A perfect Copy of all Summons of the Nobility to the Great Councils and Parliaments of this Realm, from the XLIX. of King Henry the IIIrd until these present Times. With Catalogues of such Noblemen as have been summoned to Parliament in right of their Wives, and of such other Noblemen as derive their Titles of Honour from the Heirs-Female from whom they are descended; and of such Noblemens eldest sons as have been summoned to Parliament by some of their Fathers Titles. Extracted from publick Records.' Lond. 1685, fol. He writ some other things, which were never published [O]. His Collections of Materials for his Antiquities of Warwickshire, and Baronage of England, all written with his own hand, being twenty-seven volumes in folio, he gave by Will to the university of Oxford; together with sixteen other volumes, some of his own hand-writing; and they are now preserved in Ashmole's Musæum. He gave likewise several books to the Office of Heralds in London, and procured many more for the same (r) [P]. At length this most industrious person contracting a great cold at Blythe-Hall, died of it in his chair, about one o'clock in the afternoon, Feb. 10, 1685-6, in the eighty-first year of his age. His body being conveyed to the parochial church of Shustoke abovementioned, was, on the 12th day of the same month, deposited in a stone coffin, lying in a little vault, which he had caused to be made under the north side of the chancel of the church there. Over that vault he had erected in his life-time an altar-tomb of free-stone; and had caused to be fixed in the wall above it, a tablet of white marble, whereon was engraved an epitaph made by himself [Q]. He had several children

[N] *The antient usage in bearing of such ensigns of honour as are called arms, &c.* To both the editions of this book are added, '1. An exact Alphabetical Catalogue of all the Shires, Cities, Burrough-towns, Cinque-ports in England; specifying the number of the Knights of the Shires, &c. 2. A true and perfect Catalogue of the Nobility of Scotland, &c. 3. A true and perfect Catalogue of the Nobility of Ireland, with a list of all the Shires, Cities, and Burroughs of Ireland, which make returns of Parliament, &c.' All three compiled by Charles Hatton, Esq; son of Christopher Lord Hatton (36).

(36) Wood, ib.

[O] *He writ some other things, which were never published.* Particularly, 'Historical accounts of the ancient Families of Hastings Earl of Huntingdon, and Maners Duke of Rutland. And, Genealogical Tables of the Kings and ancient Nobility of England; of the Kings and principal Nobility of Scotland; and of the other Kings of Christendom, and great Families of Germany.' He made, for his own use, *Indexes* to most of our English Historians, viz. Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, Roger de Hoveden, Henry of Huntingdon, Ethelward, Ingulphus, Thomas of Walsingham, &c. And also, in twenty-six thin folio's, *Indexes* to the sixty volumes of Collections from Records by Sir John Kniveton, in the Library of the late Lord Hatton: besides those to Leland's Itinerary, and Collectanea. Our author was likewise the chief promoter of the Saxon Dictionary by Mr William Somner, printed at Oxford in 1659 (37).

(37) Life, &c. p. xxiv.

[P] *He gave likewise several books to the Office of Heralds in London, and procured many more for the same.* Besides his Antiquities of Warwickshire, and the rest of his printed books, he gave thereto, One large volume MS. of the Arms and Monuments in the Cathedral of York, and divers other churches in that county, lively pricked with a pen (by Mr Gregory King then his Clerk, since Rouge-Dragon Pursuivant of Arms) and the epitaphs transcribed according to the very letter of

each: another MS. containing a transcript of three old visitations, which were not in the Heralds Office, viz. of Lancashire, in King Henry the VIIIth's time; Staffordshire in Queen Elizabeth's time; and Northumberland in the time of King James I. Another MS. marked L. 12. containing divers arms in colours of foreign Kings and Princes, British Kings, ancient English, Scottish, and Irish Nobility. &c. By his procurement also it was, that Tho. Povey, Esq; then one of the Masters of the Requests, gave to the said office, those MSS. containing copies and extracts from divers publick Records: and that the late Duke of Norfolk bestowed upon it, in 1678, several manuscript, as well as printed, books relating to History and Genealogy (38).

(38) Life, &c. above.

[Q] *Whereon was engraved an Epitaph made by himself.* Which is as follows.

M. S.  
WILLIELMI DUGDALE Equ.  
aur. Antiquitatum WARWIC. Comitatus  
Illustratoris;  
Qui per omnes  
Curia Heraldicæ gradus ascendens,  
in principalem Regem  
Armorum Anglicorum titulo GARTER  
tandem evectus est.  
UXOREM MARGERIAM  
IOH. HUNT BACH de SEWAL in Com. Staff.  
filiam duxit:  
e qua filios plures, ab hac luce  
in tenera ætate sublatos,  
IOHANNEM vero superstitem,  
filiasq; diversas suscepit.  
Diem obiit 10 Febr. A<sup>o</sup> MDCLXXXV (39).

(39) See his Itiq. of Warwickshire, 2d ed. Vol. 11. p. 15.

[R] He

dren [R] by his wife mentioned above, which died the 18th of December 1681, aged seventy-five, after they had been married almost fifty-nine years (s). Sir William Dugdale's character is sufficiently manifest from what hath been said of him in this article. However, we shall add the character given of him by Mr Wood (t). 'Had this indefatigable person sequestered himself from worldly troubles, and totally addicted himself to his studies, and had minded the publick more than his private concerns, the world might have justly enjoyed more of his lucubrations, and those more true and accurate than such as are already published, especially those in his latter days: Yet however what he hath done is prodigious, considering the great troubles that he had endured for his loyalty, and the cumbrances of this world that he had run through; and therefore his memory ought to be venerated, and had in everlasting remembrance, for those things which he hath already published, which otherwise might have perished and been eternally buried in oblivion.'

(t) She was buried in the same vault with him. Wood, ubi supra, col. 16.  
(r) Ubi supra, col. 17.

[R] He had several children.] Both sons, and daughters. One of his daughters, named Elizabeth, was married to the famous Elias Ashmole, Esq; All his sons died young, except JOHN, who was created Master of Arts at Oxford, on the 9th of September 1661, being then chief Gentleman in the chamber of Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England (40). October 26, 1675, he was appointed Windsor-Herald upon the resignation of his brother-in-law Elias Ashmole, Esq (41); and Norroy King of

Arms in the beginning of March 1685-6, about which time he was knighted by K. James II. He published 'A Catalogue of the Nobility of England, according to their respective Precedencies, as it was presented to his Majesty on New-years-day An. 1684.' To which is added 'The Blazon of their paternal Coats of Arms, and a List of the present Bishops.' Printed at London on a broad side of a large sheet of paper in 1685; and again, with additions, in 1690 (42). This Sir John Dugdale died Aug. 31, 1700.

(42) Wood, *ibid.* C.

DUPPA (a) (BRIAN) successively Bishop of Chichester, Salisbury, and Winchester, in the XVIIth century, was born at Lewisham in Kent [A] March 10, 1588-9 (b). He was educated in Westminster school in the quality of a King's scholar; and learned Hebrew of Dr Lancelot Andrews, then Dean of that church. From thence he was elected student of Christ-Church Oxon. in May 1605 (c). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 6, 1609 (d). In 1612 he was elected Fellow of All-Souls-college (e); and the 28th of May 1614, took the degree of Master of Arts (f). Afterwards he went into Holy Orders; and travelled abroad, particularly into France and Spain (g). In 1619 he was unanimously chosen one of the Proctors of the university; in which office he acquitted himself well, being an excellent Scholar, and a genteel and discreet person (h). On the 1st of July 1625, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (i); at which time he was Chaplain to the Prince Palatine. He was also Chaplain to Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Dorset, by whose interest and recommendation to the King, he was appointed Dean of Christ's-Church in Oxford, June 30, 1629, and installed the 28th of November following (k). To this church and college he was a great benefactor [B]. In 1632 and 1633, he was Vice-Chancellor of the university of Oxford (l), which office he discharged with great moderation and prudence. Being constituted, in 1634, Chancellor of the church of Sarum, he was collated thereto the 19th of June (m). Soon after, he was made Chaplain to King Charles I, and appointed, in 1638 (n), Tutor to Charles Prince of Wales, and afterwards to his brother the Duke of York (o): which proved his future happiness, being then accounted by all a most excellent man. On the 19th of May 1638, he was presented to the rectory of Petworth in Sussex (p); and, about the same time, nominated to the bishoprick of Chichester. He had restitution of the temporalities the 12th of June (q), and was consecrated the 17th of the same month (r). In the year 1641, he was translated to the See of Salisbury, but received no benefit from it, on account of the ensuing confusions (s). Upon the suppression of Episcopacy, he went and waited on the King and Prince at Oxford, where he continued some time. After the surrendering of that city, he attended his Majesty (to whom he was a great favourite) in other places; particularly during his imprisonment in the Isle of Wight (\*) [C]: and is said by some, to have assisted him in composing his *Pourtraiture* (t) [D]. 'Tis certain, the King intrusted him with matters of the greatest moment

(m) J. Le Neve, *Fast.*, &c. Lond. 1716, fol. p. 269.

(n) Genealogical History of the Kings of England, &c. by F. Sandford and Stebbing, Lond. 1707, p. 612.

(o) W. Richardson, &c. ubi supra.

(p) Wood, *Ath.* ubi supra, col. 270. He supposes that Dr Duppa kept it for some time in commendam with his See.

(q) J. Le Neve, as above, p. 59. Pat. 14 Car. I. p. 19.

(r) G. Richardson, ubi supra, p. 515.

(s) *Ibid.* p. 358.

(\*) Wood, ubi supra.

(t) See Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, p. 652, 774.

(40) Wood, *Fast.*, Vol. II. col. 143, 144.

(41) Memoirs of the Life of El. Ashmole, Esq; &c. published by Ch. Burman. Lond. 1717, 12mo, p. 54.

(a) Or *de U-* *phauzb.* Wood, *Athen.* edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 269.

(b) *Anno Domini* 1588 *excunte* as it is in his epigraph.

(c) Wood, ubi supra.

(d) *Id.* *Fast.*, Vol. I. col. 183.

(e) *Id.* *Athen.* ubi supra.

(f) *Id.* *Fast.*, col. 196.

(g) *Athen.* ubi supra. & Cl. Gul. Richardson's *Continuatio Fr. Godwini de Præfatis.* Cant. 1742, p. 243.

(h) Wood, *Ath.* ubi supra.

(i) *Id.* *Fast.*, Vol. I. col. 232.

(l) Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. ii. p. 236.

(m) *Id.* *Fast.*, Vol. I. col. 254, 256.

(1) See Wood, *Ath.* ubi supra, col. 269, 271. & *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 183.

(2) Page 598.

[A] Was born at Lewisham in Kent ] Most authors affirm, that he was born at Greenwich; and so it is in his epitaph, which may have occasioned this general mistake. But the Bishop himself says in his Will, that he was born at Lewisham; of which place his father, Jeffry Duppa, was then vicar (1). Mr Wood, in his *Historia & Antiquitates Univ. Oxon.* rightly affirms, that it was at Lewisham; (though he says otherwise in his *Athense*;) And so doth likewise David Lloyd, in his *Memoirs of the Lives, Actions, &c. of those noble, reverend, and excellent personages that suffered by death, sequestration, &c. in our late intestine wars* (2).  
[B] To this church and college he was a great benefactor.] He began wainscoting the choir, and paving the cathedral, and glazing the windows with painted glass: All which were finished by his successor,

Dr Samuel Fell (3). He also bequeathed thereto, at his death, a handsome legacy, as will be shown afterwards.  
[C] Particularly during his imprisonment in the Isle of Wight ] The distressed King used to say, That his confinement was much relieved by the good Bishop's conversation (4).  
[D] And is said by some to have assisted him in composing his *Pourtraiture*.] That is, 'Εὐχὰν βασιλεῦς. The *Pourtraiture* of his Sacred Majesty, in his 'solitudes and sufferings.' One author supposes (5), that Dr Gauden, the publisher of that book, 'prevailed with Bishop Duppa to give him one chapter: but is not positive in that point. However, the Bishop is 'thought by many to have been privy to the composing of it (6).'

(3) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. II. p. 408, 441.

(4) History of the Church of Westminster, &c. by Mr Dart, fol. Vol. II. p. 10.

(5) Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. as above, p. 774.

(6) See Dr J. Barwick's Life, Engl. edit. 8vo. 1724, Appendix, p. 366.

[E] He

moment and concern, especially in supplying the vacant bishopricks; and he was continued in the same trust under King Charles II, during the Usurpation (*u*). After the barbarous death of his gracious Master, our worthy Bishop retired to Richmond in Surrey, where he spent most of his time in great devotion and solitude till the Restoration of his royal pupil King Charles II. Then his past services and sufferings were not forgotten. For he was translated to the rich bishopric of Winchester [*E*], to which he was elected September 10, 1660, and confirmed the 4th of October following. He was also made

Lord Almoner (*w*). In the beginning of the same year, before his translation, he was appointed one of the Visitors of the university of Oxford, to put out those, who had been thrust into the places of the ejected Masters and Fellows, during the times of confusion (*x*). About the year 1661, he began an hospital at Richmond, which he tolerably well endowed [*F*]. He had designed some other works of piety and charity, but was prevented by death: for he enjoyed his new dignity little more than a year and a half. He died at Richmond March 26, 1662, aged 73 years and sixteen days (*y*). A few hours before he expired, King Charles II honoured him with a visit, and kneeling down by the bed side begged his blessing, which the Bishop, with one hand on his Majesty's head, and the other lifted up to Heaven, gave with a most passionate zeal (*z*). After his body had lain some time in state at York-House in the Strand, it was decently conveyed thence, the 24th of April following, to the abbey-church of Westminster, where it was buried on the north side of King Edward the Confessor's chapel (*a*). Soon after a large marble-stone was laid over his grave; and a monument, with an inscription, erected to his memory [*G*]. By his Will, he bequeathed several sums to charitable uses [*H*]. He died as he lived, honoured and beloved of all that knew him, being a person of such exemplary piety, eminent candor, humility and meekness; and of so clear a character, that he left not the least spot upon his life or function (*b*). Moreover, he was a man of excellent parts, a very good Preacher, and an ornament to his profession, not only by the qualifications of his mind, but also by the comeliness of his person, and gracefulness of his deportment, which rendered him worthy the service of a Court, and every way fit to stand before Princes (*c*). He wrote a few things, of which we shall give an account in the note [*I*].

(*u*) Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Waller, Lond. 1714, P. ii. p. 62.

(*w*) G. Richardson, ut supra, p. 243.

Wood, as above, and J. Le Neve, ubi supra, p. 288. He was then in the 72d year of his age.

(*x*) Bishop Kennet, as above, p. 220.

(*y*) Wood, as above, col. 270, 271.

(*z*) Bishop King's Sermon at the Funeral of Bishop Duppa, Lond. 1662, 4to.

(*a*) Wood, ubi supra; and The Antiquities of St Peter's Westminster, &c. by J. Crull, edit. 1715, 8vo, p. 201, &c.

(*b*) Wood, ubi supra. See also Bishop King's Funeral Sermon on Bishop Duppa.

(*c*) Ibid.

[*E*] He was translated to the rich bishopric of Winchester.] 'To the great joy and comfort, as Mr Wood observes (7), of many Lords and Gentlemen, as well as the clergy, who all had a deep sense and memory of his prudence and piety, owing to him a lasting tribute, for his great example of virtue and godliness, &c.'

[*F*] About the year 1661, he began an hospital at Richmond, which he tolerably well endowed.] For the endowment of it, he purchased land in Sheperton in Middlesex, of Dr Bates, for fifteen hundred and forty pounds, which he settled for the maintenance of the poor people placed in that hospital, or almshouse; but the ground whereon that almshouse was built, not being settled at the time of his decease, by reason of the death of the person intrusted, he directed his executors, in his will, to purchase that ground, and cause it to be settled for ever according to his intent (8). This almshouse is of brick, and stands on the hill above Richmond; being the effect of a vow made by the founder, in the time of King Charles the Second's exile.—On the gate is this inscription.

'I will pay the vows which I made to God in my trouble.'

*In memoriam auspiciatissimi*

*Reditus*

*Caroli secundi ad suos*

*Hoc Ptochotrophium*

*Ad honorem Dei & Levamen Pauperum,*

*Extrui curavit*

*B. D. E. Winton*

*Regi*

*Ab Eleemosynis*

*Anno Domini*

1661.

In it are ten poor widows, who are allowed twenty-pence a week a-piece, and twenty shillings to buy coals, and a gown once in two years. The minister and churchwardens are overseers of it. But the poor widows, being alms-women, are not to have any benefit from the parish, and so live in a very mean condition (9). The Bishop had a more than ordinary affection for Richmond, because he had privately resided there several years during the times of confusion, and especially because he had educated the Prince in that place (10).

(9) The Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey, by J. Aubrey, Esq; Vol. I. p. 59, 60.

(10) Wood, ubi supra, col. 271.

[*G*] A large marble stone was laid over his grave; and a monument, &c.] The stone over his grave, is of black marble, nine foot nine inches in length, and five foot two inches in breadth; on which are engraved only these Latin words: *Hic jacet Brianus Winton.*

[*H*] By his Will he bequeathed several sums to charitable uses.] Particularly, lands in Pembridge in Herefordshire, which cost 250l. settled upon an almshouse there begun by his father. Five hundred pounds directed to be paid to the Bishop of Sarum, to be bestowed upon an organ in that church, or such other use as the Bishop shall think fittest. Five hundred pounds to the Dean and Chapter of Christ-Church in Oxford, towards the new buildings. Two hundred pounds to be bestowed on the cathedral church of Chichester, as the Bishop, and Dean and Chapter shall think fit. And to the cathedral church at Winchester, two hundred pounds. To the poor of Lewisham in Kent, where he was born, forty pounds. To the poor of Greenwich in Kent, forty pounds. To the poor of Westrham in Suffex, twenty pounds; and twenty pounds more to provide communion-plate for that parish, if they want it, otherwise that 20l. also to the poor. To the poor of Witham in Suffex, twenty pounds. Ten pounds per ann. for ten years, to William Watts, to encourage him to continue in his studies. To ten widows of clergymen 500l. i. e. fifty pounds a-piece. To ten loyal officers that were not yet provided for, 500l. i. e. fifty pounds a-piece. To All Souls College, Oxon. two hundred pounds. By a codicil he gave three hundred pounds to the repair of St Paul's cathedral in London, and, in several sums, to private friends and servants, above three thousand pounds, — &c. (11). So that the character given of him by Bishop Burnet (12), is neither kind, nor just. 'He had been, says he, the King's tutor, though no way fit for that post, but he was a meek and humble man, and much loved for the sweetness of his temper; and would have been more esteemed, if he had died before the Restoration, for he made not the use of the great wealth that flowed in upon him, that was expelled.' It must be remembered, that Bishop Burnet seldom or never speaks well of any of his order.

[*I*] He wrote a few things, &c.] Namely, 1. 'The Soul's Soliloquie, and Conference with Conscience.' A Sermon before King Charles I, at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, on the 25th of October, being the monthly fast, on Psalm xlii. 5. Lond. 1648, 4to. 2. 'Angels rejoicing for Sinners repenting,' a sermon on Luke xv. 10. Lond. 1648. 4to. 3. 'A Guide for

(*b*) Wood, ubi supra. See also Bishop King's Funeral Sermon on Bishop Duppa.

(*c*) Ibid.

(11) From his Will.

(12) Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. p. 177.

\* for the Penitent: Or, a model drawn up for the help of a devout soul wounded with sin. Lond. 1660; Svo. and 12mo. 4. Holy Rules and Helps to Devotion, both in prayer and practice, in two parts. Lond. 1674, 12mo. with the author's picture in the

beginning. Published by Benj. Parry of Corpus Christi College, Oxon. (15). The life of Archbishop Spotswood is likewise said by some to have been written by our author: but Mr Wood justly observes, that could not be, because it was written by a native of Scotland. C

DUREL (JOHN) a learned Divine in the XVIIth century, who wrote several pieces in vindication of the Church of England, was born at St Helier's [A] in the Isle of Jersey, in the year 1625 (a). About the end of the year 1640, he was entered a Student of Merton college in Oxford; but when that city came to be garrisoned for King Charles I, and the seat of the Muses was turned into a seat of war, Mr Durel, after a stay of two years there, retired into France: and having studied for some time at Caen in Normandy, took the degree of Master of Arts, in the Sylvania college of that place, on the 8th of July 1644 (b). Then he applied himself to the study of Divinity, and assiduously pursued it above two years, at Saumur, under the famous Moses Amyrault (c) Divinity Reader in that Protestant university. In the year 1647 he returned into his native country, and continued there for some time among his relations (d). But after the reduction of that island by the Parliament-forces in 1651, having been concerned in the defence of it for the King (e), he was forced to withdraw, or rather expelled, from thence. Whereupon he withdrew to Paris, and received Episcopal Ordination in the chapel of Sir Richard Browne, Knt. then his Majesty's (f) Resident in France, from the hands of Thomas Bishop of Galloway, translated after the King's Restoration to Orkney [B]. Not finding any employment in or about Paris, he came to St Malo's; and had no sooner acquainted his friends with the condition he was in, but the Reformed Church of Caen invited him very kindly, by an express, to come and be one of their Ministers, in the absence of the most learned Samuel Bochart [C], who was going into Sweden. Not long after, the Landgrave of Hesse having written to the Ministers of Paris, to send him a Minister to preach in French at his Highness's Court, he was by them recommended to that Prince, of whom likewise he received a very kind invitation by several letters (g). But not thinking fit to accept of either of those places [D], he chose to be Chaplain to the Duke De la Force, father to the Princess of Turenne; in which station he continued above eight years (h). Upon the Restoration of King Charles II he came over to England, and was very instrumental in setting up the new Episcopal French church at the Savoy in London [E], wherein he officiated first on Sunday 14 July 1661, and continued

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vols. II. col. 731.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Or Amyrault, as his name is latinized. He was a learned Divine, and author of several good books. See our author's View of the Government, &c. in the Reformed Churches, p. 149.

(d) Wood, uli supra.

(e) See Casarea, or Account of Jersey, &c. by P. Falle, 2d edit. 1734, 8vo, p. 119.

(f) K. Charles II.

(g) See A View of the Government and Publick Worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, &c. by our author, J. Durel. Lond. 1662, 4to, p. 93, 94.

(h) Ibid. p. 17, 94, 77.

[A] Was born at St Helier's.] The chief town in the island; so named from Helierus, a pious hermit, martyred there: and not from Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, who never was in the island, or had any relation thereto (1). Therefore, the right name of that town is not St Hilary, as it is called by A. Wood, Camden, and many other writers, but St Helier. . .

[B] And received Episcopal Ordination — from the hands of Thomas Bishop of Galloway, &c.] Being a native of Jersey, ordained in France, and by a Scotch Bishop, that made a certain writer (2) doubt, whether he was Ecclesie Anglicanae Presbyter, a Presbyter of the Church of England, as he styles himself in his Vindication, &c. But that author showed therein both his ignorance and malice: for the inhabitants of Jersey being true and faithful members of the Church of England, any one of them that had received episcopal ordination, might justly call himself a Presbyter of the Church of England.

[C] The most learned Samuel Bochart.] Author of Canaan, Phaleg, Hierozoicon, and other excellent books, intended for the explanation of the holy Scriptures; wherein he shews a prodigious skill in the Oriental, and other languages, and a fund of good sense and exquisite judgment. He was invited about the year 1651 to Sweden, by Queen Christina.

[D] But not thinking fit to accept of either of those places.] He tells us, That 'the providence of God did not permit him to go to either of these places' whither he was invited (3), but assigns no other particular reason.

[E] And was very instrumental in setting up the new Episcopal French church at the Savoy in London.] We have a full account, in one of his books (4), of the origin and foundation of that episcopal church, which we shall give in his own words. 'About twenty years since (5) the Duke of Soubize, living near the Court, and finding it troublesome, and sometimes impossible for him, by reason of his infirmities, to go to church as far as Threadneedle-street, where the Walloons have their church, he had commonly a French sermon preached before him in his own house every Sunday. Thither the French, who live in those

parts, did usually resort, to save themselves the labour and toil of going up so great a way into the city. This they found so commodious, that after the Duke was dead, they resolved to set up a French church about the Strand, and wholly to leave going to that of the city, except such men as continued to pay their usual stipend (as some there were that did) towards the maintenance of their ministers, and others sometimes upon occasion. But this notwithstanding, those of London so highly resented the erecting of that new church, that ever since they endeavoured by all means possible to pull it down. Their last assault against it, was after the Restoration of King Charles II; — when they made their addressees to his Majesty, to have the French congregation at Westminster (for so it was called, as being within the liberties thereof) broken, and forbidden ever to assemble any more; giving for reason of this their humble petition, That the said congregation was not established by any lawful authority, and that by their privilege, all those of the French language, wheresoever they lived, in either of the cities of London or Westminster, have but one only place, where they are permitted to assemble for the publick worship of God in their own tongue. They of Westminster, to keep up their congregation, presented their humble suit to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to consider, what trouble and toil it would be for them, especially such as had great families and young children, to go every Sunday to church at such a distance. The King, all things considered, found out a way to grant them both their requests; by breaking the French congregation of Westminster, according to the desire of those of the Walloons congregation of London, as being established indeed without any lawful authority; and by setting up a new church under the immediate jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, wherein divine service should be performed in French, according to the book of Common-prayer; his Majesty being pleased to provide for the maintenance of a minister, to be therein a constant preacher; and leaving it to every one's liberty to join with those of the old Walloons congregation

(1) Account of Jersey, &c. as above, p. 9, 10.

(2) The author of The Nonconformists vindicated from the abuse put upon them by Mr Durel and Mr Scrivener. Supposed to be H. Hickman, Lond. 1679, 8vo.

(3) View of the Government and Publick Worship of God, &c. as above, p. 94.

(4) Ibid. p. 73.

(5) i. e. about the year 1640.

(i) Ibid. p. 73.  
& Wood, ubi supra, col. 732.

(k) Wood, ibid.

(l) Antiquit. of Berkshire, by El. Ashmole, Esq; Vol. III. edit. 1718, p. 276.

(m) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. I. edit. 1727, p. 267.

(n) Wood, ubi supra.

(o) Wood, Fasti. Vol. II. col. 180.

(p) Antiquit. of Berkshire, ubi supra, p. 242.

(q) From private information of a friend who knew him.

(r) From the same information.

(s) Ubi supra.

nued to officiate there for some years after, with great liking and applause (i). In April 1663, he was made Prebendary of North Aulton in the cathedral church of Salisbury, being then Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty (k); and, the 11th of February following, succeeded Dr Hawles in a canonry of Windsor (l). On the 1st of July 1668, he was installed into the fourth prebend of Durham (m), and had a rich donative conferred on him (n). The 28th of February 1669-70, he was actually created Doctor in Divinity (o), by virtue of the Chancellor's letters [F]. In 1677 King Charles II gave him the deanery of Windsor, vacant by the death of Dr Bruno Ryves, into which he was installed July 27 (p). He had also the great living of Witney in Oxfordshire conferred on him (q). All which preferments he obtained, partly through his own qualifications; being not only a good Scholar, but also 'a perfect Courtier, skilful in the arts of getting into the favour of great men;' and partly through his great interest with King Charles II, to whom he was personally known both in Jersey and France (r). Mr Wood thinks (s), that had he lived some years longer, he would undoubtedly have been promoted to a bishopric. He published several things [G]; and among the rest, 'I. The Liturgy of the Church of England asserted, in a Sermon, preached [in French] at the Chappel of the Savoy, before the French Congregation, which usually assembles in that place, upon the first day that divine service was there celebrated according to the Liturgy of the Church of England.' Translated into English by G. B. Doctor in Physick. Lond. 1662, 4to. II. 'A View of the Government and publick Worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas. Wherein is shewed their Conformity and Agreement with the Church of England, as it is established by the Act of Uniformity.' Lond. 1662, 4to [H]. Exceptions having been made to this book by the Nonconformists [I], our author published, III. *A Vindication of the Church of England against the unjust and impudent accusations of the Schismatics;* Lond. 1669, 4to [K]. He died June 8, 1683, and was buried, the 12th day of the same month

'gation of London, or to become members of the new French church of Westminster, which was likewise permitted by his Majesty's letter, to add to that Minister, for whom his Majesty was to provide, as many others, as by them should be thought convenient, provided the said ministers be presented to the Bishop of London for the time being, to be by him instituted.'

[F] *By virtue of the Chancellor's Letters* Wherein, among other commendations of him, his Lordship (6), said; 'his fame was so well known to them [i. e. the University] especially for the great pains he had taken in the Church, that he could hardly propose to them any thing in his behalf, in which they would not be willing to prevent him.— Adding—that 'of his parts and learning they were better judges than himself, but had not so much experience of his loyalty, fidelity and service to his Majesty as himself, &c (7).'

[G] *He published several things.* Namely, besides those mentioned above, these few following. 1. *Theoremata Philosophiæ rationalis, moralis, naturalis, & supernaturalis, quorum veritatem tueri conabitur in Coll. Sylvano Acad. Cadomensis, &c.* 8 Jul. 1644. Cadom. 1644. 4to. They were the Theses he maintained in the University of Caen, when he took his Master of Arts degree. 2. He published, a French, and Latin, Translation of the Common-prayer-book, upon the review of it at the Restoration: 3. The whole Duty of Man, translated into French; said to be by the Doctor's Lady, but very probably with his assistance (8). 4. He intended to publish a collection of the several Liturgies of all the Protestant Churches; but never did (9).

[H] *A view of the Government and publick worship of God in the Reformed Churches, &c.* In this book, the learned Author puts the Controversy between the established Church of England and the Dissenters upon its right foot. For, the Presbyterians having given out, 'That the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, were as much averse to the Government and publick Worship of God in the Church of England as themselves,' He shews, in Sect 1, the conformity of the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas with the Reformed Church of England, in these particulars. Because; those Churches that follow the Confession of Augsburg, have the same Ceremonies with the Church of England; have subordination of Pastors, and in some Bishops and Archbishops, both name and thing; set Forms of Prayers; Holy-days, and Fast-days; magnificent Churches, Organs, Surplice, Church-Ornaments, Cross in Baptism, receiving the Communion kneeling, &c. All which he confirms by quotations

from authentick writers, and by letters sent to him by the Ministers of most of the Reformed Congregations in the several parts of France. In Sect II. He maintains, that in those things, in which some Reformed Churches beyond the Seas differ from the Reformed Church of England, they do not pretend they should rather conform to them, than they to her, and that they never desired the abolition of our Church-government, or of our Book of Common-prayer, but that they approve of both, and wish we may ever enjoy the benefit of both in peace and quietness.— At the end, there is an Appendix, containing, among other things, the Preface to the *Agenda*, or Form of Prayer used in the Churches of Poland and Lithuania. And a letter of Dr Peter Du Moulin, wherein he informs our Author, that in 1651, Archbishop Usher told him, David Blondel had concluded his *Apologia pro Hieronymi sententia*, (i. e. his book in favour of Presbytery) with words to this purpose. 'By all that we have said to assert the rights of the Presbytery, we do not intend to invalidate the antient and Apostolical Constitution of Episcopal Preeminence. But we believe that wheresoever it is established conformably to the antient Canons it must be carefully preserved, and wheresoever, by some heat of contention or otherwise, it hath been put down or violated, it ought to be reverently restored.' But that book having been written at the earnest request of the Assembly of Westminster, of the Scots especially, who had their Agents at Paris to strengthen their party by misinforming the Protestants of France, and winning them to their side: when these Agents saw this conclusion of Mr Blondel's manuscript, they expostulated with him very loud for marring all the good he had done in his book, and never left importuning him, till they had prevailed upon him to put out that conclusion.

[I] *Exceptions having been made to this by the Nonconformists.* Particularly in a book entituled, *Apologia pro Ministris in Anglia (vulgo) Nonconformistis.* Anno 1662. Aug. 24. *Die Bartholomæo diserto, ejusdem Adversus argutiolas, putidasque calumnias, Durelli, Ellisi, aliorumque. Per Irenæum Eleutherium A. M. ex Acad. Cantab. i. e.* 'An Apology for the Nonconformist Ministers in England, ejected Aug. 24. 1662. against the little subtilties and stinking calumnies of Durell, Ellis, &c.' In which Mr Durell is treated with great contempt, and called many hard names. The Author of it was Henry Hickman (10); and it was visibly printed beyond Sea.

[K] *A Vindication of the Church of England, &c.* The Apology having been written in Latin, our Author published this his vindication in the same language, under this title, *Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ adversus*

(6) James Duke of Ormond.

(7) Wood, ubi supra.

(8) Wood, ubi supra; and from private information.

See also our author's *View of the Government and Publick Worship of God, &c.* as above, p. 187.

(9) View of the Government, &c. p. 14.

(10) Wood, ubi supra, col. 733, 895.

month, about the middle of the north aisle joining to the choir of the collegiate chapel at Windfor, in a small brick vault: over which, a flat black marble stone was soon after laid (t), with a short inscription [L]. Mr Wood gives the following character of him: (r) Wood, ubi supra, col. 735.

‘ He was a person of unbiassed and fixed principles, untainted and steady loyalty, as constantly adhering to the sinking cause and interest of his Sovereign in the worst of times; who dared with an unshaken and undaunted resolution to stand up and maintain the honour and dignity of the English Church, when she was in her lowest and deplorable condition. He was very well versed also in all the controversies on foot between the Church and the Disciplinary party; the justness and reasonableness of the established constitutions of the former, no one of late years hath more plainly manifested, or with greater learning more successfully defended against its most zealous modern oppugners than he hath done, as by his works is manifest (u).’ The same author calls him elsewhere (w), ‘ the judicious and laborious advocate for the Church of England, both in word and in deed.’ Other writers have also spoken in his praise, and even his antagonist Dr Lewis Du Moulin, commends him for his civility and candour, and the smoothness and beauty of his language (x).

(r) Wood, ubi supra, col. 735.

(u) Ib. col. 732.

(w) Fasti, Vol. II. col. 120.

(x) In familiari progressu vir civilis ingenio, ore probo, pectore niveo, oratione profluente, & lenocinante. Patronus bonæ fidei, &c. p. 1.

*versus iniquas atque inverecundas Schismaticorum Criminationes, Vindiciæ.* The Presbyterians taking great offence at it, published these answers, ‘ 1<sup>o</sup> Bonasus (11) *Vapulans*: or some castigations given to Mr John Durell for fowling himself and others in his English and Latin book.’ Lond. 1672. 8vo. reprinted in 1679 under this title, ‘ The Nonconformists vindicated from the abuses put upon them by Mr Durell and Mr Scrivner.’ 2. Dr Lewis Du Moulin published also this answer thereto, *Patronus bonæ fidei, in causa Puritanorum, contra Hierarchas Angles: ut disceptatur in specimine consutationis vindiciarum clariss. Viri Joh. Durelli, cujus periculum fit, cum passim in ejus opere, tum maxime in capite pri-*

*mo, in quo agitur de authoribus nuperorum motuum in Anglia.* Lond. 1672. 8vo.

[L] With a short inscription.] As follows,

Johannes Durell S. Tb. D.  
Windsoriensis Sacelli Decanus, hic  
jacet, beatam expectans Resurrectionem,  
obijt Ann. Ætatis 58. A. Chr. Nat. 1683.  
8 Id. Jun.

i. e. Here lieth John Durell, D. D. Dean of Windfor, waiting for a happy Resurrection, he died June 8. 1683. in the 58th year of his age. C

DYER (Sir JAMES) an eminent Lawyer, a worthy Patriot, and Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the second son of Richard Dyer, of Wymaulton in Somersetshire, Esq; in which county this worthy person was born, at his father's seat of Roundhill (a), in the beginning of the XVIth century, as there is good reason to believe, in 1511 (b). He received part of his education at Broadgate-Hall, in the university of Oxford (c), where he was entered a Gentleman-Commoner; and removed from thence without taking a degree, as being intended for the study of the Law, to the Middle-Temple, London. In that learned society he very soon became remarkable, as well for the quickness of his parts, as for his extream diligence in his profession; and after having continued for some time in the degree of Barrister, he was elected summer reader of that house, in the sixth year of the reign of King Edward VI (d). He was by the King's writ, bearing date 19th of May, 1552, called to the degree of a Serjeant at Law (e), and was also Speaker of the House of Commons, in the parliament which met the first of March the same year (f). On the 19th of October, 1553, he was, together with William Standford, made one of the Queen's Serjeants at Law (g). In this station, he assisted with the gentleman beforementioned, at the trial of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Knt. at the Guild-hall of London, for high-treason, April 17, 1554 (h), at which time his colleague, Serjeant Standford, behaved with great warmth and bitterness against the prisoner; but Serjeant Dyer took very little or no share in that prosecution, which certainly does honour to his memory, as that prosecution did none at all to the Crown, or to those who managed it (i). On the 8th of May, 1556, being then a Knight and Recorder of Cambridge, as well as one of the Queen's Serjeants, he was constituted one of the Justices of the Common-Pleas (k), and must therefore be the person mentioned by the Reverend Mr Strype (l), though he is strangely mistaken as to his title [A]. April the 23d, 1557, he was removed to the King's-Bench (m), and sat as a Puisne Judge there, during the remainder of Queen Mary's reign. In the beginning of that of Queen Elizabeth, viz. November the 13th, 1559, he was again made one

(a) Fuller's Worthies, Somersetshire, p. 25.

(b) From an original picture.

(c) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Tom. I. col. 210.

(d) E. Regist. Hospic. med. Templ.

(e) Chron. Jurid. p. 163.

(f) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 210.

(g) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 351.

(h) Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II.

(i) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 63.

(k) Spelman, Glof. far. p. 344.

(l) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 390.

(m) Chron. Jurid. p. 165.

[A] Is strangely mistaken as to his title.] It may be easily conceived, that so wise a man, and so great a lawyer, as Sir James Dyer, should perfectly understand the constitution of the Church; and without entering at all into the violences of parties, be willing to lay hold of any opportunity of doing a thing which he thought right in itself, whatever turn things might take, or which Church soever prevailed. We are therefore, obliged to Mr Strype, for setting down, and thereby preserving, the memorial of the just and pious act done, by this learned and upright lawyer, though he seems, through some mistake, to be willing to attribute it to another of the same name; but as there was no such person, and as all the circumstances of this fact perfectly agree with our Chief Justice's character and situation, there can be no doubt that he was

the man. The story, as related by Mr Strype, runs thus (1). ‘ I shall insert into this history one particular matter, which how little soever it may be thought, yet because of the strangeness and rarity of it may deserve to be recorded. It was the deappropriation of an impropriation, in the diocese of Bath and Wells; which was restored back to the Church, by Dyer, Lord Chief Justice, in the reign of King Philip and Queen Mary; and by James Dyer, and his heirs for ever, made presentative, or presentable lawfully, and by royal authority. It was the church of Staplegrove juxta Taunton. And James Dyer, Knight, and Capital Justiciar of the Bench, presented Chr. Dyring thereunto, Sept. 17, 1575, void by the death of Walter Gardiner.’

(1) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 390.

(11) A wild beast like a bull, which when pursued by the hunters, lets fly his ordure plentifully in their faces.

of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, but he did not long continue in that station, for Sir Anthony Brown, who presided in that court, in the reign of Queen Mary, and who had remained in that post in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, being inflexible in his adherence to the Romish Communion, it was not thought proper to leave him any longer in so high an office (*n*), though in all other respects, he was a most worthy person; neither indeed did himself desire it, but rather chose to serve in a less distinguished place; and therefore, on the 22d of January following, the Queen was pleased to constitute and appoint Sir James Dyer, Knt. Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas (*o*); and the very same day, Sir Anthony Brown was made one of the Judges of the same court, in the room of Sir James Dyer (*p*). In this high office, few have served with greater reputation during their lives, or left a greater character behind them, either in point of probity or sufficiency (*q*). In 1572, he assisted at the trial of Thomas Duke of Norfolk; and upon the Duke's desiring to have counsel allowed him, alledging it was no more than had been granted to Humphry Stafford, in the reign of Henry VII; Sir James Dyer answered, that it was true, but that it was to a point of Law, *viz.* whether he was legally taken out of sanctuary or not; but that as to point of fact, he neither had, nor could have, counsel, as the law stood (*r*). He continued in his office without the least diminution, either of his own reputation, or the Queen's favour, twenty-four years, which is longer than any who sat, either before or after (*s*). At length, full of years, and in the just esteem of all good men, he paid his last debt to nature, at Stowton in Huntingdonshire, where he had purchased an estate, March 24, 1581, in the seventieth year of his age, and was buried in the parish church there, on the ninth of April following (*t*). Of his family we shall give the reader some account in the notes [B]. He was the author of a large book of reports, printed about twenty years after his decease, and which have been highly esteemed for their succinctness and solidity. He left behind him also, some other writings, relative to his profession, of all which, the reader will meet with a more full account, at the bottom of the page [C]. By these, in conjunction with the services he rendered his country

(*n*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 152.

(*o*) Spelman Gloss. P. 344.

(*p*) Chron. Jurid. P. 167.

(*q*) Tanner, Bibl. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 242.

(*r*) State Tryals, Vol. I. p. 86.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies, Somersetsh. P. 25.

(*t*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 211.

[B] *In the notes.*] This worthy Judge married Margaret, daughter of Sir Maurice Abarrow, of Hampshire, Knt. which Lady, at the time of his marriage with her, was the widow of Sir Thomas Elliot, of Carlton in Cambridgeshire, Knt. and deceased August 25, 1569, without having any issue by her second husband (*2*); so that a large estate, which our Sir James Dyer purchased in Huntingdonshire, came after his decease, to his nephew, Richard Dyer, son to his brother, Lawrence Dyer, whose descendant was raised to the degree of a Baronet (*3*), by letters patent, dated June 8, 1627, and is therein stiled of Stowton in Huntingdonshire, but that honour is now extinct.

(*2*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 211.

(*3*) Baronetage of England, Vol. V. p. 272.

[C] *At the bottom of the page.*] The first edition of our author's Reports was printed in 1601, again in 1606, in 4to. in 1621, in folio, in 1672, in folio; but the best edition is in 1688, and bears the following title, literally translated from the French.

*Reports of several select matters and resolutions, of the reverend judges and sages of the law, touching and concerning many principal points, debated by them in the several reigns of the most high and potent Princes, the Kings Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, and the Queens Mary and Elizabeth, collected and reported by that most reverend Judge, Sir James Dyer, Knt. heretofore Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; to which are now added, many thousand references to other books of the Common Law, as well antient as modern, besides a great number of cases that were never before printed, with three Tables, the first, containing the principal matters in the said book; the second, the names of all the cases reported therein; and the third, the names of the new cases added in the margin.*

That learned and worthy Judge, Sir Edward Coke, gives us the following short and clear account, of the progress of Reports, and of the characters of their authors, to his own time (*4*). 'Right profitable also, are the antient books of the Common Laws yet extant, as Glanvil, Bracton, Britton, Fleta, Ingham, and Nova Narrationes, and those also of later times, as the old Tenures, old Natura Brevium, Littleton, Doctor and Student, Perkins, Fitzh. Nat. Br. and Stamford, of which the register Littleton, Fitzherbert, and Stamford, are most necessary, and of greatest authority and excellency; and yet the other also are not without their fruit. In reading of the cases in the books at large, which sometimes are obscure, and misprinted, if the reader, after the diligent reading of the case, shall observe how the

(*4*) Preface to the third part of his Reports.

case is abridged, in those two great abridgements of Justice Fitzherbert, and Sir Robert Brooke, it will both illustrate the case, and delight the reader; and yet neither that of Statham, nor that of the book of assizes, is to be rejected: and for pleading, the great book of Entries is of singular use and utility. To the former Reports, you may add the exquisite and elaborate commentaries at large of Master Plowden, a grave man, and singularly well learned; and the summary and fruitful observations of that famous and most reverend Judge and Sage of the Law, Sir James Dyer, Knt. late Chief Justice of the Court of Common-Pleas, and mine own simple labours: then have you fifteen books or treatises, and as many volumes of the Reports, besides the Abridgments of the Common Laws, for I speak not of the statutes and acts of parliament, whereof there be divers great volumes. And for that, it is hard for a man to report any part or branch, of any art or science, justly and truly, which he professeth not; and impossible to make a just and true relation of any thing that he understands not; I pray thee beware of Chronicle Law, reported in our Annals, for that will undoubtedly lead thee to error: for example, they say, that William the Conqueror decreed, that there should be Sheriffs in every shire, and Justices of Peace to keep the countries in quiet, and to see offenders punished; whereas the learned know, that Sheriffs were great officers, and ministers of justice, as now they are, long before the Conquest; and Justices of Peace had not their being until almost three hundred years after, *viz.* in the first year of Edward III. The learned and loyal Judge Jenkins, in his preface to his Reports, speaks also to this purpose (*5*). 'Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Sir William Stamford, Lord Broke, Lord Dyer, Sir George Croke, and Mr Edmund Plowden, all remarkably great men, have illustrated our Law by their learned writings. They who would effectually read our laws, must again and again turn over whatever is to be found concerning them, whether in printed books, or among our written records: but before they bestow their pains upon the more antient writings, because many things in them are grown obsolete, and gone into disuse; and many other points are distracted by variety of opinions; it is of importance to gentlemen, that as soon as they have acquired the rudiments of the Law, they should diligently collect and imprint on their minds, the solemn judgments and resolutions of the Judges, that they may raise their superstruc-

(*5*) Preface to his Centuries.

country upon the bench, he came fully up to the character which Camden has given him, of being ever distinguished by an equal and calm disposition, which rendered him in all cases, a most upright Judge, as his penetration made him a fit interpreter of the laws. ' Jacobus Dierus, in communi Placitorum Tribunali Justitarius primarius, qui animo ' semper placido & sereno, omnes Judicis æquissimi partes implevit, & Juris nostri pru-

(u) Annal. Eliz. P. 393.

' tures of knowledge upon well laid foundations, that they may not be forced to learn what they must un-

learn again.' Our author has also written. *A Reading upon the Statute of 32 Hen. VIII, cap. 1. of Wills; and, upon*

*the 34th and 35th Hen. VIII, cap. 5. for the explanation of the Statute, Lond. 1648, 4to.*

His reports were abridged by Sir Thomas Ireland, and by another person.

E

E.



EDMONDES (a), EDMONDS, or EDMUNDS, (Sir THOMAS) Knt. memorable for his embassies at several Courts, was born at Plymouth in Devonshire (b), about the year 1563 (c). He was the fifth and youngest son of Thomas Edmond, Head-customer of that port, and of Fowye in Cornwall, by Joan his wife, daughter of Antony Delabere, of Shirbourn in Dorsetshire, Esq; who was third son of Henry Edmond, of New Sarum, Gent. [A], by Juliana his wife, daughter of William Brandon, of the same place (d). Where he had his education is not known. But we are informed, that he was introduced to Court by his name-fake, Sir Thomas Edmonds [B], Comptroller of the Queen's Household (e): and being initiated into public business, under that most accomplished Statesman, Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State (f), he was, undoubtedly through his recommendation, employed by Queen Elizabeth in several embassies. In 1592, that wise and discerning Princess, appointed him her Resident at the Court of France, or rather Agent for her affairs in relation to King Henry IV, with a salary of twenty shillings a day (g) [C]. And on the 17th of May, 1596, made him a grant of the office of Secretary to her Majesty for the French tongue, ' in consideration of his faithful and acceptable service heretofore done (h). ' Towards the end of that year he returned to England, when Sir Antony Mildmay was sent Ambassador to King Henry; but he went back again to France, in the beginning of May following, and in less than a month returned to London (i) [D]. In October 1597, he

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid. and D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, 8vo, p. 962.

(f) Birch, ubi supra. Introd. p. 120. and Historical View, as above, p. 323.

(g) Introd. ibid. and View of the Negotiations as above, p. 11, 12, 13.

(h) Rymer, Vol. XVI. p. 290.

(i) View of the Negotiations, &c. as above, p. 47, 49, 50.

(a) So he generally writ his name, as appears from several Orders of Council in the author's possession.

(b) Mr Westcot, Descr. of Devon. in Pedig. Sir W. Pole, Statesmen of Devon. See Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 1701, p. 37.

(c) Historical View of the Negotiations between England, &c. upon the State-papers of Sir Thomas Edmonds, &c. T. Birch, Lond. 1749, p. 1 of Introd.

Introduction, above, p. xi.

Atb. Oxon. 1721, Vol. I. 472.

Worthies, ubi supra.

[A] Who was third son of Henry Edmond, of New Sarum, Gent.] Sir Thomas Edmond, as the Rev. Mr Birch observes (1), was descended in a good family, different branches of which settled in several counties: but the books in the Heralds-office are so defective in his pedigree, that it is not to be traced higher than his grand-father, Henry Edmond of New Sarum, abovementioned; who had three sons, Laurence, Henry, and Thomas, and three daughters.

[B] By his name-fake, Sir Thomas Edmonds.] Ant. Wood takes Sir Thomas Edmond, who is the subject of this article, to have been the son of this Sir Thomas Edmonds, and brother to Sir Clement Edmonds, translator of Cæsar's Commentaries (2). But Mr Prince assures us (3), that they had different coats of arms, and consequently were of two distinct families.

[C] With a salary of twenty shillings a day.] But this allowance was so ill paid, or so insufficient for his subsistence, that he was obliged to represent, in most pathetic terms, his distress to the Lord-Treasurer, in a letter dated 21 Dec. 1593. Wherein, after representing how much he was indebted to one Mr Smyth's charity and pity, who had not only lent him, but also given him extraordinary credit for money; he adds, ' It is to many known the poor life I do here lead,

' under the burden of this heavy expence, far above my power to bear, protesting to your Lordship, in the faith of a Christian, such to be my present misery, as I have not the means, wherewith to put a good garment on my back, to appear in honest company; my horses the most part spoiled and spent, what by accidents, and the length of time; and generally never suffered in my poor particular, the like extremity of penury (5). ' Mr Birch observes upon that occasion, ' That complaints of Queen Elizabeth's parsimony were not at all unusual among her Ministers, both at home and abroad. And it is remarkable, that the Lord-Treasurer himself, in a letter still extant in the paper-office, written in the critical year 1588, while the Spanish Armada was expected against England, excuses himself to Sir Edward Stafford, then Ambassador in France, for not writing to him oftner, on account of her Majesty's unwillingness to be at the expence of messengers (6).

[D] And in less than a month returned to London ] The occasion of these frequent and sudden voyages, was, King Henry's requiring Queen Elizabeth, to lend 4000 men to his assistance, according to treaty: and his refusing to give up Boulogne for a caution (7).

(5) View of the Negotiat. &c. as above, p. 11, 12.

(6) Ibid. p. 21.

(7) View of the Negotiat. &c. p. 50.

- (k) *Ib.* p. 52. he was dispatched again as Agent for her Majesty to the King of France (*k*); and returned to England about the beginning of May 1598, where his stay was extremely short, for he was at Paris in the July following (*l*). But, upon Sir Henry Neville's being appointed Embassador to the French Court, he was recalled, to his great satisfaction, and arrived at London in June 1599 (*m*). Sir Henry Neville gave him a very great character (*n*), and recommended him to the Queen in the strongest terms [*E*]. Before the end of that year, namely, about December the 26th, he was sent to Archduke Albert, Governour of the Netherlands, with a letter of credence, and instructions to treat of a peace. The Archduke received him with great respect; but not being willing to send Commissioners to England, as the Queen desired, Mr Edmondès went to Paris, and having obtained of King Henry IV, *Boulogne* for the place of treaty, he returned to England, and arrived at Court on Sunday morning, February 17 (*o*). The 11th of March following, he embarked again for Bruffels (*p*); and on the 22d, had an audience of the Archduke, whom having prevailed upon to treat with the Queen, he returned home, April 9, 1600, and was received by her Majesty with great favour, and highly commended for his sufficiency in this negotiation (*q*). Soon after, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the treaty of Boulogne, together with Sir Henry Neville, the Queen's Embassador in France, John Herbert, Esq; her Majesty's second Secretary, and Robert Beale, Esq; Secretary to the Council in the North; their commission being dated the 10th of May, 1600. The two last, with Mr Edmondès, left London the 12th of that Month, and arrived at Boulogne the 16th, as Sir Henry Neville did the same day from Paris. But after the Commissioners had been above three months upon the place, they parted, July the 28th, without ever assembling, by reason of a dispute about precedence between England and Spain (*r*). Mr Edmondès, not long after his return, was appointed one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council: and, in the end of June, 1601, was sent to the French King, to complain of the many acts of injustice committed by his subjects against the English merchants. He soon after returned to England; but, towards the end of August, went again, and waited upon King Henry IV, then at Calais; to whom he proposed some measures, both for the relief of Ostend, then besieged by the Spaniards, and for an offensive alliance against Spain (*s*). After his return to England, he was appointed one of the Commissioners, for settling with the two French Embassadors, the depredations between England and France, and preventing them for the future (*t*). The 20th of May, 1603, he was knighted by King James I; and, upon the conclusion of the peace with Spain, on the 18th of August, 1604, was appointed Embassador to the Archduke at Bruffels (*u*). He set out for that place the 19th of April, 1605 (*w*); having first obtained a reversionary grant of the office of Clerk of the Crown (*x*). And, though absent, was chosen one of the Representatives for the Burgh of Wilton, in the parliament which was to have met at Westminster, Nov. 5, 1605, but was prevented by the discovery of the Gun-powder-plot (*y*) [*F*]. During his embassy, he promoted, to the utmost of his power, an accommodation between the King of Spain and the States-General of the United Provinces (*z*) [*G*]. He was recalled in 1609, and came back to England about the end of August, or the beginning of September (*a*). In April 1610, he was employed as one of the Assistant-Commissioners, to conclude a defensive league with the Crown of France (*b*). And having been designed, ever since the year 1608, to be sent Embassador into that kingdom [*H*], he was dispatched thither in all
- (m) *Ib.* p. 183, 189. and Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. published by Edm. Sawyer, Esq; Lond. 1725, fol. Vol. I. p. 44, 45, 46, 50.
- (n) Memorials, &c. p. 44, 45.
- (o) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 139; and Letters of the Sidney-family, Vol. II. p. 165, 166, 169.
- (p) Letters of the Sidney-family, *ibid.* p. 178, 179.
- (q) *Ibid.* p. 186.
- (r) *Ibid.* p. 194; and Memorials, as above, p. 186, 187, 188, 192—224.
- (s) View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 200, 201; and Memorials, &c. p. 346; 348.
- (t) Memorials, &c. p. 394.
- (u) Memorials, Vol. II. p. 26. View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 217, 218.
- (w) *Ib.* p. 219.
- (x) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 58.
- (y) View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 235.
- (z) *Ibid.* p. 263.
- (a) *Ib.* p. 301, 308.
- (b) *Ib.* p. 310.

[*E*] *And recommended him to the Queen in the strongest terms.* Namely, in these words. — ' I should be very ungratefull, yf I should not yeald a true testimony unto this gentleman Mr Edmondès, and acknowledge the great light I have received, by his friendly and reall communicating with me his knowledge of the affaires of this state; which I assure your Majestie to be very exquisite, and his judgment and sufficiency suche withall, as I hold him to have bin a worthy minister of your Majestie's here, and to be very able to do you good service, wheresoever yt shall be your gracious pleasure to make further use of him (8).

(8) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, Vol. I. p. 44.

[*F*] *But was prevented by the discovery of the Gun-powder-plot.* Sir Thomas sent to our Ministry several notices about that plot, which he learned at Bruffels; and, among the rest, That the English regiment, in the service of the Archduke, was to be brought over to England, for seconding the enterprizes of the conspirators, after the execution of that hellish design (9).

(9) See View of the Negotiat. &c. as above, p. 248 — 255, 257.

[*G*] *During his embassy, he promoted an accommodation between the King of Spain, and the States-General.* It appears from some of his dispatches, that Prince Maurice was extremely averse to an accommodation; and used all the efforts imaginable, to persuade Henry IV, to prevent the success of the treaty about the truce. And, while it was negotiating, he was of a very *craving* humour: for, not satisfied with the large treatments granted by the States, nor contented with

the restitution from the Archdukes of all the Prince of Orange's land in Burgundy, and the Netherlands; he further demanded satisfaction for certain pretensions, grounded upon grants to his father from the States of Brabant and Flanders, which carried with them no shew of equity (10). In his conduct he appeared to have been of a very warm temper; apt to fly out upon contradiction, and embrace hasty resolutions, from which he was afterwards obliged to recede, in a manner that did him no credit (11).

(10) *Ibid.* p. 288, 289, 294.

(11) *Ib.* p. 287.

[*H*] *And having been designed, ever since the year 1608, to be sent Embassador into that kingdom.* His abilities, integrity, and faithfulness in his master's and country's service, were such a terror to the French Court, that they endeavoured to prevent his coming, and to have another appointed. For Mr de Puisieux, one of their Prime-Ministers, takes notice, in a letter to their Embassador in England, that they would get nothing, by having him in the room of Sir George Carew, since Sir Thomas Edmondès understood them too well. ' If he should be sent, adds Mr de Puisieux, it is only with a design to make a fuller discovery of our affairs. We cannot, nor ought to oppose openly, the appointment of him; but who ever can underhand divert this stroke, would, in my opinion, do a good service.' And Secretary de Villeroy, in a letter to the abovementioned Embassador, has these words, ' Let me know, — whether there is a means of procuring Sir Thomas Edmondès

to

all haste, in May 1610, upon the news of the execrable murder of King Henry IV, in order to learn the state of affairs there (c). He arrived at Paris, May the 24th, where he was very civilly received [I], and on the 27th of June, had his audience of Mary de Medicis, Queen Regent; the young King [Lewis XIII] being present (d). In November following, he caused an Italian to be apprehended at Paris, for having ill designs against his master, King James I (e) [K]. There being, in 1612, a competition between him and the Spanish Ambassador, about precedency (f), we are told, that he went to Rome privately, and fetched a certificate out of the Pope's Ceremonial, shewing that the King of England is to precede the King of Castile (g). He was employed, the same year, in treating of a marriage between Henry Prince of Wales, and the Princess Christine, sister to Lewis XIII, King of France; but the death of that Prince, on the 6th of November, 1612, put an end to this negotiation (h). And yet, on the ninth day of the same month, orders were sent him, to propose a marriage between the said Princess and our Prince Charles: however, he had more discretion than to open such an affair so soon after the brother's death (i) [L]. About the end of December 1613, Sir Thomas desired leave to return to England, but was denied till he should have received the final resolution of the Court of France, about the treaty of marriage; which having obtained, he came to England towards the end of January, 1613-14. Though the Privy-Council strenuously opposed this match, because they had not sooner been made acquainted with so important an affair; yet so zealous was the King for it, that he sent Sir Thomas again to Paris, with instructions, dated July 20, 1614, for bringing it to a conclusion. But, after all, it appeared that the Court of France were not sincere in this affair, and only proposed it to amuse the Protestants in general (k). In 1616, Sir Thomas assisted at the conference at Loudun, between the Protestants and the opposite party; and, by his journey to Rochelle, disposed the Protestants to accept of the terms offered them, and was of great use in settling the Pacification (l). About the end of October, in the same year, he was ordered to England; not to quit his charge, but after he should have kissed the King's hand, and received such honour as his Majesty was resolved to confer upon him, in acknowledgment of his long, painful, and faithful services, then to go and resume his charge; and continue in France, till the affairs of that kingdom, which then hung in a slippery and uncertain state, should be better established. Accordingly, he came over to England in December; and on the 21st of that month, was made Comptroller of the King's Household; and the next day sworn a Privy-Counsellor. He returned to the Court of France in April 1617; but took his leave of it towards the latter end of the same year. And on the 19th of January, 1617-18, was advanced to the place of Treasurer of the Household (m): which was all the preferment he enjoyed, tho' he deserved the post of Secretary of State, that he had been recommended for (n), and which none was better qualified to discharge. He was elected one of the Burgesses for the University of Oxford, in the first parliament of King Charles I, which met June 18, 1625, and was also returned for the same, in the next parliament, which assembled at Westminster the 26th of February following; but his election being declared void (o), he was chosen for another place. Some of the Speeches he made in this parliament, are printed [M]. On

(c) Ibid. p. 304  
308, 312.  
(d) Ib. p. 313.  
(e) Memorials, as above, Vol. III. p. 234.  
(f) Ibid. p. 350.  
(g) Lloyd's State Worthies, as above, p. 953.  
(h) View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 352-372.  
(i) Ibid. p. 373.  
(k) Ib. p. 375, 376. and Memorials as above, Vol. III. p. 483, 492, 497.  
(l) View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 390.  
(m) Ibid. p. 399, 400, 401, 405.  
(n) Ibid. p. 373, 374, 379, 405.  
(o) Wood, Hist. & Ant. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 443.

to be employed elsewhere; which would be a great relief to the Queen.—— However, I am not of opinion that you should make this proposal; for, if it does not succeed, it will only serve to exasperate this little man, who has spirit and courage enough (12).

[I] *Where he was very civilly received*] Tho' his person was not very agreeable to the French Court, as is manifest from the last note, yet his coming at that juncture was well taken. For, the next day after his arrival, he was visited by the Master of the Ceremonies, from the young King and the Queen Regent, to bid him welcome, and to make their acknowledgements to King James for that kind office of sending thither his Ambassador. Sir Thomas was the first in the performance of his office to the new King, for which he received many congratulations, and was visited with great affection by all the foreign Ministers at Paris, especially those who were professed friends to Great Britain (13).

[K] *He caused an Italian to be apprehended—— for having ill designs against King James I.*] The fellow had maintained several times, that if he had killed the King of England, he would think himself absolved of all his sins: and added, that he had a purpose shortly to go into England (14).

[L] *However he had more discretion than to open such an affair so soon.*] And when he excused himself to our Court for that omission, King James approved of his conduct in that point; as appears from a letter of his Majesty, dated December 11, to Sir Thomas: wherein are these words.—— Wee do

very well allow of your carriage thairin, as fully agreeing with our meaning in our former direction, though peradventure sum words thairin might cause it to be mistaken. For it had been a very blunt thing in us, that you, our Minister, should, so soone after such a irreparable losse received by us, have begunne to talk of mariage, the most contrary thing that could be to death and funeralls. But because wee doubted not, that that motion would be renewed againe unto you, if not by Villeroy, at least by the Duke of Buillon, our meaning was thairfor, that you should intertayn the motione (15).

[M] *Some of the Speeches he made in this Parliament are printed.*] The first was on the 22d of March 1627. when he spoke to this effect. 'The King congratulating this present Parliament, he prays for a blessed supply, he assures us of his gracious inclination towards us, and of the consequence of this meeting, doth intimate how much the safety of ourselves and confederates abroad depends upon the good success thereof; and he wisheth a general oblivion of things that are past, least they cause distractions a-new, without a primary and free supply to his Majesty (16).' The second was January the 28th 1628. being as follows. 'I am sorry this house hath given occasion of so many messages about *tunnage and poundage*, after his Majesty hath given us a full satisfaction. You may perceive his Majesty is sensible of the neglect of his business; we that know this, should not discharge our duties to you, if we should not persuade you to that course, which should procure his Majesties good opinion of you. Yourselfes

(15) Ib. p. 373.

(16) Ephemeris Parliamentaria, f. l. Lond. 1654, p. 30.

(12) Lettres a Monf. de la Bourde, edit. Amsterd. 1733, 8vo, Tom. I. p. 247, 251, 252. & Tom. II. p. 266.

(13) View of the Negotiat. &c. p. 313.

(14) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, Vol. III. p. 234.

the 11th of June, 1629, he was commissioned to go Embassador to the French Court, on purpose to carry King Charles's ratification, and to receive Lewis the Thirteenth's oath, for the performance of the treaty of peace, then newly concluded between England and France: which he did in September following (p). And with this honourable commission, he concluded all his foreign employments. Having, after this, enjoyed a creditable and peaceful retreat for about ten years, he departed this life, Sept. 20, 1639 (q). His Lady was Magdalene, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir John Wood, Knt. Clerk of the Signet, by whom he had one son, and three daughters [N]. She died at Paris, December 31, 1614, with a character amiable and exemplary in all respects. Sir Thomas had with her the manor of Albins, in the parishes of Stapleford-Abbot, and Navestoke in Essex, where Inigo Jones built for him a mansion-house, delightfully situated in a park, now the seat of Sir John Abdy, Bart. (r). As to his person, Sir Thomas was small of stature (s), but great in understanding. He was a man of uncommon sagacity, and indefatigable industry, in his employments abroad; always attentive to the motions of the Courts where he resided, and punctual and exact in reporting them to his own [O]: of a firm and unshaken resolution in the discharge of his duty, beyond the influence of terror, flattery, or corruption. The French Court, in particular, dreaded his experience and abilities, as hath been shewn above; and the Popish and Spanish party there could scarce disguise their hatred of so zealous a supporter of the Protestant interest in that kingdom. His letters and papers, in twelve volumes in folio, were once in the possession of Secretary Thurloe, and afterwards of the Lord Chancellor Somers [P]. The style of them is clear, strong, and masculine, and entirely free from the pedantry and puerilities, which infected the most applauded writers of that age, namely, Lord Bacon, Sir Henry Wotton, Dr Donne, &c. (t).

(p) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIX. p. 86. View of the Negotiat. &c. in the Introd. p. xv.

(q) Peck's Defiderata Curiosa, Vol. 11. B. xiv. p. 13.

(r) View of the Negotiat. &c. in the Introd. p. xv.

(s) Ibid. in the body of the book, p. 64, 331, 333.

(t) Ibid. in the Introd. p. xv. xvi.

' selves are witnesses how industrious his Majesty was to procure you gracious Laws in his Father's time, and, since that, what enlargement he hath made of our Liberties (\*), and yet still we give him cause to repent him of the good he hath done. Consider how dangerous it is to alienate his Majesty's heart from Parliaments (17). David Loyd tells us (18), alluding in all likelyhood to these speeches, that Sir Thomas angered the faction against the Court, with his principles, that the King was to be trusted: that the revenue was to be settled: that the Protestant cause was to be maintained: that jealousies were to be removed, and things past were to be forgotten.— Besides these two speeches, there are several letters of his published, in the three Volumes of Memorials of Affairs of State (19).

(\*) By granting the Petition of Right.

(17) lb. p. 241.

(18) State Worthies, as above, p. 963.

(19) Published by Edm. Sawyer, Esq; Lond. 1725.

(20) Letters and Dispatches of Thomas Earl of Strafford, Vol. 1. p. 463.

(21) Westcot, Pedig. MS.

(22) View of the Negotiations, as above, in the Introd. p. xiv. xv.

(23) Ibid. in the body of the book, p. 134.

(24) Ibid. p. 183, 184.

[N] By whom he had one Son, and three Daughters.] The Son named Henry, was born in 1600, and died in 1635, being sunk into the most inveterate and incorrigible habit of drunkenness (20). He was Knight of the Bath (21). The Daughters were, *Isabella*, born at Brussels in November 1607, who had her name from the Archduchess her Godmother, and was married about March 1624-5, to Henry Lord Delawar. 2. *Mary*, married to Robert Mildmay, Esq; by whom

she had Benjamin Lord Fitz-walter, Father of the present Earl Fitz-walter. 3. *Louisa*, born at Paris in 1611, and baptized the 15th of September, Lewis XIII. standing Godfather, and the Queen-Regent Godmother, by their proxies the Princess of Orange and the Duke of Bouillon. In March 1635-6, she married clandestinely one of her father's genteeler servants (22).

[O] And punctual and exact in reporting them to his own.] Sir Robert Cecill, in some letters of his, gives this character of Sir Thomas: That he was 'very trusty and sufficient (23): That her Majesty was well pleased with his carriage in all things: and that his letters satisfied the Queen in every thing committed to his charge (24).'

[P] His Letters and Papers, &c.] Several of them, together with abstracts from the rest, were published by the Rev. Mr Thomas Birch F. R. S. in a book intituled, *An Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, from the year 1592 to 1617. Extracted chiefly from the MS. State-papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes Kt. Embassador in France, &c. and of Anthony Bacon, Esq; Brother to the Lord Chancellor Bacon.* London 1749. 8vo.

(22) View of the Negotiations, as above, in the Introd. p. xiv. xv.

(23) Ibid. in the body of the book, p. 134.

(24) Ibid. p. 183, 184.

EDWARDS (THOMAS) a famous Presbyterian writer in the XVIIth century, and a bitter enemy to the Independents, who then bore sway in this kingdom, was educated in Trinity-college in Cambridge [A], where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in the year 1605, and that of Master in 1609 (a). He was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford, July 14, 1623 (b). Where and what, his preferments were, we do not find: But we learn from himself (c), that, though he conformed, yet he was always a Puritan in his heart [B]. He exercised his Ministry, chiefly as a Lecturer, at Hertford, and

[A] Was educated in Trinity-College in Cambridge.] He must have removed from some other College to Trinity; for he was not admitted there, according to their books, till 1605, the very year when he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (1).—There was another Thomas Edwards, born at Huntingdon, educated there in Grammar-learning, and admitted into Sidney-college, October 16, 1614. But he did not take any degree in that College (2), nor, as it seems, in the University; and consequently could not be the same with our Author. However, after all, tho' we have taken great care to inform ourselves, which of these two was the person we are writing of, yet we could come at no certainty therein. Mr Wood assures us, that he was a Cambridge-man (3).

[B] Yet he was always a Puritan in his heart.] Of which take the following account in his own words. 'I never had a canonical coat, never gave a penny to the building of Pauls, took not the canonical oath,

' declined subscription for many years before the Parliament, (though I practised the old conformity) would not give *ne obulum quidem* to the contributions against the Scots, but dissuaded other Ministers; much less did I yeeld to bow to the Altar, and at the name of Jesus, or administer the Lords Supper at a table turned Altarwife, or bring the people up to rails, or read the book of sports, or highly flatter the Archbishop in an epistle dedicatory to him, or put articles into the High-Commission-Court against any, but was myself put into the High-Commission-Court, and pursevants with letters missive, and an attachment, sent out to apprehend me, for preaching a Sermon at Mercers Chapel, on a Fast-day in July 1640. against the Bishops and their faction, such a free Sermon as I believe never a sectary in England durst have preached in such a place and at such a time (4).'

(4) Gangrenæ, as above, P. i. p. 75, 76.

[C] And

(a) From the University-Regist.

(b) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. 1. Fasti, col. 226.

(c) Gangrenæ, Part. i. 2d edit. 1646, 4to, p. 75, 76.

(1) From the College-books.

(2) From the Admission, and other books of that college.

(3) Fasti, ubi supra.

and at several places in and about London (*d*); and was sometimes brought into trouble for opposing the received Doctrines, or not complying duly with the established Church [*C*]. When the long Parliament declared against King Charles I, our author embarked himself, with wife, children, estate, and all that was dear to him, in the same ship with them [*D*], and by all his actions, sermons, prayers, praises, and discourses, earnestly promoted their interest (*e*). But when the Independent party began to appear, and especially to be up- permolt, he became as furious against them as he had been against the Royalists; and opposed them with great virulence, both by writing and acting. The several pieces he published against them, were as follows. I. 'Reasons against the Independant Govern- ment of particular Congregations, &c.' Lond. 1641, 4to (*f*). II. *Antapologia*: Or, a Full Answer to the 'Apologeticall Narration of Mr Goodwin, Mr Nye, Mr Sympson, Mr Burroughs, Mr Bridge, Members of the Assembly of Divines. Wherein is handled many of the Controversies of these times: viz. 1. Of a particular visible Church. 2. Of Classes and Synods. 3. Of the Scriptures, how farre a Rule for Church-Government. 4. Of Formes of Prayer. 5. Of the Qualifications of Church-members. 6. Of Submission and Non-Communion. 7. Of Excommunication. 8. Of the Power of the Civill Magistrate in Ecclesiasticals. 9. Of Separation and Schisme. 10. Of Tol- erations, and particularly of the Toleration of Independencie. 11. Of Suspension from the Lord's Supper. 12. Of Ordination of Ministers by the people. 13. Of Church Covenant. 14. Of Non-residencie of Church-members [*E*].' Lond. 1644, 4to. (*g*). III.

(*d*) Gangræna, P. iii. edit. 1646. in the Preface.

(*e*) See Gangræna, P. i. in the Epist. Dedic. p. 2, 3.

(*f*) This was an- swered the same year, by a wo- man named Ca- tharine Chidley.

(*g*) This was published the last week in June or the first in July, 1644. See Preface to Gangræna. P. i. in the beginning.

[*C*] *And was sometimes brought into trouble, &c*] He gives us the following relation of it. 'Many years ago when I was persecuted by some Prelates and their creatures, in no possibility nor capacity by my principles and practices of preferment, I preached against, and upon all occasions declared myself against, the Brownists, Separatists, Antinomians, and all errors in that way, as well as against Popish Innova- tions and Arminian Tenets. There are many who were my Auditors in those times can and will wit- ness what I have preached at London and at Hart- ford against those errors, when I have in the same places preached such sermons against the prevailing opinions, innovations, and corruptions of the Pre- lates, that many thought I should never have preached again; and indeed was not without many sufferings and troubles, being put out of places, stopped from coming into others, and at last letters missive with an attachment sent out to bring me into the High- Commission-Court. About thirteen years ago at *Magnus Church*, I preaching against forsaking the publick assemblies, had, on a Lecture night at the same Church, a bill given me up (among the bills to pray for the sick) speaking bitterly for so doing. At *Hartford* about ten years ago, when Independ- ency and the Church way began to be fallen too by some men of note, and some people to look after it, I preached against it early, and by all wayes la- boured to preserve the people. About eight yeares ago when errors on the right hand tooke with many, I did at a *Lecture* in the city, at *Aldermanbury*, and *Coleman-Street*, preach against apostasie and falling to errors on the right hand, and more particularly at *Coleman-Street*, (many in that parish being then leaning that way) gave some considerations against errors on the right hand. I never yet fought any great things for myself, great livings, or coming into publick places of honour and respect, to be of the Assembly, or to preach in any publicke places be- fore the Magistrates either at Westminster or Lon- don, but have contented my selfe with small meanes, and to preach in private places in compa- rison, having refused many great livings and places, preaching here in London for a little, and that but badly paid (as many well know) minding the worke and service, little the maintenance. I can speak it truly that in these open times when many young men, raw preachers, men who never bore the heat of the day, have got great livings of two or three hundred a yeere well situated with houses and all accommodations, I have for the publick good de- clined all such offers, spent my owne temporall estate to minister to my necessities, not having had for almost these two last years forty pounds per annum, notwithstanding my constant preaching on Lords dayes, week dayes, and all extraordinary occasions of fastings and thanksgiving. (5).

[*D*] *When the long Parliament declared against King Charles I. our Author embarked himself in the same ship with them.*] He declares this him-

self, in the first part of his *Gangræna*, in the epistle dedicatory to the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament (6). 'All my actions from the beginning of your sitting, my Sermons, Prayers, Praises, Dis- courses, Actings for you speak otherwise. [i. e. than faucines and disrespect] I am one who out of choise and judgement have imbarcked my selfe, with wife, children, estate, and all that dear to me, in the same ship with you, to sinke and perish, or to come safe to land with you, and that in the most doubtfull and difficult times, not only early in the first beginning of the war and troubles, in a malignant place among Courtiers and those who were servants and had relations to the King, Queen and their Children, pleading your cause, justifying your wars, satisfying many that scrupled: but when your af- fairs were at lowest, and the chance of war against you, and some of the grandes and favourites of these times were packing up and ready to be gone, I was then highest and most zealous for you, preach- ing, praying, stirring up the people to stand for you, by going out in person, lending of money, in the later going before them by example; and as I have been your Honours most devoted servant, so am I still yours, and you cannot easily lose me.'

[*E*] *Antapologia, &c.*] This is 'Humbly sub- mitted (by the Author) to the Honourable Houses of Parliament.' And, in the Preface, he says (7), 'That he had drawn up that answer, for their sakes in speciall who were apt to be troubled with many doubts and feares about the constitution and govern- ment of the visible Church, and the way of worship and Communion in it: and, as to undeceive them in the Apologists, the Apologie, and their Church-way, so to satisfie his Readers in their scruples and doubts about Presbyterie.' A little after, he adds, 'This *Antapologia* I here recommend to you for a true glasse to behold the faces of Presby- terie and Independencie in, with the beauty, order, strength of the one, and the deformity, disorder and weaknesse of the other: and good Reader, I have some reason to beleve and hope, that if you will indeed reade and consider, looke impartially and throughly into this glasse, you may be either changed into the image of it, or at least so stumbled at Inde- pendencie, as to be kept from falling into it.'

The book which this *Antapologia* answereth, was, 'An Apologeticall Narration of some Ministers (8), formerly in exile, now members of the Assembly of Divines.' 'Tis inserted in the *Antapologia*, and an- swered there paragraph by paragraph. In one place (9), our Author pleads strongly for the lawfulness of set-formes of Prayer prescribed. 'I must tell you, says he, this great controversie upon it is raised only by yourselves (10), and the Brownists, there being no Divines, nor no Reformed Churches that I know of, but doe allow the lawful use of set-formes of prayer, composed and framed by others (as by sy- rods and assemblies) and doe make use of such some- times, as the Churches of France and Holland in the administration

(6) Page 2.

(7) Page 1.

(8) Namely Good- win, &c. as a- bove, in the side of the book.

(9) *Antapologia*, p. 97, &c.

(10) i. e. the Independents.

Gangræna, iii. in the Pref. 14, 15, 16.

III. '*Gangræna*: or, a Catalogue and Discovery of many of the Errours, Heresies, Blaphemies, and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this time, vented and acted in England in these four last years: as also a particular Narration of divers Stories, remarkable Passages, Letters; an Extract of many Letters, all concerning the present Sects; together with some Observations upon, and Corollaries from, all the forenamed premisses.' Lond. 1645, 4to. reprinted afterwards. IV. 'The second part of *Gangræna*, &c.' Lond. 1646, 4to. V. 'The third part of *Gangræna*. Or, A new and higher Discovery of the Errors, Heresies, Blaphemies, and insolent Proceedings of the Sectaries of these times; with some Animadversions by way of Confutation, upon many of the Errors and Heresies named [F].' In these three parts of *Gangræna*, he gives Catalogues of the Errors of the Independents, and other Sectaries of his time; and expresses himself against them with great sharpness [G]. He also published, VI. 'The casting down of the

administration of Sacraments usually doe, and those who practise them not so much, yet at least hold them lawfull. And I challenge you in all your reading to name one Divine of note and orthodox that ever held set-formes of prayer prescribed unlawfull, excepting only Independents.' In another place (11) he lays down many cogent reasons against an universal Toleration.

(11) Ib. p. 279, &c.

[F] *With some Animadversions by way of Confutation upon many of the Errors and Heresies named.*] The rest of the title, which is very long, is as follows. 'As also a particular relation of many remarkable stories, speciall passages, copies of letters written by Sectaries to Sectaries, copies of letters written from godly Ministers and others, to Parliament-men, Ministers, and other well-affected persons; an extract and the substance of divers letters, all concerning the present Sects: together with ten corollaries from all the forenamed premisses. Briefe animadversions on many of the Sectaries late pamphlets, as *Lilburnes* and *Overtons* books against the House of Peeres, Mr *Peters* his last report of the *English Warres*, *The Lord Mayors farewell from his Office of Maioralty*, M. *Goodwins thirty eight Querres upon the Ordinance against Heresies and Blaphemies*, M. *Burtons Conformities Deformity*, M. *Dells* Sermon before the House of Commons; wherein the legislative and judiciall power of the House of Peeres over Commons is maintained and fully proved against the Sectaries, the power of the House of Commons clearly demonstrated to be overthrowne upon the mediums brought by the Sectaries against the Lords; the late Remonstrance of the City of London justified, the late Lord Mayor (12) and the City vindicated from unjust aspersions, our brethren of Scotland cleared from all the calumnies and reproaches cast upon them, and the Magistrates power in suppressing Heresies and Blaphemies asserted. As also some few hints and briefe observations on divers pamphlets written lately against me and some of my books, as M. *Goodwins* pretended reply to the *Antapologie*, M. *Burroughs* Vindication, *Lanseters Lance*, *Gangræna* playes *Rex*, *Gangræna Chrestum*, M. *Saltmarshes* answer to the second part of *Gangræna*. A justification of the manner and way of writing these books called *Gangræna*, wherein not onely the lawfulness, but the necessity of writing after this manner is proved by Scripture, Fathers, the most eminent Reformed Divines, Casuists, the practice and custome of all ages.' Lond. 1646. 4to.

(12) Sir Isaac Pennington.

[G] *In these* ——— *he gives Catalogues of the Errors of the Independents, and other Sectaries of his time; and expresses himself against them with great sharpness.*] The Errors, Heresies, and Blaphemies he particularly takes notice of, are by him referred to these sixteen heads or sorts of Sectaries (13), viz. 1. Independents. 2. Brownists. 3. Chiliafts, or Millenaries. 4. Antinomians. 5. Anabaptists. 6. Manifestarians or Arminians. 7. Libertines. 8. Familists. 9. Enthusiasts. 10. Seekers, and Waiters. 11. Perfectists. 12. Socinians. 13. Arians. 14. Antitrinitarians. 15. Antiscrpturists. 16. Scepticks and Questionists, who question every thing in matters of Religion; namely all the Articles of Faith, and first principles of Christian Religion, holding nothing positively nor certainly, saving the doctrine of pretended liberty of conscience for all, and liberty of prophesying. — Some of their errors, as set down by our Author, are as follows, 'That the Scriptures cannot be said to be the word of God; there is no word but Christ, the Scriptures are a dead

(13) *Gangræna*, P. i. p. 16.

letter, and no more to be credited than the writings of men, not divine but human inventions. That the Scriptures are insufficient and uncertain, there is no certainty to build any Doctrine upon them, they are not an infallible foundation of faith (14). That the holy writings and sayings of Moses and the Prophets, of Christ and his Apostles, and the proper names, persons, and things contained therein, are Allegories, and these Allegories are the mystery and spiritual meaning of them. That the new Testament, nor no place of Scripture in it, binds any further than the Spirit for present reveals to us that such a place is the word of God (15). That God hath a hand in, and is the Author of the sinfulness of his people; that he is the Author not of those actions alone, in and with which sin is, but of the very pravity, ataxy, anomy, irregularity and sinfulness itself which is in them. That all lyes come forth from out of the mouth of God. That no man was cast into hell for any sin, but only because God would have it so. That the soul dies with the body and all things shall have an end, but God only shall remaine for ever (16). Every creature in the first estate of creation was God, and every creature is God, every creature that hath life and breath being an efflux from God, and shall return into God again, be swallowed up in him as a drop is in the ocean (17). That by Christs death, all the sins of all the men in the world, Turks, Pagans as well as Christians, committed against the morall law and first covenant, are actually pardoned and forgiven, and this is the everlasting Gospel. That no man shall perish or go to hell for any sin, but unbelief only (18). That the least truth is of more worth than Jesus Christ himself (19). That there is a perfect way in this life, not by Word, Sacraments, Prayer and other Ordinances, but by the experience of the Spirit in a mans self. That a man baptized with the Holy Ghost knows all things, even as God knows all things; which point is a deep mystery and great ocean, where there is no casting anchor, nor founding the bottome. That if a man by the Spirit knew himself to be in the state of grace, though he did commit murder or drunkenness, God did see no sin in him. There is no free-will in man either to good or evil, either in his naturall or glorified estate (20). That the morall law is of no use at all to believers, that 'tis no rule for believers to walk by, nor to examine their lives by, and that Christians are freed from the mandatory power of the law. Neither faith, nor repentance, nor humiliation, nor self-denial, nor use of ordinances, nor doing as one would be done to, are duties required of Christians, or such things as they must exercise themselves in, or they can have no part in Christ. That the doctrine of repentance is a soul-destroying doctrine. That 'tis as possible for Christ himselfe to sin, as for a Child of God to sin. That God doth not chastise any of his children for sin; and let believers sin as fast as they can, there is a fountain open for them to wash in (21). That God's Children are not to ask the pardon and forgiveness of their sins, they need not, they ought not, and 'tis no lesse than blasphemy for a childe of God to aske pardon of sins, 'tis infidelity to aske pardon of sins, and David's asking forgiveness of sin was his weakness. That the soul of a man is mortall as the soul of a beast, and dies with the body (22). There is no resurrection at all of the bodies of men after this life, nor heaven nor hell, nor devils after this life (23). That in points of Religion, even

(14) *Ibid.* p. 18, & 112.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 19.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 21 & 110.

(17) *Ib.* p. 21.

(18) *Ib.* p. 22.

(19) Page 23.

(20) *Ib.* p. 24.

(21) *Ib.* p. 25.

(22) *Ib.* p. 26.

(23) *Ib.* p. 27.

'the last and strongest hold of Satan; or, a Treatise against Toleration.' Part I. Lond. 1647,

(14) Page 28. 'even in the Articles of Faith, and principles of Religion, there's nothing certainly to be believed and built on, only that all men ought to have liberty of conscience, and liberty of prophesying (24). 'Tis as lawful to break any of the ten commandments, as to baptize an infant: yea, 'tis as lawful to commit adultery and murder, as to baptize a child. That the Church of England and the Ministry thereof is Antichristian, yea of the devill, and that 'tis absolutely sinfull and unlawfull to hear any of their Ministers preach in their Assemblies (25). That all settled certain maintenance for Ministers of the Gospel, especially that which is called Tithes, is unlawfull, Jewish, and Antichristian. That 'tis unlawfull to worship God in places consecrated, and in places where Superstition and Idolatry have been practised, as in our Churches. That there is no need of human learning, nor for reading Authors, for Preachers, but all books and learning must go down; it comes from the want of the Spirit, that men write such great volumes, and make such adoe of learning (26). 'Tis unlawfull for the Saints to joyn in prayer where wicked men are, or to pray with any of the wicked (27). That there are Revelations and Visions in these times; yea to some they are more ordinary, and shall be to the people of God generally within a while. That the gift of Miracles is not ceased in these times, but that some of the Sectaries have wrought miracles. 'Tis ordinary for Christians now in these dayes, with Paul to be wrapt up to the third Heavens, and to hear words unutterable, and they cannot well have assurance of being Christians, that have not found and had experience of this (28). All the Earth is the Saints, and there ought to be a community of goods, and the Saints should share in the lands and estates of Gentlemen and rich men. That 'tis lawfull for a man to put away his wife upon indisposition, unfitnesse, contrariety of mind, &c. 'Tis unlawfull for Christians to fight, and take up arms for their laws and civil liberties. That using of fet formes of prayer prescribed is Idolatry (29). That 'tis not lawful for a Christian to be a Magistrate, but upon turning Christian he should lay down his Magistracy (30). That God hath a bodily shape and proportion (31). The Souls of the Saints departed now in Heaven, are on Earth every where present with their friends, and with all the affairs of this world, seeing and knowing them; and do now with Christ govern and rule the Kingdoms of the Earth, and all the affairs here below (32). That there is no need of Universities, that Universities are of the devill; that human learning is flesh opposed to the spirit, and that if men be anointed with the spirit, and accepted amongst the Saints, they are sufficiently qualified (33). That all shall be saved at last, both all men and devils: and shall see, feel, and possess blessedness to their everlasting salvation and comfort (34). That Christ shed his blood for line and horses and all other creatures, as well as for men, &c (35). These, and many more, are some of the blasphemies and horrid impieties, advanced and maintained in these unhappy Kingdoms, during those lawless distracted times, when every one did what seemed right in his own eyes. And no wonder; if we do but observe, what sort of creatures set up for the great Reformers of Religion, and Instructors of Mankind; namely (to use our Author's words) 'swarms of illiterate Mechanicks, as Smiths, Taylors, Shoemakers, Pedlars, Weavers, Women-preachers, &c. (36). And, by name, 'one Heath the Collar-maker of Waton, one Rice the Tinker of Aston, one Field the Bodies-maker of Hertford, one Crew the Taylor of Stevenage,' all in Hertfordshire: and the like in other Counties (37). He quotes his authorities and vouchers all along; and affirms, that the 'truth of the maine substance and matter of whatever he relates, both for opinions and matter of fact, is plainly demonstrated; by his quoting Books knowne to hundreds, by naming persons known for witnesses, by relating things common in the times, and these supported by the errors in the margins, or joyned to the matter, so manifest that he that runs may read it (38). Nay, he makes this declaration.—— 'I can say of it, that of all the particulars in this kind that I have related in these three books [of *Gangrana*,] besides many matters of fact in *Antapologia*, (which in all amount to some thousands) I do not know of any one particular related by me, excepting one, that I have reason to suspect was not true, and yet that was written me in a letter by a reverend and godly Minister, and was the voice of the Country (39).'

(15) Page 29. But it must be remembered, that among the errors above-mentioned, our Author places many Doctrines maintained by the Arminians, (and not taken notice of by me) which, tho' condemned by the Synod of Dort, time hath shewn to be most plain and unquestionable truths.

(16) Page 30. It is not only by such Quotations out of the books of Independent writers, as are set down above, that Mr Edwards shews his great inveteracy against that whole party. But he doth it likewise by censuring their actions; and displaying, their insolencies, pride, and arrogance; their covetousness, and ambition: their subtilties, and hypocrisy; their tumults and riots even in the most sacred places (40); their libertinism and atheism; their incests, and other uncleannesses; their looseness, immorality, and drunkenness; their deceitfulness, lying, and slandering; their horrible affronts to authority (41); their contempt of all that is sacred and serious, witness their baptizing of a horse, &c. (42).——He likewise endeavours to expose them to the utmost, by relating some of their absurd and non-sensical sayings: as for instance——

(17) Page 31. 'Christ judges not by the eye, or eare, he regards not mens prayers or duties; if they have Christ in their heart, though they do not read and pray, and trade in duties, Christ judges them according to their heart (43).——'I rejoyce that Christ is beginning to set up house-keeping; and his Saints shall not want while Christ have one penny; come buy without money, gold tried and white raiment, and anoint thine eyes with eye salve that thou maiest see' (44)——One preaching on John 20. 17. 'Touch me not, I am not yet ascended; collected from those words these three transcendent points. First, That laymen, weavers, tinkers and coblers being gifted might be preachers. Secondly, Learning was not any means or help to understand the meaning of the Scriptures. Thirdly, That any chamber, barne or stable, or other place was as holy as the Church; and that there was no holiness in the temple, for God destroyed it; nor in any Church (45).'

(18) Page 32. But when he comes to speak of a Toleration, (which the Independents were then making strong interest for, in order to work themselves into all places of trust or profit,) he loses all patience. 'This land, saith he, is become already in many places a chaos, a babel, another Amsterdam, yea worse, we are beyond that, and in the highway to Munster, but if a general Toleration should be granted, so much written and stood for, England would quickly become a Sodom, an Egypt, Babylon, yea, worse than all these (46). —A Toleration is the grand designe of the devil, his master-peece, and chief engine he works by at this time to uphold his tottering kingdome; it is the most compendious, ready, sure way to destroy all religion, lay all waste, and bring in all evil; it is a most transcendent, catholique, and fundamentall evil for this kingdom of any that can be imagined. As originall sin is the most fundamentall sin, all sin; having the seed and spawn of all in it: so a Toleration hath all errors in it, and all evils—— (47). Independency is become a compound of many errors, as Antinomianism, Brownism, Anabaptism, Libertinism, and if Independency could once get a Toleration, we should then see it speak out to purpose. And as Independency is in this sense all error, being the great cause of them, so many errors are for Independency, that is the love of errors causes many to become Independents—— (48)'

(19) Page 34. One remarkable particular in these books, must not pass without observation: and it is, that as early as the year 1646, the Independents had formed designs against the life of King Charles I. and resolved to cause him to be beheaded (49).—— Finally, we learn from

(20) Page 35. (40) *Gangrana*, P. i. Epist. Dedic. P. 3, 61, &c.

(21) *Gangrana*, P. iii. p. 2.

(22) *Ib.* p. 4, 6.

(23) *Ibid.* p. 9, 45, &c.

(24) Page 10, 11.

(25) *Ibid.* & p. 35.

(26) *Gangrana*, P. i. p. 116, and Epist. Dedicat. p. 8.

(27) *Gangrana*, P. iii. p. 2; at Page H. b. i. on the Taylor, and L. b. i. on the Col. Hewson the one-eyed shoemaker. p. 45, 46.

(28) *Ibid.* Pref. p. 6.

(29) *Ib.* p. 9.

(30) *Ib.* p. 17, 18, &c.

(31) *Ib.* p. 45.

(32) *Ib.* p. 53.

(33) *Ib.* p. 62.

(34) *Ib.* p. 152.

(35) *Ib.* p. 153.

(36) *Ib.* p. 157.

(37) *Gangrana*, P. ii. p. 131; and P. iii. p. 97, 172, 183, 184, 195, 237.

1647, 4to. VII. 'Of the particular Visibility of the Church.' VIII. 'A Treatise of the Civil Power in Ecclesiasticals, and of Suspension from the Lord's Supper.' Lond.

(b) Wood, ubi supra.

1642, 1644 (b). He promised several other pieces [H], but it doth not appear he published them. The time and place of his death are to us unknown.

(50) Ib. p. 121.

from thence, that at first 'the Independents would preach freely, asking nothing (50).' But they have since altered their minds; and maintain, as firmly as the Ministers of the established Church, that they who preach the Gospel must live of the Gospel.

(51) See Gangræna, P. iii. p. 244, 249.

[H] He promised several other pieces.] Particularly, 1. A Fourth Part of his Gangræna (51). 2. An Historical Narration of all the proceedings and ways of the English Sectaries (52). 3. Catalogue of the Judgments of God upon the Sectaries within these four years last past (53). 4. Many Tractates against the

(52) Gangræna, P. i. p. 42.

(53) P. iii. p. 96, 97.

Errors of the Times (54). 5. He promised, to be like that tree spoken of in the Revelation, to yield fruit every month; i. e. to be often setting forth one Tractate or other (55). But he was not as good as his word.—As for his character: he professes himself 'a plain, open-hearted man, who hated 'tricks, reserves and designs' (56): zealous for the Assembly of Divines, the Directory, the use of the Lord's Prayer, singing of Psalms, &c (57). and so earnest for what he took to be Truth, that he was usually called in Cambridge *young Luther* (58).

(54) Ibid. Pref. P. 16.

(55) Part. i. Pref. 2.

(56) Ibid. in the body of that book, p. 41.

(57) P. iii. p. 147.

(58) Ib. p. 41.

EGERTON (THOMAS) Lord High Chancellor of England, in the reign of King

(a) This I infer from A. Wood's words, mentioned in the text of this article.

James I, was the son of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley in Cheshire, descended from the antient family of the Egertons, in that county [A]. He was born in Cheshire, about the year 1540 (a), and admitted Commoner of Brasen-nose-College in Oxford, about 1556, in the seventeenth year of his age. Having continued there three years, and laid a good foundation of learning, he removed to Lincoln's-Inn, and applied himself with such success to the study of the Law; that he became a noted Counsellor (b). Being taken notice of by that good judge of merit, Queen Elizabeth, she constituted him on the 28th of June 1581, her Sollicitor-general (c). The year following, he was elected Lent-Reader of Lincoln's-Inn, a place conferred on none but persons of great learning. He became also one of the Governors of that Society, and continued so for twelve years successively (d). On the 2d of June, 1592, he was made Attorney-general (e), and knighted soon after. April 10, 1594, he was appointed Master of the Rolls (f): And, upon the death of Sir John Puckering, had the Great Seal of England delivered to him at Greenwich, May 6, 1596 (g), with the title of Lord-Keeper; being at the same time sworn of her Majesty's Privy-Council (h) [B]. He was permitted, notwithstanding, to hold the Mastership of the Rolls till May 18, 1603, when King James I, conferred it on Edward Bruce, created afterwards Baron of Kinlosse (i). In 1598, the Lord-Keeper was in commission for treating with the Dutch, in order to lessen our charge of the war with Spain; and, with the Lord Buckhurst, and others, signed a new treaty at London, with the Embassadors of the States, whereby the Queen was eased of no less than a hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year (k), besides other advantages (l). In 1600 he was again in Commission with the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, and the Earl of Essex, for negotiating affairs with the Senate of Denmark (m). This Earl, upon his disgrace, was committed to the Lord Keeper's custody, who did him many good offices, and endeavoured to keep him from those dangerous precipices [C], which proved afterwards his ruin.

(b) Wood's Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 417.

(c) Pat. 23 Eliz. P. 1.

(d) Dugdale's Baron. Tom. III. p. 414; and A. Collins's Peerage, edit. 1735, Vol. I. p. 466.

(e) Pat. 34 Eliz. P. 7.

(f) Pat. 36 Eliz. P. 5.

(g) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1596; and Chron. Jurid. 8vo. Ar. Collins, ubi supra.

(h) Collins, ibid.

(i) Pat. 1 Jac. P. 2. Newcourt's Report. Ecclef. &c. Vol. 1. p. 341.

(k) And not twelve thousand as it is in the General Dictionary.

(l) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1598.

(m) A. Collins, ubi supra.

[A] Was the son of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley in Cheshire, descended from the antient family of the Egertons in that county.] Sir William Dugdale (1), and Mr Wood (2), say, he was a natural son of Sir Richard Egerton. And Robert Stephens, Esq; that he was descended, *though in an oblique line*, from an antient family in Cheshire (3). But Dr Fuller (4), Arthur Collins, Esq; (5), and others, do not mention his being illegitimate. The latter informs us, That his mother was Alice, daughter of — Spark, of Bickerton in Cheshire.—The famous and knightly family of the Egertons took their surname from Egerton, in this county, the place of their habitation: and derive their descent from Philip, a younger son of David of Malpas (6). From him, in lineal descent, was Sir John Egerton of Egerton, Knt. who fighting valiantly for the House of Lancaster, under the Lord Audley, General for King Henry VI, was slain at the battle of Bloreheath in Staffordshire, Sept. 23, 1459. He was succeeded by Philip his eldest son, who had issue John Egerton of Egerton, Esq; and Sir RALPH EGERTON of RIDLEY in Cheshire, Knt. This Sir Ralph was one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber to King Henry VIII, and knighted by him for his valour and conduct at the sieges of Terouenne and Tournay, and the battle of Spurs. Also, in consideration of his good services, he was appointed Standard-Bearer of England for life, with a salary of 100 *l. per annum*. Dying about the year 1528, he was succeeded by his son and heir Richard, who was of age in the year 1531, and afterwards knighted; father of the Lord Chancellor Egerton, whom we are treating of in this article.

(1) Baronage, Tom. III. p. 414.

(2) Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 417.

(3) Letters and Remains of the Lord Chancellor Bacon, Lond. 1734, 4to, Introd. p. 7.

(4) Worthies of Engl. in Cheshire, P. 176.

(5) Peerage of Engl. Vol. I. edit. 1735, p. 466.

(6) Camd. Britan. in Cheshire, edit. 1722, Vol. 1. col. 667.

[B] He had the great Seal of England delivered to him — with the title of Lord-Keeper.] And came into that place — *magna expectatione, & integritatis opinione*, i. e. with a great expectation, and opinion of integrity (7): which he fully answered.

[C] Who did him many good offices, and endeavoured to keep him from those dangerous precipices, which proved afterwards his ruin.] For that purpose he writ a letter to him, wherein, among other things, he tells him. — 'I will not presume to advise you; but shoot my bolt, and tell you what I think. The beginning, and long continuance, of this so unreasonable discontentment, you have seen and proved, by which you aim at the end: if you still hold this course, which hitherto you find to be worse and worse, (and the longer you go, the further you go out of the way) there is little hope or likelihood the end will be better. You are not yet gone so far, but that you may well return: the return is safe, but the progress is dangerous and desperate in this course you hold. If you have any enemies, you do that for them, which they could never do for themselves.— This being your present state and condition, what is to be done? What is the remedy, my good Lord? I lack judgment and wisdom to advise you, but I will never want an honest true heart to wish you well; nor, being warranted by a good conscience, will fear to speak that I think. I have begun plainly, be not offended if I proceed so.—The medicine and remedy, is, not to contend and strive, but humbly to yield and submit. Have you given cause, and yet take a scandal unto you? then all you can be is too little to make satisfaction. Is cause of scandal given unto

(7) Camd. Annal. Eliz. ad ann. 1596.

ruin (*n*). When he was in actual rebellion, the Lord-Keeper, and others of the Nobility, were sent to him, in order to persuade him to return to his duty, wherein they exposed themselves to much danger (*o*) [*D*]. After that Earl's execution, the Lord-Keeper was in a special commission for compounding with his accomplices: And in another, in 1602, for putting the Laws in execution against Jesuits, and seminary Priests (*p*). Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, her successor King James I. signified to the Privy-Council, April 5, 1603, by his sign manual, That it was his will and pleasure, Sir Thomas Egerton should exercise the office of Lord-Keeper, till further orders. And he waiting upon his Majesty at Broxbourn in Hertfordshire, resigned the Great Seal to the King, who delivered it again to him, ordering him to make use of it as he had done before. On the 19th of July following (*q*), King James caused the Great Seal to be broke, and put a new one into the hands of the Lord-Keeper Egerton, with a paper of his own signing, whereby he created him Baron of Ellesmere, for his good and faithful services, not only in the administration of justice, but also in Council, both to the late Queen and himself: the Patent for which he caused to be dispatched the 21st of the same month. And on the 24th, constituted him Lord High Chancellor of England (*r*). In 1609, he was commissioned to compound with all those, who holding lands by Knight's service, &c. were to pay the aid for making the King's eldest son (Prince Henry) a Knight (*s*). On the third of November, 1610, he was unanimously elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and installed the 10th of the same month at London; in the room of Rich. Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury (*t*). In 1612, he was one of the Lords who signed the articles of marriage between the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King James, and the Elector Palatine (*u*). His health declined some time before his decease; particularly in the year 1615, when strong application was made by Sir Francis Bacon for his office of High-Chancellor (*w*) [*E*]. And to add to his affliction, that arrogant person, the Lord Chief

unto you; yet policy, duty, and religion, enforce you to sue, yield, and submit to our Sovereign; between whom and you there can be no equal proportion of duty, where God requires it as a principal duty and care to himself; and when it is evident, that great good may ensue of it to your friends, yourself, your country, and your Sovereign, and extreme harm by the contrary. There can be no dishonour to yield; but in denying, dishonour and impiety (8).  
 — In another letter, he tells him, — 'By way of caution, take this from me; There are sharp eyes upon you, your actions, publick and private, are observed: It behooveth you, therefore, to carry yourself with all integrity and sincerity, both of hands and heart, lest you overthrow your own fortunes, and discredit your friends that are tender and careful of your reputation and well-doing (9).'

[*D*] *Wherein they exposed themselves to much danger.*  
 The Queen hearing of the Earl of Essex's desperate designs, sent the Lord-Keeper, the Earl of Worcester, Sir William Knolles, Comptroller of the Household, and uncle to the Earl of Essex, and Lord Chief Justice Popham, to know the cause of their tumultuous meeting. The gates being shut, they were, after some stay, let in by the wicket, but all their servants kept out, except the Purse bearer with the Seal. The court-yard was full of company, and the Earl of Essex in the midst of them; to whom the Lord-Keeper addressing himself, said, 'That he was sent, with the other Gentlemen, from the Queen, to know the cause of their assembling; and, if they had suffered any grievances, he promised them a fair and equitable redress.' To that the Earl of Essex answered in a louder tone than ordinary, 'That his life was fought; that he was in danger of being murdered in his bed; and had been perfidiously dealt withal; that letters had been counterfeited under his hand and seal, &c.' Chief Justice Popham answered, 'If any such matter were attempted or intended, it were fit for him to declare it, and to be assured of their faithful relation; and he should not fail of her Majesty's princely indifferency and justice.' The Earl of Southampton complained, of the assault upon him by the Lord Gray: to which Popham replied, 'That justice had been done, and the party in prison.' Then the Lord-Keeper pressed the Earl of Essex, 'to impart his grievances, if not openly, yet privately, and promised satisfaction.' Upon which the multitude interrupted him, crying out, 'Away, my Lord, they abuse you, they destroy you, they undo you, you lose time.' The Lord-Keeper putting on his hat, commanded them all upon their allegiance, to lay down their weapons, and depart.' Whereupon the Earl of Essex, and all the rest, put on their caps; and

going into the house, the Lords followed him as to a private conference, fearing the multitude, which cried out, 'Kill them, shop them up, keep them for pledges, cast the great seal out at window.' When they were come into the inner apartments, the Earl of Essex ordered the doors to be bolted upon them, bidding them, 'Have patience whilst he should go and take order with the Mayor and Sheriffs for the city, and that he would be with them again within an hour.' And so he left them in the custody of Sir John Davis, Francis Tresham, and Owen Salisbury, who guarded them with muskets, primed, and cockt. But the Earl of Essex meeting with great opposition in London, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of his accomplices, persuaded him to send him to his house, to discharge the Lord-Keeper, &c. and with them to intercede with the Queen for his pardon. The Earl consented that the Lord Chief Justice Popham should be released, and none else; but he refusing to accept of his liberty, except the Lord-Keeper might enjoy the same, Gorges discharged them all: at which the Earl was extremely angry (10).

[*E*] *Strong application was made by Sir Francis Bacon for his office of High-Chancellor* ] As appears by the following extracts of some of his letters. One dated Feb. 12, 1615, begins thus. 'It may please your most excellent Majesty, Your worthy Chancellor, I fear, goeth his last day. God hath hitherto used to weed out such servants as grew not fit for your Majesty, but now he hath gathered to himself a true sage, or *salvia*, out of your garden; but his Majesty's service must not be mortal.' — Then he moves for his place; and uses the following arguments, amongst others, — Because his father (Sir Nic. Bacon) had it: That great inconveniencies would follow, if it was conferred either on Sir Edward Coke, Henr. Hobert, Esq; Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, or Geo. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. — He likewise offers this to his Majesty's consideration, That the place of Attorney General, which he should resign, was honestly worth six thousand pounds a year; and his place of the Star-chamber was worth fifteen hundred pounds *per annum*. — In another Letter, dated Feb. 15, he acquainted the King with the Chancellor's recovery. — But, says he, 'whoever thinketh his disease is but melancholy, he maketh no true judgment of it; for it is plainly a formed and deep cough, with a pectoral surcharge; so that, at times, he doth almost *animam agere* [i. e. expire, in a fit of coughing.]' — In a letter to Sir George Villiers, of Feb. 21, 1615, he desires, by his interest, to be sworn a Privy Counsellor, because the Lord Chancellor's health was growing with the days, and his resignation an uncertainty. Adding, that the Lord

(i) Ar. Collins, p. 471.

(r) Wood, Ath. ut supra; & Fasti, Vol. 1. col. 18j.

(u) A. Collins, ubi supra.

(w) See Cabala, or Mysteries of State, &c. edit. 1663, p. 28, 29, 30; and The Works of Francis Lord Bacon, Vol. IV.

(n) Camden, as above, under the years 1599, 1600, 1601.

(o) Ibid. See also Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 789.

(p) Collins, as above, p. 470.

(q) R. Brooke says, it was the 17th. Catal. of Kings, Princes, &c. fol. Lond. 1622, p. 359.

(r) Fœdera, Conventiones, &c. published by T. Rymer, Vol. XVI. p. 495. Ar. Collins, ubi supra.

(s) Cabala, p. 34, 235.

(t) Ibid. p. 235.

(10) Camden's Annales; as above, under the year 1601.

The Life and Death of James the Sixth, King of Scotland, by Will. Sanderson, Esq; Lond. 1656, fol. p. 239, 240. Ar. Collins, ubi supra, p. 469.

Chief Justice Sir Edward Coke, sued him, about the same time, in a *præmunire* [F], which gave him a great deal of uneasiness (x). However, recovering from his indisposition, he was, on the 12th of May, 1616, constituted Lord High Steward, for the trial of Robert Earl of Somerset, and Frances his wife (y). And he was so honest, as to refuse to affix the Great Seal to the pardon granted them afterwards by King James I (z). But his infirmities returning more violently upon him, and finding himself unable to bear the fatigues of his laborious employment, he earnestly intreated the King to be discharged from his office (a) [G]. His Majesty parted with an old and faithful servant with all imaginable tenderness; and, as a mark of his favour, advanced him to the dignity of Viscount Brackley, on the 7th of November, 1616 (b). He also let him keep the Seal till the beginning of Hilary-term following, when he sent Secretary Winwood for it [H], with this message, 'That himself would be his under-keeper, and not dispose of it, whilst he lived to bear the title of Chancellor.' Which was accordingly done (c). On the 24th of January 1616-17, he voluntarily resigned the office of Chancellor of the University of Oxford, wherein he was succeeded by William Earl of Penbroke (d). His Lordship's

Chancellor told him the day before, 'If the King would ask his opinion, touching the person he would recommend to succeed him, upon death, or disability, he would name him for the fittest man;' and asks Villiers's advice, whether use may not be made of that offer (11).

[F] *Sir Edward Coke sued him, about the same time, in a præmunire.* He did not act as principal in that affair, but was at the bottom of it. The case was this; Sir Edward had heard and determined a cause at common law; but there was some juggling in the matter. For the witness that knew, and should have related the truth, was prevailed upon to be absent, if any man would undertake to excuse his non-appearance: a pragmatist fellow of the party undertook it; went with the witness to a tavern, called for a gallon-pot full of sack, bid him drink; and so leaving him, went into the Court. This witness is called for, as the prop of the cause; the undertaker answers upon oath, 'He left him in such a condition, that if he continues in it but a quarter of an hour, he is a dead man.' This evidencing the man's incapacity to come, deeded the matter so, that it lost the cause. The Plaintiffs that had the injury, bring the business about in Chancery. The Defendants, Richard Glanville, and William Allen, having had judgment at common law, refuse to obey the orders of that Court; whereupon the Lord Chancellor, for contempt of the Court, commits them to prison. They prefer two Indictments against his Lordship, in the Star-chamber, the last day of Hilary-term; the Lord Chief Justice Coke joins with them, and foments the difference, threatening the Lord Chancellor with a *præmunire*, upon Statutes 27 Edw. III. and 4 Hen. IV.—In Easter-term 1616, the Lord Chancellor being recovered from his indisposition, pursued the affair; and it being brought to a hearing before King James I. who had consulted beforehand the most eminent Lawyers, he gave judgment, 'That the Statutes of 27 Edw. III. cap. 1, and 4 Hen. IV. cap. 23, did not extend to the Court of Chancery;' for the first was ordained against those that sued to Rome, and the latter was designed to settle possessions against disturbances, and not to take away remedy in equity (12). Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards Lord Verulam, observes upon this occasion—(13).—'That the last day of the Terme (and, that which all men did condemn, the supposed last day of my Lord Chancellor's life) these two Indictments were preferred.—But this I will say, if they were set on that preferred them, they were the worst workmen that ever were that set them on; for there could not have been chosen two such causes, to the honour and advantage of the Chancery, for the justness of the decrees, and the foulness and scandall, both of fact, and person, in those that impeached the decrees. The Grand-jury, consisting (as it seemeth) of very substantiall and intelligent persons, would not finde the bills, notwithstanding they were much clamoured by the parties, and twice sent back by the Court; and, in conclusion, resolutely seventeen out of nineteen found an *Ignoramus*.'—A little after, he calls 'this a great and publique affront, not only to the reverend and well deserving person of the Chancellor, (and at a time when he was thought to lye a dying, which was barbarous) but to the high Court of

Chancery;'—This foul affair greatly served to hasten Sir Edward Coke's disgrace.

[G] *He earnestly intreated the King to be discharged from his office.* And writ this letter to his Majesty for that purpose. 'Most gracious Sovereign, I find through my great age, accompanied with griefs and infirmities, my sense and conceit is become dull and heavy, my memory decayed, my judgment weak, my hearing imperfect, my voice and speech failing and faltering, and in all the powers and faculties of my mind and body great debility. Wherefore, *conscientia imbecillitatis*, [conscious as I am of my weakness] my humble suit to your most sacred Majesty, is, to be discharged of this great place, wherein I have long served; and to have some comfortable testimony under your royal hand, that I leave it at this humble suit, with your gracious favour: so shall I, with comfort, number and spend the few days I have to live, in meditation, and prayers to Almighty God, to preserve your Majesty, and all yours, in all heavenly and earthly felicity and happiness. This suit I intended some years past, (†) *ex dictamine rationis & conscientia*; love and fear stayed it: now necessity constrains me to it; I am utterly unable to sustain the burthen of this great service; for I am come to St Paul's desire, *Cupio dissolvi, & esse cum Christo*.—In another letter he expresseth 'an earnest desire to serve still: but, (saith he) when I remember St Paul's rule, *Let him that hath an office wait on his office*; and do consider, withall, my great age, and many infirmities, I am dejected, and do utterly faint: for I see and feel sensibly, that I am not able to perform those duties as I ought, and the place requires; and thereupon I do seriously examine myself, what excuse or answer I shall make to the King of Kings, and Judge of all Judges, when he shall call me to account; and then my conscience shall accuse me, that I have presumed so long to undergo and wield so mighty and great a charge and burthen.—

He concludes thus,—'so, I most humbly beseech your sacred Majesty, graciously to regard the great age, infirmity, and impotency of your most devoted, obedient, loyal, and faithful servant; let me not be as Domitius after was, \* *Maluit deficere quam desinere*; but, with your princely favour, give me leave to retire myself from the careful service of this great office, and from the troubles of this world, and to spend the small remnant of my life in meditation and prayer.—' (14).

[H] *He also let him keep the Seal till the beginning of Hilary-term following, when he sent Secretary Winwood for it.* This we are assured of by Mr W. Sanderfon, the publisher of *Aulicus Coquinaria*; by way of reply to Sir Ant. Weldon; who, in his *Court and Character of King James* (15), says, that the Lord Chancellor was removed by Villiers's means, for 'not giving way to his exorbitant desires:—and, that to despight him the more, and to vex his very soule, in the last agony he sent Bacon, his desired successor, (one he hated) for the seals, which the old man's spirit could not brook, but sent them by his own servant to the King, and shortly after yielded his soul to his Maker.' The Great Seal was delivered to Sir Francis Bacon, March 7. 1616-7 (16).

(b) Pat. 14 Jac. p. 26; and Catalogue, &c. by R. Brooke, as above.

(c) *Aulicus Coquinaria*, or Answer to the Court and Character of King James, &c. by W. Sanderfon or Dr Goodman, Lond. 1650, 12mo, p. 171.

(d) Wood, Fashi, as above, Vol. I. col. 201.

(x) Ib. p. 31, &c.

(y) A. Collins, ubi supra.

(z) See Truth brought to Light, &c. or Historical Narration of the first XIV. years of King James, Lond. 1651, 4to, p. 63.

(a) Cabala, p. 235, 236.

(11) See Lord Bacon's Works, Vol. IV; and Cabala, p. 28, 29, 30.

(12) Life of King James I. by Ar. Wilfon, as above, under the year 1616. Ar. Collins, as above, p. 473.

(13) See his Letters in Vol. IV, of his Works; and Cabala, p. 31, 32.

(†) From the dictates of reason and conscience.

(\*) He chose rather to faint than to quit.

(14) Cabala, p. 235, 236.

(15) Page 125, edit. Lond. 1651, 12mo.

(16) Chron. Judicialia, p. 18

Lordship's illness increasing, the King sent the Earl of Buckingham, and Sir Francis Bacon, to signify to him, that he intended to give him the title of an Earl, and an annual pension; but being at that time seventy-seven years of age, he did not live to enjoy either (e). For he died, at York-house in the Strand, March 15, 1616-17, in a good old age, and full of virtuous fame, and was buried privately at Dodleston in Cheshire (f). He was a person of a most venerable gravity, both in his countenance and behaviour, having been seldom seen to smile (g); so that many went to the Chancery, on purpose only to see his venerable garb; and happy they who had no other business there, as Dr Fuller well observes (h). As to his inward abilities; he had a quick wit and apprehension, profound judgment, and ready utterance (i). He was a prudent man, a good Lawyer, just and honest, so that none of the Bench in his time went beyond him: and after his death, all of the long robe lamented his loss (k). He was attended by servants of most able parts, and was the first Chancellor since the Reformation, who had a *Chaplain*, namely John Williams, afterwards Lord-Keeper, and Archbishop of York. When he saw King James so profuse to the Scots, with the grave fidelity of a Statesman he scrupled not often to tell him, That as he held it necessary for his Majesty amply to reward those his countrymen, so he desired him carefully to preserve his Crown-lands for his own support, seeing he or his successors, might meet with Parliaments, which would not supply his occasions, but on such conditions as would not be very acceptable unto him. It was an ordinary speech in his mouth, Frost and Fraud both end in foul (l). By his first Lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ravenscroft, of Bretton in the county of Flint, Esq; he had issue two sons, Sir Thomas Egerton, Knt. who died in his life-time; and John, who succeeded him, and was created Earl of Bridgewater [I]. Also a daughter, Mary, married to Sir Francis Leigh, of Newnham-Regis, in the county of Warwick, Knight of the Bath. He had no issue by his second, and third Lady (m). He writ a few things, but only one piece was published in his life-time [K].

(e) Camden regni Jacobi I. Annalium Apparatus, ad ann. 1617.

(f) Dugdale's Baronage, ubi supra; and Life and Death of King James I. by Ar. Wilson, Esq; Lond. 1653, fol. p. 97.

(g) Dugdale, ubi supra.

(h) Worthies, in Cheshire, p. 176.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Wood, Ath. ubi supra, col. 418.

(l) Fuller's Worthies, ubi supra, p. 177.

(m) Dugdale, ubi supra; and Ar. Collins, p. 475, 476.

[I] And John, who succeeded him, and was created Earl of Bridgewater.] The Lord Chancellor Egerton's noble descendants, and inheritors of his honours and estates, to this present time, have been. 1. *John*, his second son, created Earl of Bridgewater, May 27. 1617. He died Decemb. 4. 1649. 2. *John*, who died Octob. 26. 1686. 3. *John*, born Nov. 9. 1646, who died March 19. 1700-1. 4. *Scroop*, born August 11. 1681, died in January 1744-5. 5. *John*, born 29 April 1727. died in February 1747-8. 6. *Francis*, a minor, is the present Duke of Bridgewater, (17).

[K] He writ a few things, but only one piece was published in his life-time.] That piece was, 'Speech

in the Exchequer-chamber, touching the *Post-nati*. Lond. 1609. 4to. in sixteen sheets.' But in the year 1651, there was published, a little book entitled, 'Certaine Observations concerning the Office of the Lord Chancellor. Composed by the Right Honorable, and most learned, Thomas Lord Ellesmere, late Lord Chancellor of England.' Small octavo. extracted chiefly from records. He also left behind him at his death four MSS. of choice collections fit to be printed, concerning (1). The Prerogative Royal. (2). Privileges of Parliament. (3). Proceedings in Chancery. (4). The power of the Star-chamber (18).

(18) Wood's Ath. as above, col. 418.

ELSYNGE (HENRY) Clerk of the House of Commons, in the reign of King Charles I, was born at Battersey in Surrey in the year 1598; being the eldest son of Henry Elsyng, Esq; (a) [A]. After a suitable education in Westminster-school, he was admitted, in 1621 (b), into Christ's-Church-College in Oxford; and took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, June 22, 1625 (c). But, without taking any further degrees, he went and travelled abroad; and spent, at several times, above seven years in foreign countries. By which he became so accomplished a gentleman, that his company and conversation was desired by persons of the highest quality and best judgment. He was in particular so highly valued by Archbishop Laud, that his Grace procured him the place of Clerk of the House of Commons, to which he proved of infinite use, as well as a singular ornament (d). For he was the most excellent Clerk, both to take and express the sense of the House, that ever sat there: and also so great a help to the Speaker, and to the House, in stating the Questions, and drawing up the Orders free from exceptions, that it much conduced to the dispatch of business, and the service of the Parliament (e). His discretion also and prudence was such, that though the Long Parliament was by faction kept in continual disorder, yet his fair and temperate carriage made him commended and esteemed by all parties, how furious and opposite soever they were among themselves. And therefore, for these his abilities and good conduct, more reverence was paid to his stool than to the Speaker Lenthall's chair, who being obnoxious, timorous, and interested, was often much confused in collecting the sense of the House, and drawing the debates into a fair question; in which Mr Elsyng was always observed to be so ready and just, that generally the House acquiesced in what he did of that nature (f). At length, when he saw that the greater part of the House were imprisoned and secluded; and that the remainder would bring the King to a trial for his life; he desired, on the 26th of December 1648, to quit his place, by reason, as he alledged, of his bad state of health: but most people understood his reason to be (and he acknowledged it to Mr Whitelock and

(a) Wood's Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 177.

(b) Mr Wood says it was in 1622, but by the time of taking his degree, it must have been in Michaelmas term 1621.

(c) Id. Fasti, Vol. I. col. 231.

(d) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(e) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 364.

(f) Wood, ubi supra.

[A] Being the eldest Son of Henry Elsyng Esq; Who was Clerk of the House of Lords, and a person of great abilities. His father was Henry Elsyng Citi-

zen of London, Son of John Elsyng of Daxworth in Cambridgehire (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(g) Whitelock, ubi supra.

and others of his friends) because he would have no hand in the business against the King (g). After having quitted his advantageous employment, he retired to his house at Hounslow in Middlesex; where contracting many infirmities of body, by his sedentariness, some distresses in his family, and by a deep melancholy for the sufferings and loss of his Sovereign, he departed this life, about the middle of August in the year 1654, and in the fifty-sixth of his age. He was buried in his private chapel at Hounslow, which is the burying place of his family (b). He was a man of very great parts, and ingenuous education; was very learned, especially in the Latin, French, and Italian languages; a great Student, and a very just and honest man: one, in a word, of whom the great Mr Selden was very fond (i). He was author of a few good things, of which we shall give an account in the note [B].

(b) Wood, ubi supra.

(i) Whitelock, ubi supra.

[B] He was Author of a few good things, &c.] Namely, 1. 'The ancient method and manner of holding Parliaments in England.' Lond. 1663. reprinted since in 12°. the third edition being in 1675. Mr Wood supposes (2), that it is mostly taken from a MS. entitled, *Modus tenendi Parliamentum apud Anglos*: 'Of the form and manner of holding a Parliament in England, and all things incident thereunto, digested and divided into several chapters and titles,' an. 1626, 'written by our Author's Father, who died while his Son was in his travels.' This curious little book, which seems to have been a collection made by the Author for his own use, is divided into eight Chapters. Ch. 1. Of summons. Ch. 2. Of appearance. Ch. 3. Of the place of meeting, and form of sitting. Ch. 4. Of Parliament days. Ch. 5. Of Proxies. Ch. 6. Of the cause of Summons. Ch. 7. Of the Speaker of the House of Commons. Ch. 8. Receivers and Tryers of Petitions. — In Chap. 1. He shows, among other curious particulars, 'who were antiently summoned to Parliament.' And they were 'Archbishops, and Bishops;' on account of their dignity and tenure. 'All Abbots and Priors, which held by an Earldom or a Barony,' by reason of their tenure. 'All Earls and Barons by reason of their inheritable Nobility and tenure, and their Peers also,' by reason of their tenure. 'The Judges, and Barons of the Exchequer, the King's Privy Council, and his learned Counsel,' were also summoned; but had no vote, nor were summoned on account of their tenure. — 'The Knights of the Shires, and the Barons of the Cinque Ports' were also summoned; and, 'The Citizens and Burgeses were ever elected and sent to the Parliament.' Next he enquires,

(2) Athen. ubi supra.

'whether the summons were antiently by one general writ or particular writs:' and affirms, that 'before the Conquest, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Peers were summoned to Parliament by one general Summons; and, that the others who were neither Lords nor Peers had particular writs.' He also gives, the first writ of Summons extant upon record, namely that of 49 Hen. iii; the titles of the parties summoned; the form of the antient writ for the election of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, &c. In Chap. III. he examines, 'Whether the Lords and Commons did antiently sit in one room together. And, whether the Commons did antiently sit at conference with the Lords.' In Chap. IV. he enquires, 'On what days the Parliament may not sit:' and shows by some instances, that they formerly used to sit on Sundays. — II. Mr Elynge likewise wrote 'A Tract concerning Proceedings in Parliament;' never published. It was some time in manuscript in the possession of Sir Matth. Hale, who bequeathed it in his Will to Lincoln's-Inn Library. III. Our Author left also behind him some Tracts and Memorials of his own writing, but so imperfect, that his executor would not publish them, lest they should prove injurious to his memory. IV. Ant. Wood ascribes moreover to Mr Elynge, 'A declaration or remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, agreed on by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, 19 May 1642. Lond. 1642. in six sheets 4to.' But it is too virulent to be consistent with Mr Elynge's character as given above. The reader may see it in Rushworth's Historical Collect. Vol. 4. and in Edw. Husband's Collection of Remonstrances, &c. Lond. 1643. 4to. p. 195. C

E L Y O T (Sir THOMAS) a Gentleman of eminent learning in the reign of King Henry VIII, and author of several works [A], was son of Sir Richard Elyot, of the county of Suffolk; and educated in academical learning at St Mary's Hall in Oxford [B], where he made a considerable progress in Logick and Philosophy (a). After some time spent at the university, he travelled into foreign countries, and, upon his return, was introduced to the Court of King Henry, who, being a great patron of learned men, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and employed him in several embassies, particularly to Rome in 1532, about the affair of the divorce of Queen Catherine, and afterwards, about the year 1536, to the Emperor Charles V (b). Sir Thomas was an excellent Grammarian, Poet, Rhetorician, Philosopher, Physician, Cosmographer, and Historian; and no less distinguished for his candour, and the innocence and integrity of his

(a) Baleus, de Script. Brit. Cent. VIII. n. 77; and Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 67.

(b) Wood, ibid.

[A] Author of several Works.] I. *The Castle of Health*, London, 1541, 1572, 1580, 1595, &c. in 8vo. II. *The Governor*, in three books. London, 1544, 1547, 1580, &c. in 8vo. III. *Of the Education of Children*. London, in 4to. IV. *The Banquet of Sapience*. London, in 8vo. V. *De Rebus Memorabilibus Angliæ*: for the compleating of which he had perused many old English Monuments (\*). V. *A Defence or Apology for good women*. VI. *Bibliotheca Eliotæ: Elyot's Library, or Dictionary*. London, 1541, &c. fol. Which work Cooper augmented, and enriched with thirty three thousand words and phrases, besides a fuller account of the true signification of words. He translated likewise, from Greek into English, *The Image of Governace, compiled of the Aets and Sentences by the Emperor Alexander Severus*. London, 1556, 1594, &c. in 8vo. And from Latin into English, 1. *St Cyprian's Sermon of the mortality of man*. London, 1534, in 8vo. 2. *The Rule of a Christian Life*, written by Picus Earl of Mirandola. London 1534, in 8vo (1).

(\*) See Roger Ascham's *Topophilus*, p. 28.

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 67.

[B] Educated in Academical learning at St Mary's Hall in Oxford.] The year of his admission, thro' the defect of the record, cannot easily be determined; unless it was about the year 1514: for, four years after, viz. in 1518, one Thomas Elyot was admitted *ad lecturam alicujus libri facultatis Artium Logices Aristotelis*, which is the admission to the degree of bachelor of arts; and in Lent the same year he completed that degree by determination in School-Street. It appears likewise, that the said Thomas Elyot was, in the beginning of August 1524, admitted *ad lecturam alicujus libri institutionum*, that is, to the degree of bachelor of the Civil Law. Now if it could be made appear, that Sir Thomas Elyot died at about fifty years of age, we might certainly conclude him to be the same with Elyot the bachelor of arts and of the Civil Law; otherwise not (2). Parker (3) makes our Author to have been bred in Jesus College in Cambridge.

(2) Id. ibid.  
(3) In his *Script. Cantabr.*

[C] Leland

his life (c). He was courted and celebrated by all the learned men of his time, particularly the famous Antiquary Leland, who address'd a copy of Latin verses to him [C]. A similitude of manners, and sameness of studies, recommended him to the intimacy and friendship of Sir Thomas More (d). He died in 1546, and was buried, the 25th of March, in the church of Carleton in Cambridgeshire, of which county he had been Sheriff (e).

(c) Pitseu, de Illustr. Angl. Script. ann. 1546, n. 969.

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) Wood, uti supra.

[C] Leland address'd a copy of Latin verses to him ] We shall transcribe them for the entertainment of the learned reader. They are extant in his *Encomia illustrium virorum* (4).

Ad Thomam Eliotam, Equitem ornatissimum.

Forſitan expectas, Eliota diſerte, venuſtum  
Ut tranſmittam aliquod munus ab urbe tibi.  
Ut non exſpectes, mentis tamen intimus in me  
Promeruit candor munus at omne tuæ  
At ne quid temere mittam, vel quod fit ineptum,  
Reſtat in officiis unica cura meis.  
Non aurum mittam, longo nam temporis uſu  
Fulgidus eſt auri deperiturus honor.  
Non in Erythræis ereſcentia munera conchis ;  
Margaritarum gratia fluxa, brevis.

Sed neque gemmarum radiantia ſidera mittam :  
Tantum oculos paſcunt, cætera nuda quidem.  
Excutienda mihi quare ſunt munera, quæ non  
Corrumpant ullo ſæcula longa modo.  
Talia ſed magno quæruntur dona labore,  
Et poſcunt animi fertiliſoris opem.  
Quum mea nil aliud poſſit præſtare Camœna,  
Præter Caſtaliis carmina miſta modis :  
Carmina ſac igitur capias hæc fronte remiſſa,  
Munera, ſed meritis inferiora tuis.  
Queis modo ſi annuerint ſtabilem fata optima vitam,  
Longè auro & gemmis ſplendidiora dedi.  
Sic te perpetuo victuros ſcribere libros,  
Edere me iuuet & carmina digna cedro.

T

ETHEREGE (GEORGE), a celebrated Wit in the reigns of King Charles and King James II, and eminent for his poetical genius, eſpecially in Comedy. He is ſaid to have been deſcended of an antient family in Oxfordſhire [A], or allied to it (a), and born about the year 1636, but not very diſtant from London 'tis believed, as ſome of his neareſt relations appear to have been ſettled not far from this metropolis, in the county of Middleſex. 'Tis thought he had ſome education at the univerſity of Cambridge, but it ſeems he travelled into France, and perhaps Flanders alſo, in his younger years; and at his return, ſtudied, for a while, the Municipal Laws, at one of the Inns of Court in London (b). But the polite company he kept, and his own natural talents, inclining him rather to court the favour of the Muſes, and cultivate the *Belles Lettres*, he purſued the ſame ſo effectually, that the town was obliged with his firſt dramatiſk performance in the year 1664 (c); intituled *The Comical Revenge: or, Love in a Tub* [B]; the writing whereof brought him acquainted, as he has himſelf informed us, with Charles, afterwards Earl of Dorſet; to whom it is, by the author, dedicatèd. And the fame of this play, with his lively humour, engaging converſation; and refined taſte in the fashionable gallantries of the town, ſoon eſtabliſhed him in the ſocieties, and rendered him the delight of thoſe leading Wits among the Quality and Gentry of chief rank and diſtinction, who made their pleaſure the chief buſineſs of their lives, in that reign; ſuch as George Villiers Duke of Bucks, John Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter, Sir Car. Scroop, Sir Charles Sidley, Henry Savile, &c. Encouraged hereby to proceed, he brought another comedy upon the Stage; but it was four years after, in the year 1668 (d), intituled, *She would if ſhe could*; which alſo gained him no leſs applauſe [C]. And it was expected that he would, by the continuance

(d) In both the Catalogues of the Bodleian Library; that by Dr Tho. Hyde, fol. 1674; and the laſt, by Mr Robert Fyſher, fol. 1738, this firſt edition of that Play is dated in 1668; though the ſecond is only cited, after Langbaine, by C. Gildon; and after him, by G. Jacob.

[A] An ancient Family in Oxfordſhire ] Whereof, there was one, reſiding at Thame in that county, before the Reformation; from whence ſprung the learned Dr: George Etherege, who was born there, about the year 1520; educated at Chriſt-Church-College, in the Univerſity of Oxford; was King's Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue there, in the Reign of Queen Mary, and ſome part of Queen Elizabeth's: but then, as he had been an oppoſer of the Proteſtants, was obliged to reſign it; whereupon he followed his Profeſſion of Phyſick in the City of Oxon, and inſtructed ſeveral ſcholars, who were the ſons of ſome Roman Catholic gentlemen, in the Sciences, to his old age, being alive in 1588; and was buried in the ſaid city, when he died. He wrote and tranſlated many learned books in his younger years; as John Leland has, in his poetical encomiums remembered (1); being a good Hebreian, Greecian and Poet; ſome of them written in Divinity, Phyſick, Muſick, and Verſe; among which was his *Alta Henrici Octavi*, in a Greek Poem, which he preſented to Queen Elizabeth, when, in a progreſs, ſhe viſited that Univerſity, Anno 1566. But it being thought only deſigned for the uſe of her Maſteſty, and its author, it was during his life kept from the preſs, and ſo has continued ever ſince in MS and *ſub noſtris atticis* (2). He alſo tranſlated a book written by Paulus Aegineta into Engliſh; the Pſalms of David

into Hebrew verſe; and moſt part, or all of Juſtin Martyr, from the original Greek; beſides ſome other things, for the particulars whereof we ſhall at preſent refer to our author (3).

[B] *The Comical Revenge: or Love in a Tub.*] This Comedy was acted at his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York's Theatre, then newly erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; and firſt printed, as is obſerved above, in Quarto, 1664. again, in 1669, 1689, 1690; and afterwards in the volume of our Author's Comedies printed together. It is dedicatèd by him, to the Honourable Charles Lord Buckhurſt; to whom he ſays, 'I could not have wiſhed myſelf more fortunate, than I have been, in the ſucceſs of this poem: 'the writing of it, was a means to make me known 'to your Lordſhip; the acting of it, has loſt me no 'reputation; and the printing of it, has now given 'me an opportunity to ſhew how much I honour you, ' &c. (4). Mr Langbaine ſays that, 'This Comedy, 'though of a mixed nature; part of it being ſerious, 'and writ in heroic verſe, yet has ſucceeded admirably on the ſtage; it having been always acted with 'general approbation (5).'

(3) See A. Wood, in Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 289, a. And Athen. Oxon. Tom. I. col. 237.

(4) Sir George Etherege's Dedicat. to the Lord Buckhurſt of *The Comical Revenge*, &c.

[C] *His Comedy entitled, She would, if ſhe could, gained him no leſs applauſe.*] This alſo, was acted at the Duke's Theatre, and printed, as was obſerved above, in 1668; again, in 1671, &c. Alſo acted at

(5) Account of the Dramatiſk Poets, Oxon. 1691, p. 139.

(4) Apud Jo. Lelandi de reb. Britan. Collectanea, Oxon. 1715, 8vo. In Append. P. i. p. 144.

(a) MS. notes on the Lives of the English Poets, by Tho. Coxeter, Eq;

(b) Idem. Alſo C. Gildon's Lives and Characters of the Engl. Dramatick Poets, 8vo, p. 53.

(c) So Mr Coxeter in his Notes above cited; tho' neither Langbaine, nor any of his followers, ever ſaw that firſt edition.

(1) Vid. Princip. or Muſtrum aliquod & Fruſtituram in Anglia. Encomia, &c. a Joanne Lelando Antiquario conſcripta. edit. 4to, Lond. 1589, p. 111.

(2) Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. 5to, 1736, p. 85.

continuance of his studies to polish and enliven the theatrical taste, be no less constant in such entertainments than the most assiduous of his contemporaries. But it was ascribed to his indolence, or too great an indulgence in his pleasures, rather than any close engagement at that time to more serious applications in the affairs of State, that his ingenuity was so alienated from the exercise of his pen; and indeed it is manifest, that there was an interval of above seven years, between that, and the appearance of his next, which was also his last dramattick production; and which, by the way, will shew us when that poem was written by his friend the Earl of Rochester which we shall here below cite; wherein though our author is highly complimented with all the requisites of an accomplished Poet, he is yet condemned to lose the Laurel for that delay [D]; his said last comedy not being published till 1676. It is intituled, *The Man of Mode: or, Sir Fopling Flutter*. It is dedicated by him to the Duchefs of York, who then was Mary the daughter of the Duke of Modena; in the service of which Duchefs our author, as he says in his said dedication, he then was; and this play still exalted his reputation, even above what both the former had done; he having therein, as perhaps he had also partly set himself some example in the others before, shadowed forth (but somewhat disguisedly) some of his noted acquaintance and contemporaries who were known, or thought to be so, by his said draughts of them,

the Theatre-Royal, by their Majesties Servants, and printed Quarto, 1693, &c. And tho' it has neither Dedication, Preface, Prologue, nor Epilogue, that might inform us of its success, the reason whereof may perhaps presently appear, yet has it had great encomiums also bestowed upon it. One of our comick writers, who was his contemporary, and afterwards Poet Laureat, writes thus of this Play, '*She would, if she could*, I think, and have the authority of some of the best judges for it, is the best Comedy that has been written since the Reformation of the stage. And even that, for the imperfect representation of it at first, received such prejudice, that had it not been for the favour of the Court, in all probability it had never got up again; and it suffers for it, in great measure, to this very day (6).'

(6) See *The Humourist*, a Comedy, by Tho. Shadwell of the Middle Temple, 4to, 1671, in Pref.

(7) E. Phillips's Collection of the Poets, P. ii. p. 53; and W. Winstanley copies his words.

(8) Langbaine's Account of the Engl. Dramattick Poets, p. 187.

Mr Phillips says of these two Comedies, *Love in a Tub*, and *She would, if she could*, that for pleasant wit and no bad oeconomy, they are judged not unworthy the approbation they have met with (7). Gildon agrees with Langbaine, that this last, is a Comedy of the first rank; and Langbaine further wishes 'For the publick satisfaction, that this great master would oblige the world with more of his performances; which would put a stop to the crude and indigested Plays, which, for want of better, cumber the stage (8).'

These applauses arose from our Author's changing the study after old copies, and chimerical draughts from ungrounded speculation, which is but painting with dead colours, for those, taken directly from the freshest practise and experience in original life. He drew his characters from what they called the *Beau monde*; from the manners and modes then prevailing with the gay and voluptuous part of the world; which has made them appear the more natural, tho' we cannot say the more innocent. He has also spirited his dialogues, especially in the courtship of the fair sex, for which he is distinguished by Mr Dryden and others, with a sparkling gaiety which had but little appeared before upon the stage, in parts pretending to the character of modish Gallants; and to judge of his figures according to the rules of true resemblance, he will appear a masterly hand; but strictly to examine them, by the rules of honour, morality, and the principles of virtue, where none such are seriously professed; as the main business in the Comedies of those times, and most since, are intrigues of unlawful love, would be a severity, that might tend to eclipse that exposure of those corruptions, which has ever been allowed as the greatest benefit of Theatrical representations; according to the reflexions which have been made on the comic writings of our Author, and some other contemporaries, by a late writer (9): tho' it is by the same hand also owned on the other side, that corruptions are too often taught upon the stage, under the pretence of exposing them. To describe and make known those poisonous things which are baneful to the body, may be necessary and sufficient for the avoidance of the ignorant; but those examples that poison the morals and virtues of the mind, are so palatable to the vicious, that the simple or bare descriptions of them often prove fatal, unless accompanied

(9) In a Discourse upon Comedy, MS. 4to, among the Collections of the late N. Boothe, Esq; of Gray's-Inn, p. 13.

with such powerful antidotes, as may destroy their mischievous efficacy, or such prospects of their destructive consequences, as may terrify mankind more by their durable disasters, than tempt them by their fleeting delights; as the same Author has also observed upon this topic (10): and this part of the argument has been also more directly applyed to Sir George's Plays, particularly by a late reformer of the stage, who had been a comick writer himself; and who, upon quoting a reflexion that had been made on a speech in one of his own Comedies, as too much inclining to a vein of wantonness, may seem to have aimed at some apology for it, by recriminating upon this play of our Author's, as what is intirely written in that vein; where speaking of luscious expressions and descriptions that gratify a sensual appetite, he says, 'This expedient to supply the deficiency of wit, has been used more or less, by most of the authors who have succeeded on the stage; tho' I know but one who has professedly writ a play upon the basis of the desire of multiplying our species; and that is, the polite Sir *George Etherege*; if I understand what the lady would be at in the play called *She would, if she could*. Other Poets have here and there, given an intimation that there is this design, under all the disguises and affectations which a lady may put on; but no author except this, has made sure work of it, and put the imaginations of the audience upon this one purpose from the beginning to the end of the Comedy. It has always fared accordingly; for, whether it be, that all who go to this piece, would, if they could, or that, the innocents go to it, to guess only what *She would, if she could*, the play has always been well received (11).'

(10) Idem, p. 15.

(11) See *The Spectator*, Vol. I. No. 51.

[D] *Condemned to lose the Laurel for that delay.* In the said famous Poem, written by the Lord Rochester (\*), after the example of Sir John Suckling's upon the like subject, Apollo finds some plausible pretence of exception to the claim of every poetical candidate for the laurel crown; therefore our Poet, by the scheme or drift of it, could escape no less disappointment than the rest; yet his Lordship, to do him ample justice, has sufficiently shewed his merits to it, in every thing but his perseverance to exert them; which, after having first of all discarded Mr Dryden, he next expresses thus.

(\*) Tho' it has since been sathered, as well as some others, without any authority, upon George D. of Buckingham. See *The Tryal of the Poets*, for the Bays, in Imitation of a Satire in Boileau, among *The Miscellaneous Works of Geo. late D. of Buckingham, &c.* 8vo, 1704, p. 41.

This reverend Author was no sooner set by,  
But Apollo had got gentle George in his eye;  
And frankly confessed, of all Men that writ,  
There's none had more Fancy, Sense, Judgment or Wit:  
But, i'th' crying sin Idleness, he was so harden'd,  
That his long *sev'n years* silence was not to be pardon'd.

Which plainly shews that the Poem in which these lines are written (12) was just before the publication of our Author's next Play abovementioned in the text, and here, in the following note.

(12) *The Session of the Poets*, in Lord Rochester's Works, 8vo, 1739. And in Dryden's Miscellanies, edit. 12mo, 1716, P. ii. p. 96.

them, to many of the audience, which rendered the Play very popular [E]. It seems he

was

[E] *Which made the Play very popular.*] This Comedy, called *The Man of Mode, or Sir Fopling Flut-ter*, acted also at the Duke's Theatre, besides the first edition, abovementioned, in 1676, had other impres-sions in 1684, &c. Our Author, in his courtly Dedi-cation to the said Duchefs of York has this, among other very complaisant and respectful expressions; 'I hope the honour I have of *belonging to you*, will excuse my presumption: 'tis the first thing I have produce'd in your service, and my *duty* obliges me to what my *choice* durst not else have aspired.' The song in the last act, was translated by Sir Car Scroop, from part of an Elegy written in French by *Madame la Comtesse de la Suze* (13). The Prologue was also writ-ten by the said Baronet; in which he has these Verses.

(13) See *Le Re-cueil des Pièces Gallantes*, Tom. I. p. 42.

With modest fears a *Muse* does first begin,  
Like a *young vengeb* newly entic'd to Sin:  
But, tickled once with praise, by her good will,  
The wanton fool would never more lye still.  
'Tis an *old mistress* you'll meet here to night,  
Whose chains you once have look'd on with de-  
light;  
But now of late, such dirty drabs have known ye,  
A *Muse* 'oth' better sort's asham'd to own ye, &c.

And he goes on, to censure the superfluous impor-tation of any foreign characters of folly, when we are overstocked with such varieties, as are giving conti-nual provocation to be exposed at home. Therefore he entertains the audience, to be favourable to their own breed, and forbare to damn in the copy, what they have admired in the original. The Epilogue to this Play was written by Mr Dryden; in which he found it proper to anticipate the audience with an opinion that there was no personal satire intended; and to prevent any thing of that kind being suspected therein: so describes one of the principal characters, that of Sir Fopling, which was most liable to such sus-picion, as a draught drawn only from the imagination, or its ideas arising from the collective body of Fops in general, and pointing, by no means, at any parti-cular man. To which purpose the former part of that Epilogue is thus written:

Most modern Wits, such monstrous *Fools* have shown,  
They seem not of Heav'n's making, but their own.  
'Those nauseous *Harlequins*, in *Farce* may pass,  
But there goes more to a substantial ass;  
Something of Man, must be expos'd to view,  
That, Gallants, they may more resemble you:  
*Sir Fopling* is a *Fool*, so nicely writ,  
The Ladies would mistake him for a *Wit*.  
And when he sings, talks loud, and cocks, would  
cry,  
I vow, methinks he's *pretty* company;  
So brisk, so gay, so travell'd, so refin'd!  
As he took pains to graff upon his kind.  
True Fops help Nature's work, and go to school,  
To file, and finish God Almighty's Fool:  
Yet none *Sir Fopling*, him, or him can call;  
He's *Knight 'o th' Shire*, and represents you all:  
From each he meets, he culls what e'er he can,  
*Legion's* his name, a *People* in a *Man*.

And to the same sense concludes,

Yet every man is safe from what he fear'd,  
For no one Fool is hunted from the herd.

And yet he has here so described his dress, his airs, and humours, however gathered only from this che-mical precedent, as he would have it thought, on the Drama, that the town was rather confirmed in, than diverted thereby from applying the imaginary to a real person. And who was the original of this picture agreed upon at last to be, but Beau Hewit,

the most notorious Fop of that time! as we have been credibly informed; also that the part of Dorimant was drawn for the Author's friend the Earl of Rocheller; wherein his inconstancy, fallhood, and triumphs, in the conquest and ruin of the fair, are varnished over with such agreeable and captivating graces, of modish and polite gallantry, that they may have been no less delectable to the lighter, than displeasing to the graver part, or those whose business it is, to assume, or pro-fess this character. The Poet has also drawn out some sketch of himself in this Play, if we mistake not, in the character of Medley: nay, as we also had it from the same intelligence, that of the late Mr John Bow-man, who had either acted the part of Sir Fopling, or some other in this Comedy, when it was in its earliest and highest repute, the very Shoemaker, in the first act, was also meant for a real person; who, by his improvident courses, having been before unable to make any profit of his trade, grew afterwards, upon this publick representation of him, so notable, and drew such a resort of the best customers to him, as obliged him to such close application in his business, and made him so ambitious of giving satisfaction, that he thenceforth became a very thriving man, and ac-quired a very substantial and comfortable maintenance for himself and family. The play met with extraor-dinary success upon the stage, however different judg-ments have been given of it. Langbaine says, 'It is written with great art and judgment; and is ac-knowledged by all to be as true Comedy, and the characters as well drawn to the life, as any play that has been acted since the Restauration of the English stage (14):' with whom Gildon agrees. 'Tis true our Author has here in this, as well as his other Comedies before, made some witty allusions, and sim-ilies drawn from the Sportsman's language, or phrases used in the country diversions of hunting and hawk-ing; which might not be so familiarly relished by some of his Criticks, or meer Courtiers, Citizens, and Cockneys in town: and though he may not have so highly built upon any little underplots, that keep up the spirit and business of the scenes, till they have gathered to one such capital plot as might at last break out into that surprizing disclosure of events, which would answer the expectation of some judges; whence it was objected, that he had written two, as one Author, (\*) or as another, not over correctly, (\* In the Works of G. Duke of Bucks, as be-fore, p. 60.) *three taking Plays without one Plot*; tho' 'tis by others asserted, these three Plays are neither without Plot or Humour (15): Yet those little objections, from some of his audience, were foundation enough it seems, for a satirical pen to raise a little character of him upon, in that poem, where the said satirist mentions our Au-thor, among the better sort of those Poets, who were then damned, as he acknowledges, only by the igno-rant, after this manner.

(14) In his Ac-count of Sir G. Etherege, as be-fore.

(\*) In the Works of G. Duke of Bucks, as be-fore, p. 60.

(15) Miscellanea Aurea: or, The Golden Medley, &c. 8vo, 1720, p. 291.

A fourth, for writing superfine,  
With words correct in every line:  
And one that does presume to say,  
A Plot's too gross for any Play.  
Comedy should be clean and neat,  
As Gentlemen do talk and eat:  
So, what he writes, is but Translation,  
From Dog and Partridge Conversation (16).

But our Author has been handled, with regard parti-cularly to this last Comedy, more severely yet, by that Critick in Prose, who, as we have above read, bestowed some censure upon the last before mentioned: but with what candour and equity, this has been so rigorously reflected on, is submitted to other judges; by some of whom, it has been thought that, to sift out some coarse and indelicate sentiments or expres-sions from the meanest or lowest characters, and men-tion nothing that is gay, witty, or polite, from any others; nothing like what Dorimant has accosted the widow with,

(16) See *The Ramble*, an He-roick Poem; with some Ter-restrial Hymnes and Carnal Eja-culations; by A-lexander Rad-cliffe, of Gray's Inn, Esq; 8vo, 1682: in his *News from Hell*, p. 5; reprinted in Dryden's *Mis-cellanies*, edit. 12mo, 1716, P. ii. p. 101.

They taste of Death, who do at Heaven arrive,  
But we this Paradise approach alive!

I say,

(e) Lives, &c. of Engl. Dramatick Poets, as above.

(\*) In a *Consolatory Epist.* to Capt. Julian, ascribed to G. Duke of Bucks, this match is reflected on.

(f) This Poem is intitled *The Present State of Matrimony*; to be seen, in a fair MS. Collect. of Satires, Vol. II. in the Harleian Library. There are other copies, with enlargements to the same sense.

(g) This from the information of the late Mr John Bowman, the oldest Actor of his time; who knew Sir George, as well as Mrs Barry.

(h) In his Account of Sir G. Etherege, as before, p. 53.

was addicted to some great extravagancies; being too free of his purse in gaming, and of his constitution with women and wine; which embarrassed his fortune, impaired his health, and brought some satirical reflexions upon him. Gildon says, that for marrying a Fortune he was knighted (e); but we have it more particularly in a poem of those times, which never was printed, that to make some reparation of his circumstances, he courted a rich old widow; but her ambition was such, that she would not marry him unless he could make her a Lady; which he was forced by the purchase of knighthood to do (\*). This might be, as it is computed, from the chronological order in which that poem seems to have been transcribed, in the volume of such like poems, wherein we have seen it, about the year 1683 (f). We hear not of any issue he had by this Lady: but we have been informed that he cohabited, whether before, or after his said marriage, we know not, for some time with Mrs Barry the Actress, and had a daughter by her; that he settled five or six thousand pounds upon her; but that she died young (g). From the same intelligence we have also learnt, that Sir George was, in his person, a fair, slender, genteel man; but spoiled his countenance with drinking, and other habits of intemperance; and in his deportment, very affable and courteous, of a sprightly and generous temper; which with his free, lively, and natural vein of writing, acquired him the general character of *Gentle George*, and *Easy Etherege*; in respect to which qualities, we may often find him compared with Sir Charles Sidley [F]. His said courtly address, and other accomplishments, won him the favour of the Duchess aforesaid, afterwards, when King James was crowned, his Queen; by whose interest and recommendation he was sent Ambassador abroad. In a certain pasquil that was written upon him, it is intimated as if he was sent upon some embassy to Turkey; which, because never printed that we know of, we shall here in a note transcribe [G], to shew how free the Wits could be with his character, who had been so with his own conduct. Gildon says, that being in particular esteem with the late Queen, King James's consort, he was sent Envoy to Hamburgh (h); but it is, in several books evident, that he was, in that reign, a Minister at Ratibon; at least, from the year 1686, to the time that his Majesty left this kingdom, if not later;

more

I say, to gather us out a few weeds only, and overlook every flower, has been thought, in this instance, but a partial description of the Muses garden; and some of our most celebrated Comedies written since, might suffer as much or more, by such inequitable examination. The part of Dorimant seems not so expressly intended for the perfect fine Gentleman, as the refined rake or libertine; the unconfined rover after amorous adventures; therefore, strict honour and honesty are not to be expected in such a character; and the play is unjustly brought to the test, upon the false and unallowable proposition of its being an absolute pattern of genteel Comedy. If all plays were to pass the ordeal of moral virtue, it would have company enough in the fiery sentence; and under such a merciless trial, it might not in some measure, be denied, 'But that the negligence of every thing which engages the attention of the sober and valuable part of mankind, appears very well drawn in this piece; as it must be denied, that it is necessary to the character of a fine Gentleman, that he should in that manner trample upon all order and decency.' And tho' we cannot be so very violently prejudiced, as to assert that 'This whole celebrated Piece is a perfect contradiction of good manners, good sense, and common honesty; that there is nothing in it, but what is built upon the ruin of virtue and innocence;' and, 'That nothing but being lost to a sense thereof, can make any one see this Comedy, without observing more frequent occasions to move row and indignation, than mirth and laughter;' yet, we may partly coincide with the Critick, in the conclusion of his remarks on this play; where, at the same time, that he allows it to be nature, we also agree, it is nature (tho' not in the utmost, yet) in its corruption and degeneracy (17). These three Comedies were reprinted together in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, but so blindly, as to the time when they were written, having no particulars of any date, but that of the year in which they were then reprinted, that there is no knowing by any thing in the book, whether they were ever published before, or that the Author was not then alive (18); an imperfection, for want of some considerate editor, common in the new impressions of books, often to the perplexity, obstruction, and misguidance of studious men in their pursuits of historical knowledge. At the end of this edition, are the two poetical Epistles of our Author, which, in his Embassy, he addressed to the Earl of Mid-

dleton, and three other small Poems, that will hereafter be somewhat further spoken of (19).

[F] *Often find him compared with Sir Charles Sidley.* Among other testimonies which might be produced, that of his learned friend Mr John Evelyn is in these words,

While fathers are severe, and servants cheat,  
Till bauds and whores can live without deceit,  
Sidley and easy Etherege will be great (20).

Another Poetical Writer has these lines upon them;

Here gentle Eth'rege's and Sidley's Muse,  
Warm the coy maid, and melting love infuse:  
No unchast words, with harsh offensive sound,  
The tender ears of blushing virgins wound;  
Nor thought, which nauseous images inspire,  
And damp the glowing heat of soft desire:  
But calm and easy the sweet numbers move,  
And ev'ry verse is influenc'd by love (21).

[G] *We shall here, in a note transcribe.* This Pasquil upon our Author, also two of his Plays, and his embassy to Turkey, as we have it now before us, consists of these lines:

Eth'rege by Knight and Lords united club;  
Pickled his Play, and Person in a Tub:  
For Comical Revenge, the Lord thought fit  
To have a single Trial of his Wit;  
In which the Title, if well understood,  
Does shew, he wou'd write better if he cou'd:  
But he and's Play have different mishaps;  
One's purg'd to cure, t'other to get more claps.  
His meagre face did his bad fate foretell;  
That, like himself, 'twou'd not be count'nanc'd well:  
Instead of sense, he welcomes you with sound;  
For his Fee-simple was two hundred pound:  
Yet let us not at this great bounty scoff;  
He's the first Fire-ship e'er was well paid off.  
Ovid to Pontus sent, for too much Wit;  
Eth'rege to Turkey, for the want of it (22).

[H] *May*

(17) The Spectator, Vol. 1. edit. 8vo, 1747, No. 65, p. 399, &c.

(18) The Works of Sir George Etherege, containing his Plays and Poems: printed for J. Tonson, &c. 8vo, 1704. They were reprinted in 12mo, 1715.

(19) In note [F]

(20) Mr Evelyn's Imitation of Ovid's 15th Elegy

(21) Mr Charles Tooke, To a young Lady, with the first edition of *A Collection of Poems*, viz. *The Temple of Death* &c. third edit. 12mo, 1716, p. 2

(22) So, in an old MS. copy, found among the Earl of Arlington's Papers, in 1739.

more especially it appears that he was then there, in his own letters, which he wrote from thence; some, to the Earl of Middleton, in verse; to one whereof his Lordship engaged Mr Dryden to return a poetical answer; in which he invites Sir George to write another play, and to keep him in countenance for his having been so dilatory in his last, reminds him how long the comedy, or farce, of *The Rebearfal* had been hatching, by the Duke of Buckingham, before it appear'd (i); but we meet with nothing more of our author's writing, after his last comedy aforesaid, for the stage. However, there are in being some other letters of his in prose, which were written also from Ratisbon; two whereof, which he sent to the said Duke of Buckingham, when he was in his recess, because they are not only entertaining in themselves, but will give us a stronger, and more exact resemblance, both of the writer and receiver, than any draught that could be made with the most vivid colours, in a more distant description, may not, we persuade ourselves, be thought tedious here to produce [H]. As for his other compositions, such as

(i) See these Letters in Dryden's Miscellanies, &c.

[H] *May not be thought tedious here to produce.* We have met with but three letters of Sir George's writing in Prose, from Ratisbon. One is directed to his friend in London, whose name is not mentioned, and dated from that city, August 23. 1688; wherein, he gives a short account of some German Beauties there, &c. There is moreover, something arch in this letter; where Sir George is speaking of an indolent friend 'whose mistress, says he, I should pity, but 'that I am persuaded his prudence has made him 'chuse her in the Family:' and a little further, he talks in the very same sense of himself: 'I have 'learned to ogle and languish in publick, like any 'Walcup; and to content myself in private, with 'a piece of Household-bread, as well as some of my 'friends (23).' But the other two letters, which are more considerable for their contents, being thought worthy of revival, and proper to illustrate this article, we shall here recite; the first of them is as follows:

To GEORGE Duke of BUCKINGHAM.

My Lord,

I Received the news of your Grace's retirement into *Yorkshire*, and leading a sedate contemplative life there, with no less astonishment, than I should hear of his *Christian Majesty's* turning *Benedictine Monk*, or the Pope's wearing a long perriwig, and setting up for a flaming beau in the seventy-fourth year of his age. We have a picture here in our Town-Hall, which I never look upon, but it makes me think on your Grace; and I dare sware you'll say, there is no dishonour done you, when you hear whose it is: in short, 'tis that of the famous CHARLES the Vth, who amidst all the magnificence that this foolish world affords, amidst all his *African laurels* and *Gallic triumphs*, freely divested himself of the Empire of *Europe*, and his hereditary kingdoms, to pass the remainder of his life in solitude and retirement.

Is it possible that your Grace, who has seen ten times more luxury than that Emperor ever knew; conversed with finer women; kept politer company; possessed as much too, of the true real greatness of the world as ever he enjoyed, should in an age, still capable of pleasure, and under a fortune, whose very ruins would make a comfortable *Electorate* here in *Germany*; is it possible, I say, that your Grace should leave the Play at the beginning of the fourth Act, when all the Spectators are in pain to know what will become of the Hero, and what mighty matters he is reserved for, that set out so advantageously at first? That a person of your exquisite taste, who has breathed the air of Courts even from your infancy, should be content, in that part of your life which is most difficult to be pleased, and most easy to be disgusted, to take up with the conversation of country Parsons; a sort of people, whom to my knowledge, your Grace never much admired; and do penance in the nauseous company of Lawyers, whom I am certain you abominate!

To raise our astonishment higher; who could ever have prophesied, though he had a double gift of *Nostradamus* his spirit, that the Duke of *Buckingham*, who never vouchsafed his embraces to any ordinary beauty, would ever condescend to sigh and languish for the heirs apparent of a thatched cot-

tage, in a straw hat, flannel petticoat, stockings of as gross a thrum as the blew-coat boys caps at the hospital, and a smock, the Lord defend me from the wicked idea of it! of as coarse a canvas as ever served an apprenticeship to a mackarel-boat? who could have believed, till matter of fact had confirmed the belief of it; and your Grace knows that matter of fact is not to be disputed, that the most polished refined epicure of his age, that had regaled himself in the most exquisite wines of *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Spain*, would, in the last scene of his life, debauch his constitution in execrable *Yorkshire ale*? and that he, who all his life-time, had either seen Princes his play-fellows or companions, would submit to the nonsensical chat, and barbarous language of farmers and higglers!

This, I confess, so much shocks me that I cannot tell what to make on't; and, unless the news came to me confirmed from so many authentic hands, that I have no room left to suspect the veracity of it, I should still look upon it to be apocryphal. Is your Grace then in earnest, and really pleased with so prodigious an alteration of persons and things? for my part, I believe it; for I am certain that your Grace can act any person better than that of a hypocrite.

But I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for this familiarity I have taken with you. Give me leave therefore if you please, to tell you something of myself. I presume that an account of what passes in this busy part of the world, will not come unacceptable to you, since all my correspondents from *England* assure me, your Grace does me the honour to enquire often after me, and has expressed some sort of a desire, to know how my new character fits upon me.

Ten years ago, I as little thought that my stars designed to make a politician of me, and that it would come to my share to debate in publick assemblies, and regulate the affairs of *Christendom*, as the Grand Signior dreamed of losing *Hungary*: but my royal Master having the charity to believe me master of some qualities, of which I never suspected myself, I find that the zeal and alacrity I discover in myself, to support a dignity which he has thought fit to confer upon me, has supply'd all other defects, and given me a talent, for which, till now, I justly fancied myself incapable.

I live in one of the finest and best mannered cities in *Germany*, where 'tis true we have not pleasure that perfection as we see it in *London* and *Paris*, yet to make us amends, we enjoy a noble serene air, that makes us hungry as hawks; and though business, and even the worst sort of business, wicked politics, is the distinguishing commodity of the place, yet I will say, that for the *Germans*, they manage it the best of any people in the world; they cut off, and retrench, all those idle preliminaries and useless ceremonies that clog the wheels of it every where else: and I find, that, to this day, they make good the observation that *Tacitus* made of their ancestors; I mean, that their affairs, let them be ever so serious and pressing, never put a stop to good eating and drinking, and that they debate their weightiest negotiations over their cups.

'Tis true, they carry this humour by much too far for one of my complexion; for which reason I decline appearing among them, but when my Mas-

23) See Familiar Letters by John Earl of Rochester, &c. Vol. II. 1697. Published by Co. Alder, and printed in Sam. Briscoe; who, in an advertisement before the same, says, that, in the next Trinity-Term would be published a Third Volume of Familiar Letters; which would consist entirely of the Lord Rochester's, the Duke of Buckingham's, and Sir George Berkeley's: but we learn not that each volume was ever published; though perhaps some of those written by Sir George might afterwards be printed in other Collections.

have been printed, they consist, for the greatest part, of little airy sonnets, smart iam-  
POONS,

ters concerns make it necessary for me to come to their assemblies. They are indeed a free-hearted, open sort of gentlemen that compose the *Diet*; without reserve, affectation, and artifice; but they are such unmerciful plyers of the bottle, so wholly given up to what our sots call good-fellowship, that 'tis as great a constraint upon my nature, to sit out a night's entertainment with them, as it would be to hear half a score long-winded Presbyterian Divines cant successively one after another.

To unbosom myself frankly and freely to your Grace, I always looked upon drunkenness to be an unpardonable crime in a *young* fellow, who, without any of these foreign helps, has fire enough in his veins to enable him to do justice to *Cælia*, whenever she demands a tribute from him. In a *middle-aged* man, I consider the bottle only as subservient to the nobler pleasure of love; and he that would suffer himself to be so far infatuated by it, as to neglect the pursuit of a more agreeable game, I think deserves no quarter from the ladies: in *old age*, indeed, when it is convenient very often to forget and steal from ourselves, I am of opinion that a little drunkenness discreetly used, may as well contribute to our health of body, as tranquillity of soul.

Thus I have given your Grace a short system of my morals and belief in these affairs. But the gentlemen of this country go upon a quite different scheme of pleasure: the best furniture of their parlours, instead of innocent *China*, are tall overgrown Rummers; and they take more care to enlarge their cellars, than their patrimonial estates. In short drinking is the hereditary sin of this country; and that Hero of a *Deputy* here, that can demolish, at one sitting, the rest of his brother *Envoy's*, is mentioned with as much applause as the Duke of *Lorraine*, for his noble exploits against the *Turks*; and may claim a statue, erected at the publick expence in any town in *Germany*.

Judge then, my Lord, whether a person of my sober principles, and one, that only uses wine, as the wiser sort of Roman Catholics do images, to raise up my imagination to something more exalted, and not to terminate my worship upon it, must not be reduced to very mortifying circumstances in this place; where I cannot pretend to enjoy conversation, without practising that vice which directly ruins it.

And as I have just reason to complain of the men, for laying so unreasonable a tax upon pleasure: so I have no less occasion to complain of the women, for wholly denying it.

Could a man find out the secret to take as long a lease for his life, as *Methuselah*, and the rest of the Antidiluvian gentlemen, who were three hundred years in growing up to the perfection of vigor, enjoy'd it the same number of years, and were as long in decaying, something might be said for the two crying sins of both sexes here; I mean, drunkenness in the men, and reservedness in the ladies. What would it signify to throw away a week's, nay, a month's enjoyment upon one night's debauch, if a man could promise himself the age of a patriarch? or where would be the mighty penance in dancing a dozen years attendance after a coy female; watching her most favourable moments, and most accessible intervals, at last to enjoy her, if infirmities and old age were to come so late upon us?

But since fate has given us so short a period to taste pleasure with satisfaction; three or four days sickness is too great a rent-charge upon human nature, and drunkenness cannot pretend, out of its own fund, to acquit the debt. And, my Lord, since our gayety and vigor leave us so soon in the lurch; since feebleness attacks us, without giving us fair warning; and we no sooner pass the meridian of life but begin to decline; it is hardly worth a lover's while to stay as long for compassing a mistress, as *Jacob* did for obtaining a wife; and without this tedious drudgery and application, I can assure your Grace that an amour is not to be managed here.

But, my Lord, I forget that while I take upon me to play the moralist, and to enlarge so rhetorically

upon the preciousness of time, I have already made bold with too much of your Grace's: for which reason, I here put a stop to my Discourse, and will endeavour, the next packet that goes from this place, to entertain your Grace with something more agreeable.

I am,

Ratibon,

Nov. 12. 1686.

My LORD,

Your GRACE's most obedient Servant,

G. ETHEREGE (24).

Here, our reader has the most frank and undisguised, natural and lively images of Sir George's sentiments upon the Duke's retirement from all the splendor and luxury of life; his own employment in his political capacity, with the habits and tempers of those gentry of both sexes, among whom he resided; and what is most directly to the purpose in this place, a more faithful and perspicuous portrait of his own humour and genius, than he could have been display'd by, in all the characters that were to be drawn of him. Now the reader is to judge, whether there is not a scene as diverting, a spirit as brisk, and a resemblance of himself as clear, in the next.

To his Grace the Duke of BUCKINGHAM.

My Lord,

I Never enjoy myself so much, as when I can steal a few moments from the hurry of publick business, to write to my friends in *England*; and as there are none there, to whom I pay a profounder respect than to your Grace, wonder not if I afford myself the satisfaction of conversing with you by way of letters, the only relief I have left to support your absence at this distance, as often as I can find opportunity.

You may guess by my last, whether I don't pass my time very comfortably here; forced as I am by my character, to spend the better part of my time in squabbling and deliberating with persons of beard and gravity, how to preserve the ballance of Christendom; which would go well enough of itself, if the Divines and Ministers of Princes would let it alone: and when I come home spent and weary from the *Diet*, I have no Lord Dorset's or Sir Charles Sidley's to sport away the evening with; no Madam I. . . ., or Lady A. . . .s; in short, none of those kind charming creatures *London* affords, in whose embraces I might make myself amends for so many hours murder'd in impertinent debates; so that, not to magnify my suffering to your Grace, they really want a greater stock of christian patience to support them, than I can pretend to be master of.

I have been long enough in this town, one would think, to have made acquaintance enough with persons of both sexes, so as never to be at a loss how to pass the few vacant hours I can allow myself: but the terrible drinking that accompanies all our visits hinders me from conversing with the men so often as I would otherwise do; and the *German* Ladies are so intolerably reserved and virtuous, with tears in my eyes I speak it to your Grace, that it is next to an impossibility to carry on an intrigue with them. A man has so many scruples to conquer, and so many difficulties to surmount, before he can promise himself the least success, that for my part I have given over all pursuits of this nature. Besides, there is so universal a spirit of censoriousness reigns in this town, that a man and a woman cannot be seen at *Ombre* or *Picquet* together, but 'tis immediately concluded, some other game has been play'd between them; and as this renders all manner of access to the ladies almost impracticable, for fear of exposing their reputation to the mercy of their ill-natured neighbours, so it makes an innocent piece of gallantry often pass for a criminal correspondenc.

So that, to deal freely with your Grace, among so many noble and wealthy families as we have in  
this

(24) Miscellaneous Works, written by G. late Duke of Buckingham, &c. 8vo, 1704 p. 124, &c.

poons, and smooth panegyrics; which we shall only concisely enumerate at the foot of the

this town, I can only pretend to be truly acquainted with one: the gentleman's name was *Monsieur Hoffmann*, a frank, hearty, jolly companion; his father, one of the most eminent wine merchants of the city, left him a considerable fortune, which he improved by marrying a *French* jeweller's daughter of *Lyon*. To give you his character in short, he was a sensible, ingenious man, and had none of his country vices; which I impute to his having travelled abroad, and seen *Italy*, *France*, and *England*. His lady is a most accomplished, ingenious person, and notwithstanding she is come into a place, where so much formality and stiffness are practised, keeps up all the vivacity and air, and good humour of *France*.

I had been happy in my acquaintance with this family for some months; when an ill favoured accident robbed me of the greatest happiness I had hitherto enjoy'd in *Germany*, the loss of which I can never sufficiently regret. *Monsieur Hoffmann*, about three weeks ago, going to make merry with some friends, at a village some three leagues from this place, upon the *Danube*; by the unskillfulness or negligence of the watermen, the boat, wherein he was, unfortunately chanced to overset, and of some twenty persons, not one escaped to bring home the news, but a boy, who miraculously saved himself, by holding fast to the rudder, and so by the rapidity of the current was cast upon the other shore.

I was sensibly afflicted at the death of my worthy friend; and so indeed were all who had the honour of knowing him. But his wife took on so extravagantly, that she, in a short time, was the only talk both of city and country. She refused to admit any visits from her nearest relations; her chamber, her antichamber, and pro-antichamber were hung with black; nay, the very candles, her fans, and tea-table wore the livery of grief: she refused all manner of sustenance, and was so averse to the thoughts of living, that she talked of nothing but death: in short, you may tell your ingenious friend *Monsieur de Saint Evremond*, that *Petronius* his *Ephesian Matron*, to whose story he has done so much justice, in his noble translation, was only a type of our more obstinate, as well as unhappy German widow.

About a fortnight after this cruel loss, for I thought it would be labour lost to attack her grief in its first vehemence, I thought myself obliged, in point of honour and gratitude to the memory of my deceased friend, to make her a small visit, and console her ladyship upon this unhappy occasion: and though I had been told that she had refused to see several persons who had gone to wait on her, with the same errand, yet I presumed so much upon the friendship her late husband had always expressed for me, not to mention the particular civilities I had received from herself, as to think I should be admitted to have a sight of her: accordingly I came to her house, sent up my name, and word was immediately brought me, that if I pleased I might go up to her.

When I came into the room, I fancied myself in the territories of death; every thing looked so gloomy, so dismal, and so melancholy. There was a grave *Lutheran* minister with her, who omitted no arguments to bring her to a more composed and more christian disposition of mind. *Madam*, says he, *You don't consider that by abandoning yourself thus to despair, you actually rebel against Providence. I can't help it*, says she; *Providence may e'en thank itself, for laying so insupportable a load upon me. O syc, Madam*, cries the other, *this is downright impiety; what would you say now, if heaven should punish it by some more exemplary visitation? That is impossible*, replies the lady sighing; *and since it has robbed me of the only delight I had in this world; the only favour it can do me, is to level a thunderbolt at my head, and put an end to all my sufferings.* The parson finding her in this extravagant strain, and seeing no likelihood of persuading her to come to a better temper, got up from his seat, and took his leave of her.

It came to my turn now, to try whether I was not capable of comforting her; and being convinced by so late an instance, that arguments brought from

religion were not likely to work any extraordinary effects upon her, I resolved to attack her ladyship in a more sensible part, and represent to her the great inconveniencies, not which her soul, but her body received from this inordinate sorrow.

*Madam*, says I to her, *next to my concern for your worthy husband's untimely death, I am grieved to see what an alteration the bemoaning of his loss has occasioned in you.* These words, raising her curiosity to know what this alteration was, I thus continued my discourse. *By endeavouring, Madam, to extinguish, or at least to alleviate your grief, than which nothing can be more prejudicial to a beautiful woman, I intend a publick benefit; for if the publick is interested, as most certainly it is, in the preserving of a beautiful face, that man does the publick no little service who contributes most to its preservation.*

This odd beginning operated so wonderfully upon her, that she desired me to leave this general road of compliments, and explain myself more particularly to her. Upon this, delivering myself with an unusual air of gravity, which your Grace knows I seldom carry about me, in the company of ladies, I told her that, *Grief ruins the finest faces, sooner than any thing whatsoever*; and that, *as envy herself could not deny her face to be the most charming in the universe, so if she did not suffer herself to be comforted, she must soon expect to take her farewell of it.* I confirmed this assertion, by telling her of one of the finest women we ever had in *England*, who did herself more injury in a fortnight's time, by lamenting her only brother's death, than ten years could possibly have done; that I had heard an eminent Physician at *Leyden* say, *That Tears, having abundance of saline particles in them, not only spoiled the complexion, but hastened wrinkles*: *But, Madam*, concluded I, *why should I give myself the trouble to confirm this by foreign instances, and by the testimonies of our most knowing Doctors, when alas! your own face so fully justifies the truth of what I have said to you.*

*How!* reply'd our disconsolate widow, with a sigh, that came from the bottom of her heart; *and is it possible that my just concern for my dear husband, has wrought so cruel an effect upon me in so short a time?* with that, she ordered her gentlewoman to bring the looking-glass to her, and having surveyed herself a few minutes in it, she told me, *she was perfectly convinced that my notions were true.* *But*, cries she, *what would you have us poor women do in these cases; for, something,* continues she, *we owe to the memory of the deceased, and something too, to the world, which expects at least the common appearances of grief from us.*

*By your leave, Madam*, says I, *all this is a mistake, and no better; you owe nothing to your husband, since he is dead, and knows nothing of your lamentation. Besides, could you shed an ocean of tears upon his hearse, it would not do him the least service: much less do you lie under any such obligation to the world, as to spoil a good face only to comply with its tyrannic customs. No, Madam, take care to preserve your beauty, and then let the world say what it pleases; your ladyship may be revenged upon the world whenever you see fit. I am resolved,* answers she, *to be intirely governed by you; therefore tell me frankly, what sort of a course you'd have me steer? why Madam*, says I, *in the first place forget the defunct; and in order to bring that about, relieve nature, to which you have been so long unmerciful, with the most exquisite meats, and the most generous wines. Upon condition you'll sup with me,* cries our afflicted lady, *I will submit to your prescription. But why should I trouble your Grace with a narration of every particular?*

In short, we had a noble regale that evening in her bedchamber; and our good widow pushed the glass so strenuously about, that her comforter, meaning myself, could hardly find the way to his coach. To conclude this farce, which I am afraid begins now to be too tedious to your Grace, this *Phoenix* of her sex, this pattern of conjugal fidelity, two morning ago, was married to a smooth-chinn'd ensign

the page [I]. All that we have met with more than is here mentioned or referred to of his

of Count *Trautmandorf's* Regiment; that had not a farthing in the world but his pay to depend upon I assisted at the ceremony; tho' I little imagined the lady would take the matrimonial receipt so soon.

I was the easier persuaded to give your Grace the larger account of this Tragi-comedy, not only because I wanted better matter, to entertain you with at this lazy conjuncture, but also to show your Grace that not only *Ephesus*, in antient, and *England* in latter times, have afforded such fantastical widows, but even *Germany* itself; where, if the ladies have not more virtue, than those of their sex in other countries, yet, they pretend at least a greater management of the out side of it.

By my last packet from *England*, among a heap of nauseous trash, I received the *Three Dukes of Dunstable*, which is really so monstrous and insipid that I am sorry *Lapland* or *Livonia* had not the honour of producing it: but if I did penance in reading it, I rejoiced to hear that it was so solemnly interred to the tune of cat-calls. The *Squire of Alsatia* however, which came by the following post, made me some amends for the cursed impertinence of the *Three Dukes*; and my witty friend Sir C...S...y's *Bellamira* gave me that intire satisfaction, that I cannot read it over too often.

They tell me my old acquaintance Mr *Dryden* has left off the theatre, and wholly applies himself to the study of the controversies between the two Churches. Pray Heaven! this strange alteration in him portends nothing disastrous to the State; but I have all along observed, that Poets do religion as little service by drawing their pens for it, as the Divines do Poetry, by pretending to verification.

But I forget how troublesome I have been to your Grace: I shall therefore conclude with assuring that I am, and to the last moment of my life shall be, ambitious of being,

My LORD,

Your GRACE's most obedient and  
most obliged servant,

*Ratibon*, Octob. 21.  
1689.

G. ETHEREGE (25).

(25) Miscellaneous Works of George Duke of Buckingham, as before, p. 131, &c.

So this letter is dated, in the volume here referred to, from whence the copy above is transcribed; but there seems to be a little mistake in it, and that the original was dated the year before; otherwise, it will appear to have been sent by our Author, to his noble friend, above a year after the said Duke was dead; besides, 'tis likely he should have had Sir Charles Sidley's Comedy of *Bellamira* sent him sooner than two years after it was published, for it was first printed in 1687; and as *Shadwell's Squire of Alsatia* was first printed in 1688, 'tis most probable this letter was written the same year, because Mr *Dryden* had given over his Popish controversies, upon the Revolution, and before the next year.

[I] Enumerate at the foot of the page.] Of these his smaller Poems, we have met with about twenty that have been ascribed to him in print, besides the little sonnets that are interspersed in his Plays; tho' in the most particular account that has been given of him, and his writings (26), there are not above half a dozen of them mentioned. One of the earliest perhaps of these his lesser Poems, may be that, *To Her Excellency the Marchioness of Newcastle, after the reading of her incomparable POEMS*: It consists of about forty lines, and begins thus, *Madam, with so much wonder we are struck* (27): and because we have hitherto given but a very slender specimen of our Author's poetry, the conclusion of this panegyric may here serve for a further taste of it.

(26) See Giles Jacob's Account of the Poets, in his article of Sir G. Etherege.

(27) One volume of her Ladyship's Poems, &c. was published in folio 1653: another, of her Letters and Poems, in 1676.

While we, your praise, endeav'ring to rehearse,  
Pay that great duty in our humble verse;  
Such as may justly move your anger, you,  
Like Heav'n, forgive them, and accept them too.

But what we cannot, your brave *Hero* pays,  
He builds those monuments we strive to raise;  
Such, as to after ages shall make known,  
While he records your deathless fame, his own:  
So when an *Artist*, some rare *Beauty* draws,  
Both, in our wonder share, and our applause:  
His Skill, from Time, secures the glorious Dame;  
And makes *Himself* immortal in her Fame.

Another of his panegyric Poems bears this title—*To Mr I. N. on his translations out of the French and Italian*; beginning with, *While others toil, our country to supply*, &c. about a page and half. His translation of *Voiture's Urania*, is in four stanzas of alternate verse, beginning thus—*Hopeless I languish out my days*. His song, *To Sylvia*, is in three stanzas, or quadrains; concluding with, *Who sees her must love, and who loves her must die*: by which it is still remembered among our sonneteers. Another Song.—*Tell me no more you love*, &c. in sixteen lines. *To a very young lady*; beginning, *Sweet bud of beauty*; in fourteen lines. *To a lady who fled the sight of him*.—*If I my Celia could persuade*; in eighteen lines. *To a lady, asking him, how long he could love her*.—*It is not Celia in our power*; in two stanzas of six. *The Divided Heart*.—*Oh Colin that I were but sure*: near a page. *The Imperfect Enjoyment*.—*After a pretty amorous discourse*: fifty lines. *The forsaken Mistress: a Dialogue*, between *Phyllis* and *Strepbon*.—*Tell me gentle Strepbon why*: About a page. Here are eleven of our Author's Poems, which are to be found in one volume (28). In another, entituled our Author's Works, we find, the last of them reprinted; and four besides, that are different, viz. *A song* of two stanzas on the inquietudes of love; beginning with, *Ye happy Swains whose Hearts are free*. And another *Song of Basset*, in eight stanzas of alternate verse. Beginning—*Let Equipage and Dress despair* (+). We have also, in that volume called our Author's Works, the two poetical letters sent by him from *Ratibon*, as was before observed, to the Earl of *Middleton*; both written in verse of eight feet; the former containing near fourscore lines, the latter near forty; describing the dress and humours, of the ladies especially, in those parts, and how he passed his time among them; much in that airy and amorous vein wherein his letters in Prose are written, before recited. Those five Poems are in the volume before mentioned (29). And these two poetical letters are to be found likewise in two other collections at least; one in that, which is titled, *Familiar Letters* by the Lord *Rochester*, &c. before quoted (30), where we have also a poetical answer to the former of our Author's (31), tho' it is not mentioned in that collection by whom it was written; but in another, the name of Mr *Dryden* appears to it (32), who in the beginning of his said answer takes notice that at the time of his writing the same, about 1687, Sir *George* was aged fifty-one years; from whence may be computed the time of his birth, as it is above given. And in the conclusion of that answer, Mr *Dryden* intimates that Sir *George* had some while since begun another Play, which he incites him to finish, as what could not fall below the *Rehearsal*; and as he knew no *George*, meaning our Author and the Duke of Buckingham, who could write any thing under ten years warning; as we have partly hinted already in the text above. There are besides that answer, the two said poetical letters, in this same volume, and two songs more of his, not before mentioned. The one beginning with these words—*Cease anxious world, your fruitless pain*; in three stanzas of six lines: and the other, with these—*In some kind dream upon her, Slumber steal*; in fifteen lines (33). Lastly, there are three Poems more ascribed to our Author, in another volume, which we have also before quoted. One is entituled, *The Libertine*: beginning, *Since death, on all, lays his impartial hand*; consisting of three stanzas of eight lines, and a chorus (34). The others, are two Satires, upon *Nell Guyn*, one of King Charles's Mistresses. The first is called, *Madam Nelly's complaint*: beginning with—*If Sylla's ghost made bloody Cat's line start*: in

(28) A Collection of Poems, viz. *The Temple of Death*, &c. third edit. printed for D. Brown, &c. 12mo, 1716.

(+) These two are also printed in *Dryden's Miscellanies*, 12mo, 1716, P. ii. p. 268, 344.

(29) The Works of Sir G. Etherege, 8vo, 1704, at the end of his Plays.

(30) Vol. II. 1697, p. 56.

(31) Page 61.

(32) In *Dryden's Miscellanies*, as before, Vol. II. p. 281.

(33) *Idem*, p. 213.

(34) See *The Miscel. Works of the D. of Bucks*, as before, p. 120.

his writing in prose, is, a short piece, intituled, *An Account of the Rejoycing at the Diet of Ratisbonne, performed by Sir George Etherege, Knight, residing there, from his Majesty of Great Britain; upon Occasion of the Birth of the Prince of Wales. In a Letter from Himself.* Printed in the Savoy 1688 (k). How far beyond this, or the next year he lived, the writers on our Poets who have spoken of him, have been, as in many other particulars of his life, so in the time when he died, very deficient. In Gildon's short and imperfect account of him, which we have been forced to consult in want of better, 'tis said that after the Revolution he went for France to his Master, and died there, or very soon after his arrival in England from thence (l). But there was a report, as we have received it from an ingenious Gentleman, that Sir George came to an untimely death, by an unlucky accident at Ratisbon; for after having treated some company with a liberal entertainment at his house there, in which having perhaps, taken his glass too freely, and being, through his great complaisance, too forward, in waiting on some of his guests at their departure, flush'd as he was, he tumbled down the stairs and broke his neck, so fell a martyr to his civility (m). Some of his surviving relations, having received a credible account of, from a person who was acquainted with them, we shall succinctly mention, in the short note hereunto subjoined [K].

(k) Printed in folio, on a half sheet.

(l) Gildon, as before.

(m) This account we received from John Lucker, Esq;

in about two leaves. The other is called *The Lady of Pleasure*; with its argument at the head of it, whereof the first line is, *The Life of Nelly truly shewn.* In about three leaves and a page (35). These two satires, as we remember, were printed before, without any author's name: and indeed, they seem to be written, the last especially, in a grosser stile, with more blunt or vulgar expressions in it, than was customary to Sir George, besides as it mentions the death of Nell Guyn, we believe it may therefore be found, it was written after that of our Author.

[K] *In a short note hereunto subjoined* ] Since the foregoing part of this article was printed off, we have been informed, that there are two Wills in the Prerogative office, which might possibly have given some further light into the family, and other particulars relating to our Author, could we have had a timely extract of them. The first is executed by William Etherege, Anno 1649 (36); the last, by another William Etherege, in Middlesex, Anno 1690 (37): whether the former was the father of our Author, or any other relation, and the latter his brother, we have not now time to examine. But from those who have been conversant with some survivors of the family, we have received intelligence that, our Author Sir George, had a brother, who lived and died at Westminster; had been a great courtier, yet a man of such strict honour, that he was esteemed a reputation to the family. His picture, painted in a gown, with

his fine black curled hair, is in the possession of a friend. He had been twice married, and by his first wife, had a son; a little man, of a brave spirit, who inherited the honourable principles of his father. He was a Colonel in King William's wars; was near him in one of the most dangerous battles in Flanders, I think it was the battle of Landen, in 1693, when his Majesty was wounded, and the Colonel both lost his right eye, and received such a contusion on his side, as he complained of to his death. He was offered in Queen Anne's reign, twenty two hundred pounds for his commission, but refused to live at home in peace, when his country was at war. This Colonel Etherege died at Eling in Middlesex, about the third or fourth year of the late King George; when his dear friend, the Lord Rivers, had his body opened; and there was found a gathering where he had received his bruise, which looked like a foddren turnip, and probably hastened his death. He was buried in Kensington church, near the altar; and there is a tombstone over his vault, in which was also buried his wife, son, and sister: That son was graciously received at Court by Queen Anne, and soon after his father returned from the wars in Flanders, under the Duke of Malborough, she gave him an Ensign's commission, intending further to promote him, in reward of his father's services; but he died a youth: and that sister married Mr Hill of Feversham in Kent; but we hear not of any male issue surviving. G

EVELYN (JOHN) a great Philosopher, a worthy Patriot, and a learned writer in the XVIIth century. He was descended from a very antient and honourable family, as appears from several authentick vouchers, a branch of which, at the time of his birth, was settled in the county of Surrey, though it flourished originally in the county of Salop, at a place which is still called Evelyn (a) [A]. George Evelyn, Esq; purchased the estate

(a) Additions to Camden's Britannia, published in English by Bishop Gibson, Vol. 1. col. 649.

[A] *At a place which is still called Evelyn.* ] Our Author himself, had taken great pains to enquire into the origin of his family, in consequence of which, he found that they had formerly written their name Evelyn and Ivelyn, as well as Evelyn, which might be confirmed by a variety of instances; he was likewise informed, that a branch of their family flourished in France, and that one of them was taken prisoner, at the battle of Agincourt; but what had more of certainty, and deserved better to be depended upon, was taken from the tradition of the family, that they came from Long Ditton into Surrey, and to Long Ditton, from Harrow on the Hill, but that originally, they were seated at the town of Evelyn, in the hundred of South Bradford, in the county of Salop; of which county also he reports, that the Onslows likewise were, who removed about the same time from a place of that name, in the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury; as the Hattons also did from a place called Cold Hatton, in the same hundred with Evelyn in Shropshire; and, which is very remarkable, all settled again near each other in Surrey (1). George Evelyn, Esq; the founder of this branch of the Evelyns in Surrey, first carried the art of making gunpowder to perfection in England, and for the convenience of his works in

the neighbourhood, purchased an estate at Wotton, of one Mr Owen, but who were the owners of this place in early times does not appear (2). This George Evelyn had a considerable interest at Court, and procured from Queen Elizabeth a grant, in conjunction with Thomas Reeves, of the Rectory of St Nicholas Coleabby in Queenhith Ward, London, which afterwards came by mesne conveyances to the family of the Hackers, and by the attainder of Colonel Francis Hacker, who commanded the guard when King Charles the first was murdered, came again to the Crown (3). It was in the latter part of his life that this gentleman came to live at Wotton, which however did not hinder him from planting there, as appears from what our Author himself tells us (4). ' In a word, to give an instance of what store of woods ' and timber of prodigious size there were growing in ' our little county of Surrey, the nearest of any to ' London, and plentifully furnished, both for profit ' and pleasure, with sufficient grief and reluctancy I ' speak it, my own grandfather had standing at Wot- ' ton, and about that estate, timber that now were ' worth one hundred thousand pounds, since of what ' was left my father, who was a great preserver of ' wood, there has been thirty thousand pounds worth ' of

(2) Camden's Britannia, by Bishop Gibson, Vol. 1. col. 185.

(3) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. 1. p. 425, 506.

(4) Camden's Britannia by Bishop Gibson, Vol. 1. col. 186.

(1) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 116.

(35) Works of the D. of Bucks. p. 29, 34.

(36) In the Vol. entit. Fairfax, p. 32.

(37) Vol. Dyke, p. 41.

of the family at Wotton in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and had by two wives sixteen sons and eight daughters; he departed this life May 30, 1603, in the seventy-third year of his age, leaving his estate at Wotton to Richard Evelyn, Esq; his youngest and only surviving son by his second wife (b). This Richard Evelyn, Esq; married Eleanor, daughter and heiress of John Standfield of Lewes in the county of Suffex, Esq; and was a person of great worth and virtue (c) [B]. He had by the Lady beforementioned three sons, viz. George, John, and Richard; of the second of these, John, we are to speak in this article. He was born October 31, 1620, at his father's seat at Wotton (d), and was very carefully educated in his tender years, receiving the first elements of learning at the free-school at Lewes in Suffex, from whence he removed in 1637 to Baliol-college in Oxford (e), where, as a Gentleman-Commoner, he remained for about three years, during which space he prosecuted his studies in Logick and Philosophy, and then removed to the Middle-Temple, where he remained till the breaking out of the Civil War, when he repaired to Oxford, and obtained leave from King Charles I, under his own hand, to travel beyond the seas for his improvement (f). In the spring of 1644 he left England, in order to make the tour of Europe, which he performed very successfully, making it his business to enquire carefully into the state of the Sciences, and the improvements made in all useful arts, wherever he came; concerning which he made very large and valuable collections, the contents of which he most generously communicated to all such as applied to him for information (g). He spent some time at Rome, and having an opportunity there to learn the true sentiments of the Papists upon the cutting off Archbishop Laud's head, he thought himself obliged, in justice to that great Prelate's memory, to give an attestation thereof under his own hand (h) [C]. He visited likewise other parts of Italy for the sake of improving himself in Architecture, Painting, the knowledge of Antiquities, medals, and other branches of polite literature, and at the same time left nothing unexamined, that could contribute to the perfect understanding of Natural Philosophy, to which, beyond all other sciences, he was passionately addicted. We have an instance of his care and industry in this respect, preserved by one of the greatest and most intelligent Philosophers of this or of any other country (i) [D]. In 1647 Mr Evelyn came to Paris, where,

(b) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 126.

(c) See some farther particulars relating to him in the notes.

(d) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 117.

(e) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 941.

(f) So Mr Evelyn himself informed Mr Aubrey.

(g) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 417.

(h) Hist. of the Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud, Vol. I. p. 616.

(i) Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle, Vol. II. p. 306.

' of timber, fallen by the axe and the fury of the late hurricane and storm: now no more, Wotton stript and naked and ashamed almost to own its name.'

[B] *Of great worth and virtue.* Richard Evelyn, Esq; mentioned in the text, had besides his three sons, two daughters, Elizabeth, who married Edward Darey, of Dartford in Kent, Esq; and Jane the wife of William Glanville, Esq; (5). George Evelyn, Esq; elder brother to our Author, enjoyed the family estate at Wotton fifty-eight years; and dying in 1698, at the age of eighty-three, he left it to his brother John; he was a person of great worth, and generally esteemed by his neighbours as appeared from his being frequently elected Knight of the Shire for the County of Surrey (6). In his time, there was a very extraordinary discovery made upon opening the family vault, of which there is a full account in the additions to the English Britannia, which there is so much the more reason to credit, as those additions came from our Author himself. After describing the ridge of hills that divide Surrey from Suffex and Kent, he proceeds thus (7): 'Not far from the bottom, stands an ancient seat of the Evelyns of Wotton, among several streams gliding thro' the meadows, adorned with gentle risings and woods, which as it were encompass it. And these, together with the gardens, fountains, and other hortulane ornaments, have given it a place, and name amongst the most agreeable seats. In opening the ground of the churchyard of Wotton, to enlarge a vault belonging to this family, they met with a skeleton, which was nine foot and three inches long, as the (\*) worthy and famous Mr John Evelyn had it attested, by an antient and understanding man then present, who accordingly measured it and marked the length on a pole, with other workmen who affirmed the same. They found it lying in full length between two boards of the coffin, and measured it before they had discomposed the bones. But trying to take it out, it fell all to pieces, for which reason they flung it amongst the rest of the rubbish, after they had separately measured several of the more solid bones.'

[C] *Under his own hand.* In order to understand this matter, it is necessary that the reader should know, that amongst other things charged upon Archbishop Laud, one was, that he had endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome, and had kept a secret correspondence with the

Pope, and to maintain this, witnesses were called to shew in what credit he stood at Rome. Sir Henry Mildmay had told the Archbishop in private discourse, that he was the most hateful man there, that had ever sat in the See of Canterbury since the Reformation, but when he was examined as a witness, he affirmed that there were two factions at Rome, one of which did indeed speak very ill of the Archbishop, but the other spoke very well of him. The Archbishop intimated, that he did not believe Sir Henry Mildmay had ever been at Rome. Mr Chaloner deposed, that at Rome some had a good opinion of the Archbishop, and thought him well inclined to them, for which reason they prayed for him; Mr Anthony Mildmay seconded his brother's account, and said that the Jesuits hated him, but that the secular Priests loved the Archbishop very well, but this was hearsay only (8). After the Archbishop's death, this matter was much talked of, and therefore, as Mr Evelyn happened to be at Rome when the Archbishop was put to death, he was desired to give some account of the general sentiments of people there, which he accordingly did in the following certificate (9).

I was at Rome in the company of divers of the English Fathers, when the news of the Archbishop's sufferings, and a copy of his sermon, made upon the scaffold, came thither. They read the sermon, and commented upon it, with no small satisfaction and contempt, and looked upon him as one that was a great enemy to them, and stood in their way, whilst one of the blackest crimes imputed to him, was his being popishly affected.

JOHN EVELYN.

[D] *Of this or of any other country.* The person mentioned in the text, is the honourable Mr Boyle, who speaking of the effects of cold, and of the reasons there are to believe that they may subsist, even after the cold which produced them ceases, provided they are not exposed to a degree of heat that must destroy them, mentions the preserving of snow the whole year round in repositories, far from being cold enough to produce such an effect; which therefore ought to be attributed to the bare keeping of the snow from being exposed to warm air. To illustrate this, that learned man tells us, he intended to have cited from some books, an account of these storehouses which he remembered to have seen in Italy; but

(5) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 127.

(6) Camden's Britannia by Bishop Gibson, col. 164, in the edit. of 1695, but left out in the last edit. to which there is no date.

(7) Ibid. Vol. I. col. 186.

(\*) These epithets added since our author's decease.

(8) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 897.

(9) Archbishop Laud's Troubles and Trial, Vol. I. p. 616.

where, being recommended to Sir Richard Browne, Bart. the King's Minister there, he made his addressees to his only daughter Mary, whom he not long after married, and in her right became possessed of Sayes-Court near Deptford in Kent, where he resided after his return to England, which was about the year 1651 (k). He had before that time recommended himself to the notice of the learned world, by publishing several treatises which were extremely well received, and the leisure he had in his retreat at Sayes-Court after his return, put it in his power to add quickly to their number. These were for the most part translations, either from the learned or modern languages, for he was perfectly versed in both, without any unreasonable prepossessions in favour of Antiquity, or prejudice against it. Such kind of labours, whatever they may be thought of now when translations are become common, were then very justly esteemed, and were, without question, highly serviceable, as well in propagating useful knowledge, as in the improvement of our stile, of which Mr Evelyn was a great master, as these treatises, if he had left none besides, might sufficiently demonstrate [E]. The situation of publick affairs induced

(k) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 941.

but missing of his expectation in books, he endeavoured to supply it by enquiry.—— But let him tell the rest of his story himself—— meeting therefore the other day, says he (10), with my ingenious friend, Mr John Evelyn, his inquisitive travels, and his insight into the more polite kinds of knowledge, and particularly architecture, made me desire and expect of him that account of the Italian way of making conservatories of snow, that I had missed of in several authors, and having readily obtained my desire of him, I shall not injure so justly esteemed a stile as his, to deliver his descriptions in any other words than those ensuing ones, wherein I received it from him. 'The snow pits in Italy, &c. are sunk in the most solitary and cooled places, commonly at the foot of some mountain, or elevated ground, which may best protect them from the meridional and occidental sun: twenty five foot wide at the orifice, and about fifty in depth, is esteemed a competent proportion. And though this be excavated in a conical form, yet it is made flat at the bottom or point. The sides of the pit are so joisted, that boards may be nailed upon them very closely jointed. His Majesty's at Greenwich, newly made on the side of the castle hill, is, as I remember, steened with brick, and hardly so wide at the mouth. About a yard from the bottom, is fixed a strong frame, or tressel, upon which lies a kind of wooden grate, the top or cover is double thatched with reed or straw, upon a copped frame or roof, in one of the sides whereof, is a narrow door case, hipped on like the top of a dormer, and thatched, and so it is compleat.' *To conserve snow.* 'They lay clean straw upon the grate or wattle, so as to keep the snow from running through, whilst they beat it to a hard cake of any icy consistence, which is near one foot thick, upon this they make a layer of straw, and on that snow beaten as before; and so continue a bed of snow and a bed of straw S. S. S. till the pit be full to the brim. Finally, they lay straw or reed, for I remember to have seen both, a competent thickness over all, and keep the door locked. This grate is contrived, that the snow melting by any accident in laying, or extraordinary season of weather, may drain away from the mass, and sink without stagnating upon it, which would accelerate the dissolution, and therefore the very bottom is but slightly steened. Those who are most circumspect and curious, preserve a tall circle of shady trees about the pit, which may rather shade than drip upon it.' This is certainly an admirable specimen of that care with which our Author registered his discoveries, as well as the curiosity which prompted him to enquire into every thing worthy of notice, either natural or artificial, in the countries through which he passed. It is much to be regretted, that a work so entertaining and instructive, as the history of his travels would have been, appeared even to so indefatigable a person as he was, a task for him too laborious to undertake; for we should have then seen clearly, and in a true light, many things in reference to Italy, which are now very indistinctly and partially represented; and we should also have met with much new matter never touched before, and of which we shall now probably never hear at all.

[E] Might sufficiently demonstrate.] As several of these treatises were printed before the Author's return to England, and others without his name; so we must depend upon the general opinion of the world, and

the authority of Mr Wood for their being his; yet there is no great reason to suspect any mistake, since the account of them was published in his life-time, and therefore Mr Evelyn had an opportunity of setting the world right, if any error had been committed of consequence enough to have merited his notice.

I. *Of Liberty and Servitude.* 1649, 12mo. This was a translation, and in all probability the first Essay of our Author's pen.

II. *A Character of England, as it was lately presented in a letter to a Nobleman of France with reflection upon Gallus Castratus* 1651. 16to. the third edition of this book appeared in 1659, at present it is very scarce.

III. *The State of France,* London 1652. 8vo.

IV. *An Essay on the first Book of Titus Lucretius Carus, de rerum natura, interpreted and made into English verse* by J. Evelyn, Esq; London 1656. 8vo. the frontispiece to this book, was designed by his Lady Mrs Mary Evelyn. There is a copy of verses by Edmund Waller, Esq; of Beaconsfield, prefixed and directed to his worthy friend Mr Evelyn, and part of the character he gives him is worthy the reader's attention. After describing the subject of the book he proceeds thus:

So vast this argument did seem,  
That the wise author did esteem,  
The Roman language (which was spread  
O'er the whole world in triumph led)  
A tongue too narrow to unfold  
The wonders which he would have told.  
This speaks thy glory, noble friend,  
And *British* language does commend.  
For here *Lucretius* whole we find,  
His words, his musick, and his mind.  
Thy art has to our country brought  
All that he writ and all he thought.  
*Ovid* translated, *Virgil* too,  
Shew'd long since what our tongue could do,  
Nor *Lucan*, we nor *Horace* spar'd,  
Only *Lucretius* was too hard;  
*Lucretius*, like a fort, did stand  
Untouch'd, till your victorious hand,  
Did from his head this garland bear,  
Which now upon your own you wear.  
A garland! made of such new bays,  
And fought in such untrodden ways,  
As no man's temples e'er did crown,  
Save this great author's and your own.

V. *The French Gardiner instructing how to cultivate all sorts of Fruit trees and Herbs for the Garden, together with directions to dry and conserve them in their natural. &c.* Lond. 1658. in twelves, and several times after. In most of the Editions is added, *the English Vineyard vindicated*, by John Rose, Gardiner to his Majesty King Charles II. with a tract of the making and ordering of Wines in France. The third edition of this French Gardiner, which came out in 1676, was illustrated with sculptures.

VI. *The Golden Book of St Chryostom, concerning the Education of Children.* Lond. 1659. 12mo.

[F] J

induced him to consider that privacy with which he lived at Sayes-Court as a very great blessing; and so fond was he of this rural retreat, that he was very desirous of making it his settled course of life, though but a young man, with a considerable fortune, and extremely admired and courted by all his acquaintance. This studious disposition, together with his disgust of the world, occasioned by that strange scene of violence and confusion that was then acted upon the publick stage, was so strong, that he actually proposed to the Honourable Mr Robert Boyle, the raising of a kind of college for the reception of persons of the same turn of mind, where they might enjoy the pleasure of agreeable society, and at the same time pass their days without care or interruption. His scheme for such an establishment is equally entertaining and curious [F]. But when a prospect appeared of better

[F] *Is equally entertaining and curious.* The letter, in which this plan of a college is contained, is directed to the Hon. Mr Robert Boyle, and dated from Sayes-Court, September 3, 1659. Our author expresses himself very much at large, and very pathetically represents, though with great caution and modesty, the miseries of the times, and the reasons which might induce men of true virtue and strict science to think of sheltering themselves in some quiet retreat, from the disagreeable accidents to which they might be liable, in such times, and amongst such men, as the world then abounded with. He declares, that if he had been a single person, and without family, he would, without hesitation, have dedicated his fortune to the raising such a college as he proposed, to the thoughts of which he seems to have been led by a discourse of the great Lord Chancellor Bacon's. He likewise observes, that notwithstanding his situation in the world prevented him from undertaking such a thing alone, yet nothing could give him greater pleasure than the hopes of associating Mr Boyle therein. He says farther, that, though this project had been long swimming in his mind, yet he had never communicated it to any person whatever, so that Mr Boyle need not be under any apprehensions of opening himself freely upon a thing of so private a nature. He adds to all this, that he had no particular cause of discontent, being, with respect to his circumstances, perfectly easy, happy, and satisfied in his family; well respected in the world; and, in all things, as free from the necessity of looking for such a retreat, exclusive of his own inclination, as any Gentleman whatever. Without taking notice of these parts of his letter, the plan itself would be scarce intelligible; to have transcribed them at large, would have swelled this note beyond its proper bounds; and therefore I judged it proper to contract them: but with respect to the author's scheme, which is very curious and entertaining, at the same time that it has a close relation to his personal history, it is certainly requisite that should appear in the author's own words. No doubt Mr Boyle wrote an answer to it, which would have been well worth the perusal, but whether that be still preserved or not is very uncertain. As for Mr Evelyn's proposal, it runs thus (11):

(11) Boyle's Works, Vol. II. P. 398, 399.

I propose the purchasing of thirty or forty acres of land, in some healthy place, not above twenty-five miles from London, of which a good part should be tall wood, and the rest upland pastures, or downs sweetly irrigated. If there were not already an house which might be converted, &c. we would erect, upon the most convenient site of this near the wood, our building, *viz.* one handsome pavillion, containing a refectory, library, withdrawing-room, and a closet; this the first story: for we suppose the kitchen, larders, cellars, and offices, to be contrived in the half story under ground. In the second should be a fair lodging-chamber, a pallet-room, gallery, and a closet, all which should be well and very nobly furnished, for any worthy person that might desire to stay any time, and for the reputation of the college. The half story above, for servants wardrobes and like conveniencies. To the entry fore-front of this court, and at the other back-front, a plot walled in, of a competent square for the common scraglio, disposed into a garden, or it might be only carpet, kept curiously, and to serve for bowls, walking, or other recreations, &c. if the company please. Opposite to the house, towards the wood, should be erected a pretty chapel, and, at equal distances, even within the flanking walls of the square, six apartments or cells for the members of the society, and not contiguous to the pavillion, each whereof should contain a

small bed-chamber, an outward room, a closet, and a private garden, somewhat after the manner of the Carthusians. There should likewise be an elaboratory, with a repository for rarities and things of nature; aviary, dove-house, physick-garden, kitchen-garden, and a plantation of orchard-fruit, &c. all uniform buildings, but of single stories, or a little elevated. At convenient distance, towards the solitary garden, should be a stable for two or three horses, and a lodging for a servant or two. Lastly, a garden-house and conservatory for tender plants. The estimate amounts thus: the pavillion, 400/; the chapel, one hundred and fifty pounds; apartments, walls, and out-housing, six hundred pounds; the purchase of the fee for thirty acres, at fifteen pounds *per* acre, eighteen year's purchase, four hundred pounds; the total, fifteen hundred and fifty pounds; sixteen hundred pounds will be the utmost. Three of the cells or apartments, that is, one moiety with the appurtenances, shall be at the disposal of one of the founders, and the other half at the others. If I and my wife take up two apartments (for we are to be decently asunder however I stipulate, and her inclination will greatly suit with it, that shall be no impediment to the society, but a considerable advantage to the oeconomic part) a third shall be for some worthy person, and, to facilitate the rest, I offer to furnish the whole pavillion completely to the value of five hundred pounds, in goods and moveables, if need be for seven years, till there shall be a publick stock, &c. There shall be maintained, at the publick charge, only a Chaplain well qualified, an antient woman to dress the meat, wash, and do all such offices; a man to buy provision, keep the garden, horses, &c. a boy to assist him and serve within. At one meal a day, of two dishes only, unless some little extraordinary upon particular days or occasions (then never exceeding three) of plain and wholesome meat; a small refectory at night: wine, beer, sugar, spice, bread, fish, fowl, candle, soap, oats, hay, fuel, &c. at four pounds *per* week, two hundred pounds *per annum*; wages, fifteen pounds; keeping the gardens, twenty pounds; the Chaplain, twenty pounds *per annum*. Laid up in the treasury one hundred forty-five pounds, to be employed for books, instruments, drugs, trials, &c. The total, four hundred pounds a year, comprehending the keeping of two horses for the chariot, or the saddle, and two kine; so that two hundred pounds *per annum* will be the utmost that the founders shall be at to maintain the whole society, consisting of nine persons (the servants included) though there should no others join capable to alleviate the expence; but, if any of those who desire to be of the society, be so well qualified as to support their own particulars, and allow for their proportion, it will yet much diminish the charge, and of such there cannot want some at all times as the apartments are empty. If either of the founders thinks expedient to alter his condition, or that any thing do *humanitus contingere*, he may resign to another, or sell to his colleague, and dispose of it as he pleases, yet so as it still continue the institution. ORDERS. At six in summer prayers in the chapel. To study till half an hour after eleven. Dinner in the refectory till one. Retire till four. Then called to conversation (if the weather invite) abroad, else in the refectory. This never omitted but in case of sickness. Prayers at seven. To bed at nine. In the winter the same, with some abatements for the hours, because the nights are tedious, and the evenings conversation more agreeable. This in the refectory. All play interdicted, fans bowls, ches,

better times, it occasioned some change in his sentiments, and, upon an attempt being made to damp the desires of the people for the King's return, he drew his pen in that critical season in defence of his Majesty's character (m), which, at such a juncture, was both an acceptable and a very important service [G]. Immediately after the King's return, Mr Evelyn was introduced to, and graciously received by, him, nor was it long before he received a very singular mark of the King's esteem for, and confidence in, him. It happened thus: there had many troubles and disputes fallen out between the Ambassadors of the crowns of France and Spain, for precedence in the Courts of foreign Princes, and amongst these there was none more remarkable than that upon Tower-Hill, on the landing of an Ambassador from Sweden, September 30, 1660, which was so premeditated a business on both sides, that the King, foreseeing it would come to a quarrel (n), and being willing to carry himself with indifference towards both, which could not be otherwise done, than leaving them at liberty to take what methods they thought proper for supporting their respective pretences, but to shew at the same time his concern for the publick tranquillity, orders were given for a strict guard to be kept upon the place, and all his Majesty's subjects were enjoined not to intermeddle, or take part with either side; and the King was farther pleased to command, that Mr Evelyn should, after diligent enquiry made, draw up and present him a distinct narrative of the whole affair, which he accordingly

(m) Kennet's Register, p. 117.

(n) Continuation of Heath's Chron. p. 751.

'chefs, &c. Every one to cultivate his own garden. One month in spring a course in the elaboratory on vegetables, &c. In the winter a month on other experiments. Every man to have a key of the elaboratory, pavilion, library, repository, &c. Weekly fast. Communion once every fortnight, or month at least. No stranger easily admitted to visit any of the society, but upon certain days weekly, and that only after dinner. Any of the society may have his commons to his apartment, if he will not meet in the refectory, so it be not above twice a week. Every Thursday shall be a musick meeting at conversation hours. Every person of the society shall render some publick account of his studies weekly, if thought fit, and especially, shall be recommended the promotion of experimental knowledge, as the principal end of the institution. There shall be a decent habit and uniform used in the college. One month in the year may be spent in London, or any of the Universities, or in a perambulation for the publick benefit, &c. with what other orders shall be thought convenient.'

VII. *An Apology for the Royal Party, written in a letter to a person of the late Council of State; with a touch at the pretended Plea of the Army.* Lond. 1659. in two sheets in 4to.

But while Mr Evelyn and other gentlemen of his sentiments were thus employed, those of the contrary party were not idle, and amongst these one Marchmont Needham, who first wrote with great bitterness for the King against the Parliament, and afterwards with equal acrimony for the Parliament against the King, was induced to pen that piece mentioned in the text, which was deservedly reckoned one of the most artful and dangerous contrivances, for impeding that healing spirit that began now to spread itself through the nation, and with that view was handed to the press by *Praise-God Barebone* one of the fiercest zealots in those times, the title of which at large runs thus (14): *News from Brussels, in a letter from a near attendant on his Majesty's person, to a person of honour here, dated March the 10th 1659.* the design of this pretended letter was to represent the character of King Charles the Second in as bad a light as possible, in order to destroy the favourable impressions that many had received of his natural inclination to mildness and clemency. All the King's friends were extremely alarmed at this attempt, and saw plainly that it would be attended with most pernicious consequences; but Mr Evelyn, who had as quick a foresight as any of them, resolved to lose no time in furnishing an antidote against this poison, and with great diligence and dexterity, sent abroad in a week's time a compleat answer which bore the following title.

(14) Kennet's Historical Register, p. 117.

VIII. *The late news or message from Brussels unmasked.* Lond. 1659. 4to.

This was certainly a very seasonable and a very important service, which for his own safety our Author managed with such secrecy, that hardly any body knew from whom this Pamphlet came. But how much soever he had reason to be pleased with the success of his pen upon this occasion, he could not help being extremely mortified at the change he perceived in his friend Colonel Morley's behaviour, who of a sudden grew very silent and reserved, and at length plainly avoided any private conversation with Mr Evelyn. In this situation our Author had the courage to write him an expostulatory letter, which was in effect putting his life into his hands, and yet even this failed of procuring him the satisfaction he expected; however he felt no inconvenience from it, for this alteration in Colonel Morley's countenance towards him, was not at all the effects of any change in his disposition, but arose from his having entered into new engagements for the King's service, with Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper and General Monk (15), who had tied him down to such absolute secrecy, that he was not able at that juncture to give Mr Evelyn any hint that might make him easy, but by degrees these clouds were dispelled, and he saw plainly enough from the Colonel's publick behaviour, that he had no reason to apprehend any mischief from the confidence he had reposed in him.

(15) Baker's Chron. continued by E. Phillips. Lond. 1674, fol. p. 722.

[G] *And a very important service* ] The conduct of Mr Evelyn in this critical year 1659, which was in truth the most active in his whole life, is hardly taken notice of by any of those who have undertaken to preserve his memoirs, and therefore we will endeavour to give the reader as much light into it as possible. After the death of Oliver, and the deposition of Richard Cromwell, there were many of the Commanders in the Army, that shewed an inclination to reconcile themselves to the King, which disposition of theirs was very much encouraged by such as had his Majesty's interest truly at heart. Amongst these, Mr Evelyn had a particular eye upon Colonel Herbert Morley (12), an old experienced Officer in the Parliament Army, who had two stout Regiments entirely at his devotion, was very much esteemed by his party, and had the general reputation of being a person of great probity and honour. It was a very dangerous step as things then stood, to make any advances to one in his situation, yet Mr Evelyn, considering how much it might be in that gentleman's power to facilitate the King's return, fairly ventured his life, by advising the Colonel freely to make his peace with, and enter into the service of, the King. The Colonel, as might well be expected, acted coldly and cautiously at first, but at last accepted Mr Evelyn's offer, and desired him to make use of his interest to procure a pardon for himself, and some of his relations and friends whom he named, promising in return to give all the assistance in his power to the royal cause. At the same time that Mr Evelyn carried on this dangerous intercourse with Colonel Morley, he formed a resolution of publishing something that might take off the edge of that inveteracy, expressed by those who had been deepest in the Parliament's interest, against such as had always adhered to the King, and with this view he wrote a small treatise which had the desired effect, and was so generally well received, that it ran through three impressions that year, the title of this piece was (13),

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(12) Baker's Chron. with additions, Lond. 1696, fol. p. 661.

(13) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 942.

accordingly did, and it is a very curious and remarkable piece, though not taken notice of in any of the accounts of our author's writings, which is the reason of our speaking of it with all its circumstances [H]. Our author began now to enter into the active scenes of life, but yet without bidding adieu entirely to his studies; on the contrary, he published, in the space of a few months, several learned treatises upon different subjects (o), which met with great applause, the rather, because the author expressed in some of them his intention to prosecute more largely several philosophical subjects, in a manner that might render them conducive to the benefit of society; and of his capacity for performing these promises, some of these pieces were instances sufficient to satisfy every intelligent reader, as well as to justify the character he had already acquired, of being at once an able and agreeable

(o) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. I. col. 941.

[H] *With all its circumstances.*] This piece of Mr Evelyn's is very curious, and not being to be met with in any of his works, the reader cannot be displeas'd with having this opportunity of perusing it, more especially when he sees, by the conclusion, what the consequences were of this political riot. The title of it ran thus: *The manner of the Encounter, between the French and Spanish Ambassadors, at the landing of the Swedish Ambassador.*

Upon Monday last being the 30th of September, about ten in the morning the Spanish Ambassador's coach, in which were his Chaplain with some of his gentlemen, attended by about forty more of his servants in livery, was sent down to the Tower wharf, and there placed itself near about the point, where the ranks of ordnance determine towards the gate leading into the bulwark. Next after him came the Dutch and (twelve a-clock past) the Swedish coach of honour, disposing of themselves according to their places. About two hours after this (in company with his Majesty's Coach Royal) appeared that of the French Ambassador's, wherein were Le Marquis d'Estrade, son to the French Ambassador, with several more of his gentlemen, and as might be computed near an hundred and fifty in train, whereof above forty were horsemen well appointed, with pistols, and some of them with carabines, musketoons, or fuzies: in this posture and equipage stood they expecting upon the wharf, and as near as might be approaching to his Majesty's coach, which was opposite to the stairs, about three in the afternoon the Swedish Ambassador being landed, and received into his Majesty's coach, which moved leisurely before the rest, and was followed by that of the Swedes. The French Ambassador's coach endeavoured to go the next, driving as close as possibly they could, and advancing their party with their swords drawn, to force the Spaniards from the guard of their own coach, which were also putting in for precedency next the King's. His Majesty's coach now past the Spaniard's, who held as yet their rapiers undrawn in their hands, stepping nimbly on either side of the hindmost wheels of their master's coach drew their weapons and shouted, which caus'd the French coach horses to make a pause: but when they observ'd the advantage, which by this the Spanish Ambassador's coach had gain'd, being now in file after the Swedes, they came up very near to the Spaniard's, and at once pouring in their shot upon them, together with their foot, then got before their coach, fell to it with their swords, both which the Spaniards received without removing one jot from their station.

During this demesse (in which the French received some repulse and were put to a second stand, a bold and dextrous fellow, and as most affirm with a particular instrument as well as address, stooping under the bellies of the French Ambassador's coach-horses, cut the hamstring of two of them, and wounded a third, which immediately falling, the coach for the present was disabled from advancing farther, the coachman forced out of his box, and the postilion mortally wounded, who falling into the arms of an English gentleman that stepped in to his succour, was by a Spaniard pierced through his thigh. This disorder (wherein several were wounded and some slain) caus'd those in the French to alight, and so enrag'd their party, that it occasion'd a second brisk assault both of horse and foot, which being received with extraordinary gallantry, many of their horse retreated and wheel'd off to St Katherine's.

It was in this skirmish, that some brickbatts were

thrown from the edge of the wharf, which by a mistake are said to have been provided by the Spanish Ambassador's order the day before: but that they were not cast by any of the English, is attested by the general consent of all the spectators.

In this interim then (which was near half an hour) the Spanish coach went forward after his Majesty's, with about twenty of its retinue following, who still kept their countenances towards the French as long as they abode on the wharf, and that narrow passage of the bulwark (where the contest was very fierce) without disorder: so as the first which appeared on Tower-Hill, where now they were entering, was his Majesty's coach followed by the Swedes Ambassador's, and next by that of Spain with about twenty-four or thirty of his Liveries still disputing it, with a less number of French who came after them in the rear.

And here besides what were slain with bullets on the wharf, and near the bulwark, whereof one was a Valet de Chambre of the Spanish Ambassador's, and six more, amongst which a poor English Plaisterer, and near forty wounded, fell one of the French, who was killed just before his Highness's Life-Guard, no one person of the numerous spectators intermeddling, or so much as making the least noise or tumult, people or soldiers, whereof there were three companies of foot, which stood opposite on the hill to the Guards of Horse, 'twixt whom the antagonists lightly skirmish'd some fresh parties of French coming out of several places and protected by the English, amongst whom they found shelter till the Spanish Ambassador's coach having gain'd and pass'd the chain which leads into Crochet Friars, they desisted and gave them over.

Whatever disadvantage the French came off with in this rencounter, wherein except one man that fought among the Spaniards with a half pike, not any of the English were seen to act any thing that might contribute to the success of one side more than another, till a few of the multitude which stood on that side of the wharf being enrag'd by the wounds, which they received from the shot that came in amongst them, and whereof 'tis said some of them afterwards died, were forced to defend themselves with what they found at hand. For so careful was Sir Charles Berkeley, Captain of his Royal Highness's Life-Guard, to put in execution what he had in strict charge from his Majesty, that not a man of the spectators was suffer'd with impunity so much as with a switch in his hand. The French King from this occasion gain'd an advantage to the prerogative he stood upon, greater than if this contest had not happen'd; for whereas, this business of precedence had been hitherto in controversy between him and Spain, in so much that to prevent all inconveniencies, an accord had been lately made here betwixt the Spanish Ambassador and the Count of Soissons, that they should assist at no publick ceremonies, but upon all such casual encounters pass on their way as they fortun'd to meet: The King of France countermanding this agreement, and sending positive charge to D'Estrade not to abate any thing of those pretensions formerly stood upon, and hearing what ensued upon his Ambassador's executing of his injunctions, was so incens'd thereat, that the quarrel had proceeded to an absolute breach of the late concluded peace betwixt the two Kingdoms, had not the King of Spain condescended to agree that thence forward, precedence should be yielded to the French upon all such like occasions without any dispute.

agreeable writer [I]. About the close of the year 1662, when his Majesty was pleased, by his Letters Patent, to erect and establish the Royal Society for the improvement of Natural knowledge, John Evelyn, Esq; was appointed one of the first Fellows and Council (p). He had given a proof the same year how well he deserved that distinction, by a small but excellent work of his, intituled SCULPTURA (q), of which, as it is now become very scarce, an account shall be given in the notes [K]. Upon the first appearance of the nation's

(p) Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 137.

(q) See an account of that Work in the notes.

[I] *An able and agreeable writer.* It is certain that very few authors who have written in our language, deserve this character so well as Mr Evelyn, who tho' he was acquainted with most sciences, and wrote upon many different subjects, yet was very far, indeed the farthest of most men of his time, from being a superficial writer. He had genius, he had taste, he had learning, and he knew how to give all these a proper place in his works, so as never to pass for a pedant, even with such as were least in love with literature, and to be justly esteemed a polite author by those who knew it best. His performances during this year, except one, were but light and trivial in comparison of those that he afterwards sent abroad; but it is necessary however, that the reader, who will expect a large account of those, should take notice of these likewise.

IX. *A Panegyrick at his Majesty King Charles II. his Coronation.* Lond. 1661. fol.

X. *Instructions concerning the erecting of a Library.* Written by Gabriel Naudé, published in English with some improvements, by John Evelyn, Esq; Lond. 1661. 8vo.

XI. *Fumifugium; or the inconveniencies of the air, and the smoke of London dissipated. Together, with some remedies humbly proposed,* by John Evelyn, London 1661. 4to. in five sheets addressed to the King and Parliament, and published by his Majesties express command.

XII. *Tyrannus, or the Mode; in a discourse of sumptuary Laws,* London 1661. 8vo.

[K] *In the notes* ] Of this work which has been always looked upon as a very great curiosity, from the time of its publication to this day, the title at large runs thus. XIII. *Sculptura: or the History and Art of Calcography and engraving in copper, with an ample enumeration of the most renowned masters and their works. To which is annexed, a new manner of engraving or Mezzo Tinto, communicated by his Highness Prince Rupert, to the Author of this treatise.* Lond. 1662. 8vo. In the dedication to Mr Robert Boyle, dated at Sayes-Court, April 5th 1662, he observes, that he wrote this treatise at the reiterated instances of that gentleman. The first chapter treats of Sculpture, how derived and distinguished, with the styles and instruments belonging to it. The second, of the original of Sculpture in general. In this chapter our Author observes that letters, and consequently Sculpture, were long before the Flood, Suidas ascribing both letters and all the rest of the Sciences to Adam. After the Flood, as he supposes, there were but few who make any considerable question, that it might not be propagated by Noah to his posterity, tho' some admit of none before Moses. 'But what then shall we think of that book of the wars of the Lord, which this sacred Author mentions Num. xxi. not to insist upon the eighty eighth, and one hundred and nineteenth Psalms, by many ascribed to some of the patriarchs his predecessors? Mercurius Trismegistus, three hundred years after the Flood, and long before Moses, engraved his secret and mysterious things in stone, as himself reports, reforming what had been depraved by the wicked Cham, some in letters, some in figures, and enigmatical characters, such haply as were those contained in the magnificent and stupendous obelisks, erected by Misra the first Egyptian Pharaoh, which being at least, four hundred years before Moses, as the most indefatigable Kircher has computed, does greatly presage their antiquity to have been before that holy Prophet. But not to put too much stress upon superannuated tradition, this we are sure of is of faith and without controversy, that in Moses we have the tables of stone engraven by the finger of God himself, where the command is express even against the abuse of this very art, as well as an instance of the idolatry attesting that of Sculpture, *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven*

*image.* But this which is indeed, the first writing that we have Scripture to vouch for, does yet suppose engraving to have been of much greater antiquity. What else were the Teraphim, what the Pentos stolen by Rachael? The Idols of Terah? Or the Egyptians? &c. But we forbear to expatiate only that which is Ben Syrac, somewhere in Ecclesiasticus delivered, that the original of idolatry was from images to preserve the memory of the dead, as in process of time by the flatterers of great men, it was turned to be an object of adoration, plainly infers graving to have been older than Idolatry.' But now, continues our Author, to recover its esteem again beyond all prejudice (however by others abused as indeed many of the best things have been;) it was we know imputed for a spiritual talent in Bezaleel, and Aholiab, who made Intaglias to adorn the High Priest's Pectoral. And we have said how the Egyptians revered it, as seeming to have used it before letters, or rather their Hieroglyphics, importing faced sculpture were those elements by which they transmitted to posterity, what they esteemed most worthy of record, and not as some have imagined wrapp'd up in those enigmatical figures, the secrets of their arts both divine and secular; such as were also the Horapollinis notæ, and all those other venerable antiquities of this nature, transported to Rome out of Egypt, in no less than two and forty prodigious obelisks, interpreted by the industrious Kircher. Suidas attributes the invention to the Father of the Faithful, others to Theut or Hermes, some to Cadmus and the Phœnicians. Bibliander will have letters and sculpture from Adam, Josephus from Henoah; Philo from Abraham, Eusebius, from Moses, Cyprian from Saturn, where by the way, because it is said he did *Litteras imprimere*, Petrus Calaber, who calls himself Pomponius Lætus, absurdly deduces, that even the Typographical Art was known in the age of this Hero. But thence it descended to the Egyptians, by Misraim, and so was communicated to the Persians, Medes, and Assyrians, thence to the Greeks, and lastly to the Romans, from whom it was derived to us, as Peter Crinitus, in his seventh Book of *bonestâ Disciplinâ*, out of a very antient manuscript *Bibliothecæ Septimianæ*, seems to deduce. Now should all this but relate to the several characters it shall yet serve our purpose, since whoever was the inventor of letters, was also doubtless the father of Sculpture, as is apparent if not by the columns erected by Seth, (one whereof *Angelus Roccha*, in his *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, presumes to have been of brass) by several other instances, the writing with ink, paper, or parchment, being altogether a novelty in comparison with the more antient forms and materials, such as were the flit stones or slates, which succeeded the stately marbles, and preceded the thinner leaves of bark and tables of wood, which, from the German Bucher, signifying the Fagus or Beech tree, whose fruit does still with us retain the name of Beech mast, were called Books, to whatever voluble or folding matter applied. For before the invention of paper, they used the leaves of palm, as *Varro, de Sibylla*; then the rinds of trees, afterwards sheets of lead, linnen, wax, and ivory, as *Vopiscus* tells us. They wrote in silk among the Persians and Chinese, and lastly were invented parchment and paper. But, whether in all these or whatever the subject were some few later excepted, it was still by insculping, scarifying, and making a kind of incision into it, especially intending to consign to posterity, their laws divine and human, Roman, Egyptian, or Hebrew for so of old.

— *Verba minantia fixo  
Ære ligabantur.*

Thus were the Hieronicæ preserved in the temple of Olympian Jove, and the Roman Consuls in the Capitol,

tion's being obliged to engage in a war with the Dutch, the King thought proper to appoint

tol, and as by those innumerable inscriptions of irrefragable and undeniable antiquities does appear, we have already computed how probable it is, that Sculpture was in use in Egypt somewhat before, or at least, as soon as the Patriarch Abraham went thither. But the less discerning Greeks who received it from the Egyptians, could tell us of no writings of theirs extant before Homer, if we will prefer the authority of Josephus before that of Tatian, a learned Assyrian and contemporary with Justin Martyr, where he mentions no less than seventeen Greek writers more ancient than Homer. There are also enumerated the names of twenty Argive Kings from Inachus to Agamemnon, which strongly infers the means of recording by Sculpture and writing to have been very antient. For so we read, that the Poems of Hesiod were engraven in lead. Aristotle mentions Daphne, a certain Devotress of Apollo, Sabinus and Diodorus many others. But when or however it were, thence, as we observed, it travelled into Greece, that Theatre of Arts, where it soon arrived to the supreme height of perfection, when being applied to the forming of figures, it was celebrated by all the witty men of those and the succeeding ages. Homer tells us, of the engraving in the shield of Achilles, Hesiod of that of Hercules, not to mention the Sculptures upon the chariot of the sun described by the Poet, because it is altogether fictitious, tho' extremely ingenious, and whence perhaps they might have their *Vehicula Caelata*, mentioned by Q. Curtius. The *third* chapter treats of the reputation and progress of Sculpture among the Greeks and Romans down to the middle ages, with a discussion of some pretensions to the invention of copper cuts, and their impressions. The *fourth*, of the invention and progress of Chalcography, in particular together, with an ample enumeration of the most renowned masters and their works. The *fifth*, of drawing and design, previous to the Art of Chalcography, and of the use of pictures in order to the education of children. In this chapter our Author, in honour of the Art upon which he writes, discourses thus: 'It was in the former chapter, that we made rehearsal of the most renowned Gravers and their works, not that we had no more to add to that number, but because we would not mingle these illustrious names and qualities there, which we purposely reserved for the crown of this discourse; we did therefore forbear to mention what his Highness Prince Rupert's own hands have contributed to the dignity of that Art, performing things in graving of which some enrich our collection comparable to the greatest Masters, such a spirit and address there appears in all that he touches, and especially in that of the Mezzotinto, of which we shall speak hereafter more at large, having first enumerated those incomparable gravings, of that his new and inimitable stile, in both the great and little decollations of St John the Baptist, the soldier holding a spear and leaning his hand on a shield, the two Mary Magdalens, the old man's head, that of Titian, &c. after the same Titian, Georgion and others; we have also seen a plate etched by the present French King and other great persons, the Right Honourable the Earl of Sandwich, sometimes as we are told diverting himself with the burine, and herein imitating those antient and renowned Heroes, whose names are loud in the trumpet of fame, for their skill and particular affection to these Arts. For such of old, were Lucius Manilius, and Fabius, noble Romans, Pacuvius the tragic Poet, nephew to Ennius; Socrates, the wisest of men, and Plato himself, Metrodorus and Pyrrhus the Philosopher, did both design and paint, and so did Valentinian, Adrian, and Severus, Emperors, so as the great Paulus Æmilius esteemed it of such high importance, that he would needs have his son to be instructed in it, as in one of the most worthy and excellent accomplishments belonging to a Prince. For the Art of graving, Quintilian likewise celebrates Euphranor, a polite and rarely endowed person, and Pliny, in that chapter where he treats of the same Art observes, that there was never any one famous in it, but who was by birth or education a gentleman, therefore he and

Galen in their recension of the liberal Arts, mention that of graving in particular amongst the most permanent, and in the same catalogue numbers it with Rhetorick, Geometry, Logic, Astronomy, yea, Grammar itself, because there is in these Arts, say they, more of fancy and invention than strength of hand, more of the spirit than of the body. Hence Aristotle informs us, that the Grecians did universally institute their children, in the Art of painting and drawing, for an oeconomique reason there signified, as well as to produce proportions in the mind: Varro makes it part of the ladies education, that they might have the better skill in the works of Embroidery, &c. and for this cause is his daughter Martia celebrated amongst those of her fair sex. We have already mentioned the learned Anna Schurman, but the Princess Louisa has done wonders of this kind, and is famous throughout Europe for the many pieces which enrich our cabinets, examples sufficient to vindicate its dignity, and the value that has been set upon it, since both Emperors, Kings, and Philosophers, the great and the wise, have not disdained to cultivate and cherish this honourable quality of old, so nobly reputed, that amongst the Greeks a slave might not be taught it: how passionately does Pereskius, that admirable and universal genius, deplore his want of dexterity in this Art! Baptista Alberti, Aldus Pomponius, Guaricus Durer, and Rubens, were politely learned and knowing men, and it is hardly to be imagined, of how great use and conducive a competent address in this Art of drawing and designing, is to the several advantages which occur, and especially to the more noble mathematical Sciences, as we have already instanced in the lunar works of Hevelius, and are no less obliged to celebrate some of our own countrymen famous for their dexterity in this incomparable Art, such was that Blagrove, who himself cut those diagrams in his Mathematical Jewel, and such at present, is that rare and early prodigy of universal science, Dr Chr. Wren, our worthy and accomplished friend. For if the study of Eloquence and Rhetorick were cultivated by the greatest genius's and heroick persons which the world has produced, and that by the suffrage of the most knowing to be a perfect Orator, a man ought to be universally instructed, a quality so becoming and useful should never be neglected.' In the *sixth* chapter he discourses of the new way of Engraving or Mezzo Tinto, invented and communicated by his Highness Prince RUPERT, and he therein observes, 'that his Highness did indulge him the liberty of publishing the whole manner and address of this new way of engraving, but when I had well considered it, says he, (so much having been already expressed, which may suffice to give the hint to all ingenious persons how it is to be performed) I did not think it necessary, that an art so curious, and as yet so little vulgar, and which indeed does not succeed where the workman is not an accomplished designer, and has a competent talent in painting likewise, was to be prostituted at so cheap a rate, as the more naked describing of it here, would too soon have exposed it to. Upon these considerations, then it is, that we leave it thus enigmatical, and yet that this may appear no disingenuous rhodomontade in me, or invidious excuse, I profess myself to be always most ready *sub sigillo*, and by his Highness's permission, to gratify any curious and worthy person, with as full and perfect a demonstration of the entire Art, as my talent and address will reach to, if what I am now preparing to be reserved in the Archives of the Royal Society concerning it, be not sufficiently instructive.' There came however, into the hands of the communicative and learned Richard Middleton Maffey, M. D. and F. R. S. the original manuscript written by Mr Evelyn, and designed for the Royal Society, intitled *Prince Rupert's new way of Engraving, communicated by his Highness to Mr Evelyn*. In the margin of which is this note, *This I prepared to be registred in the Royal Society, but I have not yet given it in, so as it still continues a secret*. In this manuscript, he first describes the two instruments employed

appoint Commissioners to take care of the sick and wounded; this was in November 1664, and Mr Evelyn was one of the number, having all the ports between Dover and Portsmouth in his district; and Sir Thomas Clifford, who was afterwards a Peer, and Lord High-Treasurer of England, was another of those Commissioners (r). We find these particulars in a letter from our author to Mr Boyle, in which he expresses how great a satisfaction it would have been to have had that worthy and charitable person for his colleague. His literary labours within the compass of this year were not only as great, but even greater than in any of those preceding, which arose from the great desire the author had to support the credit of the Royal Society, and to convince the world, that Philosophy was not barely an amusement fit to take up the time of melancholy and contemplative persons, but a high and useful science, worthy the attention of men of the greatest parts, and capable of contributing in a supreme degree to the welfare of the nation (s). In this noble design, as never any man engaged with a better will, or prosecuted his intentions with greater diligence, so it may be truly said, that never any advocate for Philosophy employed his talents with greater success. He exerted them also in the defence, and for the improvement, of the publick taste in Architecture and Painting, with equal vigour and with equal applause. The same praises that were bestowed upon him then, have been continued in respect to his works from the gratitude of posterity, nor are his learned efforts in behalf of science and the polite arts, less relished now than at the time of their first appearance, a reward, which, though it may have been deserved by many, has however been received by few, at least in the same degree with our author, and is therefore an incontestible proof of his merit [L]. As there is nothing more natural, than for men of

(r) B. v. l. Works  
Vol. V. p. 403.

(s) See his large  
Preface prefixed  
before his *Sylva*.

true

ployed in this new manner of engraving, viz. the *Hatchet* and the *Style*, and then proceeds to explain the method of using them. He concludes with the following words: 'This invention or new manner of Chalcography, was the result of chance, and improved by a German soldier, who spying some scrape on the barrel of his musquet, and being of an ingenious spirit, refined upon it, till it produced the effects you have seen, and which indeed is, for the delicacy thereof, much superior to any invention extant of this Art, for the imitation of those masterly drawings, and, as the Italians call it, that morbidezza expressed in the best of their designs. I have had the honour to be the first of the English to whom it has been yet communicated, and by a special indulgence of his Highness, who with his own hands was pleased to direct me with permission to publish it to the world, but I have esteemed it a thing so curious, that I thought it would be to profane it, before I had first offered it to this illustrious Society. There is another way of engraving by rowelling a plate with an instrument, made like that which our Scriveners and Clerks use to direct their rulers by on parchment, only the points are thicker set into the rowell. And when the plate is sufficiently freckled with the frequent reciprocation of it, upon the polished surface, so as to render the ground dark enough, it is to be abated with the style, and treated as we have already described. Of this sort I have seen a head of the Queen Christina, graven, if I mistake not, as big as the life, but not comparable to the Mezzo Tinto of Prince Rupert, so deservedly celebrated by

J. EVELYN.

[L] *An incontestible proof of his merit*] The digesting the numerous works of this elegant and excellent writer in their natural order, is a work of no small pains, as those who have given the world his memoirs heretofore were very sensible, and for that reason never attempted it; yet that is not the cause of our mentioning it here, but a consideration of quite a different nature, which is, that we may not be blamed for any deficiency or mistake into which we may happen to fall through want of proper guides, in spite of all the care that we could possibly take; and having promised this, we will proceed in our catalogue:

XV. *SYLVA: or, a Discourse of Forest Trees, and the Propagation of Timber in his Majesty's Dominions. As it was delivered in the Royal Society the 15th of October 1662, upon Occasion of certain Queries propounded to that illustrious Assembly by the Honourable the principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy. To which is annexed, POMONA: or, an Appendix concerning Fruit Trees, in relation to Cyder, the making, and several ways of ordering it: published by express Order of the Royal Society. By John Evelyn, Esq; Fellow of the Royal Society. Lond. 1664, fol.*

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The bare History of the editions of this most valuable work, the contents of which are too well known to stand in need of any account to be given of them here, is sufficient to employ all the room that we have to spare. It was written by the command, it was published in virtue of an order, of the Royal Society, signed by the Lord Viscount Brouncker, their President, and dedicated to the King. The second edition of it was published in 1669, with a new dedication to King Charles II, dated from Sayes-Court Aug. 24. The first paragraph of which is so remarkable as to deserve, in a great degree, the reader's notice. 'Sir, This second edition of *Sylva*, after more than a thousand copies had been bought up and dispersed of the first impression, in much less than two years space (which Bookfellers assure us is a very extraordinary thing in volumes of this bulk) comes now again to pay it's homage to your Serene Majesty, to whose auspices alone it owes the favourable acceptance which it has received in the world. But it is not that alone which it presumes to tell your Majesty, but to acquaint you that it has been the sole occasion of furnishing your almost exhausted dominions with more I dare say than two millions of timber trees, besides infinite others, which have been propagated within the three nations at the instigation, and by the direction, of this work; and that the author of it is able, if need require, to make it out by a competent volume of letters and acknowledgments, which are come to his hands from several persons of the most eminent quality, many of them illustrious, and divers of them unknown to him, in justification of what he asserts, which he the rather preserves with the more care, because they are testimonials from so many honourable persons of the benefit they have received from the endeavours of the Royal Society, which now-a-days passes through so many censures; but she has yet your Majesty for her Founder and Patron, and is therefore the less concerned, since no man of worth can lightly speak ill of an Assembly, which your Majesty has thought fit to dignify by so signal a relation to it.' There follows next a short discourse *To the Reader*, in which the occasion, contents, and design of the work, are cleared; then a copy of Latin verses by the learned Dr Beale; to these succeed another copy of Latin verses, written by R. Bohun, Esq; and then a third in Greek, by John Evelyn, junior, Esq; *POMONA*, which is but an *Appendix*, is however dedicated to that best of Ministers, Thomas, Earl of Southampton, and Lord High Treasurer of England. The third edition, with great additions and improvements, was published in 1679. The fourth edition in 1705, in which the Discourse to the reader is very much enlarged, and every chapter of the work very considerably augmented. There was a fifth edition, with all the lesser pieces of our author relating to agriculture and gardening annexed, in 1729, all in folio; nor is there any reason to doubt it's farther success.

21 F.

XVI.

true learning to preserve a lasting regard and affection for the academies where they first pursued

XVI. A PARALLEL of the Antient Architecture with the Modern, in a collection of ten principal Authors, who have written upon the five Orders, viz. Palladio and Scamozzi, Serlio and Vignola; D. Barbaro and Cataneo; L. B. Alberti and Viola, Bullant and De Lorme; compared with one another. The three Greek Orders, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian, comprise the first part of this Treatise, and the two Latin; Tuscan and Composita, the latter; written in French by Roland Freart, *Sieur de Chambray*; made English for the benefit of Builders. To which is added an account of Architects and Architecture, in an Historical and Etymological Explanation of certain Terms, particularly affected by Architects; with Leon Baptista Alberti's Treatise of Statues. By John Evelyn, Esq; Fellow of the Royal Society. Lond 1664. folio.

This work, as well as the former, is dedicated to King Charles the Second, and the Dedication dated from Sayes-Court, August 20th. I will take the liberty of quoting some lines from it, not for the sake of panegyrick, tho' in that no writer excelled our Author, but upon the score of the facts that are mentioned therein, which there is a probability might not otherwise fall in the reader's way. After an apology for prefixing his royal name to a translation, our Author proceeds thus. 'I know none indeed, to whom could I more aptly inscribe a discourse of Building, than to so Royal a Builder, whose august attempts have already given so great a splendour to our imperial city, and so illustrious an example to the nation! it is from this contemplation, Sir, that after I had, by the commands of the Royal Society, endeavoured the improvement of timber and the planting of trees, I have advanced to that of Building, as its proper and natural consequent, not with a presumption to incite or instruct your Majesty, which were a vanity unpardonable, but by it to take occasion of celebrating your Majesty's great example, who use your Empire and authority so worthily, as fortune seems to have consulted her reason, when she poured her favours upon you; so as I never cast my eyes on that generous designation in the Epigram,

— Ut donem Pastor & ædificem,

without immediate reflection on your Majesty, who seem only to value those royal advantages you have above others; that you may oblige, and that you may build. And certainly, Sir, your Majesty has consulted the noblest way of establishing your greatness, and of perpetuating your memory, since, whilst stones can preserve inscriptions, your name will be famous to posterity; and, when those materials fail, the benefits that are engraven in our hearts will outlast those of marble. It would be no paradox, but a truth, to affirm that your Majesty has already built, and repaired, more in three or four years, notwithstanding the difficulties and the necessity of an extraordinary oeconomy for the publick concernment, than all your enemies have destroyed in twenty; nay, than all your Majesty's predecessors have advanced in an hundred, as I could easily make out, not only by what your Majesty has so magnificently designed and carried on at that, your antient honour of Greenwich, under the conduct of your most industrious and worthy surveyor, but in those splendid apartments, and other useful reformation for security and delight about your Majesty's Palace at Whitehall, the chargeable covering first, then paving and reformation of Westminster-Hall, care and preparation for rebuilding St Paul's, by the impiety and iniquity of the late confusions, almost dilapidated, with what her Majesty the Queen-Mother has added to her Palace at Somerset-House, in a structure becoming her royal grandeur, and the due veneration of all your Majesty's subjects, for the honour she has done both this your native city, and the whole nation. Nor may I here omit what I so much desire to transmit to posterity, those noble and profitable amœnities of your Majesty's plantations, wherein you most resemble the divine Architect, because your Majesty has proposed in it such a pattern to your subjects, as merit their imitation and profoundest

acknowledgments, in one of the most worthy and kingly improvements that nature is capable of. I know not what they talk of former ages, and of the now contemporary Princes with your Majesty, these things are visible: and should I here descend to more particulars, which yet were not foreign to the subject of this discourse, I would provoke the whole world to produce me an example parallel with your Majesty, for your exact judgment and marvellous ability in all that belongs to the naval Architecture, both as to its proper terms and more solid use, in which your Majesty is master of one of the most noble and profitable arts that can be wished, in a Prince to whom God has designed the dominion of the ocean, which renders your Majesty's Empire universal; where, by exercising your royal talent and knowledge that way, you can bring even the Antipodes to meet, and the poles to kiss each other; for so likewise, not in a metaphorical but natural sense, your equal and prudent government of this nation, has made it good, whilst your Majesty has so prosperously guided this giddy bark, through such a storm, as no hand, save your Majesty's, could touch the helm, but at the price of their temerity.' There is also another Dedication to Sir John Denham, Knight of the Bath, Superintendent, and Surveyor of all his Majesty's buildings and works, in which there are several matters of fact worth knowing, as indeed there are in all Mr Evelyn's Dedications; for tho' no man was naturally more civil, or more capable of making a complement handsomely; yet his merit was always conspicuous in his good manners; and he never thought that the swelling sound of a well turned period, could atone for want of sense. It appears from the Dedication of the second edition of the *Sylva* to King Charles the Second, that there was a second edition of this work also in the same year, viz. 1669, as there was a third in 1697, which was the last in the Author's life-time, and therefore the last that I am obliged to mention. In this third edition, which is very much improved, the account of Architects and Architecture, which is an original work of Mr Evelyn's, and a most excellent one of its kind, is dedicated to Sir Christopher Wren, Surveyor of his Majesty's buildings and works, and therein occurs a passage that concerns the personal history of our Author so much, that it would be unpardonable in me to omit it. Having said in the first paragraph, that if the whole Art of building were lost, it might be found again in the noble works of that great Architect, which, tho' a very high, is no unjust complement; more especially, continues our Author, St Paul's Church and the Monument, and then adds. 'I have named St Paul's, and truly not without admiration, as oft as I re-call to mind, as frequently I do, the sad and deplorable condition it was in, when, after it had been made a stable of horses and a den of thieves, you, with other gentlemen and myself, were, by the late King Charles, named Commissioners to survey the dilapidations, and to make report to his Majesty, in order to a speedy reparation: you will not, I am sure, forget the struggle we had with some who were for patching it up any how, so the steeple might stand, instead of new building, which it altogether needed: when, to put an end to the contest, five days after (16), that dreadful conflagration happened, out of whose ashes this Phoenix (16) August 27 Sept. 2, 1666. is risen, and was by providence designed for you. The circumstance is too remarkable, that I could not pass it over without notice. I will now add no more, but beg your pardon for this confidence of mine, after I have acquainted you that the *Parallel* to which this was annexed being out of print, I was importuned by the Bookseller to add something to a new impression, but to which I was no way inclined; till, not long since, going to St Paul's to contemplate that august pile, and the progress you have made, some of your chief workmen gratefully acknowledging the assistance it had afforded them, I took this opportunity of doing myself this honour.' The fourth edition of this work, printed long after our Author's death, viz. in 1733, was in folio, as well as the rest; to which is added the *Elements*

purſued their ſtudies; ſo Mr Evelyn gave a noble teſtimony of his high reſpect for that of Oxford, by uſing his utmoſt intereſt with the Lord Henry Howard, in order to prevail upon him to beſtow the Arundelian marbles, then remaining in the garden of Arundel houſe in the Strand (t), upon the univerſity, in which he happily ſucceeded, and obtained, in conſequence of it, all the reward he deſired, which was the thanks of that learned body, delivered by Delegates ſpecially appointed for that purpoſe (u); which venerable monuments of Antiquity ſtill remain at Oxford, and are now diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as contributes equally to ornament and uſe, where, while they continue to command the admiration of every intelligent ſpectator, they muſt, at the ſame time, perpetuate the remembrance of that zeal with which Mr Evelyn exerted himſelf, in order to procure ſo proper as well as ſo magnificent an act of bounty, equally worthy of the Moſt Noble Perſon by whom it was beſtowed, and of that moſt learned body upon whom it was beſtowed (w) [M]. This was far from being the laſt favour conferred by that noble perſon, at the requeſt of Mr Evelyn, whom he honoured with his friendſhip in the moſt entire degree, after he arrived at the high title of Norfolk; as, on the other hand, Mr Evelyn made no other advantage of his kindneſs towards him, than giving a right direction to the natural generoſity of that excellent perſon, whence flowed ſome particular marks of kindneſs to the Royal Society, which were very gratefully accepted, and ſomething farther would have been procured, if the ſudden and unexpected death of that great and good man (x) had not fruſtrated the ſchemes formed by our author for the ſervice of that learned ſociety, to which, from it's very foundation, he was attached with a zeal, which, however warm, never felt any decay [N]. Mr Evelyn ſpent his time, at this juncture, in a manner as

(t) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 942.

(u) See a farther account of this matter in the notes.

(w) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 28.

(x) Collins's Peerage of Engl. Vol. I. p. 90.

pleaſing

ments of Architecture, by Sir Henry Wotton, and ſome other things, of which, however, hints were met with in our Author's pieces.

XVII. Μυστήριον τῆς Ἀπορίας; that is, another part of the Myſtery of Jeſuitiſm, or the new Hereſy of the Jeſuits, publicly maintained at Paris, in the College of Clermont, the twelfth of December 1661, declared to all the Biſhops of France, according to the copy printed at Paris. Together with the imaginary Hereſy, in three letters; with divers other particulars relating to this abominable Myſtery, never before publiſhed in Engliſh, Lond. 1664. 8vo. This, indeed, has not our Author's name to it; but, that it is really his, and that he had reaſons for not owning it more publicly, will appear from the following extract of a letter from him to Mr Boyle (17). 'If my book of Architecture do not fall into your hands at Oxon, it will come with my apology when I ſee you at London, as well as another part of the Myſtery of Jeſuitiſm, which, with ſome other papers concerning that iniquity, I have tranſlated, and am now printing at Roſton's, but without my name.—So little credit there is in theſe days, in doing any thing for the intereſt of religion!'

XVIII. Kalendarium Hortenſe, or the Gardiners Almanack, directing what he is to do monthly throughout the year, and what fruits and flowers are in prime. By John Evelyn, Eſq; Lond. 1664, 8vo. The ſecond edition of this book, which I take to have been in folio, and bound with the Sylva and Pomona, as I am ſure it was in the third edition, was dedicated to Abraham Cowley, Eſq; with great complements from our Author, to that excellent and worthy perſon to whom it had been communicated before, which occaſioned Mr Cowley's addreſſing to John Evelyn, Eſq; his mixt eſſay in verſe and proſe, entitled, the Garden, which has been always admired as one of the fineſt pieces that fell from the pen of that illuſtrious Poet. We ſhould next inform the reader of the ſeveral editions this curious and uſeful work has gone through; but the truth is, we have it not in our power, the editions of it being long ago out of number, the laſt (at leaſt that we know of) of which any account was kept, was the ninth; ſince that, it is ſaid in the title page, a new edition. The Author made many additions as long as he lived, ſo that the beſt was that printed by way of Appendix to the fourth and laſt edition of the Sylva in his life-time, which is alſo, in the fifth edition of that work, printed after his deceaſe; we have had many Kalendars ſince, ſome better and ſome worſe; but it was eaſy to write after ſo fair an original, which, in method and form, as well as matter, is very elegant and concise, and withal very plain, ſuited exactly to the capacities of thoſe for whoſe uſe it was deſigned.

[M] Upon whom it was beſtow.] Theſe hiſtorical marbles, brought chiefly from the iſland of Pha-

ros, and containing the moſt antient and authentick inſcriptions, relative to the State of Athens, were, at an immenſe expence, purchaſed and brought into England, by Thomas Earl of Arundel, to whom our Author, Mr Evelyn, was well known in Italy, and were placed in the garden of his Palace without Temple-Bar; they were afterwards, as the reader has ſeen in the text, removed to Oxford, and are at preſent fixed on the outward wall of the Theatre, marked with the letter (H), to diſtinguiſh them from other antiquities of the ſame kind, and which are placed there likewiſe, that were beſtowed upon the Univerſity by the learned Selden (18). As a farther mark of the gratitude of that learned body, the following inſcription is placed under the arms of the noble family of Howard. 'Æternæ Memorix excellentiſſimi Dni. Domini Henrici Howard de Caſtle Reifing, Fratris & Hære-dis, Thomæ Howard Ducis Norfolciæ, a proſapia regiâ primi Comitis Angliæ, Comitibus Surreiæ Dominis & Baronis de Howard, Domini & Baronis Mowbray Seagrave Brewes de Gower Fitzallen Clun Oswaldtree Maltrevers & Greyſtoke, ad Muley Urshed Marocienſem Imperatorem Legati. Ob Marmoræ hæc Arundelianorum nomine per totum orbem celeberrima, avi ſui Thomæ Arundeliæ Comitis, ſupremi Angliæ Mareſcalli, ſummique artium liberalium patroni, ſumptibus & ſollicitudine ingentibus, ab Ottomanicâ Barbaric vindicata, & in Pallatium gentilitium Londini pridem traducta, ab ipſo dein donata, gratabunda, poſuit Univerſitas Oxoniensis.' that is, To the perpetual Memory of that moſt excellent Nobleman, Henry Lord Howard, of Caſtle Reifing, Brother and Heir of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, allied to the Royal Line, the firſt Duke of England, Earl of Arundel, and Premier Earl of England; Earl of Surrey, Baron of Howard; and alſo Baron Mowbray, Seagrave, Brewes de Gower, Fitzallen, Clun, Oswaldtree, Maltrevers, and Greyſtoke, Embaſſador to Muley Urshed, Emperor of Morocco: on account of theſe ſtiled Arundelian Marbles, celebrated throughout the world; by his Uncle Thomas Earl of Arundel, Earl Marſhal of England, and the great Patron of the liberal Arts, with immenſe care and expence, reſcued from the barbarous Turks, and firſt brought to his Palace in London, and at length generouſly beſtowed upon her, the Univerſity of OXFORD, gratefully inſcribed this ſtone.

(18) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 28.

[N] Which, however warm, never felt any decay.] This noble perſon was the ſon of Henry Earl of Arundel, and younger Brother to Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who was immediately after the Reſtoration, reſtored to the title of Duke of Norfolk. About the ſame time this noble perſon was created Baron Howard, of Caſtle Riving, in the county of Norfolk; in 1672, he was created Earl of Norwich, and Earl Marſhal of England; in 1678, he ſucceeded his Brother in the title of Duke of Norfolk; and in 1683,

(17) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 402.

(y) See Mr Evelyn's Dedication of his treatise of Architecture to Sir Chr. Wren.

(z) Life of Lord Keeper Guildford, p. 236.

(a) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 180.

(b) North's Examen of the Compleat Hist. of England.

(19) Collins's Peerage of Engl. Vol. I. p. 90.

(20) See his Dedication of the Idea of the Perfection of Painting to his Grace.

(21) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. IV, p. 120, 121.

(22) Numismata: or, a Discourse on Medals, p. 42, 65.

pleasing as he could wish; he had great credit at Court and great reputation in the world, was one of the Commissioners for rebuilding St Paul's (y), attended the meetings of the Royal Society with great regularity; undertook readily whatever tasks were assigned him to support that reputation, which, from their first institution, they had acquired, and which, by degrees, triumphed over that envy which it raised. He was punctual in the discharge of his office as a Commissioner of the sick and wounded, and when he had leisure retired to his seat at Sayes-Court, where he carried into practice the rules he so judiciously laid down, and made his gardens the entertainment and the wonder of the greatest and most judicious men of those times, most of whom were his particular friends (z). Yet in the midst of his employments, both publick and private, and notwithstanding the continual pains that he bestowed in augmenting and improving the books he had already published, he found leisure sufficient to undertake fresh labours of the same kind, and that too without any diminution of the high character he had obtained by his former writings [O]. He made a journey to Oxford in the summer of 1669, where, on the 15th of July, he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law, as a mark of the gratitude of that learned body (a), and of the just sense they had of the credit derived to them from his being educated in Baliol-college. It was indeed a singular point of Mr Evelyn's felicity, that all the honours he obtained, and all the posts to which he was raised, were the meer rewards of his merit, and bestowed upon him without the least sollicitation. Thus, after King Charles II had tried, with very little effect, to promote trade, according to the advice of persons engaged therein (b), when he thought proper to erect

he died at his house in Arundel-Street (19). His friendship for Mr Evelyn began early, and lasted without interruption; so long as they lived; as appears from a solemn memorial of his gratitude, on the part of Mr Evelyn (20), besides several occasional testimonies of deep respect in his works. It was at the request of Mr Evelyn, that his Grace gave several testimonies of regard to the Royal Society, and bestowed upon them the Arundel Library, which was a curious and valuable collection (21). He likewise intended to have given a most noble statue of Minerva to the University of Oxford, but his unexpected death prevented Mr Evelyn from getting it timely removed

(22). [O] By his former writings.] It is a point of justice due to the merit and memory of our author, to remark, that though he wrote so much, and published so many books, upon such a diversity of subjects, yet is there none of them that carries any mark of haste or negligence; on the contrary, they appear all of them to have cost much study and attention, and to perform more than is promised by their titles; some instances of which will appear in this note.

XIX. *The History of the three late famous Impostors, viz. Padre Ottomano, pretended Son and Heir to the late Grand Signior; Mahomet Bei, a pretended Prince of the Ottoman Family, but, in truth, a Wallachian Counterfeit; and Sabbatai Sevi, the supposed Messiah of the Jews, in the Year 1666; with a brief Account of the Ground and Occasion of the present War between the Turk and the Venetian: Together with the Cause of the final Extirpation, Destruction, and Exile, of the Jews out of the Empire of Persia.* Lond. 1668, 8vo.

This piece is dedicated to Henry Earl of Arlington, and, as I before observed, that Mr Evelyn's Dedications are filled with curious facts, rather than a crowd of complements; so, by giving him this, I shall at once justify that observation, and gratify his curiosity, as to the contents of a book that is now become very scarce; it runs thus:

My Lord,

THESE ensuing discourses entitle their original, to the noble industry and affection to truth of an illustrious person, and to the great and worthy ingenuity of a Persian stranger, lately amongst us, from whose mouth I have received the two following first narrations, and from whom I have been abundantly satisfied, that the particulars are of undoubted verity. For the third, and last, which concerns the story of that impudent Jew, it will need little apology, since it proceeds not only from an eye-witness, but from the hand of a person who has already gratified the publick with the fruit of many rare and excellent observations, and which becomes due to your Lordship upon a just claim; so as your Lordship having been so pleased with the first relation, cannot be less with the following; though I

should never have presumed to be their deferent in this unpolished dress, had I not received some assurances of your pardon.

It will doubtless appear very strange, that impostures of this magnitude should so long abuse the world, were there no other interest in it than the vanity of the persons who assume to themselves the titles. Whatever the reason of it be, here we have matter of fact; and it was more than time the world should at last be disabused, which has been so long imposed on, and even laboured under the common mistake, That the cause of this obstinate war and quarrel 'twixt the Turk and the Venetian, was grounded only upon the taking Sultan Osman and his mother, pretended son and wife of Sultan Ibrahim, by the gallies of Malta. This was, my Lord, the believed report at my being at Venice the very year this action fortun'd, and it has since gained credit, and filled our ears, and all the Histories of this age, as a thing unquestionable; but, with what pretence of truth, these papers will both inform your Lordship, and give day to some other passages worthy the notice of inquisitive men, and of a conjuncture so seasonable for it, while the eyes and thoughts of all Europe are intent upon the success of Candia. What concerns the Wallachian vagrant will be a service both to his Majesty and other Christian Princes, whom this bold impostor has had the front to abuse, but, *eripitur persona*, the mask is now off, and I have no more to add than that of being, &c.

This Dedication is subscribed J. E. and certainly if Mr Wood had seen it, he would not have said as he does, *I know nothing yet to the contrary but this may be a translation* (23). The nature and value of this little piece was much better known abroad, one of the best received Literary Journals extant having given, though at some distance of time, a very just character of it (24), with this very remarkable circumstance, that the pretended Mahomet Bei was at that very juncture in the city of Leipfick. There is added, at the end of this piece, an account of the extirpation of the Jews in Persia, during the reign of Shah Abbas the Second, which is not so large or perfect as the rest, but then the author gives a hint of this, and does not press any thing farther than he is supported by authorities. He mentions a person, who, the very year that the book was published, took upon him the title of brother to the famous Count Serini, and that he had the misfortune to be shipwrecked in the West of England (25), by which he imposed upon persons of quality, till, by unluckily calling for drink upon the road in very audible English, he discovered the cheat, and was obliged to renounce his new dignity to avoid Bridewell. He farther remarks with respect to Sabbatai Sevi, that he was the twenty-fifth false Messiah that had attempted to impose upon the Jews, even according to their own account.

(23) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 942.

(24) Act. Eruditorum Lipsienfium, A. D. 1690. p. 605.

(25) These passages are in the Preface.

erect a particular Board for that purpose, and named several persons of great rank to be members

XX. Publick employment, and an active life preferred to solitude, in a reply to a late ingenious Essay of a contrary title. Lond. 1667. in 8vo. This was written, in answer to a discourse of Sir George Mackenzie's, preferring solitude to publick employment, which was at the time of its publication much admired, and as our Author apprehended this might prove an encouragement to indolence and timidity, he therefore wrote against it. We have in the Transactions of the Royal Society a character of this, and the piece before mentioned, which follows the account given of the second edition of the *Sylva*, and is worthy the reader's perusal (26). ' Besides other treatises which are anonymous, says this account, as being of a reserved nature, but are nevertheless, entirely for the honour of the King and this Kingdom, and generally for the good of all men, he hath lately made two considerable excursions, in one of which, treats for a caution of all future ages, and to denote the general aptness of mankind to be deluded and deceived, he hath published a well grounded history of the three late famous impostors, the first, merely casual and innocent, in *Padre Ottomanno*; the second, bold and impudent, in *Mahomet Bei*; the third, a confident cheat, in *Sabbatai Sezi*, the Jews counterfeit *Messias*: in the other tract, *publick employment and an active life are preferred to solitude*. Thus he, and other generous persons, can, in the crowd of publick business, find or make leisure to oblige all men; whilst morose schoolmen and narrow critics make it their main business, to out go Satan in their false accusations, disingenuous surmises, and immodest disturbances of the noblest endeavours and achievements.'

XXI. *An Idea of the perfection of Painting, demonstrated from the principles of art, and by examples conformable to the observations, which Pliny and Quintilian have made upon the most celebrated Pieces of the antient Painters, parallel'd with some works of the most famous modern Painters, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Julio Romano, and N. Poussin. Written in French by Roland Freart, Sieur de Cambray, and rendered English by J. E. Esquire, Fellow of the Royal Society.* Lond. 1668. 8vo. This translation, is dedicated to Henry Howard of Norfolk, heir apparent to that Dukedom, and the dedication is dated from *Sayes-Court*, June the 24th 1668. In the preface, he observes, that the reader will find in this discourse, divers useful remarks, especially, where the Author treats of *Costume* (27), which we, continues he, have interpreted *Decorum*, as the nearest expression our language will bear to it. And, I was glad our Author had reprov'd it, in so many instances, because, it not only grows daily more licentious, but even ridiculous and intolerable. But, it is hoped this may universally be reformed, when our modern workmen shall consider, that neither the exactness of their design, nor skilfulness in colouring, has been able to defend their greatest predecessors from just reproaches, who have been faulty in this particular. I could exemplify in many others, whom our Author has omitted, and there is none but takes notice, what injury it has done the fame of some of our best reputed Painters, and how indecorous it is to introduce circumstances, wholly improper to the usages and genius of the places, where our histories are supposed to have been acted.' Mr Evelyn then remarks, that this was not only the fault of Bassano, who would be ever bringing in his wife, children, and servants, his dog, and his cat, and very kitchen-stuff, after the Paduan mode; but of the great Titian himself, Georgion, Tintoret, and the rest, as Paulo Veronese is observed also to have done in his story of Pharaoh's daughter drawing Moses out of the river, attended with a guard of Swisses. Malvogius likewise, in a picture then in the King's gallery at Whitehall, not only represents our first parents with navels upon their bellies, but has placed an artificial stone fountain carved with imagery, in the midst of his Paradise. Nor, does that excellent and learned Painter Rubens escape without censure, not only for making most of his figures of the shapes of brawny Flemings, but for other sphalmata, and circumstances of the like

nature, tho' in some, he has acquitted himself to admiration, in the due observation of *Costume*, particularly in his crucifixes, &c. Raphael Urbino was, doubtless, one of the first who reformed these inadvertencies, but it was more conspicuous in his latter, than in his former pieces. ' As for Michael Angelo, continues Mr Evelyn, tho' I heartily consent with our critic in reprov'ing that almost idolatrous veneration of his works, who hath certainly prodigiously abused the art, not only in the table this discourse arraigns him for, but several more which I have seen, yet I conceive, he might have omitted some of those imbittered reproaches he has reviled him with, who doubtless was one of the greatest masters of his time, and however he might succeed as to the *Decorum*, was hardly exceeded for what he performed in Sculpture, and the statuary art by many even of the antients themselves, and haply by none of the moderns, witness his Moses, Christy in Gremio, and several other figures at Rome, to say nothing of his talent in Architecture, and the obligation the world has to his memory, for recovering many of its most useful ornaments and members out of the neglected fragments, which lay so long buried, and for vindicating that antique and magnificent manner of building, from the trifling of Goths and Barbarians.' He observes next, that the usual reproach of Painting, has been the want of judgment in Perspective, and bringing more into history than is justifiable, upon one aspect without turning the eye to each figure in particular, and multiplying the points of sight, which is a point even Monsieur Freart, for all the pains he has taken to magnify that celebrated decision of Paris, has failed in. For the knowing in that art easily perceive, that even Raphael himself has not so exactly observed it, since, instead of one, as Monsieur Freart takes it to be, and as indeed it ought to have been, there are no less than four or five, as du Bossé hath well observed in his treatise of the *converted Painter*, where, by the way also, he judiciously numbers amongst the faults against *Costume*, those Landskips, grotesque figures, &c. which we frequently find abroad especially, for in our country we have few or none of those graceful supplements of steeples painted, horizontally and vertically on the vaults and ceilings of cupola's, since we have no examples for it from the Antients, who allowed no more than a fret to the most magnificent and costly of those which they erected. But, would you know from whence this universal caution in most of their works proceeded, and that the best of our modern Painters and Architects have succeeded better than others of that profession, it must be considered, that they were learned men, good Historians, and generally skilled in the best antiquities, such were Raphael, and doubtless his scholar Julio, and if Polydore arrived not to the glory of letters, he yet attained to a rare habit of the antient gusto, as may be interpreted from most of his designs and paintings. Leon Baptist Alberti was skilled in all the politer parts of learning to a prodigy, and has written several curious things in the Latin Tongue. We know that of later times, Rubens was a person universally learned, as may be seen in several Latin Epistles of his to the greatest scholars of his age. And Nicholas Poussin the Frenchman, who is so much celebrated and so deservedly, did it seem arrive to this by his indefatigable industry, as the present famous Statuary, Bernini now living, says Mr Evelyn, has also done so universal a mastery, that not many years since he is reported to have built a theatre at Rome, for the adornment whereof, he not only cut the figures and painted the scenes, but wrote the play, and composed the musick, which was all in recitativo. And I am persuaded, that all this is not yet by far so much as that miracle and ornament of our age and country, Dr Christopher Wren, were able to perform, if he were so disposed, and so encouraged, because he is master of so many admirable advantages beyond them. I alledge these examples partly to incite, and partly to shew the dignity and vast comprehension of this rare art, and that for a man to arrive to its utmost perfection, he should be almost

(26) Ph. lib. 2b.  
Transl. No. 53.

(27) This piece is now become exceeding scarce, and is very much admired by the lovers of Painting.

(c) This was the original of the Board of Trade which still subsists.

(d) See this explained in the note.

(e) See his Letter before his Philosophical Discourse upon Earth.

members of that Council, he likewise appointed Mr Evelyn amongst those, that were recommended purely to that honour by their abilities (c). This preferment was so welcome to a person of his disinterested temper and true publick spirit, that he thought he could not express his gratitude better, than by digesting in a short and plain discourse the chief heads of the History of Trade and Navigation, which he accordingly did, and dedicated that small piece to the King, which was very graciously received, and is allowed to contain as much matter in as small a compass, as any that was ever written upon a topick so copious, as well as so important (d) [P]. As this promotion not only opened the means, but also required the employing many of his hours in the service of his country, it naturally diverted him in some measure from his studies; but, notwithstanding this, when the Royal Society (e) found it requisite to demand the assistance of some of its principal Members, and to exact from them the tribute of certain dissertations upon weighty and philosophical subjects, he did not plead either his age or his avocations in excuse, but cheerfully and vigorously set about the task that was assigned him, and performed it as happily as the Society or himself could wish, as the reader will learn at the bottom of the page [Q]. These were all the preferments he met with in that reign, and though they were

‘ most as universal as the Orator in Cicero, and the Architect in Vitruvius. But certainly, some tincture in History, the Opticks and Anatomy, are absolutely requisite, and more in the opinion of our Author, than to be a steady Designer, and skilled in the tempering and applying of colours, which amongst most of our modern workmen go now for the only accomplishments of a Painter.’

[P] *As well as important.*] We have in the text shewn the occasion and ground of this treatise, which from its bevyty deserves not the name of a book, so much as of a pamphlet. The title at large runs thus,

XXII. *Navigation and Commerce, their original and progress, containing a succinct account of Traffic in general, its benefits and improvements, of discoveries, wars, and conflicts at sea, from the original of Navigation to this day, with special regard to the English Nation, their several voyages and expeditions to the beginning of our late difference with Holland, in which his Majesty's title to the dominion of the sea is asserted, against the novel and later Pretenders.* By J. Evelyn, Esq; S. R. S. Lond. 1674. 8vo.

There is a dedication prefixed to the KING, in which he takes notice of that relation, in which he stood by his new office to his Majesty, which gave him the boldness to bring so inconsiderable an offering into his presence. There is also a very succinct account of it, in the Philosophical Transactions (28), and the truth is, that most people comparing the pompous title page, with the diminutive size of the book, have from thence formed a conclusion to its disadvantage, and consequently in some degree to the discredit of its Author. But whoever examines it narrowly, and weighs every part of it with due consideration, will, if I mistake not highly, entertain a different notion of this discourse, and think it at least equal to any thing we have of this gentleman's writing, which, so long as useful learning is esteemed, and the English language understood, will be thought no mean character. In order to have a right notion of it, we must first of all reflect on the Author's design in writing it; the nature and copiousness of the subject, and the persons for whose use it was principally intended. As to Mr Evelyn's design it was plainly this, to digest into as narrow a compass as possible in the clearest method, and in the most flowing language, the History of Commerce and Navigation in general, of those of England in particular, and of the rights of the British Crown to the dominion of the sea. These were subjects equally important and extensive, but it was by no means, his inclination to treat them in a full or in a scientific manner, tho' this short treatise is an abundant proof, that no man living was more capable of doing it, if that had been his view. But the truth is, he meant only to skim the cream, and to represent as succinctly and fairly as possible, the strongest and most interesting motives, to make these subjects the study of Those whom it most concerns the nation, should have them in their heads and at their hearts. In short, he meant it as a sort of brief introduction for the use of those noble and great personages, whom the King, for the honour of that board, had thought fit to associate with him in this commission (29). It was necessary to fix their attention, that the title should promise much, it was no less requisite, to secure a read-

ing, that the piece should be very short. Take it in this light, it will appear instead of a superficial a very wonderful performance, for it comprehends in little more than a hundred pages, an universal history of these matters, from the origin of trade down to that time, and upon a strict review it will be found, that every material point is touched therein, and this at once in so sprightly and so judicious a manner, as to excite a desire in the ingenious and inquisitive reader, to search the several topicks to the bottom; and for their assistance in this respect, the best and most authentic Authors are indicated throughout, and tho' the treatise is so small, yet there is an accurate index or table at the end, the slightest review of which will plainly demonstrate the truth of all that I have said. Upon the whole, instead of censuring Mr Evelyn for publishing so trite a pamphlet, upon affairs of such national concern, we ought rather to applaud him for having reduced into an hour's reading, with much more labour to himself, than if he had wrote a great book, things of so much moment, and add to it our wishes, that some judicious person would make his learned dissertation, the text, and within the compass of a moderate Quarto, illustrate, by proper notes, so excellent an abridgment of all that is requisite to be known, upon matters that will never lose their use, and which import this nation more than any other, to which nothing can contribute so much as their being fully explained.

[Q] *At the bottom of the page.*] The title of this learned discourse, which will be ever esteemed and has been often reprinted runs thus:

XXIII. *TERRA: A Philosophical Discourse of Earth, relating to the culture and improvement of it for vegetation, and the propagation of plants, &c. as it was presented to the Royal Society, April 29th 1675.* By J. Evelyn, Esq; F. R. S. London 1675. fol. and 8vo.

There is prefixed to this discourse, a letter from the Lord Viscount Brouncker, President of the Royal Society, and our Author's answer; as these are very short, and altogether historical, we will give them to the reader, and refer him to the Philosophical Transactions, for a short, full, and accurate account of the work (30).—His Lordship's letter runs thus— ‘ Sir, ‘ the Council of the Royal Society, considering with ‘ themselves the great importance of having the publick meeting of the said Society constantly provided ‘ with entertainments suitable to the design of their ‘ institution, have thought fit to undertake to contribute each of them one, not doubting, but that many ‘ of the Fellows of the Society will join with them ‘ in carrying on such an undertaking, and being well ‘ persuaded of your approbation of this their purpose, ‘ so much tending to the reputation and support of ‘ the society, they desire that you will be pleased to ‘ undertake for one, and to name any Thursday after ‘ the fourteenth of January next, such as shall be ‘ most convenient for you, when you will present the ‘ society at one of their publick meetings by yourself, ‘ or some other of the Fellows for you, with such a ‘ discourse grounded upon, or leading to, philosophical experiments on a subject of your own choice: ‘ in doing of which you will benefit the society, and ‘ oblige, Sir, &c.

Lond. Dec. 28th 1674.

(28) Philosoph. Transactions, No. 114.

(30) Philosoph. Transactions, No. 119.

(29) It was in those days known to have answered the author's aim very effectually.

were none of them very considerable in respect of profit, yet they seem to have given him perfect content, and he was so easy in his own circumstances, so good an economist, and so true a Patriot, that while he daily saw fresh improvements made in every county throughout the kingdom, and the commerce of the nation continually extended, he thought himself perfectly happy, and never failed to express his sentiments in that respect with all the warmth and freedom imaginable. The severe winter of 1683 gave some interruption to his domestick enjoyments, the frost committing dreadful depredations in his fine gardens at Sayes-Court, of which he sent a full and very pathetick account to the Royal Society, in the beginning of the succeeding spring (f) [R]. After the accession of

(f) Philosoph.  
Transactions,  
No. 153.

King

Mr Evelyn's answer runs thus.

' My Lord, I have, in obedience to your Lordship, and the irresistiblé suffrages of that society, over which you preside, resigned the papers to be disposed of as you think fit: I hear your Lordship's sentence is they should be made publick. Why should not a thousand things of infinitely more value, daily enriching their collection, and which would better justify the laudable progress of that assembly, be oftner produced as some of late have been? This, my Lord, would obviate all unkind objections, and cover the infirmities of the present discourse, with things indeed worthy our institution. But as I am to obey your Lordship's commands, so both your Lordship and the society are accountable for publishing the imperfections of, My Lord, &c.'

As these letters fully declare the occasion and nature of this discourse, as well as the means of its being made publick, we may rest satisfied, that notwithstanding the great modesty of Mr Evelyn, this past in the opinion of the society for a very extraordinary performance, otherwise they would never have caused it to be published, much less in the manner they did, nor is it less certain, that it every way answered their intention, it being universally well received abroad, as well as at home, and excited a just esteem for that learned body.

[R] *Of the succeeding spring.*] It is a thing universally known, and by some still remembered, that the winter of 1683 was the coldest of any, the signal effects of which have been recorded by credible authors. Mr Evelyn's letter therefore is a very great curiosity; it is dated from Sayes-Court, Deptford, April 14, 1684, and, exclusive of an admirable history, contains, in a very narrow compass, a multitude of useful remarks, as well as entertaining particulars. 'As to timber trees, says he, I have not many here of any considerable age or stature, except a few elms, which having been decaying many years, one cannot well find to have received any fresh wounds, distinguishable from old cracks and hollownesses; and indeed I am told by divers, that elms have not suffered as the great oaks have done, nor do I find, amongst numerable of that species (elms) which I have planted, and that are now about twenty-five and thirty years standing, any of them touched. The same I observe of limes, walnuts, ash, beech, hornbeams, birch, chestnut, and other foresters: but, as I said, mine are young comparatively, and yet one would think that should less protect them because more tender, so as it seems the rifting so much complained of has happened chiefly among the over-grown trees, especially oaks: my Lord Weymouth made his lamentation to me, and so has the Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Ferrers, Sir William Fermor, and others concerned in the same calamity, which I mention because of their distant habitations. But if rightly I remember, one of these noble persons lately told me, that, since the thaw, the trees which were exceedingly split were come together and closed again, and I easily believe it, but, that they are really as solid as before, I doubt will not appear when they shall come to be examined by the axe, and converted to use: nor has this accident happened only to standing timber, but to that which has been felled and seasoned, as Mr Shilh, the Master Builder in his Majesty's ship yard here, informed me: so much for our *indiginae*.

'As for exoticicks, I fear my cork trees will hardly recover, but the spring is yet so very backward, even in this warm and dry spot of mine, that I cannot pronounce any thing positively, especially of

'such whose bark is very thick and rugged, such as is the cork, enzina, and divers of the resinous trees. The constantinopolitan, or horse-chestnut, is turgid with buds, and ready to explain it's leaf. My cedars I think are lost; the ilex and scarlet oak, not so; the arbutus, doubtful; and so are bays, but some will escape, and most of them repullulate and spring afresh, if cut down near the earth at the latter end of the month. The Scotch fir spruce, and white Spanish, which last uses to suffer in their tender buds by the spring frosts, have received no damage this winter; I cannot say the same of the pine which bears the greater cone, but other Norways and pinasters are fresh; laurel is only discoloured, and some of the woody branches mortified, which being cut to the quick will soon put forth again, it being a succulent plant. Amongst our shrubs, rosemary is entirely lost; and, to my great sorrow, because I had not only beautiful hedges of it, but sufficient to afford me flowers for the making a very considerable quantity of the Queen of Hungary's celebrated water: so universal I fear is the destruction of this excellent plant, not only over England, but our neighbour countries more southward, that we must raise our next hopes from the seed. Halimus, or sea purselan, of which I had a pretty hedge, is also perished; and so another of French furzes; the cypress are all of them scorched, and some to death, especially such as were kept shorn in pyramids, but amongst great numbers there will divers escape, after they are well chastised, that is, with a tough hazel or other wand to beat off their dead and dusty leaves, which growing much closer than other shrubs, hinder the air and dews from refreshing the interior parts. This discipline I use to all my tonfile shrubs, with good success, as oft as winter parches them.

'The berry-bearing favine, which, if well understood and cultivated, were the only best succedaneum to cypress, has not suffered in the least; it perfectly resembles the cypress, and grows very tall and thick. I think the arbor thuya is alive, and so is the American acaia, acanthus, paliurus, pomgranad; my laurustinus looks suspiciously; some large and old alaternus's are killed, especially such as were more exposed to the sun, whereas those that grow in the shade escape; the reason of which, I conjecture to be from the reciprocations of being somewhat relaxed every day, and then made rigid and stiff again all night; which bending and unbending, so often opening and closing the parts, does exceedingly mortify them and all other tender plants, which, growing in shady places, undergo but one thaw and change. Most of these will yet revive again at the root, being cut close to ground: the phillyreas angustis, and serratifolio's, both of them incomparably the best for ornamental hedges of any the perennial greens I know, have hardly been sensible of the least impression, more than tarnishing of their leaves; no more have the Spanish jasmynes and Persians; and I enumerate these particulars the more minutely, that gentlemen, who are curious, may take notice what plants they may trust to abroad in all events, for I speak only of such as are exposed.

'As for the choicer rarities, which are set in for hyemation, they certainly escape, or are impaired, accordingly as they are treated by the more or less experienced and industrious gardner, or commodiousness of the conservatory; but to say what may be added on this subject, would require a large chapter, not a letter; I would in the mean time advise such as have suffered detriment in their green-houses, not to despair, when they see the leaves of their myrtles, oranges, oleanders, jasmynes, and other precious shrubs, russet or altogether shrivelled and falling; but

King James, we find him, in December 1685, appointed, with the Lord Viscount Tiviot of the kingdom of Scotland, and Col. Robert Philips, one of the Commissioners for executing the great office of Lord Privy-Seal, in the absence of Henry Earl of Clarendon Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which he held till March 11, 1686, when the King was pleased to make Henry Baron Arundel of Wardour Lord Privy-Seal (g). He wrote nothing under this reign at all. After the Revolution he was Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital, and though he was then much in years, yet he wrote some, and translated other pieces, amongst which we are to reckon that labour of his, which has been so highly commended by the best judges, and which will do lasting honour to his country (b) [S].

One

(g) Ath. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 942.

(b) Nicholson's  
Engl. Historical  
Library, p. 248.

to cut them to the quick, plaister the wounds, and plunge their cases and pots, trimmed with fresh mould, &c. in a warm bed, carefully refreshed, shaded, aired, and treated as sick patients, and as the prudent gardner best knows how. But above all, that he be sure not to expose them till these eastern winds (which I call our English Etesians, and which makes our springs so uncomfortable, when we think Winter and all danger past) be qualified; for they are deadly to all our plants abroad, and frequently do us more prejudice than the most churlish winters, as commonly finishing the destruction of what the frosts have spared; nor are we to be flattered with a warm day or two, which are apt to tempt gardeners to set out their plants before the end of April, or that we find the wise mulberry put forth, which is certainly the most faithful monitor; nor should we indeed cut or transplant any of the perennials, till of themselves they begin to sprout.

I need say nothing of holly, yew, box, juniper, &c. hardy and spontaneous to our country; and yet, to my grief again, I find an holly standard, of near one hundred years old, drooping and of doubtful aspect; and a very beautiful hedge, tho' indeed much younger, being clipp'd about Michaelmas, is mortified near a foot beneath the top, and in some places to the very ground; so as there is nothing seems proof against such a winter, which is late cut and exposed. This hedge does also grow against the south, and is very russet, whilst the contrary side is as fresh and green as ever; and in all other places of my plantations that are shaded, the unhorn hollies maintain their verdure, and are, I judge, impregnable against all assaults of Weather. Among the fruit-trees and murals, none seem to have suffered, save figs; but they being cut down, will spring again at the root.

The vines have escaped; and of the esculent plants and fallads, most, except artichokes, which are universally lost; and, what I prefer before any fallad whatever eaten raw when young, my sampier, is all rotted to the very root; how to repair my loss I know not, for I could never make any of the seed which came from the rock sampier (tho' mine were of the very kind) to grow. The arborecent, and other sedums, aloes, &c. tho' housed, perished with me; but the yucca and opuntia escaped. Tulips many are lost, and so the Constantinople-narcissus, and such tuberose as were not kept in the chimney-corner, where was continual fire. Some anemonies appear, but I believe many are rotted; but I have made no great search in the flowery parterre, only I find that most capillaries spring, and other humble and repent plants, notwithstanding all this rigorous season. My tortoise, which, by his constant burying himself in the earth at approach of winter, I looked upon as a kind of plant-animal, happening to be obstructed by a vine-root from mining to the depth he was usually wont to inter, is found stark dead, after having many years escaped the severest winter. Of fish I have lost very few; and the nightingals, which for being a short wing'd bird, and so exceeding fat at the time of the year we commonly suppose them to change the climate, whereas indeed they are then hardly able to flee an hundred yards, are as brisk and frolick as ever; nor do I think they alter their summer stations, whatever become of them all winter. I know not yet of any body who has given tolerable satisfaction, in this particular, amongst our Ornithologists.

[S] Which will do lasting honour to his country.] The following treatises were published within the period assigned in the text. We know nothing of the first, except that it has had a place in the catalogue of our author's Works, from which therefore we have no

right to remove it; the second is a translation, and annexed to another and larger work of the same author's; the third is that work which we have so much commended, and to which this note principally refers.

XXIV. *Mundus Muliebris: or, the Ladies Dressing-Room unlocked, and her Toilette spread. In Burlesque. Together with the Fop-Dictionary, compiled for the Use of the Fair-Sex.* Lond. 1690, 4to.

XXV. *Monsieur de la Quintinye's Treatise of Orange-Trees, with the raising of Melons, omitted in the French Editions; made English by John Evelyn, Esq;* Lond. 1693.

This is added to the *Compleat Gardner*, written by the same author; translated and published in folio, with these pieces, by Mr Evelyn. We are told at the beginning, that, about twenty years before, Mons. de la Quintinye being in England, and making our author a visit at his house, he requested of him some directions in relation to melons, for the cultivation of which that French gentleman was remarkably famous, who sent them over accordingly to our author from Paris; and he assures us, that his great motive in publishing them, was to put into the hands of the world in general, and of the lovers of the art of gardening in particular, the very best directions, that, in reference to this curious subject, had ever been given. These instructions make in the whole but one half sheet: *the treatise of oranges* is larger, and is contained in thirteen chapters, exclusive of the preface; yet the chapters are of no great length, making in all not more than nine sheets. The method is very natural and exact, the treatise full of curious observations; and therefore it was a great service rendered to the publick by Mr Evelyn, to annex it to the translation of the rest of this great man's works, by which they are made complete.

XXVI. *NUMISMATA: A Discourse of Medals, ancient and modern; together with some account of Heads and Effigies of illustrious and famous Persons, in Sculpt and Taille Douce, of whom we have no Medals extant, and of the Uses to be derived from them. To which is added, a Digression concerning Physiognomy.* By J. Evelyn, S. R. S. Lond. 1697, folio.

There is prefixed to this book, a short but very affectionate dedication in Latin, to the only son and heir of Sidney Lord Godolphin, then Francis Godolphin, Esq; now the Right Honourable Francis Earl of Godolphin, of whose father, Mr Evelyn, as indeed what good man does not? makes most honourable mention, as of his most intimate and most faithful friend, recommending to his young patron the cultivation of those shining virtues, and great abilities, which were inherited to his family; and remarking to him, his peculiar happiness in descending from a line equally distinguished for parts and probity. The ingenious author has entered on his noble and extensive design by informing the reader in his epistle, that having begun this work about five years before, he desisted from prosecuting it, upon the publishing of Mr Walker's treatise upon the same subject; but finding some particularities that admitted of a further improvement, he went on again with his own discourse, and, after a short introduction, bewailing the failure of marbles, statues, trophies, &c. in perpetuating memorable actions.

He begins his first chapter with the use of medals, either made for money, or to preserve the memory of worthy actions; observing their very early use in the world, and that the first Roman money was brass, without any mark at all; then shews the original of stamping, which was for a testimonial of their being of such a weight. The first silver stamped at Rome, was a little before the first Punic war, and gold not till about sixty-two years after, at which time the worth of gold to silver, was as twelve and a half to one, tho' in the earliest times it bore but a decuple value among the Romans

One would have imagined, that being now on the borders of fourscore, and having been at least half a century an author, he would have thought it no dishonour to have sued out his Writ of Ease, when, being full of years and glory, he might have laid down his pen with as general an approbation from the candid judges of that age, as their fathers had shewn to those treatises which fell from it when he first took it up. But Mr Evelyn was not of that sort of men who are glad of a plausible excuse of retiring from labour, notwithstanding nature furnishes them with strength to go through it; on the contrary, he considered his health and his abilities, and, above all, his improved stock of knowledge from experience, as talents intrusted with him by Providence for the benefit of mankind; and he scorned in his old age to perform less diligently his duty, than, from a true principle of publick spirit, he had done in his youth. It was to this excellent frame of mind, so much admired and so little imitated, that we owe his last treatise, at least his last new treatise upon sallets (i), in which it is hard to say which deserves to be commended most, the agreeable vivacity of his language, or the wonderful maturity of his judgment [T]. Happy old man, who still

(i) See this farther explained in the note.

Romans and Greeks. Next, coming to speak more particularly of medals, he is of opinion, that they did not, when first made, pass for money, but were stamp'd in memory of particular famous actions or persons. But upon the inundation of the Goths, the lustre of medals ended, with all the more polite arts. He then treats of the materials used for money, whether leather, paper, earth, porcelain, coral, shells, linnen, or the like. He in the next place speaks of the time when the several metals came first in use, and is inclined to think iron and copper were the first, of which he gives several instances. Then he proceeds to consider the impressions and sizes, of which latter there were three.

The second chapter treats of the medals of several nations, as Hebraic, Punic, Barbarous, those of the Goths, Huns, Lombards, &c. with the British coins; where he says, he has seen a series of all our coins, from Edward the Confessor to his own times, except Richard the third. Then returning to speak of medals, he mentions the Saturnalian made in buffoonry, and touches upon some of the customs used at that feast; and observes, that, except those, no medals were made but upon grave and serious occasions. Speaking of the heads and reverses, he says, medals without any reverse are never antique, but may without head be good. Our author next makes several remarks touching the heads, as whether naked or crowned, bearded or shaven, &c. as likewise of the figures expressed at length on the reverses. He proceeds to the Greek medals, with their several ornaments and reverses; thence to the Barbarous, Parthian, Armenian, &c. and so to our Saxon, of all which he describes the particular ornaments on their heads, &c. then he comes to medals made of remarkable persons; touches upon Papal and French medals; after which he mentions the curious collection of Pyrrhus Ligorius, being twenty-six volumes of draughts of medals, inscriptions, reliefs, &c. Greek and Roman; of the Duke of Savoy's, Duke Albert's of Bavaria, now in the custody of the Royal Society, containing the images of Roman Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Knights, Tribunes, &c. from the foundation of Rome to Julius Cæsar; after which, he remarks the niceness of the Antients, in having their resemblances taken by none but exquisite masters; whence we may well believe their medals to be very like them: he concludes this chapter with a proposal of designing, in dead-life, by a very good hand, what medals of undoubted truth can be procured, and these to be as well and exactly engraven on copper-plates.

The third chapter treats of antient and modern reverses, as they relate to History, Chronology, and other parts of learning, the use and benefit whereof he shews in several particulars; informing us not only in History and Chronology, but also giving the true form of several habits, instruments, engines, machines, inventions, achievements, customs, &c. of the Antients, but imperfectly otherwise described; together with the figure under which they represented their gods and genii, particular countries, &c. with the several rewards, as crowns, &c. for virtuous and noble actions: then deploring the want of medals to illustrate our own history, he gives an account of all, or the most, that have been stamp'd here, from Edward the third through the several reigns to the late Revolution; referring the reader for those made since that time, to the late published *Histoire Metallique de Guillaume III, by N. Chevalier, in fol. Amsterdam 1692.*

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The fourth chapter treats of persons and things deserving the honour of medals, tho' most of them never obtained it; and in this he finds our nation too deficient, and names several ingenious worthies then living.

The fifth chapter is of inscriptions upon medals, and their several forms and differences, chiefly relating to Roman and Greek medals; here he gives us the notes and abbreviations of words to be met with in Roman medals.

In the sixth chapter, he lays down instructions for the procuring antique and rare medals, with directions to distinguish the true from counterfeits, presenting a catalogue of some alphabetically; and in this place shews the several tricks used in making the cheats, and false ones, and sets down some ways to take off medals, by a sort of glaw and such like curiosities.

In the seventh chapter, our Author discourses of mints, and the most skilful artists, with directions to collect and dispose medals for the cabinet, and adds some reflections on the modern clipping, and diminution of coin. Here he observes the great number of mints in the same kingdom formerly, and the excellency of the method now used in minting, far beyond the old way of hammering, and in this place gives his opinion and reasons, against either debasing the coin, or enhancing the value, and then enumerates the most eminent masters in this art: amongst them he mentions Treca of Milan, who cut the King of Spain's arms on a table diamond, next he gives a catalogue of authors treating of this subject, with some curious collectors of our own and other nations, and then concludes his chapter, with a catalogue of those medals that succeed Jovianus, where Mr Walker's catalogue ends.

The eighth chapter gives an account of heads and effigies in Taille douce with particular directions for such a collection, presenting us with a catalogue of persons meriting a place therein, as well women as men.

The ninth chapter, which concludes the work, contains a digression concerning physiognomy, where the Author beginning with the head, goes through all the features of the face, and proportions of the body and limbs, giving his opinions and conjectures of the natural dispositions, wit and qualifications, to be gathered from the observation of each part and member particularly interspersed with historical remarks.

[T] Or the wonderful maturity of his judgment.]

The title of this work was very short being only this. XXVII. ACETARIA: A Discourse of Sallets, by J. E. S. R. S. Author of the *Kalendarium*. Lond. 1699. 8vo.

This, which was our Author's last work, was dedicated to the Lord Chancellor Somers, at that time President of the Royal Society, and the view of this dedication, was to procure a publick establishment for that society, as will sufficiently appear from the following paragraphs, which cannot seem tedious to the reader, since, except some of Mr Dryden's, he will hardly find any dedications in our language, penned with equal elegance and spirit.

My Lord,

THE idea and plan of the Royal Society, having been first conceived, and delineated by a great and learned Chancellor (31), which high office

(31) Francis Lord Verulam, and Viscount St. Albans,

see

(k) This is meant of the last edit. published in his life-time.

still in full possession of his parts, undertook and accomplished some years after this the reviewing of his *Sylva*, in which last edition (k) he has interspersed various circumstances relative to his private life, as well as to his subject, and has also shewn that he had serious and affecting thoughts of his latter end, though not put in mind of it by his infirmities, which are circumstances, that, if further explained, cannot be unacceptable to the inquisitive reader [U]. It has been before hinted, that as his collections were very

great,

‘ since your Lordship deservedly bears, not as an acquisition of fortune, but your intellectual endowments, conspicuous (among other excellencies) by the inclination your Lordship discovers to promote natural knowledge: as it justifies the discernment of that assembly to pitch upon your Lordship for their President; so does it no less discover the candour, yea, I presume to say, the sublimity of your mind, in so generously honouring them with your acceptance of the choice they have made.

‘ A Chancellor, and a very learned Lord, was the first who honoured the Chair; and a no less honourable and learned Chancellor resigns it to your Lordship (32).

(32) Lord Viscount Brounker, Chancellor to Queen Katherine. Charles Mountague, Esq; Chancellor of the Exchequer.

‘ So as after all the difficulties and hardships the society has hitherto gone through, it has, thro’ the favour and protection of its Presidents, not only preserved its reputation from the malevolence of enemies and detractors, but gone on culminating and now triumphantly in your Lordship: under whose propitious influence, I am persuaded it may promise itself, that which indeed has hitherto been wanting to justify the glorious title it bears of a Royal Society, the emancipating it from some remaining and discouraging circumstances which it as yet labours under, among which that of a precarious and unsteady abode is not the least.

‘ This honour was reserved for your Lordship, and an honour permit me to call it, not at all unworthy the owning of the greatest person living, namely, the establishing and promoting real knowledge, and next to what is divine, truly so called, as far at least as human nature extends towards the knowledge of nature, by enlarging her Empire beyond the land of spectres, forms intentional species, vacuum, occult qualities, and other inadequate notions, which by their obstreperous and noisy disputes affrighting, and till of late deterring men from adventuring on farther discoveries, confined them in a lazy acquiescence, and to be fed with fantasies and fruitless speculations, which signify nothing to the specific nature of things, solid and useful knowledge by the investigation of causes, principles, energies, powers, and effects of bodies and things visible, and to improve them for the good and benefit of mankind.’

It is a great pity this proposition of our Author’s was not accepted, since undoubtedly a national establishment under the direction of so wise and prudent a person, would have enabled the society to have prosecuted their laudable and useful designs, in a manner worthy of themselves and honourable to their country. It is not however impossible, that this proposition might come to nothing by their President’s loss of power, which fell out very soon after; but however it happened, our Author’s zeal and diligence in the application was truly laudable. He had the honour to be one of the first members, and he continued to be one of the most active for upwards of forty years. This last work is nothing inferior to any of the preceding, the same learning, the same perspicuity, the same quickness and penetration reigns through the whole. The reader meets not only with all that he can expect, but with much more, and such a multitude of curious observations are interspersed, as render it as pleasant and entertaining as it is useful. Yet the Author suspecting that some might possibly censure the great pains he had taken upon such a subject, and from thence infer, that he was lead to treat such matters, with so much skill and pains, from the refined luxury of his own palate, took care to guard against this in the following elegant apology, which he has inserted in his dedication.

‘ The favour I humbly beg is your Lordship’s pardon for this presumption. The subject is mean, and requires it, and my reputation in danger, should your Lordship hence suspect, that one could never write so much of dressing sallets, who minded any

‘ thing serious, besides the gratifying a sensual appetite with a voluptuary apician art. Truly, my Lord, I am so far from designing to promote those *supplicia luxuriæ*, as Seneca calls them, by what I have here written; that were it in my power, I would re-call the world, if not altogether to their pristine diet, yet to a much more wholesome and temperate than is now in fashion; and what if they find me, like to some who are eager after hunting and other field sports, which are laborious exercises; and fishing, which is indeed a lazy one, who after all their pains and fatigue, never eat what they take and catch in either? For some such I have known: and tho’ I cannot affirm so of myself, when a well dressed and excellent sallet is before me, I am yet a very moderate eater of them. So as to this book, luxury, I can affirm, and that truly, what the Poet says of himself, on a less innocent occasion, *Lasciava pagina, vita proba*. God forbid, that after all I have advanced in praise of sallets, I should be thought to plead for the vice I censure, and chuse that of Epicurus for my Lemma. *In hac arte consenui*, or to have spent my time in nothing else. The plan annexed to these papers, and the apparatus made to superstruct upon it, would acquit me of having bent all my contemplations on sallets only, what I humbly offer your Lordship is, as I said, part of natural history, the product of horticulture, and the field dignified by the most illustrious, and sometimes titled *Laureato vomere*, which as it concerns a part of Philosophy, I may without vanity be allowed to have taken some pains, in cultivating as an inferior member of the Royal Society.’ Such was the modesty, such the learning, and such the politeness, of this great man!

[U] To the inquisitive reader.] It is chiefly from the works of great men, that the curious and particular passages of their lives are to be collected. This indeed is a thing of great labour, but at the same time infinitely pleasant to those who delight in honouring the memory of such benefactors to mankind. In this note, we intend a specimen of this sort from the most extensive and most historical of our Author’s performances. We learn from thence, that the true signification of his Surname Evelyn, written antiently Avelan or Evelin, was silberd, or rather hazel, which gives him occasion to remark, that these trees are commonly produced where quarries of free-stone lie underneath, as at Hazelbury in Wiltshire, Haslingfield in Cambridgeshire, and Haslemere in Surrey (33). He more than once remarks, that his grandfather was a great planter and preserver of timber, as it seems were the antient possessors of the place where he lived, from whence it acquired its name of Wotton (i. e.) Woodtown from the groves and plantations that were about it (34). He farther remarks, that there was an oak felled by his grandfather’s order, out of which there was a table made, measured by himself more than once of five foot in breadth, nine and a half in length, and six inches thick, all entire and clear. It was set up in brick work for a pastry board, and to fit it for that use, it was shortened by a foot, being originally ten foot and a half, as appeared from an inscription cut in one of its sides, from whence it appeared to have lain there above one hundred years, when our Author wrote this description (35). When his grandfather’s woods were cut down, which consisted entirely of oak, they sprung up again, not oaks but beeches, and when these too in their turn felt the axe, there arose spontaneously a third plantation, not of oaks or beech, but of birch, which he does not set down as a thing singular in itself, but because it happened under his own eye (36). He is a declared enemy to iron works, on account of their destroying woods; yet he observes from the prudent maxims prevailing in his own family, they had quite a contrary effect, as being one principal cause of their making such large plantations, and taking so

(33) Evelyn’s *Sylva*, or Discourse of Forest Trees, fifth edit p. 76.

(34) *Ib.* p. 301.

(35) *Ib.* p. 199.

(36) *Ib.* p. 212.

much

great, so he was far from confining them entirely to his own use, but was ever ready to communicate them for the benefit of others, and, considered in that light, was a great benefactor to the publick. An instance has been given in the notes to this purpose, in respect to the famous Mr Boyle, and many instances more might be given, of which, not to trespass on the reader's patience, we will mention but a few; he it was that furnished to the late reverend and learned Bishop of London those additional remarks on the county of Surrey (l), which are published in his English edition of the *Britannia*; he contributed largely to Mr Houghton's valuable work (m); and the ingenious John Aubrey, Esq; has testified, how often he was indebted to him for his friendly assistance in many of his undertakings (n). In respect to the Royal Society, he was equally assiduous in his attendance, and careful in his intelligence; whatever fell within the compass of his own extensive enquiries, he never failed to transmit them to that judicious body, nor was he less attentive to the procuring them proper correspondents both at home and abroad, of which copious testimonies are to be met with in their Registers, and in their printed Transactions (o) [W]. He might therefore justly stile himself, as he did, a Pioneer in their

(l) Sylva, p. 296.

(m) Houghton's Husbandry and Trade improved, Vol. IV. p. 132.

(n) Miscellanies, p. 87.

(o) See this explained in the note.

much pains about them (37). It was a relation of his, that sold Richmond new Park to King Charles the First, after planting many fine trees there (38). Our Author carried this disposition with him to Sayes-Court, where he must have shown it very early, since he assures us, that the Marquis of Argyle presented him with the Cones of a peculiar kind of fir, which he takes to be the Spanish pinaster or wild pine, and gives a very particular account of the manner in which they grew in the Marquis's country in Scotland (39). He informs us, that it was the Lord Chancellor Bacon who introduced the true plane tree, which he planted originally about Verulam, from whence he had his title (40). Mr Evelyn takes to himself the honour of having propagated the alaternus from Cheshire to Cumberland, which was before reputed an inhabitant only of the green house, but is found very capable, not only of living without doors, but of standing unhurt by the rigour of our severest winters (41). He mentions a most glorious and impenetrable holly hedge, which he had at Sayes-Court four hundred feet in length, nine feet high, and five in diameter, which occasions his dropping a hint, that the fine gardens he had raised there, were wholly ruined by the Czar of Muscovy, who it seems lived there, for the sake of being near the yard (42). He recommended Mr Gibbons the Carver, to King Charles the Second, by whom some exquisite works were performed in St Paul's Cathedral (43). He was likewise consulted by the Bedford family, about preserving their fine trees, so long as the gardens were kept up about Bedford House, which before the last edition of his book were demolished, to make way for the new buildings about Bloomsbury (44). He takes notice of an admirable remedy for a Dyfentry, which had been otherwise in all probability buried in oblivion, and this is the fungus substance separated from the lobes of Walnut Kernels, powdered and given in a glass of wine, which he affirms relieved the English soldiers in the famous Dundalk Campaign in Ireland soon after the Revolution, when all other remedies failed (45). He was acquainted with the Conde Mellor a Portuguese Nobleman, who resided some time at the Court of King Charles the Second, when an exile from his own, by whom he was informed, that his father, when Prime-Minister as himself had likewise been, received in a case a collection of plants of China oranges of which only one escaped, and was with difficulty recovered, and yet from this plant came all the China oranges that ever were seen in Europe, which our Author observes, is a most noble and wonderful instance, of what industry may do from the slightest and least promising beginnings (46). One instance of the vast advantages derived from woods I shall borrow, because the facts are notorious and indisputable (47). 'Upon the estate of George Pitt, Esquire, of Stratfieldsea, in the County of Southampton, a survey of timber being taken in the year 1659, it came to ten thousand three hundred pounds, besides near ten thousand sapplers not valued and growing up naturally. Since this there hath been made by several sales, five thousand six hundred pounds, and there has been felled for repairs, building and necessary uses, to the value at the least of twelve hundred pounds, so as the whole falls of timber, amount to six thousand eight hundred pounds. The timber upon the same ground

' being again surveyed, Anno 1677, appears to be worth above twenty one thousand pounds, besides eight or nine thousand sapplers, and young trees to be left standing, and not reckoned in the survey. ' But what is yet to be observed, most of this timber abovementioned being oak, grows in hedgerows, and so as that the standing of it, does very little prejudice to the plough or pasture.' To conclude, this worthy person, who was born in a town famous for wood, who derived from his ancestors an affection for plantations, who wrote the most correct treatise of forest trees extant in our own, or perhaps, in any language, and who was himself a most eminent Planter, had a strong desire, after the example of Sir William Temple, who directed his heart to be deposited in his garden, to have his corps also interred in the like manner (48), but very probably he was prevailed upon to alter his mind afterwards, notwithstanding what he had expressed upon that subject (49) in his book; which shews how warm and lasting, that passion for improvement was in his own breast, which, with so much learning, eloquence, and success, he laboured to excite in the bosoms of his countrymen.

[W] In their printed Transactions.] It would take up too much time and room, to take notice of every thing that occurs in this valuable collection, that might be alledged to this purpose; and therefore we shall content ourselves with a few instances. Upon some discourse at the Royal Society of the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, he procured the following extract of a letter from Mr Henry Robinson, to whom it was written by Captain William Baddily, and at the same time produced some of the ashes which are mentioned therein; which letter and which ashes had been preserved for upwards of thirty years (50).

' The sixth of December 1631, being in the Gulph of Volo riding at anchor about ten of the clock that night, it began to rain sand or ashes, and continued till two of the clock the next morning. It was about two inches thick on the deck, so that we cast it overboard with shovels, as we did snow the day before: the quantity of a bushel we brought home, and presented to several friends, especially to the Masters of Trinity-House. There was in our company Capt. John Wilds, commander of the Dragon, and Capt. Anthony Watts, commander of the Elizabeth and Dorcas. There was no wind stirring when these ashes fell; it did not fall only in the places where we were, but likewise in other parts, as ships were coming from St John d'Acree to our port, they being at that time an hundred leagues from us. We compared the ashes together, and found them both one. If you desire to see the ashes, let me know.'—Thus in the spring of the year 1670, our author communicated, in the following letter to the Lord Viscount Brouncker, a large and circumstantial account of a very singular and extraordinary invention, by a person of rank, called the Spanish *Sembraior*, or new engine for ploughing and equal sowing all sorts of grain, and harrowing at once; by which a great quantity of seed-corn is saved, and a rich increase yearly gained; together with a description of the contrivance and uses of this engine, which epistle ran thus (51).

' I cannot devise better how to express my great respects to your Lordship, than by my utmost endeavours to promote the interest of that Society, over which you have so long, with so much ability and affection,

(48) Ib. p. 297.

(49) Aubrey's Natural Hist. of Surrey, Vol. IV.

(50) Philosoph. Transactions, No. 21.

(51) Ibid. No. 66.

(37) Ib. p. 253.  
 (38) Ibid. p. 40.  
 (39) Ib. p. 127.  
 (40) Ib. p. 116.  
 (41) Ib. p. 152.  
 (42) Ib. p. 159.  
 (43) Ib. p. 72.  
 (44) Ib. p. 215.  
 (45) Ib. p. 63.  
 (46) Ib. p. 141.  
 (47) Ib. p. 276.

their service, which expression was well chosen, since it marked at once how humble and how indefatigable he was, in whatever might contribute to the advancement of that noble design, which was the basis of their institution. He was a true lover of freedom of thought in all philosophical enquiries, which as he practised upon all occasions himself, so he very readily indulged it to others; and though nobody was freer from prejudices, or spoke more discreetly than he did, of books that it was impossible for him to commend, yet he never repented any attack made upon his own, but bore the contradiction of his opinion with all imaginable temper, being persuaded that truth and reason would always triumph in the end, and that it was better to leave things to the decision of the publick, than to embark in endless controversies, though in the defence of sentiments ever so well founded (p) [X]. When we consider the number of the books he published, and the variety

(p) See a proof of this in the notes.

‘ fection, so faithfully presided. This therefore will  
‘ plead my excuse with your Lordship, if, in some confidence of gratifying the generous designs of that noble assembly, I communicate to them, through your hands, not only the instrument which I herewith present them, but the description of the use and benefit of it, from such a deferent as I am sure they will very highly value.

‘ My Lord, it is now almost two years since that, by somewhat an odd accident lighting upon a paper lately printed in Spanish, I found a short passage in it, giving notice of a certain plough newly brought out of Germany into Spain; in both which places it had, upon trial, so generally obtained, as, besides the royal privilege which was granted to the inventor, as to procure the universal approbation. Upon this hint I took the boldness to write to my Lord Ambassador, intreating his Excellency that, as his more weighty affairs would give him leave, he would not disdain to inform himself more particularly concerning it. This his Lordship was not only pleased to do, but so highly obliging as to transmit to me the engine itself, together with a full description of it and its use; all of it written with his own noble hand, which I do here consecrate to the Royal Society, to be inserted among their precious *cimelia*.

‘ My Lord, being not so happy as to wait on you myself with it, at your publick assembly this day, I desire your Lordship will cause these papers to be read there, and expose the instrument to their examination and trial. There are many gentlemen who will not be offended with these rusticities, and who know how highly such inventions, and even attempts, have been valued by the greatest and the best of men. Something (’tis possible) may happen to be out of order, by reason of the long journey it hath passed; but their ingenious Curator will soon be able to reform, and, if need be, improve it. My Lord of Sandwich is that illustrious person to whom the Society is obliged for this, and many other favours and productions of his own more consummate genius, which enrich their registers. But let me tell them, his Lordship hath made, and brought home with him, such other polite notices and particulars, of Spain and other foreign parts, as I know no person, of the most refined and publick spirit, who hath approached him besides your Lordship: an emulous and worthy example, certainly to the rest of our noblemen and ministers of state abroad, who may travel with so many advantages to inform themselves above others: and it is to me a shining instance, of both your Lordship’s happy talents and great comprehension, that, in the throng of so many and so weighty employments, you can think of cultivating the arts, and of doubly obliging your country.’

The description of this machine, translated from the Spanish into English, is of a considerable length, and therefore we refer the reader to it in the Transactions. The chief reason for mentioning it here, was to shew how vigilant our author was in his enquiries, and how diligent in the prosecution of them; and yet not with any view of concealing the discoveries he made, but quite the contrary; that the Royal Society might have the honour, and the British nation the benefit, of them. In this respect, no doubt, he reaped abundant satisfaction, since it was declared, over and over again in the Transactions, that his *Sylva* had raised whole forests, and his *Pomona* produced numberless orchards; yet that he affected not praise out of any degree of vanity, but was really pleased with being the instrument of good to others, appears very plainly from that warmth,

as well as readiness, with which he recommended other men’s works to the favour of the publick, even upon subjects on which he had employed his own pen, particularly in the case of Mr Smith, which is printed in the Transactions (52).

(52) *Ib.* No. 102.

He was also very assiduous in procuring, as early as possible from abroad, all new books upon curious and useful subjects; as also such, as, from their universal high character, were become scarce and dear; some of which he communicated to the Secretary of the Society, and of others he made large and curious extracts himself; and, as is very justly observed, his translations were doubly valuable, on account of that clearness and fidelity with which he expressed the author’s sense, and the improvements that he added from his own observations, as he rendered no treatises into English, without being perfectly versed in the subject upon which, as well as the language in which, they were written. He likewise, in testimony of his respect and duty to the Society, bestowed upon them those curious tables of veins and arteries, which he brought with him from Padua, and consequently deserved to be honourably mentioned in their registers, and to have his picture, as it is, hung up in their apartments (53).

[X] *Though in defence of sentiments ever so well founded.*] Amongst other advantages that attended the institution of the Royal Society, one was its giving birth to, and the highest encouragement for, free and open enquiries; nor was it any wonder, that, amongst these, some turned upon those learned persons who first exerted themselves in favour of this method of improving knowledge, amongst these, Mr John Houghton, tho’ with great decency and good manners, censured our author’s great performance, on account of its crossing a notion he had advanced, *that it would be highly advantageous for the nation, if all the timber within twelve miles of a navigable river were destroyed.* It is but fair that he should speak for himself; his words then are these (54).

(53) Aubrey’s Nat. Hist. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 121.

‘ I question not but you eagerly expect to hear what may be said, in answer to Mr Evelyn’s *Sylva*. There he seems to be quite of another opinion, and to give many instances of profits from woods, so great that few other parts of husbandry can equal them. I must confess Mr Evelyn is a great man, one that I have the honour to be acquainted with, and happy is he that is so; he is a gentleman of great piety, modesty, and complacency; and also endowed with such an universality of useful learning, that he may very well be esteemed a darling of mankind. But he is particularly well versed in the affairs of the woodman; and his *Sylva* is so good a book, that I have not heard of any thing written on the subject like it. To answer it, I will not pretend; to gainsay what he affirms I can’t, for I believe he loves veracity more than life. I will only make some observations, and, if my sentiments differ from his, I know he will pardon me, he being well inclined to allow freedom of thought, and also well versed in a motto, (\*) *NULLIUS IN VERBA.*

(54) Collections on Husbandry and Trade, Vol. IV. p. 273.

‘ Now I first observe the reasons why this *Sylva*, or discourse of forest-trees, was delivered to the Royal Society. It was, as I am told, in the title-page, upon occasion of certain queries propounded to that illustrious assembly, by the honourable the principal Officers and Commissioners of the navy. What these queries were, do not altogether appear; but, by the discourse, one of them seems to be how timber might be propagated in his Majesty’s dominions. An answer to this, our ingenious author hath bravely given. But my considerations are not how, or how not, to propagate

(\*) That of the Royal Society.

variety of the subjects upon which he employed his time, it is impossible to forbear wondering at his industry and application, which must be greatly heightened when we reflect how careful he was in reviewing, correcting, and augmenting all his original works, from whence it is evident, that whatever subject appeared weighty enough to attract his attention, never lost it's place in his thoughts, but, on the contrary, was often reviewed, and reaped the continual benefit of the new lights he received, as well as of his future meditations, which is the true reason that his treatises are so perfect in their kind, and continue as much esteemed by posterity, as they were by the inquisitive and judicious part of the world at the time they came first from the press. But this is not all; and our astonishment cannot but attend the information of his leaving behind him unfinished, or at least unpublished, works of a more extensive nature than those that are printed, which had cost him incredible pains, and for the composing of which he had made prodigious collections (q) [r].

(q) See the Preface prefixed to his Discourse on Sallets.

The

propagate timber; but a query, *Whether it is best, within certain limits, to propagate it or no?* a thing quite beside his design.

Indeed in his introduction, he, like a very good Englishman, laments the notorious decay of our wooden walls, which he thought likely to follow, when our then present navy should be worn out or impaired: and I must confess, when he considered the great destruction of our wood that had been made in the foregoing twenty years, by some thro' necessity, and others thro' ill ends and purposes; together with our not being used to fetch much timber from abroad, and a general cry that none could furnish us with any for shipping, especially so good as our own; with the addition of what amounted to a complaint from the honourable Commissioners of his Majesty's navy: when he considered all this, I say; every good man will rather commend than blame his zeal.

But now since that destruction of our timber, hath forced us to look out for a more convenient supply to London, and some other places; and our having greater experiences of sea-fights than ever we had, before, other things are known; and it is believed, to my certain knowledge, by some of the Commissioners of the navy, and others, that have been greatly concerned in building of ships, that there is some other timber in the world that will build ships as well as ours; for instance, the French Ruby that we took from France, when he joined with Denmark and Holland against us, had such good timber in it, that, as I have been told, England never had better; the bullets that entered this French ship, made only round holes without splinters, the thing our timber is valued for; and it was so hard, that the carpenters with their tools could hardly cut it, it was like a piece of iron.

I fancy it some of that oak Mr Evelyn speaks of in his forecited *Sylva*, chap. III. pag. 25. "There is, saith he, a kind of it so tough, and extremely compact, that our sharpest tools will hardly enter it, and scarcely the very fire itself, in which it consumes but slowly, as seeming to partake of a ferruginous and metalline shining nature, proper for sundry robust uses." These last thirty ships that were built, have a great deal of foreign timber in them; and, altho' there is some decay in them already, yet I am told that the fault is not attributed to the foreign timber, but rather to the hasty building, the king having not a stock before hand, the timber had not time enough for a seasoning. For these reasons, and what I said before about the increase of seamen, perswades me to believe, that such means will never lessen our strength; and I question not, but, that for our money, we may be furnished sufficiently from abroad.

This paper was published November the sixth 1683, and October the thirty-first 1701; the same gentleman published another paper, in which he maintained his former opinion (55), and undertakes to refute Mr Evelyn's observations, as to the profit made by planting, complaining that what he had before written, was never answered; intimating at the same time, that the reason was, because it was unanswerable; his words are these. Mr Evelyn tells us of one Mr Edward Salter, who planted an ash, and before his death sold it for forty shillings. I will not reckon the ground this ash grew on to be worth any thing; but suppose the ash when planted was worth but one shilling, and the man lived but eighty four years after, the shilling would have amounted to six pounds eight shillings, which is far better than forty shillings.

V O L. III. No. 157.

Again, three acres of barren land sown with acorns, in sixty years became a very thriving wood, and was worth three hundred pounds. Being 'twas barren land, I'll suppose it worth but three shillings the acre, nine shillings the three acres; which for sixty years was worth, in present money, fifteen pounds, nine shillings, and seven-pence; which doubled every twelve years, makes four hundred ninety-five pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence. Suppose that the tillage, acorns, and setting, came but to the third part of fifteen pounds, nine shillings, and seven-pence, it would be upwards of one hundred and sixty-five pounds; which together makes above six hundred pounds, for the three hundred pounds.

This warm censure might be safely trusted by our author, without any answer, in those days, when none pretended to decide without hearing both parties with attention. It is however but doing common justice to his memory; to set these points in a clear light, more especially as it may be done in a very narrow compass. In the first place, Mr Evelyn lays down facts that are indisputable, for he mentions no improvement in his book without clear authority. On the contrary, Mr Houghton's is a supposition, and, which is worse, a supposition that is entirely groundless. He values the young ash plant at a shilling; he might have read in Mr Evelyn, that an hundred saplings, of three years growth, are worth but eighteen-pence. Instead of fourscore and four years, he ought to have set down a third, or at most half, that time; and then, at his own rate of compound interest, the value of the plant would not have exceeded a single penny. His objections to the second instance, are not less frivolous. Barren ground, in the common acceptation of the word, is ground worth nothing, and for that reason unlet and unemployed; our critic will have it worth three shillings an acre, and, having thus created a rent of nine shillings a year, he converts it next into a rent charge, and supposes a sixty years lease of this barren land, to be worth two and thirty years purchase; and this money, put out at compound interest, is run up to twice as much as the wood is worth. We will not push things to extremity, but suppose, with him, the land worth nine shillings a year, and to be sold for twenty years purchase, which would produce nine pounds; that nine pounds placed out at compound interest, at the rate of six per cent. would amount, in sixty years, to two hundred eighty-eight pounds; so that there is twelve pounds, and all the intermediate profits by lopping, to pay for the original plantation and cultivation of the trees; upon the whole it is manifest, even from this author's manner of arguing, that planting wood is not only more honest and virtuous, but at the same time a safer and speedier way of raising a great fortune, than the most exorbitant usury.

[Y] *He had made prodigious collections.* We may, from the large works which Mr Evelyn has published, from the compleat plan which he has given us of a large work he intended to publish, and from various circumstances that occur in his letters, form a pretty sure judgment of the method pursued by him, in composing the many and valuable treatises that fell from his pen. His way was when he had made choice of a subject, to resolve it into its proper parts, and to entitle these according to the bulk of the volume, he proposed, either books or chapters, that he might digest his materials under their proper titles. He then set down his own thoughts, in a free succinct manner under every head, to which he added what occurred to him, useful or memorable in his reading, and when

(r) Hist. of Europe for 1706, p. 527.

(s) Aubrey's Nat. Hist. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 131.

(t) See the inscription in the book last cited.

The History of this learned person's life and labours terminates together, for, in a short time after he had fitted the fourth edition of his Sylva for the press, he departed this life in the eighty-sixth year of his age, Feb. 27, 1705-6 (r), and was interred at Wotton in a tomb of about three foot high of free-stone, shaped like a coffin, with an inscription upon a white marble stone with which it is covered (s), expressing, according to his own intention (t), That living in an age of extraordinary events and revolutions, he had learned from thence this truth, which he desired might be thus communicated to posterity, That all is vanity which is not honest, and that there is no solid wisdom but in real piety. As to that more lasting

he had finished this, he digested his own thoughts regularly, supporting them by proper testimonies, from ancient and modern authors, or if that were the case, shewing the reasons for which he dissented from them. This made his collections very large, in comparison of the books he published, into which there entered nothing but the quintessence of the authors he had perused. The first great work which occupied his thoughts, was one of which he formed the plan in his travels, and of which neither Mr Wood, Mr Aubrey, nor any other writer that I have met with, takes the least notice, tho' it was certainly a very great and important design, every way worthy of his learning, penetration, and vast abilities. He intended to have called it

*A General History of all Trades.*

We have an account of this in one of his own letters to Mr Boyle, in which he assigns the reasons for his laying it aside, after it had cost him incredible pains and application. The reader will without doubt, be pleased to see what he has said upon this subject, his letter is dated from Sayes-Court, August the ninth 1659, and begins thus (56).

(56) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 397.

'I am perfectly ashamed at the remissness of this recognition, for your late favours from Oxon, where though had you resided, it should have interrupted you before this time. It was by our common and good friend Mr Hartlib, that I came now to know you are retired from thence, but not from the Muses, and the pursuit of your worthy designs, the result whereof we thirst after with all impatience, and how fortunate should I esteem myself, if it were in my power to contribute in the least to that which I augure of so great and universal a benefit! but so it is, that my late inactivity has made so small a progress, that in the *History of Trades*, I am not advanced a step, finding, to my infinite grief, my great imperfections for the attempt, and the many objections which I cannot support, of conversing with mechanical capricious persons, and several other discouragements, so that giving over a design of that magnitude, I am ready to acknowledge my fault, if from any expression of mine, there was any room to hope for such a production farther than by a short collection of some heads and materials, and a continual propensity of endeavouring in some particular, to encourage so noble a work as far as I am able, a specimen whereof I have transmitted to Mr Hartlib, concerning the ornaments of gardens, which I have requested him to communicate to you, as one from whom I hope to receive my best and most considerable furniture, which favour I do again and again humbly supplicate, and especially touching the first chapter of the third book, the eleventh and twelfth of the first, and indeed on every particular of the whole.' Whocver would be better acquainted with the whole extent of our Author's project, may consult his extract of the life of Signor Giacomo Favi, who had the like, and intended to have travelled over the whole world, in order to collect proper materials; in which design having made some progress, he died of a fever at Paris. Of this gentleman, Mr Evelyn speaks in raptures from the similitude between their tempers, but it seems, he had not altogether the patience of that Italian virtuoso, who could accommodate himself to the humours of the lowest of the people, as well as make himself acceptable even to the greatest monarchs of Europe (57). But tho' our Author desisted from the original plan, yet it was not till he had finished several parts of it, particularly his Chalcography, which Mr Boyle prevailed upon him to publish, and the following pieces which he never published.

(57) See the Life of this eminent person, who was a native of Bologna in Italy, prefixed to Mr Evelyn's Chalcography.

*Five Treatises, containing a full view of the several Arts of Painting in Oyl, Painting in Miniature,*

*anealing in Glass, enamelling, and making Marble Paper.*

We may form a judgment from the piece he published, of the great loss the world had from his not altering his resolution, with respect to these, which no doubt were as thoroughly finished, and as perfect in their kind as that. We may collect from the letter before mentioned, that a system of gardening made a part of his great design, which however there are some grounds to believe, he detached from thence and considered as a whole or distinct system of itself, to the compleating of which, he applied himself with great spirit and labour, and intended to have given it the following title, under which he shewed part of his collection to his friends.

*Elysium Britannicum.*

We cannot positively affirm; but, there are very probable grounds to believe, that this was the very same work, of which he has given a plan before his *Acetaria*, about which he intimates in his Preface to that treatise, he had spent upwards of forty years, and his collections for which had in that time filled several thousand pages. The title of this vast work as it is there expressed, is this.

*The Plan of a Royal Garden. Describing and shewing the amplitude of that part of Georgicks, which belongs to Horticulture.*

He proposed to divide this into three books, the first of which was to consist of six chapters, wherein he meant to discourse of the principles of things, the four reputed elements, the celestial influences, the seasons, the natural soil of a garden, and all the artificial improvements that could be made therein. The second book was to contain twenty four chapters, and of these it is sufficient to say, that the twentieth chapter seems to have been executed in his discourse of fallets, and that the last chapter of this book, was no other than his Gardiners Kalendar. The third book was to be divided into twelve chapters, and to comprehend all the accessaries, so as to leave nothing which had so much as any relation to this favourite subject unexhausted. The cause of his leaving this work also unfinished, he very freely and plainly tells us, was his perceiving, that it exceeded his whole power of execution, that is, to come up to the scheme formed in his own mind, notwithstanding his glorious spirit, his easy fortune, and indefatigable diligence. This we may very easily credit, when we consider that his treatise of fallets could not be above a fortieth, perhaps, not above a fiftieth, part of his intended performance.

To these his unpublished works, we must add another, mentioned only by Mr Wood, who gives us nothing concerning it but the following title.

*A Treatise of the Dignity of Man* (58).

(58) Ath. Oxon Vol. II. col. 942

Our Author has likewise etched, when he came to Paris 1649 (59), five several prospects of places, which he had drawn on the spot, between Rome and Naples, to which he prefixed also a frontispiece intitled, *Locorum aliquot insignium & celeberrimorum inter Romam & Neapolin, jacentium υποδειξεῖς & Exemplaria; Domino Domino, Thomæ Henshaw, Anglo, omnium eximiarum & preclarissimarum artium cultori ac propugnatori maximo & συνοπ. Δυμενῶ αυτῶ non propter operis pretium sed ut singulare amoris sui testimonium exhibeat prima has ἀδουμασιος aqua forti excusas & insculptas Jo. Evelynus Delineator D. D. C. Q. R. Hoare excud. I. Tres Tabernæ sivi Appii Forum, celebre illud, in sacris Literis. Act. 28. II. Terracini, olim Auxuris, Promontorium. III. Prospectus versus Neapolin, a Monte Vesavio. IV. Montis Vesuvii juxta Neapolin externa Facies. V. Montis Vesuvii Fauces & Vorago; sive Barathrum infernum. He etched also a view of his own seat at Wotton, and another of Putney in Surrey.*

(59) Aubrey's Nat. History of Surrey, Vol. IV p. 118.

lasting monument, which the pens of the most learned and ingenious men have consecrated to his memory, in the characters which they have afforded us of him and his writings, the reader will find some notice taken at the bottom of page [Z]. By his most

[Z] Taken at the bottom of the page.] It is a natural and very just method of concluding articles like this, with characters of the author by eminent persons; for it is first paying a due respect to their memories; next it affords the reader satisfaction, who is desirous of learning on what authorities such high characters are built; and lastly, it justifies the praises bestowed, and the pains taken, in the compiling such articles, more especially when they are carried to an extraordinary length. But it is requisite, that even this necessary attention should be kept within just bounds; and therefore having already cited Mr Boyle, and the Royal Society, in praise of Mr Evelyn, we shall now confine ourselves only to a few, and those too the most eminent, of the learned writers, who have celebrated this great man, and endeavoured to do justice to his labours. We will begin with Abraham Cowley, Esq; who, in his essay, intitled *the Garden*, having declared that a rural retreat, and a life of privacy and study, was the utmost extent of his wish, and had been so for many years, proceeds thus (60). 'Several accidents of my ill fortune have disappointed me hitherto, and do still, of that felicity; for tho' I have made the first and hardest step to it, by abandoning all ambitions and hopes of this world, and by retiring from the noise of all business, and almost company; yet I stick still in the inn of a hired house and garden, among weeds and rubbish, and without that pleasantest work of human industry, the improvement of something which we call not very properly, but yet we call our own. I am gone out from Sodom, but I am not yet arrived at my little Zoar. O let me escape thither (is it not a little one), and my soul shall live. I do not look back yet, but I have been forced to stop, and make too many halts. You may wonder, Sir, for this seems a little too extravagant and pindarical for prose, what I mean by all this preface: it is to let you know, that tho' I have missed, like a chymist, my great end; yet I account my affections and endeavours well rewarded, by something that I have met with by the by; which is, that they have procured me some part in your kindness and esteem, and thereby the honour of having my name so advantageously recommended to posterity, by the epistle you are pleased to prefix to the most useful book that has been written in that kind, and which is to last as long as months and years. Among many other arts and excellencies which you enjoy, I am glad to find this favourite of mine the most predominant, that you chuse this for your wife, tho' you have hundreds of other arts for your concubines, tho' you know them, and beget sons upon them all, to which you are rich enough to allow great legacies; yet the issue of this seems to be designed by you to the main of the estate; you have taken most pleasure in it, and bestowed most charges upon it's education: and I doubt not to see that book, which you are pleased to promise to the world, and of which you have given us a large earnest in your Kalendar, as accomplished as any thing can be expected, from an extraordinary wit and no ordinary expences, and a long experience. I know no body that possesses more private happiness than you do in your garden, and yet no man who makes his happiness more publick, by a free communication of the art and knowledge of it to others. All that I myself am able yet to do, is only to recommend to mankind the search of that felicity which you instruct them how to find and to enjoy.

I.

Happy art thou whom God does bless,  
With the full choice of thine own happiness;  
And happier yet, because thou'rt blest,  
With prudence how to chuse the best.  
In book, and gardens thou hast plac'd aright,  
(Things which thou well dost understand,  
And both dost make with thy laborious hand,)  
Thy noble innocent delight.  
And in thy virtuous wife, where thou again dost meet  
Both pleasures more refin'd and sweet;

The fairest garden in her looks,  
And in her mind the wisest books.  
Oh, who would change these soft, yet solid joys!  
For empty shews, and senseless noise;  
And all which rank ambition breeds,  
Which seem such beauteous flowers, and are such  
pois'nous weeds, &c.

The ingenious and learned Joseph Glanville (61) gave a high character of our author, when but a very few of his works had appeared. 'Mr John Evelyn, says he, hath very considerably advanced the history of fruit and forest trees, by his *Sylva* and *Pomona*; and greater things are expected from his preparations for *Elysium Britannicum*, a noble design now under his hands; and certainly the inquisitive world is much indebted to this generous gentleman, for his very ingenious performances in this kind; as also for those others of Sculpture, Picture, Architecture, and the like practical useful things, with which he hath enriched it.' But the judicious and reverend Dr William Wotton speaks more highly of our author, as being acquainted with most of his writings; and in comparing the antient with the modern Agriculture, he delivers himself thus (62). 'In making my comparison, I shall comprehend all that the Antients understood by their *Res Rustica*, as it takes in the *forester's*, the *husbandman's*, and the *gardner's* business: Cato, Varro, and Columella, include the *grasier's* also, thereby compleating the whole body of farming; but since his work cannot well be made a science of, I shall omit it. By a *forester* here, I understand one that knows how to plant, propagate, and increase, all sorts of timber-trees, what soils are proper for every sort, how they may best be defended from dangers in their growth, to what uses they are most applicable when they have arrived to their utmost perfection, and how they may be best applied. Such a man, in short, as Mr Evelyn instructs in his *Sylva*, where he gives a full system of the woodman's skill, what he ought to know, and what to practise. A great part of his work, and indeed the nicest part of it, the Antients were strangers to, as having less occasion for it. The world was then, comparatively speaking, in it's infancy; there was no want of wood for fuel, building, or ships, and this plenty made men less curious in contriving methods of preserving what they had in so great abundance. England, till within a few ages, was every where over-run with wood: The Hercynian forest, antiently took up what is now the most flourishing part of Germany: and France, which is at present so wonderfully populous that little cultivable ground remains untill'd, was in Caesar's time over-spread with woods and forests. As Men increase, tillage becomes more and more requisite, the consumption of wood will be proportionably greater, and it's want, and the necessary uses of timber, which grow upon men as they become more numerous, will, of consequence, put them upon ways to preserve and increase it. Commerce, with distant parts, will shew men rare and useful trees, to which their own soil was before a stranger; and luxury will soon teach them to transplant them. No wonder therefore, if modern writers excel the antients, upon a subject which they had less occasion for. The Romans indeed were curious in planting trees for shade or fruit; but their industry in that particular, came under another head, as rather belonging to the gardner's work. It may therefore, perhaps, be esteemed a small character of Mr Evelyn's discourse of forest-trees, to say, that it out does all that Theophrastus and Pliny have left us on that subject: For it not only does that and a great deal more, but contains more useful precepts, hints, and discoveries, upon that now so necessary a part of our *Res Rustica*, than the world had till then known, from all the observations of former ages. To name others after him, would be a derogation to his performance.' In comparing the antient and modern *husbandman* and *gardner*, he speaks as highly of Mr Evelyn's *Pomona* and

(61) *Plus Ultra: or, The Progress and Advancement of Knowledge since the Days of Aristotle*, p. 74.

(62) *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning*, p. 274.

This poem of Mr Cowley's dated, Chertsey, Aug. 16, 1666.

(u) Baronetage of England, Vol. V. p. 146. most virtuous and excellent wife, Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Brown (u), who was the companion of his fortunes, and in some measure also of his studies, for almost three-score years, he had five sons and three daughters; of the former, all died young except one, of whom we shall speak in the next article; of the latter, only one survived him, Susannah, married to William Draper of Adscumb in the county of Surrey, Esq (w); His excellent widow did not out-live him quite three years, but dying Feb. 9, 1709, was, according to her own desire, deposited in a stone coffin, as near as could be to the corps of her dear husband (x). Upon the stone coffin, in which the leaden one lies that holds her body, a white marble stone is placed of the same shape, with a very short inscription (y), which informs us, that at the time of her demise she was in the seventy-fourth year of her age, and that she was esteemed, admired, beloved, and regretted, by all who knew her (z).

and of his *Kalendar*, which, however, we will omit. Bishop Burnet (63), acknowledging some communications from him, styles him 'that most ingenious and virtuous gentleman, Mr Evelyn, who is not satisfied to have advanced the knowledge of this age, by his own most useful and successful labours, about planting and divers other ways, but is ready to contribute every thing in his power to perfect other men's endeavours.' The honourable Roger North speaks thus of his brother the Lord-Keeper Guilford's visit to our author, and of his manner of living (64). 'His Lordship was once invited to a philological meal, at the house of Mr Evelyn at Deptford. The house was low, but elegantly set off with ornaments, and quaint motto's, at most turns; but, above all, his garden was exquisite, being most boscaresque, and, as it were, an exemplar, of his book of forest-trees. They appeared all so thriving and clean, that, in so much variety, no one could be fatiated in viewing; and to these were added plenty of ingenious discourses, which made the time short.' A very critical inquirer into every thing relating to English history, the late Lord Bishop of Carlisle, speaking of his *Numismata*, bestows the following character of that book, and it's author (65). 'We might justly have expected whatever could have been desired on this subject, from the ex-

cellently learned pen of Mr Evelyn, had he bent his thoughts, as was believed, towards the consideration of our British coins as well as medals. It now appears, that his *Numismata* carried him no farther than those larger, and more choice pieces, that are usually called by this latter name; whereon he has, indeed, treated with that accuracy and sineness, which became a gentleman and a scholar.' Our Author's works are also very honourably mentioned by several foreign writers (66), particularly by the judicious Morhoff, who tells us that some of them were translated into Latin. It may prove some satisfaction to the inquisitive reader, if we add that his picture was thrice drawn in oil, first in 1681, by Vanderborcht, a famous artist, and brought out of Germany at the same time with Wenceslaus Hollar, the graver, by the Earl of Arundel; a second time in 1648, by Walker; and the third time by Sir Godfrey Kneller, for his friend Mr Pepys of the admiralty, of which that at the Royal Society is a copy. There is a print of him by Nanteuil, in which he is represented, in a cloak in his own hair, and under him some books marked with the cypher J. E. He likewise drew him more than once in black and white, with Indian ink; and there is a picture of him in crayon by Lutterel (67).

(66) Polyhistor, ii. 2, 21, 7. ii. 2, 41, 4.

(67) Aubrey's Nat. History of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 124.

EVELYN (JOHN) son to the former. He was born at his father's house at Sayes-Court near Deptford, January 14, 1654 (a), and was there very tenderly educated in his infancy, being considered (after the death of his brother Richard Evelyn, January 27, 1657, who, though but five years of age, was esteemed a kind of (b) prodigy) as the heir of the family. He was likewise universally admired for the pregnancy of his parts, which induced his father to send him in 1666 to Oxford, where he remained in the house of the most ingenious and learned Dr Ralph Bathurst, then President of Trinity-college, before he was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner, which was in Easter-term 1668 (c). It is not clear at what time he left Oxford, but Mr Wood seems to be positive that he took no degree there, but returned to his father's house, where he prosecuted his studies under the directions of that great man (d). There is, however, good reason to believe, that it was during his residence in Trinity-college, and when he was not above fifteen years of age, he wrote that elegant Greek poem which is prefixed to the second edition of the *Sylva*, and is a noble proof of the strength of his genius, and wonderful progress in learning in the early part of his life. He discovered his proficiency soon afterwards, both in the learned and modern languages, by his elegant translations (e); as well as his intimate acquaintance with the Muses, in some original poems which were very justly admired. Of all these the reader will have a farther account in the notes [A]. He married Martha, daughter and

(a) See the Genealogy of the family of Evelyn.

(b) St Chrylston's *Golden Book*, translated by J. Evelyn, Esq; p. 119.

(c) Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 1079.

(d) English Baronetage, Vol. V. p. 149.

(e) *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 1079.

[A] Will have a farther account in the notes.] If we consider the father's turn of mind, and how much the young gentleman must be obliged to hear and see of gardens and plantations, we need not in the least wonder that he should employ his pen first upon this subject, more especially in the easy way of translation, and from a book so justly, as well as generally admired, as the French jesuit's has ever been. The title of our author's little treatise, was,

I. Of GARDENS, four books, first written in Latin verse, by Renatus Rapinus; and now made English, by John Evelyn, Esq; 1673, 8vo.

His father annexed the second book of this translation to his *Sylva*; and it must be allowed, that as the sense is very faithfully rendered, so the poetry is very easy and harmonious, more especially if we consider it as the work of a lad of nineteen. The reader will judge of this from the following short specimen, con-

taining instructions for the culture of the cypress-tree in gardens, founded upon the fable of the unhappy catastrophe of Cyparissus (1), supposed to be changed into beautiful evergreen, by intemperate grief; or by the power of Apollo, at the youth's own request. What is said of Sylvanus, is an improvement of the fiction, as delivered by the antients.

(1) Rapin of Gardens, B. ii. p. 35.

Though *Cypress's* contiguous well appear,  
They better shew if planted not so near;  
And since to any shape with ease they yield,  
What bounds more proper to divide a field?  
Repine not *Cyparissus* then in vain,  
Since by your change fresh honours you obtain.  
SYLVANUS and this boy with equal fire,  
Did heretofore a lovely *hart* admire.

While

and coheirefs of Richard Spenser, Esq; and having a head as well turned for business as study, became one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, and would probably have been advanced to higher employments if he had not been cut off in the flower of his age, dying at his house in London March 24, 1698, in the forty-fifth year of his age (g). He had by his wife two sons and three daughters. His eldest son Richard died an infant at Sayes-Court, as did his eldest daughter Martha-Mary. His second daughter, Elizabeth, married Simon Harcourt, Esq; eldest son and heir of Simon Lord Viscount Harcourt, Lord High-Chancellor of Great Britain, by whom she became mother to the present Lord Viscount Harcourt (b). Jane, his third daughter, died an infant at his house in the parish of St Martin's in the Fields, and was interred at Kensington. John Evelyn, his second and only surviving son, born at Sayes-Court March 2, 1681, succeeded to his grandfather's estate. He was married at Lambeth chapel, September 18, 1705, to Anne, daughter of Edward Boscawen of Worthivil in the county of Cornwall, Esq; He was, by Letters Patents bearing date July 30, 1713, created a Baronet (i). This worthy Gentleman, who inherits the virtue and learning, as well as patrimony of his ancestors, made several alterations and additions to the family seat at Wotton in 1717, one of which was the erecting a beautiful library, forty-five feet long, fourteen feet broad, and as many high, for the reception of that large and curious collection of books made by his grandfather, his father, and himself (k). He is at present the eldest of the Commissioners of the Customs, Fellow of the Royal Society, and is blessed with a numerous posterity.

(g) Baronetage of England, Vol. V. p. 149.

(b) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 403.

(i) Baronetage, Vol. V. p. 149.

(k) Aubrey's Hist. of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 125.

While in the cooler pastures once it fed,  
An arrow, shot at random, struck it dead.  
But when the youth the dying beast had found,  
And knew himself the author of the wound.  
With never ceasing sorrow he laments,  
And on his breast his grief and anger vents.  
*Sylvanus*, mov'd with the poor creature's fate,  
Converts his former love to present hate;  
And no more pity in his angry words,  
Than to himself th' afflicted youth affords.  
Weary of life, and quite oppress'd with woe,  
Upon the ground his tears in channels flow;  
Which having water'd the productive earth,  
The *Cypress* first from thence deriv'd it's birth,  
With *Sylvanus*'s aid; nor was it only meant  
T' express our sorrow, but for ornament.  
Chiefly when growing low, your fields they bound;  
Or when your garden's avenues are crown'd,

With their long rows; sometimes it serves to hide,  
Some trench declining on the other side.  
Th' unequal branches always keep that green,  
Of which it's leaves are ne'rè divested scen.  
Tho' shook with storms, yet it unmov'd remains,  
And by rough trials greater glory gains.

II. *The Life of Alexander the Great, translated from the Greek of Plutarch* (2).

III. *The History of the GRAND VISIERS, Mahomet, and Achmet Coprogli; of the three last Grand Signiors, their Sultanas, and chief Favourites; with the most secret Intrigues of the Seraglio, &c.* Lond. 1677, 8vo.

(2) Printed in the fourth volume of Plutarch's Lives by several hands,

This was a translation from the French, and has been esteemed an entertaining and instructive history. Our author wrote also several poems occasionally, of which two are printed in a celebrated collection (3); the one, intituled *on Virtue*, has been esteemed excellent in it's kind by the best judges; and the other, stiled *the Remedy of Love*, has been also much admired.

(3) Dryden's Miscellanies, Vol. II. p. 262, 274.

E

F.

(a) So he called his Chronicle.

(b) Pitf. de Illust. Angl. Script. Ætas XVI. ad ann. 1512, No. 913.



**FABIAN**, or **FABYAN** (ROBERT) author of the *Concordaunce of Stories* (a), or Chronicle of England and France, was born in London (b). He was brought up to trade, and became so considerable a Merchant that he was chosen one of the Aldermen of that illustrious city. In the 9th of Henry VII, namely in part of the years 1493 and 1494, he had the honour of being one of the Sheriffs of the same (c). He was a person of learning for the times he lived in, and had some skill in Poetry, both in English, Latin, and French (d) [A]. But he applied himself chiefly to the study of History; and compiled out of several authors [B] a Chronicle, which was printed after his decease [C]. He died at London in the beginning of the year 1512, and was buried February

(c) J. Stow's Survey, with J. Strype's Addit. edit. 1720, Vol. II. B. v. p. 126; and, our author's Chronicle, edit. 1533, fol. CCXXX. b.

(d) Bale. Script. Brytannicæ Cent. 8va, No. 62.

[A]: *And had some skill in Poetry, both in English, Latin, and French.* Take a sample of his English Poetry, from the Prologue to his Chronicle, where he gives an account of that work.

Into seven partes, I have this booke divided,  
So that the reader maie chose where he will.  
The first containeth how the Britons guided  
This lande, from Brute (\*) Moliuncius untill:  
And from Moliuncius, I have sette for skill,  
To the ninthe yere of kyng Cassibelan  
The seconde parte, for that the Romaines than  
Conquered Britain. And thens to Severine  
The thirde parte I have also assigned.  
The fourthe endeth then at Constantine.  
The fifte at Cadwaladar I have also diffined.  
At the conquest I have eke determined  
The sixte parte. And of the seventh or laste,  
At our redoubted Prince I have the ende caste,  
Henry the eight whom God preserve and save,  
And hym defende from all adverfitie.

(\*) Molmutius.

And for this booke includeth stories fele,  
And toucheth thynges doen in fondrie place,  
So that one tyme must with an other dele,  
To kepe the yeres, the tyme and the space,  
Therefore this name shall it now purchase,  
(*Concordaunce of stories*) by me provided,  
The actuhour, fans nome finally divided.

He hath also Verfes at the beginning of the second Volume of his Chronicle, some of which run thus:

Whoso hym liketh these verfes to reade  
With favour I praie he will them spel.  
Let not the rudeness of them him leade,  
For to desprave this rime dogrell.  
Some part of the honor it doeth you tel  
Of this old citee Troinovaunt:  
But not thereof the halfe dell  
Connyng in the maker is so adaunt.

[B] *Out of several Authors.* Particularly, Eusebius, Eutropius, Paullus Diaconus, Matthæolus Veronensis, Petrus Pictaviensis, Guido de Columna, Roger de Hoveden, Alured of Beverley, Ranulph Higden, John de Trevisa, Lydgate, John Froissard, Gaguin, Hartman Shedel, Jacobus Bergomas, Will. Caxton, and especially Geoffrey of Monmouth (1).

[C] *A Chronicle which was printed after his decease.* It was first printed at London in 1516. fol. by R. Pynson; and afterwards by William Raftell, 1533, fol. in neat and small black types, and on good paper. At the conclusion of each part, there is a Hymn to the Virgin Mary [omitted in the following Editions.] And at the end of all 'Thus endeth Fabyans Cronicle. Printed by W. Raftell, and fynished the laste daye of December, in the yere of our Lorde. M. V. C. and XXXIII.' There are also at the end five leaves, which bring down the History to the beginning of King Henry VIII. but are omitted in subsequent Editions, particularly in one of the year 1559. now before us. The whole work is divided into two Volumes: whereof the first begins at Brute, and ends at the death of our King Henry II. and Philip II. King of France. The second Volume, which is the most valuable of the two, contains the Chronicles of England and of France, from the beginning of the reign of King Richard I. until the end of the reign of Charles IX. of France, that is till the year 1504, the 20th of King Henry VII. And it appears by the conclusion, that it was finished by the Author, Novemb. 7. 1504 (2). The second Volume begins with an account of the Wards of London, and the parish Churches in each Ward: and then are set down the Bailiffs of that City under every year, from the time they were appointed, that is from 1190, until the year 1209, when the two Bailiffs were converted, by King John, into a Mayor and two Shireves. Of these the Author gives exact lists, under each year, as far as his Chronicle reaches. He comprehends, as 'tis said in the title-page, the Chronicles of England and of France; not all together, or under the respective years, but in distinct Chapters, or Articles, denoted, in the beginning, by the words *Anglia* and *Francia*.—We are told, that Cardinal Wolsey caused as many copies of this book as he could come at, to be burnt, because the Author had made too clear a discovery of the large revenues of the Clergy (3). As for the character it bears: 'tis called by one who was a good

(1) Bale, Script. Brytannicæ Cent. octava, No. 62. p. 642, edit. 1559

(2) See p. 525 col. 1, edit. 1559.

(3) Bale, ubi supra.

February 28, in the church of St Michael's Cornhill (c); where formerly was to be seen his monument [D].

(4) Stow's Survey, &c. as above, B. v. p. 126.

(5) Dr Nicolson's Engl. Historical Library, edit. 1736, fol. p. 69.

a good judge (4), 'a painful labour, to the great honour of the city, and the whole realm.' He is very particular in the affairs of London, many good things being noted by him (which concern the government thereof) hardly to be had elsewhere. In the beginning of his seventh part, he observes Ralph Higden's method of making his years commence at Michaelmas: and is, in other respects, a great follower of that Author (5).

[D] Where formerly was to be seen his monument.]

On which was the following inscription: but now gone.

Like as the day his course doth consume,  
And the new morrow springeth again as fast,  
So man and woman by natures custome,  
This life to passe, at last in earth are cast,  
In joy, and sorrow, which here their time do wast.  
Never in one state, but in course transitory,  
So full of change is of this world the glory (6).

(c) And not of All Saints, as both Bale and Pitt have it, ubi supra; and from them Dr Fuller in his Worthies, in London, p. 218.

(6) Stow's Survey, as above, B. ii. p. 143.

FAIRFAX (THOMAS, Lord) a very active man in the Parliament's service during our unhappy Civil Wars, in the last century, and at length General of their armies, was the eldest son of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax [A], by Mary his wife, daughter of Edmund Sheffield Earl of Mulgrave. He was born at Denton within the parish of Otley in Yorkshire, in January 1611 (a). After a proper school education, he studied some time in St John's college in Cambridge, to which in his latter days he became a benefactor. He appears to have been a lover of learning, though he did not excel in any branch, except it was in the History and Antiquities of Britain, as will appear in the sequel. Being of a martial disposition even in his younger years, but finding no employment at home, he went and served in Holland as a voluntier under the command of Horatio Lord Vere [B], in order to learn the art of war (b). After some stay there (but how long we cannot learn) he came back to England; and, retiring to his father's house, married Anne, fourth daughter of the said Lord Vere. Here he contracted a strong aversion for the Court; either by the instigation of his wife, who was a zealous Presbyterian (c), or else by the persuasions and example of his father, who grew 'actively and factiously disaffected to the King (d).' So that, upon his Majesty's first endeavours to raise a guard at York for his own person; [apprehended then by the people of those parts, and found quickly after, to be the beginning of an army;] he was entrusted by his party to prefer a petition to the King, beseeching him to hearken to his Parliament, and not to take that course of raising forces: which petition the King endeavouring to shun, he pressed with that instance, and followed him so with it, on Heyworth-moor, in the presence of near 100,000 people, that at last he presented it upon the pommel of his saddle (e). Shortly after, upon the actual breaking out of the Civil Wars, in 1642, his father having received a commission from the Parliament to be General of the forces in the North, he had a commission under him to be General of the Horse (f). His first exploit was at Bradford in Yorkshire, which he obliged a body of Royalists to quit, and to retire to Leeds. A few days after, he and Capt. Hotham, with some horse and dragoons marching thither, the Royalists fled in haste to York. And the former having advanced to Tadcaster, resolved to keep the pass at Wetherby, for securing the West Riding of Yorkshire, from whence their chief supplies came. Sir Thomas Glemham attempted to dislodge them from thence; but, after a short and sharp encounter, retired (g). Whereupon William Cavendish Earl of Newcastle, and Henry Clifford Earl of Cumberland, united their forces at York, amounting to 9000 men (h), and resolved to fall upon Tadcaster: which being judged untenable, the Lord Fairfax, and his son Sir Thomas, drew out to an advantageous piece of ground near the town: but, after a six hours fight, were beaten, and withdrew in the night to Selby (i). Three days after, Sir Thomas marched in the night by several towns in

(a) A. Wood, Fasti, Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 86.

(b) Ibid. & Anglia Rediviva; England's Recovery, &c. by Joshua Sprigge, fol. Lond. 1647, p. 7.

(c) Memoirs of Edm. Ludlow, edit. 1698, Vol. I. p. 314.

(d) The Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1732, 8vo, Vol. II. p. 718.

(e) Sprigge, p. 8.

(f) Short Memorials of Tho. Lord Fairfax, Lond. 1699, 8vo, p. 96.

(g) Ib. p. 2-8.

(h) The Commons War of England, &c. Lond. 1662, 8vo, p. 22.

(i) Memorials, as above, p. 4-13.

[A] Was the eldest son of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax] The Heralds, according to their usual flattering strain, trace up this family's pedigree even higher than the Norman Conquest. Telling us, that it was at that time seated at Toucester in Northumberland, from whence they removed into Yorkshire (\*). But it is a great question, whether surnames were thus early taken from persons' complexions; as this of Fairfax, signifying *Fair locks*, from *fair*, and the Saxon *feax* hair: and the family seems to have had no notion of this derivation, when they took for their motto this rebus or pun, viz. the Latin words *Fare fac, say, do*. — But to return; Sir William Fairfax was High-Sheriff of Yorkshire in the 26th and 31st of King Henry VIII. and Thomas, his grandson, was advanced by King Charles I. May 4. 1627. to the title of Baron Cameron in Scotland (1). This Thomas Lord Fairfax married Helen, daughter to Robert Ask, Esq; and by her left five sons and two daughters. Ferdinando, the eldest, was entirely attached to the Parliament (2); one of their committee for the county of York (3); and General of their forces in Yorkshire, and the adjacent counties (4). He served them with the utmost zeal, upon every occasion, till his

death, which happened, at York, March 13, 1647-8 (5). By his wife, Mary, daughter of Edmund Sheffield Earl of Mulgrave, as above related, he had three sons; Sir Thomas, who is the subject of this article; Charles, slain at the battle of Marston-moor, July 3. 1644; and another, not mentioned by name. Also six daughters (6). This family, as Mr Whitlock informs us (7), was descended from the Law.

[B] Under the command of Horatio Lord Vere] This Horatio, was fourth son of John de Vere the fifteenth Earl of Oxford of that noble family: and by King Charles I. ann. 1625, was advanced to the title of Lord Vere of Tilbury (8). He long served in Holland, with great valour and reputation, jointly with his brother the brave Sir Francis Vere Governor of the Briel. In 1620. Sir Horatio commanded the Regiment sent from England to the assistance of the Elector Palatine (9): and afterwards was employed in several other expeditions in the Netherlands. About the year 1632, or 1633, Sir Thomas Fairfax served as a voluntier under him; and was at the considerable action of taking Bosch, or Bois-le-Duc, from the Spaniards, but had no command while he was there. He returned to England in 1634, or 1635 (10).

(1) Whitlock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 296.

(2) Compendium; ubi supra.

(3) Memorials, p. 66.

(4) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 199.

(5) Ar. Wilson's Hist. of King James I. under 1620.

(6) Wood, as above, col. 86.

[C] And

(\*) British Compendium, for Scotland, by F. Nichols, ed. 1729 p. 451.

(1) Compend. ib. and Carnden's Britan. edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 1189.

(2) Clarendon, ubi supra, Vol. III. p. 138.

(3) Ib. Vol. II. p. 515.

(4) Ib. Vol. III. p. 142.

in which the Royalists lay, and came to Bradford, where he entrenched himself. But having too many soldiers to lye idle, and too few to be upon constant duty [C], he resolved to attempt his enemies in their garrisons. Accordingly coming before Leeds, he carried that town (Jan. 23, 1642-3) after a hot dispute, wherein a good store of ammunition fell into his hands, of which he stood in great want (k). Next he defeated a party of 700 horse and foot at Gisborough, under the command of Col. Slingsby (l). And then Wakefield and Doncaster yielded themselves to the Parliament. But, for these overacts, William Earl of Newcastle, the King's General, proclaimed Sir Thomas and his father traitors, and the Parliament did the like for the Earl (m). In the mean time, the Lord Fairfax being denied succour from Hull, and the East Riding, was forced to forsake Selby, and retire to Leeds: of which the Earl of Newcastle having intelligence, he lay with his army on Clifford-moor, to intercept him in his way to Leeds. Whereupon Sir Thomas was ordered by his father, to bring what men he could to join with him at Sherburne, on purpose to secure his retreat. To amuse the Earl, Sir Thomas made a diversion at Tadcaster, which the garrison immediately quitted, and whereof he slighted the works. But the Lord Goring marching to its relief, with twenty troops of horse and dragoons, defeated Sir Thomas upon Bramham-moor: who also received a second defeat upon Seacroft-moor, where some of his men were slain, and many taken prisoners. So that he made his retreat with much difficulty to Leeds, about an hour after his father was safely come thither. And, according to him, this was one of the greatest losses he ever received (n). Leeds and Bradford being all the garrisons the Parliament had in the North, Sir Thomas thought it necessary to possess some other place: therefore with about 1100 horse and foot, he drove, on the 21st of May, the Royalists out of Wakefield, which they had seized again; and took 1400 prisoners, 80 officers, and great store of ammunition (o). But, shortly after, the Earl of Newcastle coming to besiege Bradford, and Sir Thomas and his father having the boldness, with about 3000 men, to go and attack his whole army, which consisted of 10,000, on Adderton-moor; they were entirely routed by the Earl, on the 30th of June (p), with a considerable loss [D]. Upon that, Halifax and Beverley being abandoned by the Parliamentarians, and the Lord Fairfax having neither a place of strength to defend himself in, nor a garrison in Yorkshire to retire to [E], withdrew the same night to Leeds, to secure that town. But, by his order, Sir Thomas stayed in Bradford with 800 foot and 60 horse; wherein being surrounded, he was obliged to force his way through: in which desperate attempt, his Lady, and many others, were taken prisoners [F]. At his coming to Leeds, he found things in great distraction; the Council of War having resolved to quit the town, and retreat to Hull, which was sixty miles off; with many of the King's garrisons in the way. However, though there were fifty or sixty troops of Royalists within three miles of Leeds, he got safely to Selby, where there was a ferry, and hard by one of the Parliament's garrisons at Cawood (q). Immediately after his coming to Selby, being attacked by a party of horse which pursued him, he received a shot in the wrist of his left arm, which made the bridle fall out of his hand; and being among the nerves and veins, suddenly let out such a quantity of blood, that he was ready to fall from his horse. But taking the reins in the other hand in which he had his sword, he withdrew himself out of the crowd [G]; and after

(k) Ibid. p. 17.

(l) The Commons War, p. 24.

(m) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 66. Heath's Chron. edit. 1676, fol. p. 43.

(n) His Memorials, as above, p. 22—27.

(o) Ibid. p. 28—34.

(p) Heath's Chron. p. 47. and Memorials.

(q) Memorials, p. 34—53.

[C] *And too few to be upon constant duty.*] According to his own account, he had but three troops of horse, and about eight hundred foot; but, upon summoning the country, he made up the latter twelve or thirteen hundred (11). Whilst he lay at Selby, he went and beat up a quarter of the Royalists at Sherburne, and took Major-general Windham, and others prisoners: but, in this attempt, his horse was shot under him (12).

(11) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 12, 15.

(12) Ibid. p. 18, &c.

(13) Hist. of the Civil Wars, by T. Hobbes, Lond. 1679, 8vo, p. 177.

[D] *With a considerable loss.*] Two thousand were killed and taken; and the next day two thousand prisoners were made, at the taking of the town (13).

[E] *Nor a garrison in Yorkshire to retire to.*] For Sir John Hotham, the Governor of Hull had declared, if they were forced to retreat thither, he would shut the gates on them. Whilst the Lord Fairfax was musing on these sad thoughts, a messenger was sent unto him from Hull, to let him know the townsmen had secured the Governor; that they were sensible of the danger he was in, and if he had any occasion to make use of that place, he should be very readily and gladly received there (14).

(14) Memorials of Lord Fairfax, as above, p. 44, 45. See also, p. 22.

[F] *In which desperate attempt, his Lady, and many others, were taken prisoners.*] As we learn from his own Memorials, in the following words:— 'I must not here forget my wife, who ran the same hazard with us in this retreat, and with as little expression of fear; not from any zeal, or delight in the war, but through a willing and patient suffering of this undesirable condition. I sent two or three horsemen before, to discover what they could of the ene-

my, who presently returned, and told us there was a guard of horse close by us.——I, with some 12 more, charged them. Sir Henry Fowles, Major-General Gefford, myself and 3 more brake through; Capt. Mudd was slain, and the rest of our horse being close by, the enemy fell upon them, and soon routed them, taking most of them prisoners, among whom was my wife, the Officer Will. Hill, behind whom she rid, being taken. I saw this disaster, but could give no relief; for after I was got through, I was in the enemies rear alone; those who had charged through with me, went on to Leeds, thinking I had done so too: but I was unwilling to leave my company, and stay'd till I saw there was no more in my power to do, but to be taken prisoner with them. I then retired to Leeds (15).'

[G] *He drew himself out of the crowd.*] These additional circumstances, from his own account, may not be unacceptable to the reader. '——The enemy minding nothing so much as how to get away, I drew myself out of the crowd, and came to our men, who turned about, and seeing me ready to fall from my horse, they lay'd me on the ground: now when I was almost senseless, my Surgeon came seasonably, and bound up the wound, and stopt the bleeding. After a quarter of an hour's rest, I got a horse-back again; the other part of our horse had beaten the enemy back to Cawood, the same way they came first to us. Thus by the goodness of God, our passage was made clear; some went over the ferry after my father, I myself with others went through

(15) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 49, 50.

after a very troublesome and dangerous passage (being often attacked, sometimes in the front, sometimes in the rear) he came to Hull (r). Upon these repeated disasters, the Scots were hastily solicited to send 20,000 men to the assistance of the Parliamentarians, who were thus likely to be over-powered. The Lord Fairfax, after his coming to Hull, made it his first business to raise new forces, and in a short time had about 1500 foot, and 700 horse. The town being little, Sir Thomas was sent to Beverley, with the horse and leaving only a few garrisons, was marched with his whole army into Lincolnshire; having orders to go into Essex, and block up London on that side. But he was hastily recalled Northward, upon the Lord Fairfax's sending out a large party to make an attempt upon Stanford-bridge near York. The Marquis, at his return into Yorkshire, first dislodged from Beverley Sir Thomas, who retreated into Hull, to which the Marquis laid siege; but could not carry the place. During the siege, the horse being useless, and many dying every day, Sir Thomas was sent with them over into Lincolnshire, to join the Earl of Manchester's forces, then commanded by Major-General Cromwell (t). At Horncastle, or Winsby, they routed a party of 5000 men, commanded by Sir John Henderfon: and, at the same time, the besieged in Hull making a sally upon the besiegers, obliged them to retire. These two defeats together, the one falling heavy upon the horse, the other upon the foot, kept the Royalists all that winter from attempting any thing; and the Parliamentarians, after the taking of Lincoln, settled themselves in winter quarters (u). But Sir Thomas had not long the benefit of them, for in the coldest season of the year, he was commanded by the Parliament to go and raise the siege of Nantwich in Cheshire, which the Lord Byron, with an army from Ireland, had reduced to great extremity. He set forward from Lincolnshire December 29, and, being joined by Sir William Brereton, entirely routed, on the 21st of January, the Lord Byron, who was drawn out to meet them (w) [H]. After that, they took in several garrisons in Cheshire, particularly Crew-house, &c (x). Sir Thomas having stayed in those parts till the middle of March, was ordered back by his father into Yorkshire, that by the conjunction of their forces he might be abler to take the field. They met about Ferry-bridge; and Col. Bellasis, Governor of York, having advanced to Selby, to hinder their junction, they found means, notwithstanding, to join, and entirely defeated him, on the 11th of April 1644 (y) [I]. This good success rendered Sir Thomas master of the field in Yorkshire, and nothing then hindered him from marching into Northumberland, as he had been ordered by the Parliament, to join the Scots, which were kept from advancing Southward by the superior forces of the Marquis of Newcastle, quartered at Durham. But that stroke having thrown York into the utmost distraction, the inhabitants speedily sent to the Marquis to haste back thither; by which means a way was left open for the Scots, who with cold and frequent alarms were reduced to great extremity. They joined the Lord Fairfax at Wetherby, on the 20th of April, and marching on to York, laid siege to that city [K], wherein

(r) Hist. p. 52—56.

(s) He was created Marquis Oct. 27. 1643. Dugd. Baron. Vol. II. p. 421.

(t) Memorials, as above, p. 59—63; and Whitelock, p. 75.

(u) Memorials, as above, p. 66—69.

(w) Ib. p. 69—76. Rushworth's Collect. Vol. V. p. 302. Whitelock, p. 81.

(x) Ibid.

(y) Memorials, p. 76—79. Whitelock, p. 86.

through the levels to Hull.——I had been twenty hours on horseback, after I was shot, without any rest or refreshment, and as many hours before. And as a further affliction, my daughter [afterwards Duchess of Buckingham] not above five years old, being carried before her maid, endured all this retreat a horseback; but nature not being able to hold out any longer, she fell into frequent swoonings, and in appearance was ready to expire her last. Having now passed the Trent, and seeing a house not far off, I sent her with her maid only thither, with little hopes of seeing her any more alive, though I intended the next day to send a ship from Hull for her. I went on to Barton, having sent before to have a ship ready against my coming thither. Here I lay down to take a little rest, if it were possible to find any in a body so full of pain, and a mind yet fuller of anxiety and trouble. Though I must acknowledge it as the infinite goodness of God, that my spirit was nothing at all discouraged from doing still that which I thought to be my duty. I had not rested a quarter of an hour, before the enemy came close to the town. I had now not above a hundred horse with me, we went to the ship, where under the security of her ordinance we got all our men and horse aboard; and crossing Humber, we arrived at Hull, our men faint and tired. I myself had lost all, even to my shirt, for my cloaths were made unfit to wear with rents and blood. Presently after my coming to Hull, I sent a ship for my daughter, who was brought the next day to the town, pretty well recovered of her long and tedious journey. Not many days, after the Earl of Newcastle sent my wife back again in his coach, with some horse to guard her; which generous act of his gained

him more reputation, than he could have got by detaining a lady prisoner, upon such terms (16).

[H] Entirely routed, on the 21st of January, the Lord Byron, who was drawn out to meet them.] His army of Irish consisted of 3000 foot, of whom above 2000 were slain or taken prisoners; and of 1800 horse, most of whom escaped by flight. Col. George Monk, then in the King's service, being taken in this action, was sent up prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained till 1647, when he entered into the Parliament's service, for the reduction of Ireland. And his great bravery in that kingdom was the cause of his succeeding advancement (17).

[I] They found means, notwithstanding, to join, and entirely defeated him, &c.] The Lord Fairfax took a great compass about, to deceive the vigilance of the Royalists, and by that means joined his son (18). Their attack was in three divisions; the first led on by the Lord Fairfax himself; the next by Sir John Meldrum; and the third by Col. Bright, brother-in-law to Col. Lambert: Sir Thomas Fairfax led on the horse. The matter was a long time disputed with equality on both sides, till the horse forced a passage into the town, where the following prisoners were taken; 2 Colonels; 3 Lieutenant-Colonels; 1 Major of horse, and 3 of foot; 8 Captains of horse; 11 Captains of foot; 3 Captain-Lieutenants; 3 Lieutenants of horse; 23 Lieutenants of foot; 12 Ensigns; 6 Cornets of horse; 4 Quarter-masters; above 60 Serjeants, Trumpets, &c 1600 common Soldiers; 2000 Arms, and above; and all the bag and baggage (19).

[K] Laid siege to that city.] During the siege, St. Mary's Tower, wherein many foundation-charters and other grants relating to the Monastery, in Yorkshire

(16) Memorials, p. 54, &c.

(17) Memorials, p. 69, &c. Whitelock, p. 81. Rushworth, Vol. V. p. 302; and Life of General Monk, by T. Skinner, M. D. edit. 1724, 8vo, ch. ii.

(18) Rushworth, Vol. V. p. 612.

(19) From the account then printed by ...

- (z) Memorials, p. 77, 78, 79, 80.
- (a) Whitelock, p. 87.
- (b) *Ib.* p. 92.
- (c) *Ib.* p. 93.
- (d) Memorials, as above, p. 82, 83.
- (e) *Ib.* p. 82, &c. and Lord Clarendon's Hist. edit. 1732, 8vo, Vol. IV. p. 503, &c.
- (f) Lord Clarendon, *ibid.*
- (g) Memorials, p. 89. Whitelock, p. 95.
- (h) *Ibid.*
- (i) Elenchus Motuum, autore G. Bates, edit. 1676, p. 67, 68.
- (k) The Kingdome Weekly Intelligencer, No. 89.
- (l) Whitelock, p. 128.
- (m) *Ibid.* p. 132.
- (n) *Ib.* p. 130, 136.
- (o) *Ib.* p. 138.
- (p) History of England, Vol. II. edit. 1733, fol. p. 516.
- (q) Whitelock, p. 142.

wherein the Marquis of Newcastle had shut himself up (z); being closely pursued, on the way thither, by Sir Thomas, and Major-General Lesley (a). And when Prince Rupert was advancing out of Lancashire to the relief of that place, they marched with 6000 horse and dragoons and 5000 foot, to stop his progress (b): but he eluding their vigilance, and fetching a compass about with his army, which consisted of above 20,000 men, got into York (c). Whereupon the Parliamentarians raised the siege, and retired to Hefsey-more. The English were for fighting, and the Scots for retreating; which last opinion prevailing, they both marched away to Tadcaster (d), there being great differences and jealousies between the two nations. But the rash and haughty Prince, instead of harassing and wearing them out by prudent delays, resolved, without consulting the Marquis of Newcastle or any of his officers, to engage them, on Marston-moor, eight miles from York, on the 2d of July: where that bloody battle was fought, which entirely ruined the King's affairs in the North (e). In this battle, Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the right wing of the horse [L]. The Prince, after his defeat, retiring towards Lancashire, and the Marquis, in discontent, sailing away to Hamburg (f), the three Parliament-Generals came and sat down again before York, which surrendered the 15th of July: and the North was now wholly reduced by the Parliament's forces, except some garrisons (g). In September following, Sir Thomas was sent to take Helmesley-castle, where he received a dangerous shot in one of his shoulders, and was brought back to York, all being doubtful of his recovery for some time (h). Some time after, he was near being killed by a cannon-shot before Pomfret-castle [M]. Hitherto he had acquitted himself with undaunted bravery, and with great and deserved applause from his party. Had he stopped here, or at such times at least as the King's concessions were in reason and equity a just ground for peace (which was more than once) he might have been honourably ranked among the rest of those Patriots, who took up arms only for the redress of grievances. But his boundless ambition, and his great desire to rule, made him weakly engage, with the utmost zeal, in the worst and most exceptionable parts of our unhappy Civil Wars. For, when the Parliamentarians thought fit to new model their army, and to lay aside the honest but unsuccessful Robert Devereux Earl of Essex; they unanimously voted Sir Thomas Fairfax to be their General in his room: and he being easy, and forward to undertake or execute any thing that he was put upon, was the more readily chosen by the two then prevailing parties of Presbyterians and Independants. To him Oliver Cromwell was joined with the title of Lieutenant-General, but with intention of being his governor (i); and he was indeed the spring of all his succeeding motions. Sir Thomas being thus voted Commander in Chief of the Parliament's army on the 21st of January 1644-5 (k), received orders from the Parliament speedily to come up from the North to London (l). Accordingly he repaired privately thither Febr. 18, and, the next day, was brought by four of the members into the House of Commons, where he was highly complemented by the Speaker, and received his commission of General (m). The 15th of the same month, an Ordinance was made, for raising and maintaining of forces under his command [N]: it having been voted, a few days before, that he should nominate all the Commanders in his army, to be taken out of any the other armies, with the approbation of both Houses (n). March 25, the Parliament ordered him 1500*l* (o). The 3d of April, he went from London to Windsor where he had appointed the general rendezvous; and continued there till the last day of that month, new-framing and moulding the army: or rather Cromwell doing it in his name. For, as Mr Rapin well observes (p), Cromwell had such an influence over him, that he made him do whatever he pleased. April 16, he was appointed by both Houses Governor of Hull (q). In the mean

and other Northern counties, were deposited, being accidentally blown up; Sir Thomas recovered as many of those valuable pieces as he could, rewarding very generously such soldiers as brought any of them to him. He had before employed Roger Dodsworth, to copy out great numbers of them, allowing him an annuity of 40*l.* per ann. during his life; by which means they were preserved from irrecoverable ruin, and make a very considerable part of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. All the said Dodsworth's collections and MSS. amounting in the whole to 122 volumes, were afterwards bequeathed by the Lord Fairfax to the Bodleian Library at Oxford (20).

[L] In this battle, Sir Thomas Fairfax commanded the right wing of horse. This right wing of horse, which consisted of Sir Thomas Fairfax's troops in the van, and of the Scotch cavalry in the rear, (against which the Prince had a more peculiar indignation) was, at the first onset of the King's left wing of horse, put to rout; the Royalists following them in the pursuit so far (as it was their unhappy custom) that thereby they became the overthrow of their own army (21).

[M] He was near been killed, &c. This we learn

from Mr Whitelock, in these words. 'Sir Thomas Fairfax and Colonel Forbes standing together near Pomfret-castle, a cannon-bullet from thence came betwixt them, and the wind of it beat them both to the ground, and put out one of Col. Forbes's eyes, and spoiled that side of his face, and yet no other hurt to Sir Thomas Fairfax (22).'

[N] An Ordinance was made, for raising and maintaining of the Forces under his command. This Ordinance imported, that there should be forthwith raised and formed, for the defence of the King and Parliament, the true Protestant Religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, an army consisting of 6600 horse to be distributed into eleven regiments; and of 1000 dragooniers, to be distributed into ten companies; and of 14,400 foot, to be distributed into twelve regiments, each regiment of foot to consist of twelve hundred, and each such regiment to be distributed into ten companies. For their maintenance, there was imposed upon nineteen of the counties and cities in England, the monthly sum of fifty three thousand four hundred and fifty six pounds; which was raised in the same manner as our present Land-tax (23).

(20) Wood, Fast. Vol. II. col. 11, 14, 15. See also the article DUGDALE (Sir WILLIAM).

(21) Heath's Chron. p. 59.

(22) Whitelock p. 124.

(23) Collector all the public Orders, &c. Printed for E. Husband, London 1645, fol. p. 5.

[O] When

mean time, Taunton, in Somersetshire, one of the Parliament's garrisons, being closely besieged by the Royalists, Sir Thomas Fairfax received orders to hasten to its relief, with 3000 horse and foot (r). He began his march May 1, and by the 7th had reached Blandford in Dorsetshire (s): but the King taking the field from Oxford, with strong reinforcements brought by the Princes Rupert and Maurice; Sir Thomas was ordered by the Parliament, to send 3000 foot and 1500 horse to relieve Taunton, and himself to return, with the rest of his forces to join Oliver Cromwell and Major-General Browne, and attend the King's motions (t). The 14th of May he was come back as far as Newbury (u); where having rested three nights, he went and faced Dennington-castle, and took a few prisoners. Thence he proceeded to lay siege to Oxford, as he was directed by the Committee of both kingdoms, and sat down before it the 22d. But before he had made any progress in this siege, he received orders to draw nearer the King, who had taken Leicester by storm, May 31, and was threatening the eastern associated counties (w). Sir Thomas therefore rising from before Oxford, June 5, arrived the same day at Marsh-Gibbon in Buckinghamshire; on the 11th he was at Wootton, and the next day at Giffborough in Northamptonshire: where he kept his head-quarters till the 14th, when he engaged the King's forces at the fatal and decisive battle of Naseby [O], and obtained a compleat victory (x). The King, after that, retiring into Wales, Sir Thomas went and laid siege on the 16th to Leicester, which surrendered on the 18th (y). He proceeded, on the 22d, to Warwick; and thence (with a disposition either to go over the Severn towards the King, or to move Westward as he should be ordered) he marched on through Gloucestershire towards Marlborough, where he arrived the 28th (z). And here he received orders from the Parliament, to hasten to the relief of Taunton, which was besieged again by the Royalists; letters being sent at the same time into the associated counties, for recruits, and the arrears of pay, for his army (a). But July 2, upon his coming to Blandford, he was informed that the Lord Goring had drawn off his horse from before Taunton, and left his foot in the passages to block up that place, marching himself with the horse towards Langport (b). Sir Thomas Fairfax therefore advancing against him, defeated him there on the 10th of July (c); and, the next day, went and summoned Bridgewater, which was taken by storm on the 22d (d). He became also master of Bath the 30th of the same month; and then laid close siege to Sherborne-castle, which was likewise taken by storm August 15. And having besieged the rich and famous city of Bristol from the 22d of August to the 10th of September [P], it was surrendered to him by Prince Rupert (e); at which the King was so excessively angry [Q], that he ordered the Prince to go and seek his subsistence somewhere beyond sea (f). After this laborious expedition, the General rested some days at Bath, having sent out parties to reduce the castles of the Devises and Berkley, and other garrisons between the West and London; and on the 23d moved from Bath to the Devises, and thence to Warminster on the 27th, where he stayed till October 8, when he went to Lyme in Dorsetshire (g). From this place he came to Tiverton, of which he became master on the 19th (h); and then, as he could not undertake a formal siege in the winter season, he blocked up the strong city of Exeter, which did not surrender till the 13th of April following (i): in the mean time, he took Dartmouth by storm January 13, 1645-6 (k); and several forts and garrisons at different

(r) Ibid. p. 144.  
 (s) Sprigge, ubi supra, p. 15.  
 (t) Ibid. p. 17, and Whitlocke, p. 145.  
 (u) Sprigge, p. 19.  
 (w) Ibid. p. 21; and Whitlocke, p. 146, 147. Memorable occurrences, at the end of *Mercurius Rusticus*.  
 (x) Sprigge, p. 33, &c.  
 (y) Sprigge, p. 48, 49.  
 (z) Sprigge, p. 55.  
 (a) Whitlocke, p. 153.  
 (b) Idem. p. 155; and Sprigge, p. 57, 60.  
 (c) Sprigge, p. 64, &c. Whitlocke, p. 158, 159.  
 (d) Sprigge, p. 66, &c. Whitlocke, p. 161, 162, 166.  
 (e) Sprigge, p. 76—120.  
 (f) Lord Clarendon, Vol. IV. p. 694.  
 (g) Sprigge, p. 124, 127, 128.  
 (h) Ib. p. 134, 144.  
 (i) Ib. p. 146, &c.  
 (k) Ib. p. 167; and Whitlocke, p. 189.

[O] *When he engaged the King's forces at the fatal and decisive battle of Naseby.* As I am not writing a history of England, I shall not enter into the particulars of this battle, but only take notice of the share Sir Thomas Fairfax had in it. He commanded the main body of foot; and behaved with uncommon valour and bravery (24). During the engagement, having had his helmet beat off, he rid bareheaded up and down from one part of his army to another, to see how they stood, and what advantage might be gained: and coming up to his own life-guard, commanded by Col. Charles Doyley, he was told by him that he exposed himself to too much danger, and the whole army thereby, riding bareheaded in the fields, and so many bullets flying about him; and Doyley offered the General his helmet, but he refused it, saying, 'It is well enough Charles.' (25)—This visible difference appears in the encouragement given to the two contending parties, which may account for their different success almost in every battle. The King's forces fought for Him, not for themselves; and both officers and soldiers were in general negligent and unfaithful in their duty (26). But the Parliamentarian soldiers fought for themselves, for booty and plunder, at least for very great rewards, and could not but mend their fortunes by fishing in troubled waters; no wonder therefore that they fought with so much fury and resolution.

[P] *And having besieged the rich and famous city of Bristol, from the 22d of August to the 10th of September.* Sir Thomas Fairfax, in his first summons to

Prince Rupert, has these remarkable words; which are submitted to the reader's consideration.— 'Sir, the Crown of England is and will be where it ought to be; we fight to maintain it there. But the King misled by evil counsellors, or through a seduced heart, hath left his Parliament, under God, the best assurance of his crown and family: the maintaining of this schisme is the ground of this unhappy war on your part: and what sad effects it hath produced in the three kingdoms, is visible to all men. To maintain the rights of the crown and kingdom jointly; a principal part whereof is, that the King in supream acts is not to be advised by men of whom the law takes no notice, but by his Parliament, the great counsel of the kingdom, in whom (as much as man is capable of) he hears all his people as it were at once advising him, and in which multitude of counsellors lyes his safety, and his peoples interest; and to see him right in this; hath been the constant and faithfull endeavour of the Parliament. And to bring these wicked instruments to justice that have misled him, is a principal ground of our fighting (27).—But, from these plausible and righteous sentiments, Sir Thomas seems to have departed afterwards.

[Q] *At which the King was so excessively angry* And the more, as the Prince, in a letter to his Majesty of the 12th of August, had assured him, 'that if no mutiny happened, he would keep Brillol for four months (28).'

(24) Sprigge, p. 33, &c.  
 (25) Whitlocke, p. 151.  
 (26) Clarendon, Vol. IV. p. 729.  
 (27) Sprigge, p. 98.  
 (28) Clarendon, p. 101.

(l) Sprigge, p. 183, &c. and Whitelock, p. 192, 193.

(m) Sprigge, p. 203.

(n) Sprigge, p. 205—229. Whitelock, p. 198, 199.

(o) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 734; and Vol. V. p. 2, 4.

(p) Sprigge, p. 233—244.

(q) Whitelock, p. 201.

(r) Sprigge, p. 245, &c.

(s) Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 22. T. Hobbes, as above, p. 185.

(t) Sprigge, p. 260—290. Whitelock, p. 210.

(u) Sprigge, p. 291—330.

(w) Sprigge, p. 311, &c. Whitelock, p. 227.

different times. Febr. 16, he defeated the Lord Hopton near Torrington (l) [R]. This Nobleman retreating with his broken forces into Cornwall, Sir Thomas followed him: In pursuit of whom he came to Launceston Febr. 25, and to Bodmin March 2. On the 4th Mount Edgcombe was surrendered to him; and Fowey about the same time (m). At last the Parliament-army approaching Truro, where Lord Hopton had his headquarters; and he being so hemm'd in as to remain without a possibility of escaping; Sir Thomas, on the 5th of March, sent and offered him honourable terms, if he would capitulate [S]. After some delays and difficulties, the Lord Hopton accepted of them; and a treaty was signed by Commissioners on both sides, March 14; in pursuance of which, the Royalists, consisting of above 5000 horse, were disbanded; and took an oath never to bear arms against the Parliament (n). But, before the treaty was signed, the Lord Hopton and Arthur Lord Capel, retired to Scilly, from whence they passed into Jersey, Apr. 17, with Charles Prince of Wales, Sir Edward Hyde, and other persons of distinction (o). Thus the King's army in the West being entirely dispersed, by the vigilance and wonderful success of General Fairfax; he returned, March 31, to the siege of Exeter, which surrendered to him upon articles, the 13th of April, as I have already observed (p): and with the taking of this city ended our General's western expedition. Having entirely subdued those parts, which were the greatest strength and almost the only refuge of the Royalists, he marched, with wonderful speed (q), towards Oxford, the most considerable garrison remaining in the King's hands. Setting out therefore from Exeter April 18, he came, on the 1st of May, with his army before that city, and began to lay siege to it (r). The King, who was there, afraid of being enclosed, privately, and in disguise, departed from thence on the 27th of April; and May 4 put himself into the hands of the treacherous Scots (s). Oxford surrendered upon articles June 24 [T], as did Wallingford July 22 (t). After the reduction of these places, Sir Thomas went and besieged Ragland-castle in Monmouthshire, the property of Henry Somerset Marquis of Worcester, which yielded Aug. 19 (u). And thus, before Michaelmas 1646, the unhappy King Charles I. had neither army nor fortrefs left in England. The next employment required of the General, was to disband Major-General Maffey's brigade, which he did at the Devises. About that time he was seized with a violent fit of the stone, under which he laboured many days. As soon as he was recovered, he took a journey to London; where he arrived Novemb. 12, being met some miles off by great crowds of people, and the city-militia. The next day, both Houses of Parliament agreed to congratulate his coming to town, and to give him thanks for his faithful services and wise conduct [U]: which they did the day following, waiting upon him at his house in Queen-street (w). Hardly had he had time to rest, when he was called upon to convoy the two hundred thousand pounds that had been granted to the Scottish army; the price of their delivering up, or betraying, their Sovereign King Charles [W]. For that purpose he set out

[R] Febr. 16. he defeated the Lord Hopton near Torrington ] And, as a reward for this great service; on the 24th of February, the Parliament ordered fifty thousand pounds for his army, out of the Excise (29).

(29) Whitelock, p. 194.

[S] Sir Thomas Fairfax sent and offered him, on the 5th of March, honourable terms, if he would capitulate. ] Namely, 'to the souldiery in general, English and Forreigners, liberty either to go beyond sea, or to their homes in England, as they pleased; and to such English as should choose to live at home, his protection for the liberty of their persons, and for the immunity of their estates from all plunder or violence of souldiers, and all to go their wayes with what they had, saving horses and armes; but for officers in commission and gentlemen of quality, he should allow them to go with horses for themselves and one servant or more, suitable to their quality, and with armes befitting gentlemen in a condition of peace; and such officers as would goe beyond sea for other service, to take with them their armes and full number of horses answerable to their offices. To all Troopers and inferiour sort of Horse officers bringing in and delivering up of their horses and armes, 20s. a man in lieu of their horses to carry them home: to English gentlemen of considerable estates, his passe and recommendation to the Parliament for their moderate composition (30).'

(30) Sprigge, p. 205, 206.

[T] Oxford surrendred upon articles June 24.] And at that juncture, Sir Thomas expressed his regard to learning, by agreeing in the 14th article of the surrender, 'That the Chancellour, Masters and Schollers of the University of Oxon, and the Governours and Students of Christ-Church, and all other Heads and Governours, Masters, Fellowes and Schollers of the Colleges, Halls, &c. of the same University, and the publick Professors and Readers, and the Orator thereof, and all other persons belonging to the said University, or to any Colleges or Halls therein,

should and might, according to their statutes, charters and customes, enjoy their ancient forme of government, subordinate to the immediate authority and power of Parliament: and that all the rights, privileges, franchises, lands, tenements, houses, possessions, rents, revenues, hereditaments, libraries, debts, goods and chattels, belonging to the said University, or to Christ-church, or to any Colleges or Halls in the said University (except such rents and revenues as had been already taken and received by Ordinance of Parliament) should be enjoyed by them respectively, free from sequestrations, fines, taxes, and all other molestations whatsoever. And that all Churches, Chappels, Colledges, Halls, Libraries, Schooles, and publick buildings, within or belonging to the City or University, or to Christ's Church, or the severall Colleges or Halls thereof, should be preserved from defacing and spoyle.' But it seems these articles were not relished by the root-and-branch-men (31). Sir Thomas took also great care for the preservation of the publick library, which in several respects did suffer while the garrison was possesst by the royal party (32).

(31) Sprigge, p. 267, 273.

[U] And to give him thanks for his faithful services and wise conduct ] They gave him something more substantial than words and compliments, by making him very considerable presents and grants at different times. As namely, in 1645, they sent him a jewel of great value, set with diamonds, which was tyed in a blue ribband, and put about his neck (33). In 1646 an ordinance was made for settling 5000l. a year upon him, and his heirs (34). And 4000l. a year was granted to him out of the Duke of Buckingham's estate (35): which probably was part of the 5000l. settled upon him by the Parliament. Instead of the other thousand, 10,000l. was given him by Parliament (36).

(32) Wood, Fast. ut supra, col. 88.

(33) Whitelock, p. 177, 180. Sprigge, p. 152.

(34) Whitelock, p. 223, 235, 246.

(35) Heath's Chron. p. 235.

[W] The price of their delivering up, or betraying, their Sovereign King Charles.] Mr Rapin takes great pains,

(36) Whitelock, p. 298.

out from London, Decemb. 18, with a sufficient force (x), carrying at the same time 50,000*l.* for his own army. The King being delivered by the Scots to the Parliament's Commissioners at Newcastle January 30, 1646 7; Sir Thomas went and met him, Feb. 15, beyond Nottingham, in his way to Holmby; and his Majesty stopping his horse, Sir Thomas alighted, and kissed his hand; and afterwards mounted, and discoursed with him as they rode along (y) [X]. The 5th of March following, after long debate in Parliament, he was voted General of the forces that were to be continued. He came to Cambridge the 12th of the same month, where he was highly caressed and complimented, and created Master of Arts (z) [Y]. Hitherto, the crafty and ambitious Oliver Cromwell had permitted him to enjoy in all respects the supreme command, at least to outward appearance. And, under his conduct, the army's rapid success, after their new model, had much surpassed the expectation of the most sanguine of their masters, the Parliament. The question now was, to disband the majority of them after their work was done, and to employ a part of the rest in the reduction of Ireland. But either of the two appeared to all of them intolerable. For many having, from the dregs of the people, risen to the highest commands; and by plunderings and violence amassing daily great treasures; they could not bear the thoughts of losing such great advantages. To maintain themselves therefore in the possession of them, Cromwell, and his son-in-law Ireton, as good a contriver as himself, but a much better writer and speaker, devise how to raise a mutiny in the army against the Parliament. To this end they spread a whisper among the soldiery, 'that the Parliament, now they had the King, intended to disband them; to cheat them of their arrears; and to send them into Ireland, to be destroyed by the Irish.' The army enraged at this, were taught by Ireton to erect a council among themselves, of two soldiers out of every troop and every company, to consult for the good of the army, and to assist at the Council of War, and advise for the peace and safety of the kingdom. These were called Adjutors, or Agitators (a), and wholly under Cromwell's influence and direction; the most active of them being his avowed creatures (b). Sir Thomas saw with uneasiness his power on the army usurped by these Agitators; the forerunners of confusion and anarchy, whose design (as he observes) was to raise their own fortunes upon the publick ruin: and that made him resolve to lay down his commission (c). But he was over-persuaded by the heads of the Independent faction to hold it [Z], till he had accomplished their desperate projects, of rendering themselves masters not only of the Parliament but of the whole kingdom. For, he joined in the several petitions and proceedings of the army that tended to destroy the Parliament's power (d); about the beginning of June, he advanced towards London, to awe the Parliament, though both Houses desired his army might not come within fifteen miles of the same (e); June 15, he was a party in the charge against eleven of the Members of the House of Commons (f) [AA]; in August, he espoused the Speakers of both Houses, and the sixty-six Members that had fled to the army, and betrayed the privileges of Parliament: and entering London, August 6, restored them in a kind of triumph. For which he received the thanks of both houses; and was appointed Constable of the Tower (g). He was no way concerned in the violent removal of the King from Holmby [BB], by Cornet Joyce, on the 3d of June;

(x) Sprigge, p. 317. Whitelock, p. 231.

(y) Whitelock, p. 238.

(z) Ibid. p. 239, 240.

(a) Hobbes, ubi supra, p. 191, 192.

(b) Clarendon, ubi supra, p. 46.

(c) His Memorials, p. 105, 108.

(d) See Whitelock, p. 240, 241, 242, 246, &c.

(e) Ibid. p. 252, 261, 262.

(f) Papers then published; and Rushworth, Vol. VI. p. 570.

(g) Whitelock, p. 261—264.

pains, in endeavouring to clear his friends the Scots, from the imputation of having sold the King to the Parliament (37). But if the Parliament did not actually give that sum for *this very consideration*, it is certain, that it very much secured and hastened the payment of the Scotch army's arrears: which, without such a valuable pledge as the King's person, might have remained long unsatisfied. Tho' it is true that they were become very burdensome to the Northern counties (38): But if they had grown too troublesome, as they were no longer necessary, they would undoubtedly have been served in the same manner as they afterwards were by Oliver Cromwell. Mr Whitelock's following words deserve to be duly weighed. 'Now there began to be an understanding between some here and the Scots, for their delivery up of the King's person to the Parliament (39).' And the same author mentions (40), that the King said, 'he was bought and sold.'

[X] *And afterwards mounted and discoursed with him as they rode along.* The King said to one of the Commissioners of the Parliament, 'That the General was a man of honour, and kept his word with him (41).' But we are not informed upon what occasion.

[Y] *And created Master of Arts.* He was also, Jan. 11. this year, elected one of the representatives in Parliament for the Burgh of Cirencester (42).

[Z] *But he was over-persuaded ——— to hold it* Tho' he had never thought of opposing or disobeying the Parliament, yet he was disposed to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the army, when he saw it was so much complied with, and submitted to, by all men (43).

[AA] *June 15. he was a party in the charge against eleven of the members of the House of Commons.* These eleven accused members, were, Denzill Hollis, Esq; Sir Phillip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Major-General Massey, John Glynn, Esq; Recorder of London, Walter Long, Edward Harley, and Antony Nicholl, Esqrs. (44). The substance of the charge against them, only amounted to some pretended 'violent or oppressive ways, tending (as the words of the accusation) to overthrow the rights and liberties of the subjects of this nation.' But their real fault (which was far from being a fault) consisted in their opposing the army's unlawful and arbitrary proceedings; endeavouring to disband it; or sending part into Ireland: Which, as it tended to ruin and put a period to the exorbitant power of the army, was in their eyes an unpardonable crime. No wonder, therefore, that they opposed to the utmost all attempts towards their own dissolution; and endeavoured to exclude from Parliament, or destroy, all those that were for pulling them down from their exalted height, and sending them back to their mechanick trades, or reducing them to their original meanness, obscurity, and rags. And thus, as Mr Whitelock well observes (45), 'The army whom the Parliament had raised, paid, and commissioned, now mutiny against them, and with their swords in their hands, controul and oppose their principals and masters.'

[BB] *He was no way concerned in the violent removal of the King from Holmby* The reasons, sent to the General by the authors of this violence, for their committing it, were, 'That they had intimation of a design,

(37) Hist. edit. 1753, fol. Vol. II. p. 525.

(38) See Whitelock, p. 223, 225, 226, 227, 231.

(39) Page 231.

(40) Page 236.

(41) Whitelock, p. 238.

(42) Id. p. 244, 380.

(43) Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 45.

(44) Rushworth, ubi supra.

(45) Page 281.

June; and waited with great respect upon his Majesty at Sir John Cutts's house near Cambridge (b). Being ordered, on the 15th of the same month, by the Parliament, to deliver the person of the King to such persons as both Houses should appoint; that he might be brought to Richmond, where propositions were to be presented to him for a safe and well-grounded peace (i): instead of complying (though he seemed to do so) he carried his Majesty from place to place, according to the several motions of the army [CC]. And yet he outwardly expressed, upon most occasions, a due respect for him [DD]; so that his ambiguous conduct was owing to the fear he had, lest the Parliament should become masters of the King's person. Thus, not having the will or resolution to oppose what he had not power enough to prevent, he resigned himself entirely to Cromwell [EE]; and though he wished nothing that Cromwell did, yet he contributed to bring it all to pass (k). It was this undoubtedly that made him concur, Jan. 9, 1647-8, in that cruel Declaration of the army, wherein they adhered to the Commons votes, of 'No further address or application to the King; and resolved to stand by the Parliament, in what should be further necessary for settling and securing the Parliament and kingdom, without the King and against him (l).' His father dying at York March 13, he became possessed of his title and estate; and was appointed Keeper of Pontefract-castle, Custos Rotulorum of Yorkshire, &c. in his room (m). But his father's death made no alteration in his conduct, he remaining the same fervile or deluded tool to Cromwell's ambition. For he not only sent extraordinary supplies, and took all pains imaginable for reducing Col. Poyer in Wales; but also quell'd, with the utmost zeal and industry, an insurrection of apprentices and others in London, April 9, who had declared for God and King Charles (n). The 1st of the same month, he removed his head-quarters to St Edmund's-bury; and upon the Royalists seizing Berwick and Carlisle; and the apprehension of the Scots entering England; he was desired, May 9, by the Parliament, to advance in person into the North, to reduce those places, and to prevent any danger from the threatened invasion. Accordingly he began to march that way, the 20th (o). But he was soon recalled, to quell an insurrection in Kent, headed by George Goring, Earl of Norwich, and Sir William Waller. Advancing therefore against them

(b) Id. p. 252; and Sir T. Fairfax's Memorials, p. 112, &c.

(i) Whitelock, p. 253, 255.

(k) Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 52, 86.

(l) Paper printed at that time. See also Whitelock, p. 287.

(m) Whitelock, p. 296.

(n) Ib. p. 298, 299.

(o) Id. p. 305, 306, 307.

(46) Whitelock, p. 251.

'design, which they were able to make good, of some to surprize the King (46);' viz. the Parliament, or some by their order. For, as one observes, the King was then the golden apple contended for by the Parliament and the army.—Sir Thomas gives the following account of that affair. 'Being at Saffron-Walden, I had notice that Cornet Joyce, an Arch-Agitator, who quartered about Oxford, had seized on the King's person, removed his guards, &c. So soon as I heard of it, I immediately sent away two regiments of horse, commanded by Colonel Whaley, to set all things again in their due course and order. But before he came to Holmby, the King was advanced two or three miles on his way to Cambridge, attended by Joyce, where Colonel Whaley acquainted the King, he was sent by the General to let him know how much he was troubled at those great insolencies that had been committed so near his person; and as he had not the least knowledge of them before they were done, so he had omitted no time in seeking to remove that force, which he had orders from me to see done: and therefore he desired his Majesty that he would be pleased to return again to Holmby, where all things should be settled again in as much order and quietness as they were before. And also he desired the Commissioners of Parliament to re-assume their charge, and attend the King as usual. But the King refused to return, and the Commissioners to act; whereupon Colonel Whaley urged them to it, saying, He had an express command to see all things well settled again about his Majesty, which could not be done, but by his returning again to Holmby. The King said positively he would not do it; so the Colonel prest him no more, having indeed a special direction from me to use all tenderness and respect, as was due to his Majesty.—The next day I waited on his Majesty [at Sir John Cutts's house], it being also my business to persuade his return to Holmby, but he was otherwise resolved, the Agitators having brought him into an opinion that the army was for him.—That it might appear what a real trouble this act was to me,—I called for a council of war to proceed against Joyce, for this high offence and breach of the articles of war; but the officers, whether for fear of the distempered soldiers, or rather (as I suspected) a secret allowance of what was done, made all my endeavours in this ineffectual (47).'

(47) Memorials, p. 112, &c.

[CC] According to the several motions of the army ]

The army was in the end of March 1647, at Walden; May 26, &c. at St Edmund's-bury; June 4, &c. at Newmarket; June 10, at Royston; June 14, &c. at St Alban's; June 25, at Barkhamstead; the 26th, at Uxbridge; the 30th, at High-Wickham; July 21, at Aylesbury; the 24th, at Bedford; the 31st, at Uxbridge; Aug. 2, at Colebrook; the 4th, at Hammer-smith; the 6th, at London; the 7th, at Croydon; the 14th, at Kingston; the 28th, at Putney; in November, at Hertford; in December, &c. at Windsor.—And the King was, till June 3, at Holmby; the 5th, at Huntington; the 8th, at Sir John Cutts's; the 11th, at Newmarket; the 24th, at Royston; the 26th, at Hatfield; July 2, at Windsor; the 3d, at Caverham; the 21st, at Woburne; the 24th, at Latimer's; Aug. 2, at Stoke-Abbey; the 14th, at Oatlands; the 24th, at Hampton-Court (48): where he continued till the 11th of November following, when he escaped into the Isle of Wight.

[DD] And yet he outwardly expressed, upon most occasions, a due respect for him ] For, in letters from him to the Parliament, he declares, that he and his officers 'endeavoured only the settlement of the publick peace, and rights of the nation; and assured the King, that this being done with his concurrence, the rights of his Majesty and his family should be provided for; and in the mean time his Majesty should find from them all personal civilities and respects, and such freedom as may stand with safety, and the trust lying upon them.—That they are no enemies to the Monarchy and Civil government.—That they conceived, to avoid all harshnesses, and afford all kindnesses to his Majesty, consisting with the peace and safety of the kingdom, is the most christian, honourable, and prudent way; and that tender, equitable, and moderate dealing towards his Majesty, his family, and party, is the most hopeful course, to take away the seeds of war, and feuds amongst us and our posterity, and to procure a lasting peace (49).'

[EE] He resigned himself entirely to Cromwell.] About this time, being tired with multiplicity of business and petitions at London, he appointed Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, and divers other officers, and such field-officers as were in town, or any five of them, to meet every day in Whitehall, to receive petitions, and consider of businesses relating to the army, and for the better preparing of dispatches (50).

(48) From Papers printed by authority at that time; and Whitelock, p. 249—267.

(49) Whitelock, p. 258.

(50) Ibid. p. 292.

[FF] With

them from London, in the latter end of May, he defeated a considerable party of them at Maidstone June 2, with his usual valour (p) [FF]. But the Earl, and about 500 of the Royalists, getting over the Thames at Greenwich into Essex, June 3, they were joined by several parties brought by Sir Charles Lucas, and Arthur Lord Capel, which made up their numbers about 4000; and went and shut themselves up in Colchester on the 12th of June (q). The Lord Fairfax, informed of their motions, passed over with his forces at Gravelend, with so much expedition, that he arrived before Colchester June 13. Immediately he summons the Royalists to surrender; which they refusing, he attacks them the same afternoon with the utmost fury. But being repulsed, he resolved, June 14, to block up the place, in order to starve the Royalists shut up therein into a compliance. These endured a severe and tedious siege of eleven weeks, not surrendering till August 28. and feeding for about five weeks chiefly on horse-flesh; all their endeavours for obtaining peace, or honourable terms, being ineffectual [GG]. This affair is the most exceptionable part in the Lord Fairfax's conduct. For, he granted the worse terms to that poor town, than to any other in the whole course of the war; he endeavoured to destroy it as much as possible; he laid an exorbitant fine, or ransom, of 12,000*l.* upon the inhabitants, to excuse them from being plundered; and he vented his revenge and fury upon Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle [HH], who had behaved in the best and most inoffensive manner during the siege, sparing that buffoon the Earl of Norwich, whose behaviour had been quite different (r): so that his name and memory there ought to be for ever detestable. After his mighty exploits against a poor and unfortified town, he took a kind of triumphant progress to Ipswich, Yarmouth, Norwich, St Edmund's-bury, Harwich, Mersey, and Maldon (s). About the beginning of December, he came again to London, to awe that city and the Parliament, and to forward the proceedings against the King; quartering himself in the royal palace of Whitehall (t): and, 'by special order from him and the Council of the army [II],' it was, that several members of the house of Commons were secluded and imprisoned, the 6th and 7th of that month (u); he being, as one expresses it, lull'd in a kind of stupidity (w). He was foremost in the list of the King's Judges, but refused to act (x), probably by his Lady's persuasion [KK]. Feb. 14, 1648-9, he was voted

(p) *Id.* p. 309.

(q) *Id.* p. 312; and *Hist. of Colchester*, by P.M. D. i. p. 58, &c.

(r) *Whitelock*, p. 312, 318.

(s) *Ib.* p. 337.

(t) *Heath's Chr.* p. 192.

(u) *Ibid.* p. 359.

(v) *Wood*, ubi supra, col. 87.

(w) *Ibid.* and *Lord Clarendon*, Vol. V. p. 254.

voted

[FF] *With his usual valour.* Though he was very much disabled and indisposed, and had a great fit of the gout then upon him, yet he could not be prevailed with to remain with the main body of the army in the field; but, with his foot wrapped up, he mounted on horseback, led on his men in the greatest danger, and was one of the first in all this action. Both sides did their parts with much valour and resolution, and there was scarce any action in the war more desperate and hazardous, and better performed than this (51).

[GG] *All their endeavours for obtaining peace on honourable terms being ineffectual.* For, as early as June 19, they proposed, 'That there might be a treaty between both armies for a peace:' adding, that 'it was the general peace of the kingdom they contended for.' But Sir Thomas replied, 'That such a treaty, and for such a peace, was not the proper work of himself, or the army, but theirs that had employed him:' and he offered only, that if within 24 hours they laid down their arms, the common soldiers should have liberty to depart to their several homes; and the officers pass to go beyond sea. His terms grew much higher afterwards (52).

[HH] *And he vented his revenge and fury upon Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle.* From the very beginning of the siege, he expressed the utmost passion and resentment against Sir Charles Lucas in particular (53): and, in his Memorials (54), is so injurious to his memory, as to call him, and Sir George, mere soldiers of fortune. His words are, 'But Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, being mere soldiers of fortune, and falling into our hands by chance of war, were executed.' Whereas Sir Charles was no more a soldier of fortune than his Lordship; for he had an estate in Essex, till dispossessed of it by plundering rebels; and was heir to the honour and estate of his brother John Lord Lucas, for want of issue male. In his letter to the Parliament, his Lordship seems to question, whether he had not prejudiced the honour and justice of Parliament in their execution. '—For some satisfaction, says he, to military justice, and in part of revenge for the innocent blood they have caused to be spilt, and the trouble, damage, and mischiefs they have brought upon the town, this country, and the kingdom, I have, with the advice of a Council of Warre of the chiefe officers both of the country forces and the army, caused two of them who were rendered at mercy, to be shot to death before any of them had

quarter assured them. The persons pitched upon for this example, were, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, in whose military execution I hope your Lordships will not find cause to think your honour or justice prejudiced (55).'

[II] *And by special order from him and the Council of the Army.* These are Mr Whitelock's express words; but the Lord Fairfax clears himself from it, in the following manner. 'To prepare a way to this work [the King's Tryal] this agitating council did first intend to remove all out of the Parliament who were like to oppose them, and carried it on with such secrecy, as I had not the least intimation of it till it was done, as some of the members of the house can witness, with whom I was at that very time upon special business, when that attempt was made by Colonel Pride upon the Parliament, which I protest I never had any knowledge of till it was done. The reason why it was so secretly carried, that I should have no notice of it, was, because I always prevented those designs when I knew them (56).' The Lord Clarendon also confirms the same. 'No body own'd this act of violence in the exclusion of so many members: there was no order made for it by the house. Fairfax the General knew nothing of it, and the guards themselves being asked "what authority they had," gave no other answer, but "that they had orders (57)." But the same noble Author observes in the foregoing page, that the committee of Parliament that was appointed to confer with the General, for the better procuring a good intelligence and correspondence between the Army and the Parliament, were forced to attend full three hours, before they could be admitted to his presence; and then he told them sullenly and superciliously, 'that the way to correspond with the army, was to comply with their remonstrance' and the next morning a guard of musqueteers was placed to seclude the members.

[KK] *He was foremost in the list of the King's Judges, but refused to act, probably by his Lady's persuasion.* She exclaimed aloud against the proceedings of the High court, and the irreverent usage of the King by his subjects, insomuch that the court was interrupted (58): for her husband, the Lord Fairfax, being called first a one of the Judges, and no answer being made, the crier called him the second time, when there was a voice heard that said, 'he had

more

(55) *Hist. of Colchester*, as above, p. 69.

(56) *Memorials*, p. 119, 120.

(57) *Clarendon*, Vol. V. p. 239.

(58) *Whitelock*, p. 374.

1) *Whitelock*, p. 329.

2) See *Hist. of Colchester*, B. i. p. 57.

3) See *Whitelock*, p. 313.

4) Page 122.

- (y) Whitelock, p. 381. voted to be one of the new Council of State (y). But on the 19th he refused to subscribe the Test, appointed by Parliament, for approving all that was done concerning the King and Kingship (z). March 31, he was voted General of all the forces in England and Ireland, more to his honour than intrinsic power (a). In May, he marched against the Levellers, who were grown very numerous, and began to be troublesome and formidable in Oxfordshire, and utterly routed them at Burford (b). Thence, on the 22d of the same month, he repaired to Oxford with Oliver Cromwell, and other officers, where he was highly feasted; and created Doctor of Laws (c). Next, upon apprehension of the like risings in other places, he went and viewed the castles and fortifications in the isle of Wight, and at Southampton, and Portsmouth; and near Guilford had a rendezvous of the army, which he exhorted to obedience (d). June 4, he was feasted with other officers, &c. by the city of London, and presented with a large and weighty bason and ewer of beaten gold (e). In June 1650, upon the Scots declaring for King Charles II, the juncto of the Council of State having taken a resolution to be beforehand, and not to stay to be invaded from Scotland, but to carry first the war into that kingdom; General Fairfax, being consulted, seemed to approve of the design. But afterwards, by the persuasions of his Lady, and of the Presbyterian Ministers, he declared himself unsatisfied, that there was a just ground for the Parliament of England to send their army to invade Scotland: and resolved to lay down his commission, rather than engage in that affair [LL]. Whereupon, on the 26th, the ordinance whereby he was appointed commander in chief of all the forces of the Parliament being repealed, that high trust was immediately committed to Oliver Cromwell (f); who was glad to see him removed, as being no longer necessary, but rather an obstacle to his further ambitious designs. For a kind of compensation, the Parliament settled an annual revenue of five thousand pounds upon his Lordship (g). Being thus released from all publick employment, he went and lived quietly at his own house in Nun-Appleton in Yorkshire; always earnestly wishing and praying (as we are assured) for the restitution of the Royal Family, and fully resolved to lay hold on the first good opportunity to contribute his part towards it; which made him always looked upon with a jealous eye by the Usurpers of that time. As soon as he was invited by General Monk to assist him against Lambert's army, he cheerfully embraced the occasion, and appeared, on the 3d of December 1659, at the head of a body of gentlemen of Yorkshire; and, upon the reputation and authority of his name, the Irish brigade, of 1200 horse, forsook Lambert's army, and joined him. The consequence was, the immediate breaking of all Lambert's forces, which gave General Monk an easy march into England (h). The 1st of January 1659-60, his Lordship made himself master of York (i); and, on the 2d of the same month, was chosen by the Rump-Parliament one of the Council of State, as he was again on the 23d of February ensuing (k). March 29, he was elected one of the Knights for the County of York, in the Healing Parliament (l): and was at the head of the Committee appointed, May 3, by the House of Commons, to go and attend King Charles II. at the Hague; to desire him to make a speedy return to his Parliament, and to the exercise of

' more wit than to be there,' which put the court into some disorder, and somebody asking, who it was, there was no other answer but a little murmuring. But, presently, when the impeachment was read, and that expression used, of 'All the good people of England,' the same voice in a louder tone answered, 'No, nor the hundredth part of them:' upon which, one of the officers bid the soldiers give fire into that box whence those presumptuous words were uttered. But it was quickly discerned that it was the General's wife, who had uttered both those sharp sayings; who was presently persuaded or forced to leave the place, to prevent any new disorder.—Having been bred in Holland, she had not that reverence for the Church of England, as she ought to have had, and so had unhappily concurred in her husband's entering into Rebellion, never imagining what misery it would bring upon the kingdom; and now abhorred the work in hand as much as any body could do, and did all she could to hinder her husband from acting any part in it (59).—A. Wood relates some particular circumstances of the Lord Fairfax's behaviour, at the time of the King's murder, that show such extreme hypocrisy, or so much indolence, stupidity, and easiness in being imposed upon, that they are hardly credible.—'Tis true, says he, that before the King was beheaded, he did use his power and interest to have the execution deferred for some days, forbearing his coming among the officers, and did fully resolve with his own regiment to prevent the execution, or have it deferred till he could make a party in the army to second his design: but behold his policy! all the morning of that day on which the King was beheaded, and the time when he was be-

' headed, he was with certain officers of the army at prayer or in discourse, or both, in Major Thos. Harrison's apartment in Whitehall (being a room at the hither end of that gallery looking towards the Privy-garden) and knew nothing of it, as it doth appear by this passage. When his Majesty was beheaded, and his corps thereupon immediately confined and covered with a black velvet pall, Bp. Juxon who attended him on the scaffold, and Thomas Herbert the only groom of his bedchamber that was then left, did go with the said corps to the backstairs to have it embalmed, and Mr Herbert, after the body had been deposited, meeting with the General, Fairfax asked him "how the King did?" Whereupon Herbert looking very strangely upon him, told him that "the King was beheaded," at which he seemed much surpris'd (60).'

[LL] *And resolved to lay down his commission rather than engage in that affair.*] A committee from the Council of State went to confer with him upon that subject, in a room in Whitehall; but (tho' they went first to prayer, that God would direct them in this business, and Cromwell and most of the rest prayed) yet the prayers of these hypocrites could not be countenanced with a heavenly influence, nor their reasons and arguments prevail upon his Lordship. And if they had, very sorry and disappointed would many of them have been; as Mr Whitelock, a member of this committee, observes in the following words—'none of the Committee so earnest to persuade the General to continue his commission as Cromwell and the Soldiers. Yet there was cause enough to believe that they did not overmuch desire it (61).'

(60) Wood, Fast  
Vol. II. col. 87

(61) Whitelock  
p. 460—462.  
See also Ludlow  
ubi supra, p. 37

(m) lb. p. 133. of his kingly office (m). May 16, he waited upon his Majesty with the rest [MM]; and atoned in some measure for all past offences, by readily concurring and assisting in his Restoration. After the dissolution of the short Healing Parliament, he retired again to his seat in the country; where he lived in a private manner, till his death, which happened November 12, 1671, in the 60th year of his age (n) [NN]. Several letters, remonstrances, and other papers, subscribed with his name, are preserved in Rushworth and other Collections, being published during the time he was General; but he disowns most of them [OO]. After his decease, some 'short memorials, written by himself,' were published; which do him no great honour [PP]. The Lord Fairfax, as to his person, was tall, but not above the just proportion (o); and of a gloomy and melancholy disposition. He stammered a little, and was a bad Orator in the most plausible occasion (p). As to the qualities of his mind; he was religious in the way he professed, which was Presbyterianism (q) [QQ]: of a good natural disposition (r): a great lover of learning, having contributed to the edition of the Polyglott, and other large works (s): and a particular admirer of the History and Antiquities of Great Britain, witness the encouragement he gave to Mr Dodsworth (t). He was of a meek and humble carriage, and but of few words in discourse and Council; yet when his judgment and reason were satisfied, he was unalterable; and often ordered things expressly contrary to the judgment of all his Council (u). His valour was unquestionable. He was daring, and no self-seeker (w). And in action in the field, he appeared so highly transported, that scarce any one durst speak a word to him, and he would seem like a man distracted and furious (x). His being outwitted by Cromwell, or suffering himself to become the tool and property of that wicked ambitious man, was his greatest blemish. Happy would it have been for the nation, happy for himself, if he had retired sooner [RR].

(\*) Epist. Dedic. as above, p. ix. and Wood, ubi supra, col. 88.

(o) Sprigge, p. 322.

(p) Lord Clarendon, Vol. V. p. 178. Sprigge, p. 323.

(q) Wood, Fasti, ut supra, col. 88. Ludlow's Mem. Vol. I. p. 314.

(r) Belliesum quidem, & sua natura probum. Batei Elench. Motuum, p. 68.

(s) Wood, Fast. Vol. II. col. 48.

(t) Wood, Fast. Vol. II. col. 14. Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 386.

(u) Whitelock, p. 204, 205.

(w) Hist. of the Rebellions in England, &c. by Sir Roger Manley, p. 79.

(x) Whitelock, p. 205.

(62) Ubi supra, col. 88.

(63) Wood, ubi supra, col. 88.

(64) Whitelock, p. 665.

(65) Annual List the end of Boer's History of Queen Anne.

(66) Memorials, 124, 125.

[MM] May 16, he waited upon his Majesty, with the rest. He drew upon him, as A. Wood relates, the curiosity and eyes of all men, as known to them by name to have been Captain-General of the Parliament-Army. And when the first ceremony was past, he desired, as 'tis said, to see the King in private, and to ask him pardon for the past offences, which accordingly he did with all submission (62).

[NN] Till his death, which happened November 12. 1671. in the 60th year of his age. He was buried in an isle joyning on the Southside to the Chancel of Bilburgh Church, near York. Over his grave was soon after put this Epitaph. 'Here lye the bodies of the right honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax of Denton, Baron of Camerone, who died Nov. the 12th. An. 1671, in the sixtieth year of his age. And of Anne his wife, Daughter and Coheir of Horatio Lord Vere Baron of Tilbury. He had issue, Mary Duchefs of Buckingham, and Elizabeth (63). — His eldest Daughter, Mary, had the misfortune of having for husband the witty, wicked, George Villiers Duke of Buckingham; to whom she was married May 24, 1657 (64). She died in November 1704 (65). There is no account of the other daughter.

[OO] But he disowns most of them. In these words. 'One thing more requires I should say something to, before I conclude; that is, concerning papers and declarations of the army that came out in my name, and the Council of Officers. I say, from the time they declared their usurped authority at Triploew heath, I never gave my free consent to any thing they did: but being yet undischarged of my place, they set my name in way of course to all their papers, whether I consented or not: and to such failings are all authorities subject (66).

[PP] After his decease, some short memorials, written by himself, were published; which do him no great honour. They were published in 1699, 8vo. by Brian Fairfax, Esq; The author never designed them for the press, only to remain for the satisfaction of his own

relations: but they were published to prevent a surreptitious edition. As I said, they do no great honour to the noble author: for they are writ in an odd canting strain; and moreover abound with mistakes. For instance, in p. 122. now accidentally open before me, he says.—'That the Besieged in Colchester after four months close siege were compelled to surrender. But the siege of that place lasted neither four months, nor three months; being only from the 13th of June to the 27th of August. And the like in other instances.

[QQ] He was religious in the way which he professed, which was Presbyterianism. But Sir Roger Manley, on the other hand, says, that tho' 'constancy was attributed to his natural temper, being melancholy, it was notwithstanding thought ductile where religion was in question; and therefore Cromwell, that famous impostor in godliness, was given him for a supervising Lieutenant (68).

[RR] Happy for himself, if he had retired sooner. For, as Mr Addison elegantly represents it,

When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway,  
The post of honour is a private station (69).

Brian Fairfax, Esq; the editor of his Lordship's Memorials, concludes his character with the following encomium; 'that so long as unfeigned piety towards God, invincible courage joynd with wonderful modesty, and exceeding good nature: justice and charity to all men in his private life; and an ingenuous acknowledgment of his publick error, with hearty endeavours to make reparation, as soon as he was convinced of it, shall be esteemed in the world: so long shall the name of my Lord Fairfax be honoured by good men, and be had in perpetual remembrance (70). — The Duke of Buckingham, his Lordship's son-in-law, composed also an Epitaph for him, wherein he bestows the highest praises and compliments upon him.

(68) Ubi supra.

(69) Cato, Act 4, scene 4.

(70) Epistle Dedicatory, p. ix, x.

(a) For he was aged 59 in 1666, when he died. Epitaph.

FANSHAW (Sir RICHARD) an excellent Poet, employed in several embassies by King Charles I. and II, was the youngest son [A] of Sir Henry Fanshaw, of Ware-Park in Hertfordshire [B]. He was born about the year 1607 (a), and received the first rudiments

[A] Was the youngest son. And the tenth child, as it is in his epitaph, proles undecima.

[B] Of Sir Henry Fanshaw, of Ware-Park in Hertfordshire. He was descended from the family of Fanshaw, of Fanshaw-gate in Derbyshire; being the great-grandson of John Fanshaw, of that place: this John's two sons, Henry and Thomas, were successively Remembrancers of the Exchequer (1); and the latter buying Ware-park of Katharine Countess of Huntington, about

the year 1570, made it the place of his residence. By his first wife, Mary daughter of ——— Bouchier, he had issue Henry his eldest son and heir, who was made a Knight, and died the 10th of March 1615; having had by his wife, Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Smith, Customer of the port of London, ten children; and among the rest, Thomas, Simon, and RICHARD who is the subject of this article. Thomas, the eldest, was advanced by King Charles II. to the title of Viscount

(71) Wood, ubi supra.

- ments of his education from the famous Thomas Farnaby; afterwards he completed his studies in the University of Cambridge, and from thence went to travel into foreign countries; by which means he became a gentleman admirably accomplished (*b*). In 1635 he was, for his early abilities, taken into the service of the State by King Charles I. and appointed Resident to the Court of Spain: whence being recalled into England, at the beginning of the troubles in 1641, he followed the Royal interest during all the succeeding calamitous times, and was employed in several important matters of State. In 1644, attending the Court at Oxford, he had the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law conferred upon him (*c*): and being now grown very eminent for his excellent parts and learning (*d*), he was made Secretary to Charles Prince of Wales, whom he attended into the western parts of England, and thence into the isles of Scilly and Jersey (*e*) [C]. In 1648, he was appointed Treasurer of the Navy under the command of Prince Rupert, which office he managed till the year 1650, when he was created a Baronet by King Charles II; and sent Envoy-extraordinary to the Court of Spain. Being recalled thence into Scotland, he served there in quality of Secretary of State; to the great satisfaction of all parties, notwithstanding he never took the Covenant or Engagement. In 1651, he was made prisoner at the battle of Worcester, and committed to close custody in London: where continuing till he contracted a dangerous sickness, he had liberty allowed him, upon giving bail, to go for the recovery of his health to any place he should choose, provided he stirred not five miles from thence without leave from the Parliament. Among other places, he was at Tankerley-Park in Yorkshire, in 1654; where, and during the rest of his confinement, and at vacant hours afterwards, he made several translations, and wrote divers poems, of which an account is given below (*f*). In February 1659-60, he repaired to King Charles II, at Breda, who knighted him the April following (*g*). Upon his Majesty's Restoration, it was expected that he would have been made one of the Secretaries of State, not only from the kindness his Master long had for him, and the hopes formerly given him of it; but likewise as a recompence, in some measure, for the great sufferings which both he and his family had sustained in that King's service. However missing that preferment, he had the place of Master of Requests conferred on him, a station in those times of considerable profit. Afterwards, for his known abilities, and accurate Latin style, he was also made Secretary of the Latin tongue (*h*). In 1661, being one of the Burgesses for the University of Cambridge, he was sworn a Privy-Counsellor for Ireland (*i*): and having, by his residence in foreign courts, qualified himself for publick employments abroad, he was sent Envoy-extraordinary to Portugal, with a dormant commission to the Ambassador, which he was to make use of as occasion should require. Shortly after, he was appointed Ambassador to that Court, where he negotiated the marriage between his master King Charles II, and the Infanta Donna Catharina, daughter of King John VI. He returned to England towards the end of the same year (*k*). We are assured, that he was sent again Ambassador to that crown in 1662 (*l*); and when he had finished his commission, to the mutual satisfaction both of King Charles II, and of Alphonso King of Portugal, being recalled in 1663, he was sworn of his Majesty's Privy-Council (*m*). In the beginning of the year 1664, he was sent Ambassador to Philip IV, King of Spain [D]; and arrived February the 29th at Cadiz, where he was saluted in a manner unexampled to others, and received with several circumstances of particular esteem (*n*) [E]. During his residence at this
- (*b*) Short Account of Sir Ric. Fanshaw, prefixed to his Letters, mentioned below.
- (*c*) Wood, Fast. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 43, 44.
- (*d*) Short Account, as above.
- (*e*) See Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, edit. 1731, 8vo, Vol. IV. p. 672, 696, 704, 732, 733.
- (*f*) Wood, ubi supra.
- (*g*) Ibid.
- (*h*) Short Account, as above.
- (*i*) Wood, ubi supra.
- (*k*) Wood, ubi supra; and Short Account. See also Bishop Kennet's Reg. & Chron. edit. 1728, p. 537, 559, 560, 588.
- (*l*) Wood, ib.
- (*m*) Short Account.
- (*n*) See his Letters, p. 32, mentioned below.

Dromore: But his son Thomas sold Ware-park to Sir Thomas Byde, Knt. Simon was also knighted. The place of Remembrancer of the Exchequer was enjoyed by Sir Henry, and Thomas Lord Viscount Fanshaw, and his son, during the reigns of King James I. and King Charles I. and II. (2).

[C] *And thence into the isles of Scilly and Jersey*] But not of Guernsey, as Mr Wood hath it (3): For it does not appear that the Prince was at all in Guernsey. See Lord Clarendon (4), and the rest of our Historians.

[D] *In the beginning of the year 1664, he was sent Ambassador to Philip IV. King of Spain.*] His correspondence during this embassy was published in 1702, in one volume 8vo. under this title. 'Original Letters of his Excellency Sir Richard Fanshaw, during his embassies in Spain and Portugal: which, together with divers Letters and Answers from the chief Ministers of State of England, Spain, and Portugal, contain the whole negotiations of the treaty of peace between those three crowns.' The publisher received those letters from the hands of a daughter of Sir Richard, who had left them in her possession. He observes in the preface, that 'Learned men of all degrees, qualities, and employments, are extremely inquisitive after the letters and correspondencies of such persons as have had the honour of being employed at foreign courts in the quality of Ambassadors, Envoys, or Residents, or at home as Publick Ministers; and their curiosity is soon accounted for, when we con-

sider the advantage that is gained by seeing things as they are in their native dress; before the succeeding embellishments of artifice or interest have disguised, and rendered them more plausible than in truth the originals were designed for.' In Sir Richard's instructions, the chief points recommended to him, were, to demand reparation and punishment from some freebooters, who had taken ships from the English; and to endeavour to restore amity, trade, and commerce, and renew the alliance between England and Spain: to mediate an accommodation between Spain and Portugal: to get the transportation of blacks into the West-Indies, appropriated to the English; and the pre-emption of Spanish wools, &c. (5).

[E] *And received with several circumstances of particular esteem.*] It appears from one of Sir Richard's letters, that this extraordinary respect was paid him not only upon his own, but also upon his master the King of England's account. His words are thus. 'I had not been three hours on shore [at Cadiz] when an Extraordinary arrived from Madrid, with more particular orders than formerly from his Catholick Majesty, importing that our Master's fleet (when arrived) and this Ambassador, should be prelatud from the city in a manner unexampled to others, and which should not be drawn into example hereafter. Moreover (and this so likewise) that I and all my company must be totally defray'd, both here and all the way up to Madrid, upon his Catholick Majesty's account, with several other circumstances of particular esteem for

(2) Wood, ibid. Sir Hen. Chauncy's Antiqu. of Hertfordshire, p. 207, 208; and Camden's Britan. edit. 1722, Vol. II. col. 1399.

(3) Ubi supra.

(4) Vol. V. p. 4.

(5) See his Letters, as above; and Earl of Arlington's Letters Vol. II.

this Court King Philip died, Sept. 17, 1665; leaving his son Charles, an infant (o), and his dominions, under the regency of his Queen, Mary-Anne, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III (p). Our wise Minister taking an advantage of this minority, put the finishing hand to a peace with Spain; which was sufficiently tired and weakened with a twenty-five years war, for the recovery of Portugal, that had been dismembered from the Spanish crown in 1640. The treaty of peace was signed at Madrid, December 6, 1665 [F]. About the 14th of January following, his Excellency took a journey into Portugal, where he staid till towards the end of March (q). The design of this journey undoubtedly was, to endeavour to bring about an accommodation between that crown and Spain: which however was not effected till 1667, by the mediation of his Britannick Majesty (r). Sir Richard having fulfilled his commission, was preparing for his return to England; when, June 4, 1666, he was seized at Madrid with a violent fever, which put an end to his life the 16th of the same month (s); the very day he had designed to set out on his return home. His body being embalmed, was conveyed by his lady, with all his children then living, by land to Calais, and so to London: whence being carried to All-Saints-Church in Hertford, it was deposited in the vault of his father-in-law Sir John Harrison, till May 18, 1671, when it was removed into a new vault, made on purpose for him and his family in the parish-church of Ware. Near the vault, there is a handsome monument erected to his memory (t) [G]. He was remarkable for his meekness, sincerity, humanity, and piety; and also was an able statesman and a great scholar, being, in particular, a compleat master of several modern languages, especially the Spanish, which he spake, and writ, with as much exactness as if he had been a native of that country (u). What he wrote, or published, is mentioned in the note [H]. By his lady, Anne, eldest daughter of Sir John Harrison, of Balls, he had six sons and eight daughters; whereof only one son, and four daughters, survived him (w).

(o) He was born 6 Nov. 1661.

(p) Short Account, as above.

(q) See The Earl of Arlington's Letters, Vol. II. 1701, p. 164, 168.

(r) Ib. p. 236, &c.

(s) Wood, ubi supra.

(t) Wood; and Short Account, ubi supra; and Sir Hen. Chauncy's Antiq. of Hertfordshire, p. 211.

(u) Short Account, as above; and Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatick Poets, edit. 1699, p. 54.

(w) Epitaph.

(6) Letters, p. 32. 'for our Royal Master above all the world besides (6).' From a passage in another letter of his, it is evident, that the hope the Spaniards entertained, of having Tangier and Jamaica restored to them by England; was, 'That which made his arrival so impatiently longed for, and so magnificently celebrated (7).'

(7) Page 128. [F] The treaty of peace was signed at Madrid, the 6th of December 1665; It is printed among the Earl of Arlington's letters, Vol. II. p. 114, &c. and in the Collections of Treaties.

(8) History of Hertfordshire, p. 211. [G] Near the vault there is a handsome monument erected to his memory. Sir Henry Chauncy gives a description of it (8), with the Epitaph: wherein the character given to Sir Richard is, that he was most eminent for sweetness of temper, learning, loyalty, &c. *Vir Comitatus Morum, Literarum Luce, Fidei constantia præstantissimus*, &c. The rest contains only an account of his family, marriage, issue, offices, and employments, which have been sufficiently related already in this article.

(9) See Bayle's Dictionary, under the article GUAINI. [H] What he wrote, or published, is mentioned in the note. 'Tis as follows, I. An English translation, in rhyme, of the celebrated Italian pastoral, called *Il Pastor Fido*, or The Faithful Shepherd; written originally by Battista Guarini (9). Printed at London 1646, 4to. and 1664, 8vo. see a further account of it below. II. A translation from English into Latin verse, of, *The Faithful Shepherdes*, a Pastoral; written originally by John Flecher, Gent. Lond. 1658. III. In the octavo edition of *The Faithful Shepherd*, anno 1664, are inserted the following poems of our author's, viz. 1. An Ode upon Occasion of his Majesty's Proclamation in 1630, commanding the Gentry to reside upon their Estates in the Country. 2. A Summary Discourse of the Civil Wars of Rome; extracted from the best Latin Writers in Prose and Verse. 3. An English Translation of The fourth Book of Virgil's *Æneis*, on the Loves of Dido and *Æneas*. 4. Two Odes out of Horace, relating to the Civil Wars of Rome, against covetous rich Men. IV. He translated from Portuguese into English, *The Lusiad*, or *Portugal's Historical Poem*; written originally by Luis de Camoëns. Lond. 1655, &c. fol. V. After his decease, namely in 1671, were published these two posthumous pieces of his in 4to. *Querer per solo querer: To love only for Love's sake*, a dramatick romance represented before the King and Queen of Spain; and *Fiestas de Aranjuez: Festivals at Aranjuez*. Both written ori-

ginally in Spanish, by Antonio de Mendoza; upon occasion of celebrating the birth-day of King Philip IV, in 1623, at Aranjuez. They were translated by our author in 1654, during his confinement at Tankerley-Park in Yorkshire: Which uneasy situation induced him to write the following stanza's on this work.

Time was, when I, a pilgrim of the seas,  
When I 'midst noise of camps and courts disease;  
Purloin'd some hours to charm rude cares with verse,  
Which flame of Faithful Shepherd did rehearse.

But now restrain'd from sea, from camp, from court,  
And by a tempest blown into a port;  
I raise my thoughts to muse on higher things,  
And eccho arms and loves of Queens and Kings.

Which Queens (despising crowns and Hymen's band)  
Would neither men obey, nor men command:  
Great pleasure from rough seas to see the shore;  
Or from firm land to hear the billows roar (10).

We are told, that he composed several other things, remaining in manuscript, which he writ in his younger years, but had not the leisure to compleat (11).—Even some of the forementioned printed pieces have not all the perfection which our ingenious author could have given them. For, as the writer of the short account of his life observes, 'being, for his loyalty and zeal to his master's service, tossed from place to place, and from country to country, during the unsettled times of our anarchy; some of his manuscripts falling by misfortune into unskillful hands, were printed and published without his consent or knowledge, and before he could give them his last finishing strokes.'—But that was not the case with his excellent translation of *Pastor Fido*; which was published by himself, and hath been applauded by some of the best judges, particularly by Sir John Denham; who, after censuring servile translators, goes on thus:

A new and nobler way thou dost pursue,  
To make Translations and Translators too.  
They but preserve the ashes, Thou the flame,  
True to his sense, but truer to his fame.

(10) Wood, ubi supra; and Short Account; and Lives of the English Dramatick Poets, by Langbaine, p. 55.

(11) Short Account.

(a) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, before his Works, edit. 1728; and the Account of him in Giles Jacob, &c.

(b) The Works of Sir James Ware, edit. Dublin, fol. Vol III. 1746, among the Additional Writers of Ireland, by the editor Walter Harris, Esq; p. 263.

(c) Id. *ibid.*

(d) Memoirs of Mr Farquhar, as above, p. 4.

(e) See Authentic Memoirs of the Life of Mr Robert Wilks, by Daniel O' Bryan, Esq; 8vo, 1732, p. 13.

(f) An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber, Comedian. &c. By Himself, 4to, 1740, p. 59, 137.

(g) The Life of that eminent Comedian Robert Wilks, Esq; 8vo, 1733, p. 4, &c. See also The History of the Engl. Stage, from the Restauration to the present Time; including The Lives, Characters, and Amours of the most eminent Actors and Actresses, &c. 8vo, 1741, p. 130, &c.

(h) In Hamlet.

(i) See Roscius Anglicanus, &c. by John Downes, 8vo, 1708, p. 34. also Gildon's Dramatic Poets, in Otway; and the Compl. List of Dram. Poets, 8vo, 1747, in Lee.

FARQUHAR (GEORGE), an ingenious comic Poet, in the latter end of King William's reign, and part of Queen Anne's; was descended of a good family in the North of Ireland, where, it is said, his parents held no mean rank (a). We have been informed, by a gentleman of that country, that his father was Dean of Armagh, but have not met with it confirmed: however, it is attested by another of his countrymen, that he was the son of a clergyman, and born at *Londonderry*, in that kingdom; which was in the year 1678, as may be computed from his account of him (b). There, he received his more juvenile instruction; and there he discovered a genius, so early devoted to the Muses, that unless he is complimented, as he intimates Poets often by themselves are, with being the Authors of ripe fruits in their greenest years, he gave several specimens of his poetry before he was ten years old, in which he manifested a depth of thinking, as well as an elegance of expression, far beyond his years; one example whereof, being preserved by the writer of his memoirs above quoted, may also, in this account of ours, be thought not unworthy of preservation [A]. We receive it from the same hand, that his parents having a numerous issue, could bestow on him no fortune further than a genteel education; therefore, when he was qualified for the University, he was sent to *Trinity-College* in *Dublin*; which, as we are elsewhere informed, was in 1694, he being then in the seventeenth year of his age (c). Here, by the progress he made in his studies, he acquired a considerable reputation (d); but we find it not consented to, that he there took his degree of Bachelor of Arts (e); for indeed, his gay and volatile disposition, could not long relish the grave and regular course of a collegiate life; and his own opinion of it, to that sense, he afterwards freely enough displayed in several parts of his comedies, and other writings: besides, the expence of it, without any immediate prospect of some profitable returns, might be inconsistent with his circumstances. The more polite and popular entertainments of the town, most attracted him, especially those of the stage; and he does not seem to have been in that college much above a year, or two at most, before he perceived some hopeful temptation of transplanting himself thither, from the encouragement he saw others receive. For, when Mr Joseph Ashbury, the master of *Dublin* theatre, had carried thither from England, among others, to recruit his company of players, Mr Robert Wilks, who had been, from the latter end of the year 1690, till his said return into Ireland (f), under Mr Christopher Rich, at *Drury-Lane* house, tho' very little to his advantage; but was now, at *Dublin*, much advanced in his salary, and much more care'd by his own countrymen than he had been at London, as we have it in another life of Mr Wilks, different from that last quoted (g); Mr Farquhar soon found also his own person, and his parts, being already known by some of his poetical performances, so recommend him to that master, or this player, that by the voluntary choice of the one, or cordial interest of the other, he was readily admitted into the said theatre; but his services there were of no long continuance. It is indeed reported, that his genteel figure, proper gesture, ready memory, and just elocution, rendered him very acceptable there; only his voice, which, either in speaking or singing, among private company, made him also, as we have been informed by those who knew him, very engaging, was too mild, too low, in those publick and numerous assemblies. In short, he could not rant and rave, and tear a passion to tatters, as Shakespear phrases it (h); or captivate the commonalty of an audience, which is ravished more with sound than sense: and might possibly want, like Thomas Otway and Nat. Lee (i), that front or assurance, that conceit of self-sufficiency, which disguises defects and improprieties, both in speech and action; overbears the generality of spectators; and carries many veteran stagers plausibly thro' those parts, which they are unqualified naturally to personate. His more excellent talents, however, might have preserved the Player at *Dublin*, and lost the Poet at London, but for an accident, whereby he was near turning a feigned tragedy into a real one [B]; which

[A] May in this account be thought not unworthy of preservation] This early production of our author's, which has indeed in it something beyond the years in which it is said to be written, is as follows.

The pliant soul of erring youth,  
Is like soft wax, or moisten'd clay;  
Apt to receive all heav'nly truth,  
Or yield to tyrant Ill the sway.

Slight folly in your early years,  
At manhood may to virtue rise;  
But he, who in his youth appears  
A fool, in age will ne'er be wise (1).

(1) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, p. 4.

However, our author himself reflects upon the ascribing some compositions to ingenious men in their green years, or their pretending to have written them before they did; as if it were not only unnecessary, but might be disadvantageous, thro' the extraordinary expectations it might raise, of proportionable improvements in their riper productions; so extenuate the cha-

acter it was intended to magnify; where he brings in Poet Lyric, saying to his correspondent, 'Now, Sir, here's a poem, which, according to the way of us Poets, I say, was written at fifteen; but, between you and I, it was made at five and twenty (2).'

[B] He was near turning a feigned tragedy into a real one.] This story we find related after this manner. 'Mr Farquhar was extremely beloved in Ireland, and had indeed the advantage of a very good person, tho' his voice was weak; but as he never met with the least repulse from the audience, in any of his performances, he was resolved to continue on the stage till something better should offer; but his resolution was soon broke by an accident. For Mr Farquhar being to play the part of Guyomar (3), who kills Vasquez, one of the Spanish Generals; and for getting to exchange his sword for a foil, in the engagement, he wounded his brother tragedian who presented Vasquez, very dangerously; and tho' it proved not mortal, yet it so shocked the natural tenderness of Mr Farquhar's temper, that it put a period to his acting ever after (4).'

(2) Farquhar's Love and a Bottle, towards the end of the 4th act.

(3) In Mr Dryden's *Indian Emperor*.

(4) Memoirs of Mr Farquhar, before, Life of Mr Wilks, 8vo, 1733, p.

which being so repugnant to his inherent humanity, added to his other discouragement; and this happening at the time when Mr Wilks received a more profitable proposal than he expected, from Mr Rich aforesaid, of four pounds a week, if he would return, with his wife, to the English stage, it was with the less difficulty that Mr Farquhar was persuaded to bear them company (k). After their arrival at London, which might be in the year 1696 (l), Mr Wilks, who was well acquainted with his abilities, ceased not his importunities; till he had prevailed with him to write a play (m); assuring him, that he was beheld by all who knew him, in a much brighter light than he had opportunity hitherto of shewing himself; and was fitter to exhibit entertaining compositions for the stage, than to echo those of other Poets upon it. But he was more substantially invited yet, by a genteel and decent accommodation, which would enable him, both with means and leisure, to exercise his genius at ease, in the study of dramatick poetry; for we are told, it was not very long after that accident at the Playhouse in Dublin, before the Earl of Orrery, who was a patron as well as master of learning, in regard to his singular merits, which he saw hitherto unrewarded, gave him a Lieutenant's commission in his own regiment; then in Ireland, which he held several years (n). From the former of which authorities here referred to, we also learn, that, as an officer of the said rank in the army, he behaved himself very commendably, and gave several proofs both of his courage and conduct. Whether this commission was conferred upon him before, or after he obliged the town with his first comedy, we are not particularly informed; and authors differ in their nomination of the first play that Mr Wilks performed in, upon his return to the English stage. Whether he acted the part of Palamede (o), as it has been affirmed by one of our dramatick Historians (p), or that of Armusia (q), according to the assertion of another (r), is not here very material: but we have among Mr Farquhar's *Miscellanies*; an Epilogue of his writing, which was spoken by Mr Wilks at his first appearance, as tis said, upon the English stage (s); which we take to be rather this, his first appearance, upon his return thither, unless it may be urged, that our Author, who wrote such verses as are before quoted, at ten years of age, might very well write these, at twelve or thirteen. In the year 1698, his first comedy, called *Love and a Bottle*, appeared on the *Theatre-Royal* in Drury-Lane, and it was, as well for the sprightly dialogue, as that lively turn of incidents in it, which fill the stage with business, and keep up the spirit of such compositions, very well received, tho' Mr Wilks had no part in it. In 1699, the late celebrated Mrs Anne Oldfield, was, upon his judgment and recommendation, first admitted into the said theatre [C], she then being sixteen years of age (t): and in the former part of the year 1700, he brought his *CONSTANT COUPLE, OR TRIP to the JUBILEE*, upon that stage, it being then the Jubilee year at Rome, when some Popish zealots, of all countries, made their *trip* thither, to buy pardons and other trinkets or fairings, for the convenience of soul and body. But our Author drew such a gay airy figure in *Sir Harry Wildair*; the part was so perfectly adapted to Mr Wilks's, genius, and it was so animated by his gesture and vivacity of spirit, that it is not determinable whether the Poet or the Player received more reputation by it. Towards the latter end of this year, we meet with Mr Farquhar in Holland, probably upon his military duty; from whence he has given a description, in two of his letters, dated in August and October that year, from the Brill and from Leyden, no less equitable than facetious, as well of those places, as the people (u); and in a third, dated from the Hague, in the same month last mentioned, he very humorously relates how merry he was there, at a treat made by the Earl of Westmorland; while, not only himself, but King William, and others of his subjects, were detained there by a violent storm, which he has no less comically described (w); and has, among his poems, written also an ingenious copy of verses to his mistress upon the same subject. Whether this mistress was the same person whom he calls his charming *Penelope*, in several of his love-letters addressed to her, and some others probably

(k) *Hist. of the English Stage*, p. 131.

(l) *Cibber's Apology*, &c. p. 136, 137.

(m) *The Life of Mr Wilks*, 8vo, 1733, p. 5; and *The History of the English Stage*, p. 131.

(n) *Memoirs of Mr Farquhar*, before his Works; and *O'Bryan's Life of Mr Wilks*, as before, p. 23.

(o) In *Dryden's Marriage a la Mode*.

(p) *Cibber's Apology*, p. 137.

(q) In *Fletcher's Island Princess*.

(r) In the *Life of Mr Wilks*, 8vo, 1733, p. 6.

(s) See *Farquhar's Poems, Letters, and Essays*, before his Plays, Vol. I. p. 35.

(t) *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs Oldfield*, p. 1, 2.

(u) See *The Works of the late ingenious Mr George Farquhar*, &c. edit. 1728, Vol. I. p. 21, 26.

(w) *Id.* p. 73.

[C] *Mrs Oldfield was by his recommendation, &c. admitted into the said theatre.* The particulars of this assertion we have from a person who was then servant to Mr Rich, master of that theatre, in a letter which he wrote to the editor of *Mrs Oldfield's* life, in which it is printed in these words.

S I R,

IN your *Memoirs of Mrs Oldfield* it may not be amiss to insert the following facts, on the truth of which you may depend. Her father *Capt. Oldfield*, not only run out all the military, but likewise the paternal bounds of his fortune, having a pretty estate in houses in Pall-Mall. It was wholly owing to *Capt. Farquhar* that ever *Mrs Oldfield* became an actress, from the following incident. Dining one day at her aunt's, who kept the *Miter Tavern* in *St James's Market* (\*), he heard *Miss Nanny* reading a play behind the bar, with so proper an emphasis, and such agreeable turns suitable to each character, that he swore the girl was cut out for the stage, to which she had before always expressed an inclination, being very desirous to try her fortune that way. Her mo-

ther, the next time she saw *Capt Vanbrugh*, who had a great respect for the family, told him what was *Capt. Farquhar's* advice; upon which, he desired to know whether, in the plays she read, her fancy was most pleased with tragedy or comedy? *Miss* being called in, said comedy; she having, at that time, gone thro' all *Beaumont* and *Fletcher's* comedies; and the play she was reading, when *Capt. Farquhar* dined there, was *The Scornful Lady*. *Capt. Vanbrugh*, shortly after, recommended her to *Mr Christopher Rich*, who took her into the house, at the allowance but of fifteen shillings per week. However, her agreeable figure, and the sweetness of her voice, soon gave her the preference, in the opinion of the whole town, to all our young actresses; and his Grace the late *Duke of Bedford*, being pleased to speak to *Mr Rich* in her favour, he instantly raised her allowance to twenty shillings per week: her fame and salary, at length, rose to her just merit.

Nov. 25,  
1730.

Your humble servant,

CHARLES TAYLOR (5).

(5) *Memoirs of Mrs Ann Oldfield*, 8vo, 1741, p. 55, &c.

\* It was then kept by *Mrs Vofe*.

in which she is not so called, we know not; but have been informed by an old officer of the army, who very well knew Mr Farquhar, and some of his youthful gallantries, that by that name we are to understand Miss Oldfield, above mentioned; and that the person meant by Mrs V——, in one of them, said to be her bedfellow (x), was Mrs Verbruggen the actress; the same, who was some years before Mrs Mountfort (y), from whom Mrs Oldfield received her first theatrical instructions, and succeeded, when she died three or four years after in child-bed, in her principal parts, with singular commendation: and we shall see presently, how comfortably Mr Farquhar could warm his fancy, and chase up his inclinations, at this bright sparkling flame of his: from whence we need not doubt what another person, who was acquainted also with her, has said in these words; ‘I have often heard Mrs Oldfield mention the many agreeable hours she had spent in Mr Farquhar’s company (z).’ But here, Chronology calls upon us, for the space of a few lines, to Order. In the beginning of the following year, he was a spectator of, if not a mourner at, Mr Dryden’s funeral; but the description he has made of it, is indeed no mournful one (a). And now his last comedy having met with almost unparalleled success, and so charmed the whole town, that nothing could relish like a continuation of it; he accordingly, in that year, 1701, brought out his comedy called *Sir HARRY WILDAIR, &c.* and when Mrs Oldfield came to shine out, equal with Wilks, in those two plays, there were none at that time which more attracted the gay company at least, which frequented the Theatre, or more engaged their approbation: of these three comedies hitherto spoken of, we shall say something more hereafter, with his others, in a note together. In the next year, he published those Miscellanies, as some call them, or Collection of POEMS, LETTERS, and ESSAYS, which we have before cited; though, perhaps stiled, in this first edition, as we find them in some catalogues of books, by a title somewhat different (b); of which, it may not be improper here, to be somewhat more particular [D]. Some of those

(x) Ibid. p. 64.

(y) Whose husband, Mr W. Mountfort, was killed by Capt. Ric. Hill, Dec. 9, 1692; for which murder Charles Lord Mohun was tried and acquitted by his Peers in Feb. following. *Vide State Trials, &c.*

(z) Memoirs of the Life of Mrs Oldfield, p. 50.

(a) Farquhar’s Letters, in his Works, as above, p. 71, where the great confusion at that funeral is very visible.

(b) Love and Business, &c. by Mr Farquhar, 8vo, 1702.

[D] Of which it may not be improper to be here somewhat more particular.] In this collection of our Author’s poems, letters, and essays, reprinted with the succeeding editions of his comedies, several of the poems seem, by their titles or subjects, to have been some of the earliest of his productions; as his *Pindarick Ode on the Death of General Schomberg*, who was killed at the battle of the Boyne, in Ireland, anno 1690. An *Epigram on the Riding-House at Dublin*. On the *Death of Queen Mary*. An *Epilogue, spoken by Mr Wilks, at his first Appearance on the English Stage*, as before-mentioned. His *Prologue on the proposed Union of the two Houses*. His *Verses written in Orinda’s Poems, in imitation of Ovid*. Those *To the ingenious Lady who wrote The Fatal Friendship* (6). *To a Lady, being detained from her by Storms*. And some others.

(6) Mrs Cath. Trother, printed 4to, 1698; which Gildon thinks deserves the Applause it met with. His *Dramatick Poets*, in Appendix, p. 179.

His Letters, as we observed, were written in 1700 and 1701. Some, when he was in Holland; and the rest, when he was returned to England; of which we have mentioned some chief parts relating to his personal history, but the greatest number contain his courtship and amours with one or two of the fair sex; some, dated from *Grays-Inn*; others, from the *Inner Temple*; and some part of *Essex*, when he was in the country. In one of his amorous letters, containing a *contest between his head and his heart*, in which the latter, by the help of some other members, gets the better in the conclusion, which is slyly witty and waggish; there runs throughout such a singular vein of humour and drollery, that we may take it for a comedy in miniature (7). In another, his distinctions upon those female maxims of amorous policy, asserting, that *if the women will fly, the men will pursue*; and that *enjoyment quenches love*; with his arguments against *the inconsistency of love with reason*, he has, like an honourable lover, ingeniously defeated those tyrannical and heterodox principles in the fair sex, and attempted to introduce a reformed system in their doctrine of love; by distinguishing, like a man of sense, what only is the passion of fools (8). But among his letters to his dear *Penelope*, or Mrs Oldfield as it is reported, that above referred to, in which Mrs Verbruggen is affirmed to be mentioned, concludes with his verses upon *Rosamond’s Pond* in *St James’s Park*, and the *Water-rat* which had frightened his charmer aforesaid, away from the banks of it, in these words.

(7) Farquhar’s Letters, &c. p. 49.

(8) Id. p. 51.

Fair *Rosamond* did little think,  
Her crystal pond should turn a sink;  
To harbour vermin that might swim,  
And frighten beauties from the brim.

Henceforth, detested pond, no more  
Shall beauties crown your verdent shore;  
Your waves, so fam’d for am’rous league,  
Are now turn’d *Ratsbane* to *Intrigue*.

But his letter and dialogue, written to the same person, as ’tis said; from *Gray’s-Inn*, upon her swearing her mask the evening before; which was a female fashion in those days, as well in publick walks, as among the spectators at the *Playhouse*; because they so naturally display his pleasant temper and talents, and will afford an idea of them as clear as most of the rest, therefore may not be thought tedious to repeat, especially as they are all that we shall revive out of this collection, are as follow.

‘The arguments you made use of last night for keeping on your mask, I endeavoured to defeat with reason; but that proving ineffectual, I’ll try the force of rhyme, and send you the heads of our chat in a poetical dialogue between You and I.’

You.

Thus Images are veil’d which you adore;  
Your Ignorance does raise your zeal the more.

I.

All Image-worship for false zeal is held;  
False idols ought indeed to be conceal’d.

You.

Thus Oracles of old were still receiv’d;  
The more ambiguous, still the more believ’d.

I.

But Oracles of old were seldom true;  
The Devil was in ’em—sure he’s not in you!

You.

Thus mask’d in *Mysteries* does the God-head stand;  
The more obscure, the greater his command.

I.

The God-head’s hidden pow’r wou’d soon be past,  
Did we not hope to see his face at last.

You.

You are my Slave already, Sir, you know;  
To shew more charms, wou’d but increase  
your woe:  
I scorn an insult to a conquer’d foe.

I.

those letters were published, from the copies returned him, at his request, by one of his female correspondents, as appear therein (c); who was, as it is reported, the said Mrs Oldfield; and she often delighted to read them, many years after they were printed; as she also did, that Essay at the end of them, which is called *A Discourse upon COMEDY, in Reference to the ENGLISH STAGE*; which, as it is both very entertaining, and expressive of our Author's sentiments upon this subject, a few extracts thereof may not, in this article, be unwelcome [E]. But what may give a more natural and lively representation of him still,

(c) Mr Farquhar's Letters, as before, p. 42. Also towards the end of the Pref. p. 13.

I.

I am your *Slave*, 'tis true; but still you see,  
All *slaves*, by nature, struggle to be *free*:  
But if you would *secure* the stubborn prize,  
Add to your *wit*, the *fetters* of your *eyes*;  
Then pleas'd with *thralldom*, would I *kiss* my *chain*,  
And ne'er think more of *liberty* again (9).

(9) Mr Farquhar's Letters, as before, p. 46, &c. Further on this subject of women in disguise, see *Leandre's* song, in the first scene of the third act; and *Lucinda's* exit, in the first of the fourth, in our author's *Love and a Bottle*.

This collection of *Poems, Letters, &c.* is dedicated by our Author to *Edmund Chaloner, Esq;* an ingenious admirer of the *Muses*, especially that of *Mr Farquhar*; and a descendent of the famous *Sir Thomas Chaloner*, who was himself a man of distinguished wit and learning in his time; also a Soldier as well as a Poet, like *Mr Farquhar*; who has therein not only celebrated the virtuous qualities and accomplishments of his Patron, in a very polite manner, but shewed, in the example of that Ancestor, how harmoniously *Mars* and *Minerva* may combine, or make a most illustrious union in one person. How dangerously that brave Ancestor escaped death, when shipwreck'd by the storm that defeated the expedition of *Charles the Emperor* against the *Algerines*; when he caught, and held fast in his mouth, the cable that saved his life, with the loss of his teeth: how bravely he purchased the honour of being made *Knight-Banneret* in the field: How discreetly he discharged his embassy to *Philip II.* of *Spain*: how learnedly he wrote several books in prose and verse, some of which made even the grave *Lord Burghley*, a Latin Poet as well as himself, in his commendation, may not only be seen partly in this dedication, but more largely elsewhere (10); while here we proceed to observe that our Author, among other agreeable addresses to his Reader, in the *Preface* of this *Collection*, says very jocosely of himself, as to his equipments, or stock and change of apparel or furniture for his understanding, that truly 'this gentleman is of some circumstance and condition, and has not been engaged in the *shifts* that some late *sparks* were put to for their habits, who *ferret* all the *wit-brokers* in town; *taking up*, from several places, and *strut* in a *second-hand finery*, patched up of the *scraps* and *remnants* of the *eminent men* of the *age*; for I must tell you, Sir, tho' his cloaths be but *plain*, yet they are his *own*, taken up handsomely at one *place*, where he may have credit for as much more when these are worn out.' It were easy, by many instances, in these *Letters, &c.* to point out the great spirit of vivacity and volubility in his *thoughts*; his drole and sportive, his lepid and ludicrous vein: and in his *style*, sometimes quaint, sometimes florid, often comprehensive and compact, some turns both of period and expression, inclining to the elegant and sententious, but commonly, through a humour naturally chearful, free and debonnair, not only pithy and poignant, but pleasing and persuasive. Had the sun-shine of his wit not been clouded so soon, but suffered by *Death* to have run a longer course, it would probably have brought to maturity, such richer fruits of more solid and *serious subjects*, as would have preferred themselves to the nicer, and more exquisite taste, of the most mature, serious, and *solid readers*. But in less than two years after the said intercourse of amorous epistles, Mr Farquhar was diverted from the publication of any more, by another fair lady who fell in love with him; and fearing no other impediment to her desires of securing him to herself, than the slenderness of her circumstances, so contrived, that they were represented to him much more considerable than he at last found them. So he thought, before this discovery, that if *Cupid's* fire-arms would so effectually wound, when but singly loaden with the charming image of the fair, wherewith he had before been so deeply smitten; it were in vain now to think of escaping them when doubly charged, with beauty and fortune too. In short, it seems his own inclination, as well as the prospect of

(10) In *Hakluyt's* Voyages, *Camden's* Annals of *Q. Eliz.* *Wood's* Ath. Oxon. and others.

advantage, led him clearfully into the bands of matrimony; and we hear nothing to the contrary but they made a *Constant Couple*: nor is it otherwise objected to him, by the Poet who gave this unnecessary caution:

Bid *Farquhar*, tho' bit, to his consort be just (11).

(11) Memoirs relating to the late famous Mr Thomas Brown; with a Catalogue of his Library, 4to, 1704; in the Poem at the end, p. 19.

For her affection so engaged his good nature, that he forgot the thoughts of that disappointment; till afterwards another, from a noble or rather titled courtier, left him to increase the number of those examples, which may convince the credulous, without the expence of a trial, that there may be some delusions in *friendship*, more fatal than those in *love*.

[E] A few extracts thereof may not, in this article, be unwelcome.] This *Discourse upon Comedy* in reference to the *English Stage*, which is the last, printed in his collection of *Letters* beforementioned, consisting of about twenty-six pages, seems, by his mentioning at the entrance, his three first plays, to have been written in 1701. The uncommon success which those plays met with, having nettled some of the waspish criticks, and provoked them to exert their little stings, he wrote it in justification of those moderate irregularities, and other tolerable or compensing liberties he had taken in them; but his allegations for them are so agreeably or plausibly rational, that it is no wonder Mrs Oldfield should prefer some parts thereof, as the most humorous of all other apologies for licence in this species (12) of the drama, equal to what is granted in all other branches of poetry, even tho' she had received no previous impression, from his engaging conversation, of partiality in his favour. For, in some places, his style and sentiments are so adapted to his subject, and, against the austerity of critical rules for the composition of *Comedy*, are so comically displayed, that he has left even those pleased, whom he might not leave persuaded: and in other parts, his ironical praise of *ancient rules*, for all systems of advice or reprehension, in our *modern modes* of corruption and vanity, contains some of the most delicate and refined spirit of *ancient satire*. Indeed, he had briefly and blithly enough given us an abstract of the usual subject matter both in *Tragedy* and *Comedy* before, in a parley between *LOVEWELL* and *LYRIC* the Poet after this manner,

(12) Life of Mrs Oldfield, p. 49.

LOVE: What relish have you of *Comedy*?

LYR: No satisfactory one—My curiosity is forestalled by a fore-knowledge of what shall happen: for as the *Hero* in *Tragedy*, is either a whining cringing fool, that's always a stabbing himself; or a ranting hectoring bulley, that's for killing every body else: so the *Hero* in *Comedy* is always the *Poet's* own *Character* (13).

LOVE: What's that?

LYR: A compound of practical rake, and speculative gentleman, who always bears off the great fortune in the play, and shams off the Beau and Squire with a Whore or Chambermaid: and as the Catastrophe of all *Tragedies* is *Death*, so the end of *Comedies* is *Marriage*.

LOVE: And some think that the most tragical conclusion of the two, &c. (14).

But here in this professed discourse upon *Comedy* before us, our author saw reason to be more copious and explicit upon the topic; tho' after all when he comes to its definition, he makes no formal mystery or frightful intricacy in it, but very freely and simply explains it to be no more at present than, a *well framed Tale*, handsomely told, as an agreeable vehicle for censure or reproof: which for sensible men qualified to use it, may be an explanation particular enough, and for stupid ones, any other which is more particular, would be only more puzzling. Among the points of doctrine laid down in this comic creed, or plan of

(13) Which, by the way, is allowed to have been his own practice in this very play, and others; and indeed, in divers places, when any thing in another is to undergo the discipline of ridicule, he very generously makes free with something of his own to partake of it.

(14) See Farquhar's *Love and a Bottle*, Act 4, Scene 2.

still, is one among those letters, which he calls *THE PICTURE*, containing a description and

his dramatic principles, we find not that he would have any other Poet more than himself, ignorant of the criticks rules, or is against their being read; but after that, he would have an able genius follow his own, or conform himself occasionally to those which are most suitable to his present subject, and such persons, as are to be instructed or entertained by it. He laments, that poetry alone of all other professions, and chiefly the *Drama*, lies open to the insults of all pretenders, and that this kind of all others must submit to such a variety of unequal judges. He allows without dispute, that an author must endeavour to please that part of the audience, who can lay the best claim to a judicious and impartial reflection; but desires he would first consider, to what division that claim does most properly belong, tho' he foresees that scholars will be angry with him, for making this the subject of a question; yet will not allow that such meer readers of antient authors in their antient languages are the better sort of judges in this case. However, he allows one of these profound scholastics, after having turned thro' Aristotle and all the old criticks, to have formed a regular play, with a single plot, without song or dance, circumscribed to three hours, and unity of place, with the allowance of an hundred and fifty pounds to dress it; then after all, the meager empty thing, blown up indeed with windy words, is found by the player to have no more operative matter for him to shew his art upon, than a carpenter can find in a piece of steel: 'Here is the lamp and the scholar in every line, but not a syllable of the Poet; here is elaborate language, sounding epithets, flights of words that strike the clouds, while the poor sense lags after, like the lanthorn in the tail of a kite, which appears only like a star, while the breath of the player's lungs has strength to bear it up in the air.'—So that, 'the audience not meeting the diversion they expected on the stage, shift for themselves in the pit; every one turns about to his neighbour in a mask, and for default of entertainment now, they strike up for more diverting scenes when the play is done: and tho' the play be regular as Aristotle, and modest as Mr Collier could wish, yet it promotes more lewdness in the consequence, and procures more effectually for intrigue, than any *Rover*, *Libertine*, or *Old Bachelor* whatsoever. At last comes the Epilogue, which pleases the audience very well, because it sends them away, and terminates the fate of the Poet; the *Patentees* rail at him, the town damns him, and he may bury his copy in *Paul's*, for not a Bookfeller about it will put it in print.' Hence he further proceeds to observe, how the town has been often disappointed in these critical plays, and how authors who have been admired in their speculative remarks, have been ridiculed in the practice; so advises his friend to lay aside his superstitious veneration for antiquity, and the usual objections that the present age is illiterate, or their taste vitiated; that we live in the decay of time, and the dotage of the world; which he contradicts, and asks him, why we should be so hampered in our opinions, as if all the ruins of antiquity lay so heavily on the bones of us, that we could not stir hand or foot?

'Why shou'd the Poets be hoodwinked at this rate, and by what authority should Aristotle's rules of poetry stand so fix'd and immutable? Why?—By the authority of two thousand years standing—because, thro' this long revolution of time, the world has still continued the same—by the authority of their being received at Athens, a city, the very same with London in every particular; their habits the same, their humours alike; their publick transactions, and private societies *a la mode de France*;—in short, so very much the same in every circumstance, that Aristotle's criticisms may give rules to *Drury-Lane*; the *Areopagus* give judgment upon a case in the *King's Bench*; and old *Solon* shall give laws to the *House of Commons*!'

Then he proceeds by farther illustrations to shew, that we are not to form these modern and domestick entertainments, if we hope for success, upon antient or foreign plans; with specifying how easy it were out of Dr Tillotson's Sermons, to trump up a pamphlet upon the art of preaching, whence conclusions shall be drawn

as from Aristotle in Poetry, that any sermon whatever, either by a *Presbyter* in Geneva, or a *Jesuite* in Spain, that deviates from these rules, deserves to be hissed, and the Priest kicked out of the pulpit.

Then he gives another instance—'I go down to *Woolwich*, and there upon a piece of paper, I take the dimensions of the *Royal Sovereign*, and from hence I frame a *Model* of a *Man of War*: I divide the ship into three principal parts, the *Keel*, the *Hull*, and the *Rigging*: I subdivide these into their proper denominations, and by the help of a sailor, give you all the terms belonging to every rope; and every office in the whole ship: will you from hence, infer that I am an excellent *Shipwright*, and that this model is proper for a trading *Junk* upon the *Volga*, or a *Venetian Galley* in the *Adriatic Sea*?'

It is further from his arguments to be gathered, that, if Homer had submitted to the rules of criticism, he had been more regular, but more enervate; more formally circumscribed, but less copious and sublime; more crude, contracted, barren, and debased, than he any where is; in a word, had finished every thing off, with the nicest and most artful declension of grandeur and magnificence; whence and from other parts, 'tis inferred, that a *Homer* cannot want the leading-strings of an *Aristotle*, and that *Poets* derived not their Art from books of criticism, but criticks theirs, from those of Poetry. And he thinks that, 'If Prince *Arthur* had been in the place of the *Iliad*, we should have had other rules for *Epic Poetry*; and Doctor *Blackmore*, had carried the bays from *Homer*, in spite of all the criticks in *Christendom*.' In like manner, as the *Paradise Lost* is not wholly confined to the dictates of that *Philosopher*, other laws of *Epic Poetry* may be drawn out of *Milton* hereafter by another *Aristotle*. Then as for his rules of *Dramatic Poetry*; 'If they had been drawn from certain and immutable principles, and fix'd on the basis of nature, (more convincingly than in those generalities wherein it is the same in all nations) why should not his *Ars Poetica* be as efficacious now, as it was two thousand years ago? And a *single Plot*, with perfect *Unity of Time* and *Place*, do as well in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, as at the *Play-house* in *Athens*?'

He further looked upon *Homer*, as a man of too great a knowledge in the immaterialities of his art, to prescribe it materially and pedantically by Grammar rules; or in mood and figure, to the varieties of genius among mankind. 'He was too much a Poet to give rules to that, whose excellence he knew consisted in a free and unlimited flight of imagination; and to describe the *Spirit of Poetry*, which alone is the true *Art of Poetry*, he knew to be as impossible, as for human reason to teach the *Gift of Prophecy* by a definition.'

He is for making *Aesop* the Father of Comedy, and thinks, 'we cannot now better seek for its foundation, than in his symbolical way of moralizing upon tales and fables, with this difference that his stories were shorter than ours. He had his tyrant *Lyon*, his statesman *Fox*, his beau *Magpye*, his coward *Hare*, his bravo *Ass*, and his buffoon *Ape*, with all the characters that crowd our stages every day; with this distinction nevertheless, that *Aesop* made his beasts speak good *Greek*, and our Heroes sometimes can't talk good *English*.' He goes on to shew how, by such antient and modern practice, in Scripture *Parables*, and *Allusions*, with other indirect, insinuating, and most palatable, as well as expedient arts of schooling mankind into better manners, what was the primary *End* of *Comedy*, and would afford the justest *Rules* for it. Thus having displayed the principal threads of his discourse, he winds himself up in his conclusions.

'That our business lies not with a *French* or *Spanish* audience; that our design is not to hold forth to antient *Greece*, nor to moralize upon the vices and defaults of the *Roman* commonwealth: No, no; *An English play* is intended for the use and instruction of an *English* audience; a people not only separated from the rest of the world by situation, but different also from other nations, as well in the complexion and temperament of the natural body, as in the constitution of our body politick: as we are a mixture of many nations, so we have the most unaccountable

and character of himself; which we should not refrain from transcribing entirely, as what might contribute so properly and directly to the illustration of his life, if his works were a scarcity; but as they are not, we shall only here sketch out a few of the strongest, or most distinguishing and observable lineaments; that he may not be wholly unknown to those who have not seen them, nor wholly forgotten by those who have [F]. In 1703, came forth another diverting comedy of his, intituled *THE INCONSTANT: or, The Way to win Him*, which had merit enough to have been equally successful with the rest, but for the inundation of Italian, French, and other farcical interruptions; which, thro' the interest of some, and the depravity of others, broke in upon the stage, to the scandal, in being submitted to, of our more refined taste, which had preferred it's own genuine weighty sterling, our true English humour, wit, and sense, to such coin as was base, light, and counterfeit. These

' countable *medley of humours* among us, of any people upon earth; these humours produce variety of follies, some of them unknown to former ages; these new distempers must have new remedies, which are nothing but new counsels and instructions; so begs, if our *utile*, which is the *end*, be different from the antients, that our *dulce*, which is the *means*, be so too; for to different towns there must be different ways, &c.

' Then, what sort of *dulce*, which he takes for the pleasantry of the tale, or the plot of the play, must a man make use of to engage the attention of so many different humours and inclinations? Will a single plot satisfy every body? Will the turns and surprises that may result naturally from the antient limits of time, be sufficient to rip open the spleen of some, and physick the melancholy of others; serew up the attention of a rover, and fix him to the stage, in spite of his volatile temper, and the temptation of a mask? *To make the moral instructive you must make the story diverting*: the splenetic Wit, the beau Courtier, the heavy Citizen, the fine Lady, and her fine Footman, come all to be *instructed*, and therefore must all be *diverted*; and he that can do this *best*, and with most applause, *writes the best Comedy*, let him do it by what *rules* he pleases, so they be not offensive to religion and good manners.' Thus, his grand and general rule for our stage is, to be as generally instructive as he can, which cannot be, without making his work delightful to the generality. This secret of pleasing so generally such different tastes in a modern audience, must be attained by studying the humours of the moderns; so he prefers the models of *Shakespear*, *Fleteber*, and others of our own Poets, who made themselves no slaves to the patterns or precepts of antiquity, before those of *Plautus* and *Merauder*. Not that he rejects, or despises all rules or decorum: he is not for having the *English Stage a State of Anarchy*: No Sir,—*For there are extreams in irregularity, as dangerous to an author, as too scrupulous a deference to criticism*. And hercof as he had given an instance of the one, so he also gives an example of the other. Concluding that, he is as little a friend to these rambling plays as any body; and that he has never espoused their party by his own practice: yet cannot forbear some further vindication of the great *Shakespear* upon this head (\*); and then, thus begs the critical carpers to let our old English authors alone.

' If they have left vice unpunished, virtue unrewarded, folly unexposed, or prudence unsuccessful, the contrary of which is the *utile* of the Comedy, let them be lashed to some purpose: if any part of their plots have been independent of the rest, or any of their characters forced or unnatural, which destroys the *dulce* of plays, let them be hissed off the stage: but if, by a true decorum in these material points, they have writ successfully and answered the end of *Dramatic Poetry*, in every respect, let them rest in peace, and their memories enjoy the encomiums due to their merit, without any reflexion for waving those niceties, which are neither instructive to the world, nor diverting to mankind; but are like all the rest of the critical learning, fit only to set people together by the ears, in ridiculous controversies, that are not one jot material to the good of the public, whether they be true or false.'

[F] *That he may not be wholly unknown, to those who have not seen them, nor wholly forgotten by those who have*. Our author tells the Lady to whom this

resemblance of himself was sent, (when he was aged about twenty three years) that he would challenge *Fandyck* or *Kneller*, to draw it more to the life; and if he had not some thoughts that the substance would fall to her share, he would not part with the likeness; which he thus colours forth, in some of the principal features, under the title of

#### ' THE PICTURE.

' My *Outside*, is, neither better nor worse than my *Creator* made it, and the *Piece* being drawn by so great an *Artist*, 'twere presumption to say there were many *Stroaks* amiss. I have a body qualified to answer all the ends of its creation, and that's sufficient.

' As to the *Mind*, which in most men wears as many changes as their body, so in me, 'tis generally dressed like my person, in black.—In short, my constitution is very *splenetic*, and very *amorous*; both which I endeavour to *hide*, lest the former should offend *others*, and that the latter might incommode *myself*: and my reason is so vigilant in restraining these two failings, that I am taken for an easy-natured man by my own sex, and an ill-natured clown by your's.

' 'Tis true, I am very sparing in my *praises* and *compliments* to a *Lady*, out of a fear, that they may affect myself more than her: for the idols which we worship, are generally of our own making; and tho' at first, men may not speak what they think, yet truth may catch them on t'other hand, and make them think what they speak.

' But most of all, I am cautious of *promising*, especially upon that weighty article of *constancy*; because, in the first place, I have never tryed the strength of it in my own experience; and secondly, I suppose a man can no more engage for his *constancy*, than his *health*; since I believe they both equally depend upon a certain constitution of body; how far, and how frequently that may be liable to alteration, especially in affairs of love, let the more judicious determine.

' I am seldom troubled with what the world calls *airs* and *caprices*; and I think it an idiot's excuse for a foolish action, to say, 'twas my *humour*.—*I can't relish the jest that vexes another in earnest*.—I think it the worst office in my nature to make *myself uneasy* for what *another* should be punished.—I have so naturally a propensity to *ease*, that I cannot cheerfully fix to any study that bears not a pleasure in the application, which makes me inclinable to *Poetry* above any thing else.

' I have very little *estate*, but what lies under the circumference of my *hat*; and should I, by misfortune, come to lose my *head*, I should not be worth a *groat*: but I ought to thank providence, that I can, by *three hours study*, live *one and twenty*, with satisfaction to myself, and contribute to the *maintenance* of more *families*, than some, who have *thousands a year*.

' I have many *acquaintance*, very few *intimates*, but no *friends*, I mean in the old romantic way.—Nor can I love after the old romantic discipline: I would have my *passion*, if not led, yet at least waited on by my *reason*; and the greatest proof of my affection that a lady must expect, is this: I would run any hazard to make us both *happy*, but would not, for any transitory pleasure, make either of us *miserable*, &c.'

These foreigners made partizans among our treacherous countrymen, to deprecate our dramatick, and other poetical writers, especially several whose compositions had been well received, and consequently our Author; whom we meet with in a *satire* of that kind, published the next year, thus spoken of [G]. It seems to have been so early as 1704, that the Farce called THE STAGE COACH, in the composition whereof he was jointly concerned, made it's first appearance in print: and it has always given satisfaction, both in England and Ireland; unless to some ungrateful fault-finders, and those who will seek matter to displease themselves in such things as might yield them pleasure. At this time Mr Farquhar had been about a twelve-month married, and it was at first reported, to a great fortune; which might not a little exasperate the invidious temper of those who grudged his prosperity. His next comedy, named THE TWIN RIVALS, which he dates at the bottom of the dedication, in December two years before that farce, might therefore be acted, and published, a year before it, as some have intimated it was; but, in several other accounts, it is spoken of as if it was neither played nor printed before 1705 (d). Our Poet was possessed of his commission in the army, when the Spanish expedition was made under the conduct of the Earl of PETERBOROUGH, tho' it seems he kept it not long after; and tho' Mr Farquhar was not embarked in that service, or present at the defeat of the French forces, and the conquest of BARCELONA; yet, from some military friends in that engagement, he received such distinct and compleat relations of it, in their epistolary correspondence, and more particular information upon the return of some others, that he wrote a copious poem upon the subject, wherein he has made the said Earl his hero. But it not being published till after our Poet's death, it is somewhat wanting in those corrections wherewith it would have been improved and ornamented, had his health allowed him a deliberate review (e). Some two or three years after it was written (\*), the impression of it was addressed, by the Author's widow, to the said Nobleman: and because it was never reprinted with his other works, and is therefore now scarce, the epistle before it not being prolix, is here below preserved [H]. This poem is enough to prove that Mr Farquhar did

(d) The Life of Mr Wilks, 8vo, 1733, p. 17; and Mr Harris in his Additions to Sir James Ware's Writers of Ireland, as before.

(e) See the Pref. to Mr Farquhar's *Barcellona*: a Poem, &c.

(\*) In a MS. of this Poem now before us, there is no date; nor could we find any in the printed copy we have seen of the said Poem, consisting of six canto's, and 48 pages in 4to, the bottom of it's title-page being cut off.

[G] Whom we meet with, in a satire of that kind, published the next year, thus spoken of.] In this satire, among some other Poets, whose endeavours to please the town, had made them objects of the author's consideration, the omission of Mr Farquhar's, would have made him appear too inconsiderable; but as they had met with a reception more singularly successful, it may expose a singular deficiency as well in the author's genius as justice; to summon our Poet into the Court of *Apollo*, upon such infolid and ungrounded matter of accusation, how natural soever and unavoidable it may be, for a general esteem, to be sure of propagating some particular envy.

Therefore, after the said satirist has set Mr *Francis Manning's* claim to the bays aside, for the defects of his own writings, but allowed him to adopt those of the Honourable Mr Charles Boyle, afterwards Earl of Orrery, he goes on thus:

Is it so then, said *Farquhar*? my matters are safe,  
By Saint *Patrick*, my business is done;  
For 'tis known, I have made Pit and Gallery laugh,  
Without any one's help but my own.

My *Jubilee Dicky*, and airy Sir *Harry*,  
Will vindicate what I have said;  
And none, but myself, has a title to carry  
The Laurels away on my head.

By your leave, Brother *Teague*, reply'd *Mac Fleckno's*  
Ghost (†),

Our countrymen are better known;  
The *Beauties* are borrow'd, of which you thus  
boast,  
But the *Faults*, I dare swear, are your own.

Tho', the town may allow, what you'd have 'em  
all take

For granted, with no one you joyn;  
Since none, but a man of your judgment, could  
make  
Such language, to such a design.

And I can't but applaud the resolve you have ta'en,  
In the present employ which you chuse;  
For it's nobler in red, to make a Campaign,  
Than to butcher an innocent Muse (15).

[H] The Epistle—is here below preserved.] This  
Epistle is as follows.

To the Right Honourable CHARLES Earl of PETERBOROUGH and MONMOUTH.

My LORD,

MY presumption, in dedicating to your Lordship this Poem, found among my dear deceased husband's writings, will I hope obtain, not only your Lordship's pardon, but favourable acceptance. For, to whom should this address be made, but to that Hero, who is the glorious subject of the song. Happy! could it by art represent, what was really done by your Lordship in that expedition, so surprising, as not only surpasses all *Poetic* description, but makes even *truth* itself romantic. The difficulties your Lordship had to encounter, in the different interests and opinions of your confederates, was not the least part of that undertaking. You were to convince, before you engaged, and your invincible reason was to confirm the assured conquest of your sword. MONJUICH, beyond obelisks and pyramids, will be the eternal monument of your fame; where, upon the fall of that great, tho' unhappy Prince of *Darmstadt*, your Lordship heroically interposed, turned, and assured the fate of the *Austrian* Monarchy. BARCELONA, became the rival of MADRID, and MADRID itself had received its natural Lord; and had not envy itself blasted the sure-laid design, my Lord MORDENT had rivalled the glory of the BLACK PRINCE himself, on the Theatre of *Spain*.

Accept, great SIR, these laurels, planted by your transcendent valour, and reaped by your victorious arm. Accept that tribute, which is here offered, by an humble but sincere hand, to that magnificent vertue, which hath restored the foundation of the *Austrian Spanish* Monarchy, and which none but our great QUEEN can establish and confirm.

That your Lordship may live, to see the effects of so glorious an undertaking ratified, in a sure and lasting peace; the *West-India* trade flowing into the *British* channel; and the good wishes of all good men, derived into lasting blessings upon your Lordship and noble family, is the hearty prayers of my Lord,

Your LORDSHIP's most devoted,  
humble servant,

MARGARET FARQUHAR (16).

(†) Tho. Shadwell,

(15) The *Trial of Skill*: or a New *Session of the Poets*; calculated for the Meridian of *Parnassus*, &c. Printed fol. 1704, p. 8.

(16) *Barcellona* a Poem: or The Spanish Expedition under the command of Charles Earl of Peterborough, until the Reduction of the City of *Barcellona* to the Obedience of Charles III. By Geo. Farquhar, Gent. 4to. 1704. Epist. Dedic.

did not burn all his unprinted writings before his death, as the author of his Memoirs has intimated he did. There are two more of his plays to be spoken of, which have no less attracted the town, and been received with no less approbation, than any before mentioned; the one, his comedy called *THE RECRUITING OFFICER*; which, as we compute, was first acted in 1706; tho', in the printed registers of our dramattick writings, the first edition of it is dated in the following year: and the first impression of his last comedy, intituled *THE BEAUX STRATAGEM*, is mentioned in those registers to have been no earlier than three years after our Author was dead: whence they have also, very unconsciously, inclined some to fix the date of his death so many years later than it really happened (f). Of these plays, and the rest before named, we shall refer to some few further remarks, here proper to be remembered [I]. But of our Comic Author's untimely end, which

(f) See Giles Jacob of him, in his Account of the Poets; and The Compl. List of all our Engl. Dramatic Poets, and of all the Plays, &c. annexed to The Tragedy of *Scanderberg*, 8vo, 1747, p. 230. And the Life of Mr Wilks, 8vo, 1733, p. 19.

[I] Of these Plays, shall refer to some few further remarks, here proper to be remembered.] It has been with some difficulty, and not without some doubt, that we have settled the first appearance and publication of these plays, thro' the usual blindness in all latter editions, and blunders of our poetical registers in those particulars, as we have in this article above done; to supply the text with those necessary links of chronology, which, as the writings of a Poet are generally the main actions of his life, would have been wanting in that principal chain, or capital part thereof, had we reserved the said dates to be shrunk into this, or any other limb of it. The general character that has been given of these Comedies, is that, 'the success of most of them far exceeded the author's expectations; that he was particularly happy in the choice of his subjects, which he took care to adorn with variety of characters and incidents; his style, is pure and unaffected; his Wit, natural and flowing; and his plots, generally well contrived. He lashed the vices of the age, tho' with a merciful hand; for his Muse was good-natured, not abounding over-much with gall, tho' he has been blamed for it by the critics: It has been objected to him, that he was too hasty in his productions; but I believe, by such only, who are chiefly admirers of stiff and elaborate performances; since, with a person of a sprightly fancy, those things are often best, which are struck off in a heat (17). It has been also observed that his humour, being truly natural, makes all his plays very entertaining, and that, his principal characters in several of them, were generally copies of himself (18); which are gay, brisk, and vigorous; courtly, amorous and gallant, or intriguing parts; particularly 'tis said, that, in his character of George Roebuck, a wild young rover, in his first play (19), newly come from Ireland, because he would not, in obedience to his father, marry a woman, by whom he had twins at a birth there, who therefore follows him here to London, &c. it was thought, that the author has therein, or at least in other incidents, sketch'd out in some part, or some measure, his own story. This is partly hinted at by a writer, of that time, who, speaking of Mr Thomas Browne, says of him, and some other contemporary Poets, that 'had he been as happy in his temper as in his genius, he had certainly been hoisted up among the first rate wits of his time: his lewdness had been no blot in his scutcheon there: 'twas not Tate's seeming sanctity that prefer'd him to the bays; nor Congreve's chastity, to the opinion of the quality: Shadwell had never been Laureate in his latter days, but by being an early rake, and fixing his reputation with Dorset, Dudley, and the rest: it was not Vanbrugh's modest plays that raised his esteem among the ladies, nor Motteaux's pretence of being a persecuted brother, that exalted him, from a solitary garret, to the reputation of a current credit upon the exchange, and a place in the Post-office: Rowe had shewn more wit in keeping his estate, than he has shown in all the plays he ever writ, especially the last: and certainly Mr Farquhar knew how necessary lewdness was to establish his reputation, when he exposed Roebuck in the first play he writ, for his own character (20). And yet his writings are not so disagreeable in this respect, or corruptingly loose as several of some other Poets here mentioned; his genteel gallants and flighty rakes have such an airy volatile manner of carrying off any liberties in their ludicrous or jocular discourse, that they are not so deeply affecting, nor leave such pernicious impressions upon the imagination, as

other figures of the like kind, more strongly stamp; by more indelicate and heavier hands, have an untoward faculty of doing. In this our author's first play, Poet Lyric makes free with burlesquing some of *Nat Ler's* Heroics, in his *Sophonista*, &c. 'Tis dedicated to *Peregrine Marquis of Carmarthen*, and the Prologue and Epilogue were written by *Joe Haynes*, a noted Player and Prologue writer, of merry memory in those times, who played *Pamphlet* the Bookseller, and *Rigadoon* the Dancing Master, in this Comedy; and various other parts, not only on the smaller, but the larger stage of the world itself, in many other countries as well as *England*; diverting both Princes and people, wherever he went, Proteus and Camellion-like, in all shapes and colours: whether, as *Mr Joseph Hains*, *Signor Giuseppe Hains*, or *Monsieur Hains*; whether, as *Secretary Hains*, *Preceptor Hains*, *Doctor Hains*, *Count Hains*; or any other dignity whereto he was advanced, or title he assumed (21). Mr Farquhar's next Comedy (22) is dedicated to *Sir Roger Moflyn*, of *Moflyn-Hall* in *Flintshire*. The author's friend who wrote the Prologue, says the ladies may safely smile; for there is neither scandal, smut, lewd-tongued beau, or double entendre in it; to which sense, our author asserts in his preface that, 'he has not displeas'd the ladies, nor offend'd the clergy; both which were now pleas'd to say, that a Comedy may be diverting without smut or profaneness.' The Epilogue was spoken by *Mr Wilks*, who acted so excellently the chief part, that our author, in that preface, says of him, 'Mr Wilks his performance has set him so far above competition, in the part of *Wildair*, that none can pretend to envy the praise due to his merit: that he made the part, will appear, says he, from hence, that whenever the stage has the misfortune to lose him, *Sir Harry Wildair* may go the *Jubilee*.' But the Poet may be happily mistaken in his prophecy, the source of theatrical merit may change its channel, and the Part in time, may make the Player, if it has not as yet altogether done so, equal to the original actor of it; seeing it has been always well received as often as it has been played, since death, for near these twenty years past, has denyed us his masterly performance in it. And it were to be wish'd, that this generous applause of that sprightly and graceful actor's abilities, may not have tended to affect the character of our author's own; since it may seem, that, such grateful encomiums upon the perfections of the Comedian, have promoted some ingratitude towards those of the Comedy: for it is believed, that such praises, by our author of his actors, have hinted, to some rivals for preheminece in the Muses favour on the drama, who were jealous of any growing monopolies in that sphere, some attempts to make a plausible transfer of his praise, by attributing that which was due to the success of Mr Farquhar's Comedies, more to the merits of the Players than the Poet; more to the enlivening gaiety and gallantry of those, by whom his characters were personated, than the intermixtures of that wit and humour, which usually prepossess us in favour of such characters in other plays (23); which illiberal artifice of Poets and other ingenious men, towards one another, is no novelty; for just so, not to mention other instances, Mr *Shadwell*, before had endeavour'd the like alienation, by imputing the deserved esteem, and laudable reception of Mr *Otway's* most approved Plays, not to any thing in the Acts, but the Actors of them (24). A later critick, who has also been a candidate for theatrical approbation, having in a useful work, which deserves it, among others, drawn out the plot of this play:

(21) See Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 879; and T. Thomas's Life of the late famous Comedian Jo. Haynes: containing his comical Exploits and Adventures at Home and Abroad, 8vo, 1701. But especially The Reasons of Mr Jo. Hains his Conversion and Reconversion, in a Dialogue between Mr Bayes and Mr Hains: By Tho. Browne, in his Dialogues, 8vo, 1704, p. 203.

(22) The Constant Couple, &c.

(23) See The Tatler, edit. 8vo, 1713, p. 167. And Cibber's Apology, in 4to, as before, p. 336.

(24) See The Tory Poet: A Satire, 4to, 1622, p. 5.

(17) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, p. 5.

(18) Giles Jacob, &c.

(19) Love and a Bottle.

(20) Memoirs relating to the late Mr Thomas Browne, &c. Printed &c. by B. Pragg, 4to, 1724, p. 1, 2.

which was so much regretted, in a person who had been so generally delightful, both in his writings

play, and called it a celebrated Comedy, full of contrivance; yet thinks, the plot not regular, or consisting of certain means, to compass a certain end; because the catastrophe appears as it were involuntary, and owing to the chance of incidents, more than to measures concerted with design (25); which, whether defective or commendable, we have not now leisure to examine, since, in some cases, the greatest art, is artfully to conceal a design, under the appearance of chance. But here we are reminded of a little dialogue, which happened upon the great success of this play, between *Jubilee Dicky*, a noted part in it, and *Thomas Durfey* the Poet, or Poetaster, which you please; as we received it, from a late living Magazine of merry tales, jests, and other conceits of the noted wits and authors of his time. It seems *Durfey* wanted to bring a play upon the Theatre-Royal, and meeting little *Dicky* in the height of spirits, at the great resort to *Farquhar's* Comedy, asked him, *When they should have some breathing time, to get up a play of his? What is it?* said *Dicky*. *Why don't you know the story of Maffianello, the Prince of Fishermen? Ay, ay, but I fear his Fish will grow stale upon his hands, or make but insipid entertainment at our house, during this Carnival there. Why, will the humour in your Constant Couple last for ever? No, no, the Trip that is making in it to this Jubilee, will surely be at an end by the Revolution of the next. But it scarcely was; for we are told, in one place, that it had a run for fifty two nights (26), and may learn from our author himself, that it so much filled the stage, for the greater part of that season, that it brought the Play-house some fifty audiences in five months (27): and immediately after, he was encouraged to bring on a continuation of it in another Comedy for the next season. In short, the fancy of the town was so engrossed even by the former of these Comedies, that *Durfey* soon carried his play to Mr *Betterton's* company in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, and the tripping humour in both of them, endured so long, that, little *Jubilee Dicky*, in all common discourse, either with, or of him, lost his christian name ever after; and hundreds call'd him *Dicky*, as long as he lived, to one who called him *Henry Norris*.*

This second part (28), is dedicated by the author to the Earl of Albemarle. His Prologue to it is founded upon the same sentiments, he soon after published more at large, in his *discourse on Comedy*, as we have before shown; and we see here in verse, as there in prose, that his general deduction is, to make his *Dramatic Entertainments* generally delightful, that they may be alike instructive, which could not be done without making them engaging to the generality; by taking greater licence than the antients have confined us to, and drawing the several new shapes and habits in modern life, for an *English* stage, not from the patterns of old *Greece* or *Rome*, but rather to make the living *Audience* his rule, than the dead letter of *Aristotle*. He found, by successful experience, the best comic sport to consist in springing and flushing the fresh wild game that lay before, or about him, and taking his aim there; at the fashionable gallantries, and modish extravagancies in real life; the new-fledg'd humours and manners, the full-plum'd vanities and affectations of the times; the ridiculous follies, seducing fallacies, the novel disguises and deceits of the town: this was the fat-fed game he was for catching as it rose, or shooting on the wing; as Mr *Pope* professedly prescribed and enjoyed himself to pursue afterwards (29): which was only to be done by more enlarged schemes in respect to the drama than were antiently limited, or are now descended to us. As for any formal and regular revival of the trite and thread-bare figures or characters of antiquity, he leaves them in possession of the Antients, and to the rumination of the grave and critical Antiquaries; as he says, in that Prologue himself.

He leaves to learned pens, such labour'd lays,  
You are the Rules by which he writes his Plays:  
From muddy books, let others take their view;  
He hates dull reading, but he studies you.

Thus then, the *Pit* and *Boxes* are his *Schools*,  
Your *Air*, your *Humour*, his *Dramatic Rules*, &c.

The fourth of these plays (30), he dedicates to his countryman and fellow collegiate, *Richard Tighe*, Esq; from whom he partly copied the character of young *Mirabell*, so well acted by Mr *Wilks*. It drew a splendid and crowded audience for six nights successively, till Lent intervened, tho' the Tumblers, Rope Dancers, French Dancing Masters, Dancing Dogs, French Strollers, and Italian Squallers, had now so much engrossed the town, that our author has, with no less good sense than good humour, very genteely rallied our depraved taste and extravagance at that time therein; as well he might, when that beardless songster *Sigismondo Fideli*, had twenty pounds a night for singing (31): Also in dancing, as Mr *Farquhar* observes, the charms of *Gallic* heels were too hard for an *English* head, and that no instruction in the moral of a play, could come in competition with that of a minuet. He owns that he took the hint of this Comedy from *Fletcher's Wild Goose Chase*; and that admired turn of the plot in the last act, which has drawn tears of joy from many bright eyes, was built upon a real adventure of the *Chevalier de Chastillon*, well known at *Paris*. There is an ingenious Epilogue to this play composed by *Nicholas Rowe*, Esq; and in the humorous Prologue, written by Mr *Motteaux*, the Farce, above named, which was written by him in conjunction with our author, being mentioned, seems to have been composed the same year by them, if not before, tho' it might not be printed till the next.

And that same year also, soon after the Comedy last mentioned, his fifth seems to have been brought on the stage (32). It is dedicated to *Henry Brett*, Esq; in December 1702, therefore printed the next year, as we presume, from the date of that satire next quoted in the margin; tho' some writers know not of its appearance till two years later. Our Poet having in the preface, ingeniously obviated such objections as had been made to it, owns himself obliged to Mr *Longueville* (†) for some expressions in the part of *Teague*; something in that of the Lawyer, and for his hint of the *Twins*, upon which the author formed his plot. After this acknowledgment, he adds, that few of our modern writers have been less beholden to foreign assistance in their plays, than he in the scenes of this. But how slender soever the assistance was that he had, 'twas enough to be snarled at by the little cynical satirists, who envying the success of his plays, had pronounced the beauties in them to be borrowed, but the blemishes to be his own; as was before related. Another of these satirists says of Mr *Farquhar*, with intent, perhaps, of fathering this play wholly upon the said Mr *Longueville*, and one of our famous Poets, from whom it is there said to be drawn, in these words,

His fame he built on mighty *D'avenant's* wit,  
And lately own'd a play, that he ne'er writ (33):

So names this, called the *Twin-Rivals*, in the margin. The reason why we have fixt the publication of the Farce before mentioned in the next year after the last play, is grounded on the authority of that author, who quotes two impressions of it in that year (34), tho' several others mention it, as if it was not published before our author had been three years in his grave.

Between the publication of this and his next dramatic performance, our Poet had been in *Shrewsbury*, and other parts of *Shropshire* to recruit soldiers for his regiment or company; there he gathered matter for the plot and characters of his diverting Comedy upon that subject (35); and this as we compute, was acted in 1706, tho' it is not mentioned to have been printed before the next year. He dedicates it, for the hospitable reception he had there received, to his friends round the *Wrekin*, a noted hill in that county; which this play has made more so, by promoting a health in drinking to our friends so situated; a health that has the advantage over other celebrated toasts, of being a lasting beauty; old without age, and com-

(25) A Companion for the Theatre: or, a View of our most celebrated Dramatick Pieces: in which the Plan, Characters, and incidents of each are particularly explained, &c. 8vo, Vol. I. 1747, p. 70.

(26) Memoirs of Mrs Oldfield, as before, p. 2.

(27) Pref. to Mr Farquhar's Inconstant: or The Way to Win Him.

(28) Sir Harry Wildair: being The Sequel of The Trip to the Jubilee.

(29) In his Essay on Man.

(30) The Inconstant: or The Way to Win Him, 1703.

(31) Hist. of the English Stage, as before, p. 135.

(32) The Twin Rivals, 1703, 1705, &c.

(†) Who was, as we are told, our author's countryman, and a Fencing Master, as was also his son James; and that he long laboured to produce a Comedy, but without success.

(33) Religio Poetæ: or a Satire on the Poets, fol. 1703, p. 9.

(34) The Stage Coach, a Farce: Lond. 4to, 1704. Dublin, 4to, 1704. Mr Harris's Addit. to Sir James Ware's Writers of Ireland, as before.

(35) The Recruiting Officer.

writings and conversation, we can give but a melancholy, if not tragical account. For some debts, it seems, pressing him to make his application to a certain noble courtier, who had bestowed upon him most bountiful professions of solid friendship, he was, by that plausible patron, persuaded to turn his commission into the money he wanted, and this man of honour, by his interest, would get him another; but, when the profitable friend in his purse was gone, he could not find the honourable one, truly at court, not in the courtier himself! which disappointment, in this dependance on his courtly friend, with the other he had undergone in the fortune of that lady, whom he had espoused for her love of him, now uniting to prey more eagerly on his mind, and tormenting it with the corroding reflections of some domestick difficulties, in the necessary accommodation of his family, made way to his heart, and, by a sure, tho' no sudden declension of nature, carried him off this worldly theatre, while his last play was acting, in the height of it's success, at that in Drury-Lane: and tho' the audience all bestowed their *plaudites* upon the performance, some could not conceal their tears for the approaching loss of its author; which happened, in the latter end

'mon without scandal:' and in this dedication, excuses Mr *Rich* for acting his play upon *Durfey's* third night, for his *Wonders of the Sun*, or Kingdom of Birds, tho' it is not said in our erroneous registers of plays, to have been acted till three or four years after this time; and then, that it was at the Theatre in the Hay-Market. Our author also tells us, 'that the Duke of *Ormonde* encouraged him, and the Earl of *Orvery* approved the play: my *Recruits* were reviewed by my *General* and my *Colonel*, and could not fail to pass muster; and still to add to my success, they were raised among my friends round the *Wrekin* (\*).' Mr *Wilks* played Captain *Plume*, and Mr *Cibber*, Captain *Brazen*, the two Recruiting Officers; *Richard Estcourt*, a celebrated Comedian and Mimic, played *Serjeant Kite*; and *Sylvia* the Justice's daughter was performed by *Mrs Oldfield*, whose name appears not in the *Dramatis Personæ* before any other Comedy of our author's earlier than this. Here again, as in the *Trip to the Jubilee*, we have been led to believe, that what supports the success of the play in one of those parts is, the proper sense and observation of the player; that the humour is not conceived to be hit in *Serjeant Kite*, but is admirably supplied by the action of Mr *Estcourt* (36). But a later writer who seems to have more particularly examined this play, and given us distinctly the plan, characters, and incidents of it, has been more regardful of its merits; and from its connected parts, concludes with this general character of the whole, where 'tis said,— 'there are besides the two grand designs, some lesser ones, tending to gain recruits; yet, at the same time, are also conducive some way or other to the better carrying on the main business; such as *Serjeant Kite's* pretending to tell fortunes;—*Silvia*, in the habit of a man, making love to *Rose*, a pretty country girl;—Captain *Plume*, cajoling *Bullock*, *Cosiar Pearmain*, and *Thomas Appletree*, with several other little incidents, which are extremely diverting in the representation, and altogether serve to render this Comedy as entertaining, as any one I know of, that the stage for many years has had to boast of; and I believe will always continue to be so; at least while there are any military gentlemen in the kingdom; ladies who delight in a red coat and feather; or, in fine, while there remain any lovers of true nature in a Dramatic performance (37).' This Comedy has lately been translated into French, under the title of *L'Officier en Reuerue*, and it was acted the night before we are now writing of it (†) to a full audience, at the little Theatre in the Hay-market, by the English company of *Antigallic* Players, with great applause: from whence it may be concluded, this Comedy, as would probably be found in others of this author, were they put to the same trial, has in it, such intrinsic merits, that its success neither depends on any particular actors, nor will relinquish it, even in a foreign language.

The seventh and last of our Author's Comedies (38), was certainly written in or towards the end of the same year with that last mentioned; however an edition of it, which might be printed four years later (†), may have misled some writers of him to think it was then first acted; and the author's advertisement at the beginning, expressing his illness, as the Epilogue at the end, his being ready to expire, while the play was in action, might strengthen their opinion to an assertion that the Comedy was not played, and the Poet did not die,

before the year in which that edition was dated. But by looking only into the second page of the Comedy, we may see reason to judge, from what *Boniface* the Innkeeper says to *Aimwell*, of his ale, when he bid the tapster broach him some of his *Anno Domini*, marked 1706, after having pretended to be stored with some that was smooth as oyl, &c. and just fourteen years old, on the fifth of next March, 'tis very apparent that the play was finished before this day of that Month in the said year: and this is explained by the same humour which *Boniface* uses three leaves further, where his said guest talks with him about eatables. He had all dainties in the house, that might be got ready for supper; but the guest could have nothing that he names, therefore bid the landlord bring what he would, that is, what he had. So we may conclude from this, as from other authorities hereafter mentioned, that the play tho' rehearsed some months before, was acted in April following and till the author made his exit, before the actors in it. *Archer*, a good sociable character, and *Mrs Sullen*, who was sociable to him, were very engagingly played by Mr *Wilks* and *Mrs Oldfield* (‡). It has been looked upon as an extraordinary testimony of the author's vigorous genius, that, tho' he was so cramped in time, as to have begun and ended this play in six weeks, and so depressed in spirits, by a settled sickness upon him all the time, he has yet gained the reputation of having sung herein like the swan, sweetest when dying; the said Comedy having been, as we may read, universally allowed to be his master-piece (39).

Many other particulars of these seven Comedies, &c. no less, or perhaps more material, must now be submitted to the prohibition of Time: therefore we shall only here observe, that the first edition we have read of them printed with his *Poems* and *Letters* together, was in 1711 (40), and the first that we have seen of them was printed for *Bernard Lintot*, &c. in octavo 1714, which is adorned with a Sculpture before it, of Mr *Farquhar*, introduced, or led up by *Ben. Jonson* to *Apollo*. They have so well maintained their credit ever since, as to arrive at eight (41) or nine editions at least. But we cannot part with them, without observing one general defect in these, as well as almost all other modern editions of books; that all the dates, which would, were they faithfully preserved, inform us when the several pieces in them were first separately printed, are designedly suppressed, to give place in the title page, for that single date of the year, in which they were all printed last together. This crippling usage has been complained of, as a mercenary deceit in the proprietors of such copies; tending to the obscurity of their authors, the confusion of those editors and other writers, who are covetous of doing historical honour and justice to their memory, by a regular revival, or distinction of their performances; and consequently, to the dissatisfaction of all curious readers: and this only, it seems, to make such books more vendible and taking, with ignorant and superficial novices, by the greater air that is thus given them of novelty; least such shallow purchasers should disrelish them, for that which should recommend them, by their having received the approbation or encouragement of more judges, than by such suppression of all chronologic directions, as so many furrows in the face even of unwrinkled maturity, their cunning owners would have it thought they had stood the test of.

(‡) The Plot, Characters, and Incidents, of The *Beaux Stratagem*, are drawn out in *The Companion to the Theatre*, Vol. I. p. 24—32.

(39) Life of Mr *Wilks*, 8vo, 1733, p. 19.

(40) Mr *Harris's* Additions to Sir *James Ware's* *Writers of Ireland*, as before.

(41) The Works of the late ingenious Mr *George Farquhar*. Containing all his *Poems*, *Letters*, *Essays*, and *Comedies*, published in his life-time. The eighth edition. Printed for *J. and P. Knapton*, H. *Lintot*, &c. in 2 Vols, 12mo, 1742.

(\*) *Farquhar's* Dedication of the *Recruiting Officer*.

(36) *Tatlers*, Vol. I. No. 20.

(37) See A *Companion to the Theatre*, &c. Vol. II. p. 206.

(†) Feb. 9, 1749-50.

(38) The *Beaux Stratagem*.

(†) In 1710. See *Miles Jacob*; and the *Life of Mr Wilks*; 8vo, 1733, p. 19.

end of April in the year 1707, before he was thirty years of age; as may, by the authorities annexed, more convincingly appear [K]. Thus having attended our entertaining Dramatist o'er the contracted stage of his short life, yet thro' the various characters, in some degree, which he acted on it, of the Player, the Lover, and the Husband; the Soldier, the Critick, and the Poet, to his final catastrophe; it is here time to close the scenes, and drop the curtain.

[K] *As may, by the authorities annexed, more convincingly appear.* The particulars, relating to those unhappy disappointments which are said to have hastened the end of this ingenious Poet, and the time when he died, being drawn from the testimonies of such as were acquainted with him, and cotested by other authentic vouchers, are therefore the more credible, and less liable to doubt. We find, he had once the opinion, wherewith men of experience have sometimes kindly apprised many raw and credulous dependants upon their counterfeit patrons; and had some design, as we have heard, of displaying those characters in their lively colours; of which, more hereafter may possibly be said in another place. So long since, as in some of his early publications, he thus intreats his reader to admit him, with the usual forms of civility — 'If you be a Courtier, you will show your breeding; receive him with a sincere smile; swear to do him all the service you can; and you will certainly keep your word—as you used to do (42).' But now, it seems, he was more strengthened in his faith of the sincerity that there might be, without any guile or collusion, in a Courtier's generous professions; till his own fatal experience restored him to his former judgment, as we shall presently see. Upon this part of our subject, one of those writers before mentioned who knew him, thus expresses himself.

His last Comedy, the STRATAGEM, he began and ended in six weeks, with a settled sickness upon him all the time; nay, he even perceived the approaches of death, e'er he had finished the second act, and, as he had often foretold, dy'd before the run of his play was over. His other plays were dedicated to persons of distinction, and he designed a dedication of this last to my Lord Cadogan; but his Lordship, for reasons unknown, evaded it, tho' he made him a handsome present, with promises of his future favour; which probably, would have been fulfilled if our author had survived; tho' he had but little reason to rely on the promises of great men; a certain great Courtier having prevailed on him to sell his commission, with solemn assurances of providing for him better, which he forgot to keep (43). Here this author tells us, that Mr Farquhar, in one of his songs, seems to have pointed at that person, in the third stanza below recited; and this is all he quotes of that famous song; which consists of thirteen stanzas: but because the very first of them, and the two others, being upon the same topic, may partly as well concern or resemble, and help to distinguish the said great Courtier, as others of like features and complexion, they are here selected from the rest, in the

## SONG of a TRIFLE.

A Trifling Song you shall hear,  
Begun with a Trifle, and ended:  
All Trifling People draw near  
And I shall be nobly attended.

The Court is from Trifles secure,  
Gold Keys are no Trifles, we see;  
White Rods are no Trifles I'm sure,  
What ever their Bearers may be.

But if you will go to the place  
Where Trifles abundantly breed,  
The Levee will show you his Grace,  
Makes Promises, Trifles indeed.

A Coach, with six Footmen behind,  
I count neither Trifle, nor Sin:  
But ye Gods! how oft do we find  
A scandalous Trifle within! &c (44).

Then the same author goes on, in relation to Mr Farquhar's other disappointment in these words — 'Tis supposed that, thus failing of his expectations, together with an unfortunate marriage, shortened his days. For his wife, by whom he had two daughters only, thro' the reputation of a great fortune, tricked him into matrimony. This was chiefly the fault of her love; which was so violent for him, that she resolved to leave nothing untry'd to gain him: Tho' some husbands would have proved meer husbands in such a case, Mr Farquhar was so charmed with her love and understanding, that he entirely forgave her; therefore, when I say, an unfortunate marriage conducted, with other circumstances, to the shortning his days, I only mean that his fortune being too slender to support a family, led him into a great many cares and inconveniencies: for I have often heard him say that, it was more pain to him, in imagining that his family might want a needful support, than the most violent death that could be inflicted on him. But his wife being long since dead, his good friend Mr Wilks has been highly instrumental in setting his children above want (45). This piece of friendship, is thus explained elsewhere. 'Mr Farquhar left two orphan daughters. Mr Wilks gave each of them a benefit-play, to put them out apprentice to Mantel-makers: and his worthy friend and patron, to whom he dedicated his *Miscellanies*, Edmund Chaloner, Esq; procured them a pension of twenty pounds a year, which they now enjoy (46).'

As to our authority for his last play being rehearsed in 1706; and then, or in the beginning of 1707, acted, and that the author died this year, it is to be found in the characters both of it, and himself, published at those times (†), in one whereof, the author has spoken thus of him, but the next month after that in which we asserted him to have died. 'All that love Comedy, will be sorry to hear of the death of Mr Farquhar, whose two last plays, had something in them that was truly humorous and diverting. 'Tis true, the critics will not allow any part of them to be regular; but Mr Farquhar had a Genius for Comedy, of which one may say, that it was rather above rules than below them. His *Conduct*, tho' not artful, was surprizing: his *Characters*, tho' not great, were just: his *Humour*, tho' low, diverting: his *Dialogue*, tho' loose and incorrect, gay and agreeable; and his *Wit*, tho' not superabundant, pleasant: in a word, his plays have, in the tout ensemble, as the Painters phrase it, a certain air of novelty and mirth, which pleased the audience, every time they were represented; and such as love to laugh at the Theatre, will probably miss him more than they now imagine (47).'

Lastly, that we might omit no satisfaction to our reader that could be further procured, in confirmation of this authority, the books belonging to the Church of that Parish, wherein he was buried, having been, at our request, searched for the date of his interment, our reverend and worthy friend has returned this answer to the question.

## S I R,

IN St Martin's Register, on May the 3d 1707, one Mr George Falkwere was buried, whom I look upon to be the Poet; though somewhat differently spelt from his name. The nearness of the sound, and the difficulty of spelling names aright, by persons who only take them from common pronunciation, and the ignorance of Parish Clerks in general, will easily account for the difference here, &c. G

(42) Pref. to his Poems and Letters.

(43) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, as above.

(44) Sung by Archer, in the third act of the *Beaux Stratagem*.

(45) Memoirs of Mr George Farquhar, as before, p. 5, 6.

(46) Memoirs of the Life of Mr Wilks, 8vo, 1733, p. 33.

(†) See the Prologue at the opening of the Theatre in the Hay-Market, Oct. 15, 1706, 1 sheet.

(47) The *Muse Mercury*: or *Monthly Miscellany*, 4to, for May, 1707, p. 143.

FASTOLFF (JOHN), Knight, and Knight-Banneret; a valiant and renowned General, Governor, and Nobleman in France, during our conquests in that kingdom, under King Henry IV, V, and VI, of England; and Knight-Companion of the Most Noble Order of the Garter; has been fancied, from the title of his French barony, and from his name being so often corruptly mentioned in the French Histories, by occasion of his long residence, and many engagements in the wars there, to have been born in France, at least of French extraction. Others, though allowing him a native of England, have no less erroneously fixed his birth-place in Bedfordshire: But it is well known, in the real place of his nativity, that he was descended of an antient and famous English family in the county of Norfolk; which had flourished there, as also in other parts of the kingdom, in very honourable distinction, from before the Conquest [A]: And from such a train of illustrious ancestors, many of them dignified, at least with the honour of knighthood, invested with very eminent employments, and possessed of extensive patrimonies, this Worthy is descended. But one of the most conspicuous or principal branches of them being seated at *Castre* in *Heg* near Great Yarmouth in that county, which estate descending to him, he afterwards adorned with a noble family seat (a), it is presumed he was there born, or in Yarmouth itself. He was the son of John Fastolff, Esq; of that town, a man of considerable account in those and other parts, both for his means and merits, especially for his publick benefactions, pious foundations, &c (b). His mother was Dame Mary, the daughter of Nicholas Park, Esq (c); and this their son was born in the latter end of King Edward the III's reign, as we have been particularly informed, by the author last cited, who is furnished with the materials that may speedily, we hope, inform the public, as well in other necessary circumstances, as the birth of this renowned Knight; which, according to his intelligence, could not happen later than 1377. It is not doubted but he was, by a strict education, grounded as well, in that learning and other accomplishments which afterwards, improved by his experience and sagacity, rendered him so famous in war and peace, as is those virtuous and religious principles, which governed his actions to the last. His father dying before he was of age, the safeguard of him and his estate were of that importance, that they were both committed to the care and direction of one of the first Noblemen in the kingdom. One author says, that he was ward to John Duke of Bedford, who was afterwards the most wise and able Regent of France we ever had there; and more expressly, that he was the last ward which that Duke had (d); but we have been otherwise informed, that he was trained up in the Norfolk family (†), which may not be improbable, to those who know it was not unusual in those times, even for young Nobles themselves, at least under wardship, to be trained under others, especially Ministers of State, in their houses and families, as in academies of behaviour, and as candidates for preferment

(a) Camd. Britan. De Itenis, *Castor Sedes quondam fuit Joannis Fastolff, Militis celeberrimi.*

(b) J. Speed's Hist. of Great Britain, in the Table of Religious Houses; and J. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, fol. 363.

(c) Hist. of Norfolk, by the Rev. Mr Francis Blomefield, &c. p. 348.

(d) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Norfolk.

(†) So in a Letter from Norwich, by the Rev. Mr Blomefield to the author of this article, dated Sept. 29, 1749.

[A] In very honourable distinction from before the conquest.] We are informed by an ingenious gentleman of no common curiosity, in his enquiries after our old English coins, that one of the Fastolffs was Master of the Mint, under Edgar one of our most famous Saxon Kings (1): and by another eminent restorer of antiquities, that Nicholas Fastolff held lands the ninth of Edward II. in Wychinton, Redham, &c. in Norfolk (2): and in that year two fines were levied, the first (3) between John Fastolff Querent, Thomas Fastolff Parson of Fekenham, and Nicholas Fastolff Deforciant of lands in *Castre* and Great Yarmouth; and by the second, several lands in Yarmouth, and *Heg* in Norfolk, and *Reydon* in Suffolk, were settled on the said John and Joan his wife for their lives, the remainder to Nicholas, son of John and Ida his wife in tail, remainder in fee to the right heirs of Joan. Nicholas was Chief Justice of Ireland (4), in the first of Edward III. and was a Justice Itinerant in Nottingham (5). And this Nicholas (6), son of John, with Ada, his wife, settled lands in *Castre*, and other parts of Norfolk, and *Reydon* in Suffolk, on themselves in tail; then, to the heirs of Nicholas; remainder to John, son of John in tail; remainder to Thomas and Richard, brothers to John. In the 20th year of that King, Alexander (7) held lands in *Reppes*; and in the 23d, Thomas son of Alexander held others in Yarmouth, and in the 35th this Thomas died, seized of large possessions. In the 48th John Fastolff was looked upon as a man of such abilities and fidelity, that he was sent into foreign parts (8) upon some secret negotiation, of high concern to the King; in which year Hugh Fastolff of Great Yarmouth, was Lieutenant to William Nevil the Admiral, as he had ten years before been to William Hesel (9); which Hugh was brother of John Fastolff. In the first of King Richard II the Earl of Warwick, Admiral, makes Sir John Fastolff of Yarmouth his Deputy, who had a protection in the third year (10), being sent upon a naval expedition

for the crown. Sir Hugh Fastolff, his father dying the 5th of Richard II (11), he obtained a confirmation of free-warren in his demesne-lands of *Castre* and *Thwayte* (first granted in the 44th of Henry III. to Robert de *Castre*). Many other Knights and Esquires of the name, might be produced, and their extensive territories named, especially in the two counties here specified; among whom, as it has been said, the branch whence our Knight descended, was seated at *Castre*, where John (12), son of Nicholas appointed himself to be buried, in the church of the Holy Trinity; where also there was a free chapel, dedicated to St John the Baptist; to which John Fastolff the elder (13) presented in 1377, and John, son of Alexander, in 1383, and our religious Knight himself, about four years after his final return from the wars of France (14). His mother Dame Mary Fastolff, who after his father's death was married to Sir Thomas Mortimer, died May 2, 1406, and was buried in the chapel or choir belonging to the chantry of the Holy Cross. Her memory was honoured with an obit, anniversary and tomb, and there was an anniversary kept for her soul in the college of his house at *Castre*, the same day they sang it at *Attleburgh* (15). There are still in being several other presentations, and last wills of many others of this family, which being so numerous, so divided into several branches under the same christian names, with such frequent interchange, and traverses, or conjunction of settlement, that it becomes very perplexing to deduce the pedigree of our Knight in a direct line, as may be seen in the elaborate attempts of a late very able Herald and Antiquary (16), to whom we are much indebted for this part, and must be, for others of our Worthy's history, since the family-papers, which are in being, and have been promised to see the light, will not be so timely published, as further to enlarge now our prospect, or less doubtfully in many steps direct our progress.

(11) Esch. 5 Ric. II, N. 49.

(12) Liber *Havdon*, in Registro *Norwic*.

(13) E. Regist. *Episc. Norwic*.

(14) In the Register of *Norwich*.

(15) *Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk*, &c.

(16) In the Register of the Order of the Garter, by John A. H. Esq, Garter, &c. Vol. I. fol. 172-174.

Sir Andrew Mountain's Saxon Coins. Tab. 5, p. 10.  
 Nomina Villorum, &c.  
 Fines, 9 Edw. I. ex Collect. MS. Pet. Le Neve.  
 Rot. Claus. Edw. III. p. 2, l. 20.  
 Dugdale's Chron. p. 10.  
 Ret. Tin. 6 Edw. III. ex Collect. Le Neve.  
 Auxil. ad priogen. Reg. Mil. l. 100.  
 Rymer's Fœd. Vol. VII. p. 33.  
 Pinc. M. h. 8 Edw. III. p. 20. 3 Feb.  
 Rymer, Vol. II. p. 27.

ferment to the service of their country, at home or abroad. But if he was under Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, while he enjoyed that title among us, as we shall find it elsewhere reported, it could be but one year, he being banished the kingdom by King Richard II. in 1398. [B], though his younger son, who was restored to that title, many years after, might be one of Sir John Fastolff's feoffees. And it is pretty evident, that he was, but a few years after the banishment of that Duke, in some considerable post under Thomas of Lancaster, afterwards Duke of Clarence, and second son of the succeeding King Henry IV. This Thomas was sent by his father so early, according to some writers, as the second year of his reign, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (e), which was in 1401. And it is not improbable but Fastolff was then with him, for we are informed by an Historian who knew him, that in the sixth and seventh years of the said King Henry, that is, in 1405 and 1406, this John Fastolff, Esq; was continually with him (f). And the same Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was again there, upon his said government in 1408, almost to the beginning of the next year, when also it is no less probable that Fastolff was still with him; because that very year last mentioned, we find it asserted, that he was married in that kingdom, to a rich young widow of quality, named Milicent, Lady Castlecomb, daughter of Robert Lord Tibetot, and relict of Sir Stephen Scrope; the same perhaps who is mentioned, though not with the title of knighthood, by Sir P. Leycester, as above, to have been the said Lord Lieutenant's Deputy of Ireland, during most of the intervals of his return to England, in those years we have spoken of him in the said government; which Deputy-Lieutenant died in his duty, also the said year. This marriage was solemnized on the feast of St Hilary in Ireland, the year aforesaid; and Fastolff obliged himself in the sum of a thousand pounds, to pay her an hundred pounds a year, in the nature of pin-money during life; and she received the same to the 24th year of King Henry VI (g). The lands in Wiltshire and Yorkshire which came to Fastolff by this marriage with the said Lady, descended to Stephen Le Scrope her son and heir. We may reasonably believe, that this marriage in Ireland engaged his settlement in that country, or upon his estate at Norfolk in his own, till, in obedience to the commission he received, his command of some forces, or post of trust, under the English regency in France, soon after required his residence in that kingdom. For, according to the strictest calculation we can make, from the accounts of his early engagements in France, the many years he was there, and the time of his final return, it must be, not long after his said marriage, that he left either England or Ireland, for that foreign service: Being employed abroad by King Henry IV (h), and had exercised Wars in France, Normandy, Angeoye, and in Mayne, as also in Gyen; having under the King, my Sovereigne Lord, Offices, and Governances of Countrees and Places; as of Castells, Fortresses, Citees and Townes, be XXX Yeer and more continyuid (i); which agrees very well, with what our first English Printer has published, in his concise, yet comprehensive character of him, but little more than twenty years after his death, where he speaks of his exercising the Warrys in the Royame of Fraunce and other Countrees, &c. by Fourty Yeres enduryng (k). So that, we cannot see any room, either in the time or the temper, in the fortunes or employments of this our Worthy, for him to have been a companion with, or follower and corrupter of Prince Henry, in his juvenile and dissolute courses; nor, that Shakespear had any view of drawing his Sir John Falstaff, from any part of this Sir John Fastolff's character; or so much as pointing at any indifferent circumstance in it, that can reflect upon his memory, with readers conversant in the true History of him. The one is an old, humorous, vapouring, and cowardly, lewd, lying, and drunken debauchee, about the Prince's Court, when the other was a young and grave, discreet and valiant, chaste and sober, Commander abroad; continually advanced to honours and places of profit, for his brave and politic achievements, military and civil; continually preferred to the trust of one government or other; of countries, cities, towns, &c. or as a General, and Commander of armies, in martial expeditions, while abroad; made Knight-Banneret in the field of battle; Baron in France, and Knight of the Garter in England: and particularly, when finally settled at home, constantly exercised in acts of hospitality, munificence, and charity; a founder of religious buildings,

and

[B] That Duke being banished by King Richard II. in 1398.] This Thomas Mowbray was created Duke of Norfolk, on September 29, being the 21st of Richard II. Anno 1397, as the Monk of St Albans records (17); and having charged Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, with taxing the King of evil government, and he denying the same, a challenge ensued; which was so near being brought to a determination at Coventry, that they entred the lists prepared at all points for the encounter; Duke Thomas his horse was barbed with crimson velvet, embroidered richly with his arms, in lions of silver, and with Mulberry trees for his rebus; to represent, according to the allusive or symbolizing fashion of those days, his surname of Mowbray (18). But to prevent this combat, that Duke of Hereford was banished, according to the Monk

of St Albans, on the 13th of October 1398, for ten years; and this Duke of Norfolk, for life (19). But his adversary being crowned a year after, by the name and title of Henry IV. the Duke of Norfolk died with grief at Venice, in the first year of the said King's reign, Anno 1400 (20). So that, there is but a narrow space of time that will admit our Fastolff under the care, or in the service of this Duke of Norfolk, while he held that title in England. As for his two sons; the eldest named also Thomas, was never Duke of Norfolk; for being engaged in a conspiracy against the King, he was five years after beheaded at York, with Archbishop Scroop (21); and his brother John was not restored to the title till the third of Henry VI (22). and yet might after that be, as we are informed he was, one of Sir John Fastolff's feoffees (23).

[C] The

(e) Sir Peter Le-cyfter's Hiffor. Antiquities, fol. 1673, p. 79.

(f) William of Wyrceftre's Annals of English Affairs, MS. as quoted by Mr John Lewis in his Life of William Caxton, 8vo, 1737, p. 53, from Mr T. Hearne.

(g) The Regift. of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, &c. by John Anstis, Esq; Garter King of Arms, &c. Vol. I. fol. 141; and Dr Thornton's Northamptonshire, fol. 104.

(h) So in the Letter from the Rev. Mr Blomefield, as before.

(i) Idem.

(k) Caxton's Tully as hereafter more fully quoted.

(17) Tho. Walsingham in Ypodigm. Neufria, p. 552. N. 16.

(18) Sandford's Genealog. Hift. of the Kings of England, edit. 1707, fol. 210.

(19) Ypodigm. Neufria, p. 551. N. 56.

(20) Idem, p. 552. No. 16.

(21) Sandford, p. 211; and T. Walsingham p. 373.

(22) Ex Rot. Parliamenti tertii, apud Westmonast. An. 3 Hen. V. m. 4. artic. 13.

(23) Letter from the Rev. Mr Blomefield, as before.

and other stately edifices, ornamental to his country, as their remains still testify; also a generous patron of worthy and learned men, and a publick benefactor to the pious and the poor; not only on this side, but even beyond his grave. In short, the more we collate the circumstances in this *Historical* character, with those in that *Poetical* one, we can find nothing discreditable in the latter, that has any relation to the former, or that would mislead an ignorant reader to mistake, or confound them, but a little quibble, which makes some vicinity in their names, and a short degree in the time wherein the one did really, and the other is feigned to live. And in regard to the Prince of Wales, or our Knight's being engaged in any wild or riotous practices of his youth, the improbabilities may also appear from the comparison of their age, and a view of this Prince's commendable engagements [C].

till

[C] *The improbabilities may also appear from the comparison of their age, and a view of the Prince's commendable engagements, &c.* This Prince Henry, born in south Wales, 1388, was the eldest son of Henry of Bolingbroke, spoken of in the last note, afterwards King of England. This son, during his father's exile in 1398, was taken by Richard II to Ireland, and imprisoned in the castle of Trim. He was afterwards some time a Student in Queen's College in Oxford, under his half uncle (24), Henry Beaufort, who was that year Chancellor of the said University (25). Richard was deposed, and the Prince's father, Henry IV. crowned in October 1399, and the Prince being arrived at the age of twelve years in 1400, had the succession entailed on him in Parliament, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, and soon after Duke of Aquitaine. From Oxford, he was called to Court, where Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, was his Governor, whose hostile attempts at the battle of Shrewsbury in July 1403, cost that disloyal Earl his head (26), and this Prince Henry almost his life; who, confronting the Percies in battle, was wounded in the face with an arrow; but this badge of honour and the overthrow of Henry Percy, by others called young Hotspur, were hopeful tokens of his ensuing success against Owen Glendour in Wales, whom he pursued to destruction, being then scarcely sixteen; but if he pursued Owen to his death on the Welch mountains, it seems to have been beyond 1404, two or three years or more (27): Yet before he was misled to any libertine courses (however, on the stage, he is improbably represented in the height of them, before he was fifteen) and after Falstaff was engaged in the service of Prince Henry's brother, Thomas of Lancaster afterwards Duke of Clarence. Falstaff in the play, appears to have been in the battle of Shrewsbury with Prince Henry; but Falstaff in history, appears not there; being probably in Ireland, with, or by the appointment of, the said Thomas of Lancaster from his first going Lord Lieutenant thither; where our Knight should then appear, in order to make out the forty years service of Sir John Falstaff, in France and other countries, as Caxton has above declared; and we compute, by the time that Prince Henry had appeased the tumults in Wales, and disturbances in other countries, so as to be settled in any tolerable quiet or tranquillity at home, Falstaff was married and settled in Ireland; soon after which, it must be allowed, that he was sent by King Henry into France, to answer the thirty years, and more, he expresses himself above to have resided in that kingdom. The interval between Falstaff's marriage in 1408, or departure to France, and the King's death in England 1412, is the only room we can see for the Prince's disorderly excursions; for it was not before he was of years beyond the command of tutors (28) however in the play he may appear in the midst of them, before the battle of Shrewsbury: so that we see as little vacancy for our Falstaff's being a partaker of them, in history, or chronology, as there was probability he should then, or any other time, be such, in his more solid age and disposition. He was at least ten or eleven years older than the Prince; old enough to disrelish his youthful extravagancies; yet no such disparity in their age, as that he could be properly represented, by the old, gray-headed, unwieldy buffoon and debauchee, who appears such a subject of derision on the stage. If Falstaff had ever been a corrupter of the Prince, King Henry would never have preferred him to any posts of honour, or trust; nor would the Prince himself, when he came, reclaimed, to the Crown, have advanced him still higher; but had discarded him with a sum of money, or stipend, as he did the Libertines and Parasites who had soothed him in his vices.

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His frolics of robbing, in company with them, his own stewards, of his own money, and making them amend at the foot of their accounts (29); his attempt to rescue one of his accomplices, whether Bardolf, or any other, in the Court of King's Bench, from the course of the law, and rashly striking the Chief Justice, Sir William Gascoyne, on the bench, for which he suffered imprisonment (30), were actions countenanced by men of other principles, disposition, and conduct, than Falstaff. But there are so many other disagreements, which remove all similitude between them, that the honours of the real Knight cannot be affected by the humours of the fictitious one. That commitment by the said Judge, of Falstaff to the Fleet prison in the play (31), was, when Falstaff in history, had manifestly been a good while in France. In the play, Falstaff is a man of mean, necessitous, shifting circumstances throughout; Falstaff, in record, was richly possessed of lands and estates in several places, from his youth. Falstaff in the Poet's account, was near three-score before the battle of Shrewsbury (32). Falstaff in history, not above twenty six; the theatrical Falstaff ends his life, soon after his princely companion ascends the throne, and before he goes into France (33), but the historical Falstaff, in the accounts of the Heralds and Biographers, survived that King Henry V. no less than thirty seven years. As to its being said of the one, that he was a Page to the Duke of Norfolk (34), as we have before read, that the other was also trained up in the Norfolk family, there is nothing but what was reputable in that, since, in those times, it was the custom for Lords and Dukes themselves to be so trained: nor does this seem a foundation so premeditated, so personally pointed at our Knight, so deeply or widely laid, as to intend the fixing a credit in so many false circumstances, upon one that may be true; since it was probably, and might be as truly, said of Oldcastle as Falstaff: for the Poet first drew the character of his Sir John Falstaff, in Sir John Oldcastle's name; but being thereby thought to have displeased some descendants, or at least, made too free with such an early and eminent instrument, or advancer of, and sufferer for our Reformation, the Poet was obliged to change the name, from one that might have well enough implied the old battered bravo we see represented, to one that might as well express other parts of the same character, by a staff that was false in its soundness, or strength for support, and as little to be relied, or depended on, as a broken reed. Then, our Falstaff appearing conspicuous, tho' dispersedly, in the old histories of that Prince's time, yet thro' the want of distinct revival, being become much unknown to common fame in the Poet's days, might readily hint such an easy variation, or transposition of the letters in his name, as would answer that purpose; but nothing in all his story, that we have met with, could hint the character. That such change of those famous names in history, or substitution of one for the other, was made by the Poet, we may be satisfied from his own words; where he says, 'If you be not too much cloyed with fat meat, our humble author will continue the story with Sir John in it, and make you merry with fair Catharine of France; where for any thing I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat, unless already he be killed with your hard opinions; for Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man (35).' And yet the freedom thought by some grave writers to have been taken with both, has given them offence, notwithstanding that Sir John's name in the play, is not according to the strictness of the letter, to be found in history. 'The Comedian, says one author, is not excusable by some alteration of his name, seeing the

(29) *Viti Livii Foro Juliensis, Vita Henrici Quinti, 8vo, 1716; and John Speed, p. 781.*

(30) *Sir Thomas Elyot's Book named the GOVERNOUR, 8vo, 1553.*

(31) *Sir Francis Biondy's Civil Wars of England, fol. 1646.*

Edward Leigh's *Choice Observat. of the Kings of Engl. 8vo, 1661, p. 125; and The British Librarian, 8vo, 1738, p. 267.*

(32) *Shakespeare's Second Part of King Henry IV, Act & Scen. ult.*

(33) *First Part of King Hen. IV. Act 2, Scene 2.*

(34) *Henry V, Act 2, Scene 3.*

(35) *Second Part of Hen. IV. Act 3, Scen. 3.*

till that space of time in which he indulged his interval of irregularities, when the distance of

(36) Dr Fuller's Worthies of England, in Norfolk.

(37) Fuller's Ch. Hist. Cent. XV. An. 1414. See also Speed's Hist. p. 804.

(38) See Tho. of Walsingham. Also Father Parsons, in his Three Conversions of England, Vol. II. 3vo, 1604. And his Review of X Disputations printed the same year.

(39) Fuller's Worthies, as before.

(40) See Mr Theobald's Notes on Shakespear, Vol. III. 8vo, 1733, p. 148, &c.

(41) Shakespear's Works, by N. Rowe, Esq; 8vo, 1709, in his Life of the author, p. 9.

(42) Mr Anstis, in his Memoirs of Sir John Fastolff, in The Order of the Garter, as before, p. 131.

(43) Idem.

(44) Ibid. p. 135.

vicinity of sounds intrench on the memory of that worthy Knight; and few do heed the inconsiderable difference in spelling their names (36). Then in regard to the substitution of one person for the other, he says in one place, 'Stage Poets have themselves been very bold with, and others very merry at, the memory of Sir *John Oldcastle*; whom they have fancied a boon companion, a jovial royster, and yet a coward to boot; contrary to the credit of all chronicles, owning him a martial man of merit. The best is, Sir *John Falstaff* hath relieved the memory of Sir *John Oldcastle*, and of late is substituted buffoon in his place; but it matters as little what petulant Poets, as what malicious Papists have written against him (37). In another place, the same author again has these words of Sir *John Fastolff*, 'To avouch him by many arguments valiant, is to maintain that the sun is bright; tho' since, the stage hath been over-bold with his memory, making him a thrafonical puff and emblem of mock-valour. True it is, Sir *John Oldcastle* was the make-sport in all plays for a coward. It is easily known out of what purse this black penny came; the Papists railing on him for a heretic (38), and therefore he must also be a coward; tho' indeed a man of arms every inch of him, and as valiant as any in his age. Now as I am glad that Sir *John Oldcastle* is put out, so I am sorry, that Sir *John Fastolff* is put in, to relieve his memory, in this base service to be the anvil for every dull wit to strike upon (39). But as other Dramatists before *Shakespear* had made free with *Oldcastle*, they ought to bear the first blame, and a larger share of it, as they had taken greater liberties, tho' with less wit. For there was a play of *Henry the V.* before *Shakespear's*, in which not only *Oldcastle* is in the gang of robbers with the Prince (40), but there is a scene in which the Prince strikes the Judge a box on the ear, whereas in *Shakespear*, this action is more modestly sunk into a narrative. Then afterwards, as the same character serves, if you will, for *Fastolff*, as well as it did for *Oldcastle*, this shows there was no particular satire intended by him upon one or the other. A late Poet Laureat, who first published *Shakespear* in a small edition, is also for thinking him somewhat to blame, in this his second choice of personating our Knight, Sir *John Fastolff*, being a name of distinguished merit in the wars of France, &c. (41). tho' he afterwards found some colourable pretext for excusing him, from the misconstruction of a much-commended retreat he made to the preservation of his army, as will be hereafter related: And a later author yet, has by some strong reflections upon *Shakespear's* picture of *Falstaff*, taken the notion also, that our Knight was directly designed to be exposed therein, where he instances that, 'As of old the reputation of *Socrates* was in his life-time sullied by *Aristophanes*, in personating him on the stage; so the memory of our hero, had in this last age, met with the same hard fate by interludes in plays (42);' then shews, how opposite to good manners and good nature, it is, to deride only the absent, but how disingenuous, unjust, and against the principles of humanity, to impair the fame of the dead; since the best and greatest men have placed their reputation, in the next degree to their souls, as giving some shew of existence and a sort of immortality, whereby they survive their bodies; a principle so far implanted by nature, that even the heathens have cheerfully yielded up their lives, in contemplation of the glory of it (43). Yet a little further, owns that *Shakespear* cannot be charged with any premeditated spleen against the memory of our Knight, when he composed his Comedies, as he substituted Sir *John Fastolff* for Sir *John Oldcastle*, which might be done at random, since his first design was evidently no more than to entertain the theatre with a fat, amorous, vain, cowardly, drunken old fellow, the corrupter of *Henry V.* while Prince, as the subject of mirth and ridicule: 'and it must be confessed, that he has performed his design with incomparable wit, and inimitable humour, which have made such lasting impressions on the generality of spectators, that they have been induced or bewitched into a belief, that this drollery was a piece of true history (44). We might produce some grave poetry also, written by authors on this subject,

who were in the same way of thinking. But as we have elsewhere quoted some of it, from an historical poem in MS. we shall here only add part of two other stanzas from the same, where, tho' scandal is believed, in this stage-mirth, to pursue the steps of honour, yet if truth may settle our opinion, we may be satisfied.

Howe'er the Heaps  
May crowd, in hungry expectation all,  
To the sweet *Nugilogues* of *Jack* and *Hal* (45).

And a little further, after having said, what may suffice to do right to our Worthy, let the guilt fall where it may; since the election made by *Henry*, of his officers and ministers was unquestionable; and judgment secured the honours he conferred, as well as the glory he acquired,

Then, from his bounty, blot out what may rife,  
Of comic mirth, to *Fastolff's* prejudice (46).

But perhaps, it has not been cautiously enough considered, whether there may not be some inadvertency in these applications? whether discredit may not be appropriated thereby, where it was never designed? Could it be supposed, that *Shakespear's* natural candour and impartiality in other characters, had been warped in this, by any interest in, or respect towards, the *Shrewsbury* family, on account of some antiquated emulation or difference between *John Lord Talbot*, the most renowned ancestor of that family, and Sir *John Fastolff* in France; a man of that Poet's incomparable abilities could have made a substantial satire of it; could have burlesqued *Fastolff*, as well as any body else, out of history, and transformed some incidents really graceful, into a character no less grotesque. But who does the horning of a dead corps on *Falstaff's* back reflect upon (47)? whose honour suffers, in his being forced to the unexpected surprise of his armed plunderers to surrender his treasure (48)? whose policy is impeached, by his creeping into a bucking basket, to avoid the storms of a jealous husband (49): whose reputation suffers by his being buffeted in the disguise of an old witch, or fortune-teller of *Brentford* (50)? or whose valour is to be called in question, because he cannot avoid being tormented by a swarm of little fairies in *Windfor-forest* (51)? If the good name of *Fastolff* or any other man of honour, had ever been maliciously doomed to sacrifice, to durable disgrace or exposure, in the character of *Falstaff*, it would have been founded upon some important, some significant transactions, some instances of flagitious and irreputable misconduct, not such odd, drole, inconsiderable circumstances as these, the harmless issue of pleasant wit and humour, or delightful union of nature and fancy; all so visibly devised of the comic strain, so designed only for innocent merriment and diversion, without any personal reflexion on this great man, or any other, that we believe there is no real character to be read of in all history, that can be justly disparaged by any application; discernably intended, of this imaginary one in poetry. But if, after this, succeeding readers or spectators whether Antiquaries, Heralds, Historians, or Poets, will indulge the like austerity with some of their predecessors, will still captiously conceive that character to have been directly levelled at this Knight, and still with more rigour than candour, equity, or reason possess themselves, that any sterling coin, or plate of the true standard, was ever meant to be any ways forged, or imitated, by a piece of mettle of the most dissimilar mixtures or alloy; which, neither in weight or colour, form, stamp, or inscription, bears any resemblance; which pretends not to usurp so much as the very name; but only borders upon it: if any I say, will cherish their credulity so far as this, and the *Falstaff* of the Comedians must be still taken for the *Fastolff* of Chronologists, instead of exclaiming seriously, or with sober sadness in history, against the poetical injury, let a reparation be made by poetical justice; and for the false character imposed under the name *Falstaff*, let the real one appear, in the valiant and vigilant, trusty and incorruptible, politic and prudent, temperate and continent

(45) *Tevaxgawda*. The several Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, MS. 8vo, 1649, in Hen. V. Stanza 138.

(46) Id. Stanza 140.

(47) First Part of Hen. IV. Act 5 Scene 10, &c.

(48) Id. Act 2, Scene 4.

(49) Merry Wives of Windsor.

(50) Idem.

(51) Ibidem.

of our Knight, will clear him from being a promoter of, or partaker in them. For it is apparent, that he had been some time entrusted with a command in France, before the death of King Henry IV; because in 1413, the very first year of his son, who was now grown the reformed, and soon after proved the renowned, Henry V; it appears that Fastolff had the castle and dominion of *Veires* in Gascoigne, committed to his custody and defence (l): whence it is very reasonably inferred, that he then resided in the said duchy, which at that time was possessed by the English. In June 1415, Fastolff, then only an Esquire, was returned by indenture, with ten men of arms, and thirty archers, to serve the King at his arrival in France (m). Soon after King Henry was arrived in Normandy, in August following, with above 30000 men (n), the English army having conquered *Harfleur*, the most considerable port in that duchy, Fastolff was constituted Lieutenant thereof, by the Earl of Derby, as one Historian informs us (o); but as we find it in others, the King, upon this conquest, constituted his said uncle Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, Governor of *Harfleur*, in conjunction with Sir John Fastolff, and having repaired the fortifications, placed therein a garrison of two thousand select men, as *Titus Livius* numbers them; or of fifteen hundred men at arms, and thirty-five Knights, according to *Hall's* account; to which number one of the French Historians also adds, a thousand archers (p). Towards the latter end of October in the year last mentioned, he was dangerously engaged in the ever-memorable battle of *Agincourt*, where the English, under their Heroick Monarch, obtained one of the most glorious victories upon record throughout their Annals. And here it is said that Fastolff, among others, signalized himself most gallantly by taking the Duke *Alençon* prisoner (q). Though other Historians say, upon that Duke's desperate encounter with King Henry himself, in which he cut off the crowned crest of his helmet, he was slain upon the spot (r). However, Fastolff at this, or some other battle, did take a French General of the first quality prisoner [D]. For his eminent services in those victories, he received, before the 29th of January following, the honour of knighthood, and had the manor and demesnes of *Fritense*, near *Harfleur*, then bestowed upon him during life (s). In the year 1418, he was ordered to seize upon the castle and dominion of *Bec Crespin*, and other manors, which were held by James D'Auricher, and several other Knights; and had the said castle, with those lands, granted him in special tail (t), to the yearly value of 2000 *scutes* (u). In 1420 he was at the siege of *Monsterau*, as Peter Basset has remembered; and in the next year at that of *Meaulx-en-Brie*. About five months after the decease of King Henry V, the town of *Meulent* having been surprized, in January 1422, John Duke of Bedford Regent of France, and Sir John Fastolff then Grand Master of his Household, and Seneschal of Normandy, laid siege to the same, and re-took it. In 1423, after the castle of *Cravent* was relieved, our Knight was constituted Lieutenant for the King and Regent in Normandy, in the jurisdictions of *Roan*, *Evreux*, *Alençon*, and the countries beyond the river *Seine*: also Governor

inent Sir John Fastolff: In the brave and experienced soldier, the wise and able statesman, the steady patriot, the generous patron, and the pious benefactor. It would be a labour that might surely well reward itself, were it judiciously executed, to produce a rich and solid figure, of such an original, as might put all copies out of countenance; of such native brightness, as would eclipse all feigned lustre, or detrimental efficacy in any effigial counterfeit; and sublimely to essay, whether the fictitious *Falstaff* of *Shakespeare*, so admirably figured out by art, like *Spenser's false Florimel*, so artfully imaged out of snow, would shrink and dissolve away at the presence of the true one (\*). But whether it be ever effected or not, we may safely let the name of *Falstaff* preserve its corruption, without impairing *Fastolff's* merit, as the name of *Epicurus*, tho' distorted to signify voluptuous gormandry, and carnal delight, yet injured not the man among the wisest Philosophers: We may let Sign-Painters draw the picture of Sir John *Falstaff* before the doors of drinking-houses, and if *Fastolff's* reputation suffers, it must be in nobler company; and let such historians as will write the lives of highwaymen, make *Falstaff* the Captain-General of them (†), which cannot in justice be done without displacing his gallant Prince, even any historical highwayman cannot rob *Fastolff* of the honours, due to his long, toilsoone, and signal services.

[D] Did take a French General of the first quality prisoner.] It does not appear to have been that Duke of *Alençon*, who was taken prisoner by *Fastolff*, now at the battle of *Agincourt*; because, while King Henry after having killed two of his adversaries, was fighting astride over his brother, *Humphry* Duke of *Gloucester*, beaten to the ground, as one historian writes (52), or rather defending his uncle the Duke of York, and stooping to raise him according to others (53); so soon as *Alençon*, taking the advantage of that inclining pos-

ture, had cleft, or cut off the crest of his Majesty's helmet, and battered it with the stroke into his brow, he was, notwithstanding the discovery he made of himself, by crying out, who he was, and the King's desire to save him, cut to pieces on the place, by the surrounding guards. There was another Duke of *Alençon*, in succeeding battles; but we find not, either in the French or English histories, that he was taken prisoner by *Fastolff*. But we are elsewhere informed, it was the Duke of *Bar* who was taken by him; and yet that could not be in this battle; for, we find that among the French Princes and Lords who fell in such numbers there, *Edward* Duke of *Bar* and *John* his brother, were both slain in the field (54): yet there was another Duke of *Bar*, who, after the siege of *Orleanse*, appears to have brought succours to *Charles VII.* the young King of France (55); and this might be the prisoner meant by one of our Poets, in a grave historical work, tho' written in antient English verse, where he is characterizing our old hardy warriors in the conquest of France, &c. and having briefly described the bravery of that stout Sir *Philip Hall* (56), who regained us *Crotoy*, and obtained such an admirable victory over the proud *Clermont*, he makes this comparison:

— — — — —  
Strong *Fastolff*, with this man compare we may;  
By *Salisbury* who, oft being seriously employ'd,  
In many a brave attempt, the gen'ral foe annoy'd:  
With excellent success in *Maine*, and *Anjou* fought,  
And many a bulwark there, into our keeping brought;  
And chosen to go forth, with *Vaudemont* in war,  
Moſt resolutely took, proud *Renate* Duke of *Barre* (57).

[E] About

(g) MS. Pences J. Antis, Armig. p. 286.

(r) Paradine, Montrelet, T. Goodwin, as before, &c.

(s) Rymer, Vol. IX. p. 329.

(t) Rot. Norman. 6 Hen. V. m. 36. m. 40.

(u) A gold coin, called by the French *Escue d'Or*, from the Latin word *scutum*, a shield, valued at 3 s. 4 d. See Judge Fortescue *De Laud. Legum Angliæ*, p. 118. Also his Difference between an absolute and limited Monarchy, p. 21.

(54) Goodwin's Hist. of Hen. V, fol. 91.

(55) Father Daniel's History of France, Vol. II. 800, 1726, p. 431.

(56) We read of Sir Philip Helle at the Success of the English with Sir John Fastolff at Orleanse, in Stow's Annals, fol. edit. p. 369.

(57) Michael Drayton's *Poly-Ubion*, in the eighteenth song. See also, in *P. I. Virgil*; and *Speed's Hist.* p. 837, of this Duke.

(l) Inter Collect. Rymer, ad finem, Vol. XVII.

(m) Rymer, Vol. IX. p. 270.

(n) Monstrelet, and Juv. Des Ursins.

(o) Liber de Actis Amorum & Conjugiis Regni Franciæ, &c. Compilatus fait, ad Nobilem virum, Joh. Fastolff, &c. 1459, per Pet. Basset, Armig. MS. in Officio Heraldorum.

(p) See T. Goodwin's Hist. of the Reign of Hen. V, King of England, Vol. 1704, p. 72, tom T. Livius, Pol. Virgil, Edw. Hall, and Monstrelet.

Spenser's Fairy Queen, iii. Canto 8, 6.

Capt. John's History of Highwaymen, 1732, p. 1.

Speed's Hist. Britain, fol. 3.

Monstrelet, 1731.

vernor of the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, and before the battle of *Verneuil* was created *Banneret* (*w*). About three months after, Sir *John*, being then Captain of *Alençon*, and Governor of the marches thereof, laid siege to the castle of *Tenuye* in *Maine*, as a French Historian informs us (*x*), which was surrendered to him; and in 1424 he was sent to oppose the delivery of *Alençon* to the French, upon a discovery made that a *Gascoigner* had secretly contracted to betray the same (*y*). In September 1425, he laid siege to *Beaumont le Vicompt*, which surrendered to him (*z*). And then also he took the castle of *Sillie-le-Guillem*, from which he was dignified with the title of Baron: But this, revolting afterwards again to the French, was assaulted by the Earl of *Arundel* (*a*), and retaken about seven years after. In the year last mentioned, our active warrior took also *St Ouen D'Estrais* near *Laval*, as likewise the castle of *Gravelle*, with other places of strength from the enemy; for which dangerous and indefatigable services in France, he was about the same time elected in England, with extraordinary deference to his merits, *Knight Companion* of the Order of the *Garter* [*E*]. In 1426, John Lord *Talbot* was appointed Governor of *Anjou* and *Maine*, and for this purpose Sir *John Fastolff* was removed to another place of command (*b*), which in all probability might be the foundation of that jealousy, emulation, or competition between them, which never was cordially reconciled. In October 1428, he had a protection granted him, being then going into France (*c*); and there he performed an enterprise of such bravery and conduct, as is scarce thought to have been parallel'd in ancient or modern history (*d*); for it seems that the English army, at the siege of *Orleanse*, being in great want of provisions, artillery, and other necessaries, Sir *John Fastolff*, with another approved Commander or two, were dispatched for supplies thereof, by *W. de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, to the *Regent* at *Paris*; who not only provided him plentifully therewith, but allowed him a strong guard at his return, that he might convey the same safely to the siege. The French, knowing the importance of this succour, to prevent it, joined two armies of much more numerous force than he had, to meet him; and, whether by several divided encounters, or in a pitched battle, as the French themselves allow it, he totally overthrew them; slew greater numbers than he had under him, not to mention the wounded and the prisoners; then calmly conducted his convoy safe to the English camp. And because it was in the time of *Lent*, and he had, among his other provision, several of his wains and carriages, which he made a most artful use of, as so many fortifications, laden with many barrels of herrings, the French, with their usual air of depreciating any defeat, have ever since called this victory in their Histories, *The BATTLE of HERRINGS* [*F*]; chusing rather to give the honour of it to

(w) Mr Antis, in the Regist. of the Garter, as before, fol. 137.

(x) Chartier, en l'Hist. de Charles VII. p. 9.

(y) Hollinshed's Chron. p. 589.

(z) Peter Basset, as before.

(a) Hist. de Char. VII. p. 62.

(b) Hollinshed, p. 597.

(c) Rymer, Vol. X. p. 408.

(d) Mr Antis, as before, in the Memoirs of Sir John Fastolff, p. 138.

[*E*] *About the same time elected Knight of the Garter.*] The Duke of *Bedford* did before or after Sir *John Fastolff's* election, in a very particular and persuasive manner, recommend to the Sovereign and other Knights of the *Garter*, the election of Sir *John Radcliffe* also into the said order, for his martial valour and virtues, his long faithful and signal services of his country; having exercised the Armys, the space of *XXVIII Wynters unreproched* (58): yet upon the vacancy of a stall at *Windsor*, by the death of the Earl of *Westmorland*, and a scrutiny made, on *St George's Eve* in the 4th of *Henry VI.* in which it was found, that Sir *John Fastolff*, and Sir *John Radcliffe*, were not only nominated by a greater number before the other Knights of great merits, but by an equal number of votes, the said Duke being then the King's deputy and president at that election, did yet of the two, tho' both as he said were indeed undeniably deserving of this honour, judge, Sir *John Fastolff* to be most worthy of it; and, according to his authority, did declare him admitted into the place of the deceased (59), and *Radcliffe* was elected soon after upon another vacancy; which preference to such an extraordinary competitor, by such an able and unblemished, such an honourable and unbiassed judge, must imply very high deserts, in the receiver then abroad, of that exalted honour. In the letter sent by, or in the name of King *Henry VI.* to Sir *John Fastolff*, importing his election, there are these words:— 'Considerant, tans les bons, leaux, & honnorable services, que avez de pie cà faiz, en service de nostre tres redouté Seigneur & Pere, que Dieux assoille, & que faitez continuellement en nostre; come plusieurs autres desertes d'onour, que Dieux a souffert estre en vous, en tollerant toujours, comme bon & feal subject, les paines & travaux de guerre, pour nostre bon droit, & juste querelle susseiner, vous a esleu un de noz compaignons du dit ordre (60) &c.' As much as to say, 'In consideration of your good, loyal, and honourable services, heretofore performed, to our most redoubted Lord and Father, whom God absolve, and which you are incessantly exercising, under us; as well as for other deserts of

honour, wherewith God hath endowed you, and disposed you, so constantly upon all occasions, like a true and faithful subject, to endure the pains and toils of war, in support of our full right and just quarrel; we have elected you one of our companions of the said order, &c.' A commission was also issued to the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, and *Suffolk*, to receive Sir *John's* oath, and to invest him with the *Garter*; further directing, that he should, with all convenient dispatch, send over his helmet and sword, to be hung up in the chapel at *Windsor*; and depute an honourable Knight of untainted character, to take possession of his stall (61). Accordingly the deputation of Sir *John Fastolff*, to Sir *Henry Inghouse*, and Sir *William Breton*, appointing them jointly and separately his Proctors, to take possession of his stall; to offer his mantle, helmet, and sword; and to take the oath required by the statutes; as it was written in French, and dated from *Lancone*, the 3d of February, was sent to them, and is also preserved (62). And the Royal Commission, directed to Sir *John Robessart* one of the Knights Companions of the Order, for the installation of him, by Sir *Henry Inghouse*, one of the said Proctors, is dated from the King's castle of *Wallingford*, the 25th of February, 1426, and in the 5th year of the said King *Henry VI.* wherein, to the character given again of Sir *John*, much in the sense of the former, there is the addition made, of his great sense, courage, and experience in arms (63). According to the tenor of these instruments (64), he was elected at the next installation; and these are honourable testimonies of his personal qualifications and virtues; and of his fortitude, and merit in publick services (65).

[*F*] *The Battle of Herrings.*] This battle is famous in history, antient and modern. A late French Historian, having recorded the death of that valiant *Thomas Montagu*, Earl of *Salisbury*, who begun the siege of *Orleanse*; and mentioned the other English Commanders, of greatest distinction who lay before that town; such as the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lords, *Talbot* and *Scales*; *Fastolff*, and *Gladidas*, as he is called (†), whose merits, supplying the place of his birth, had

(58) See the Duke of *Bedford's* Presentation of Sir *J. Radcliffe*, in the *Institui.* &c. of the Order of the *Garter*, by *Elias Ashmole*, Esq; *Windsor Herald*, fol. 1672, p. 269.

(59) *Acta sub Ann. Quarto Henrici Sexti*, in Mr Antis's Regist. of the *Garter*, called *The Black Book*, Vol. II. p. 96.

(60) *Ashmole's* Order of the *Garter*, in the Appendix, No. 21.

(61) Id. No. 22.

(62) Ib. No. 50.

(63) Id. No. 51.

(64) Contained in the *Regist. Gar* &c.

(65) Mr Antis's Register of the *Garter*, in *Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Fastolff*, p. 132.

(†) By *Monstrelet* Father *Daniel*, &c. who say, that *General Gladidas* was killed at this siege, in 1429. But we know of no such English name; nor could it be meant for Sir *Tho. Gargrave*, who was there also slain there; he being of an eminent family *Yorkshire*: but there was *W. liam Gladisdale*, Commander of great bravery, then likewise killed in defending a castle; whom we take to be this *Gladidas*: See *Stow's Annals*, fol. 370 had

the interception of the dead fish, than the intrepidity of their living foes. But that the fortune of war is precarious, our Knight was a witness; who found it as necessary in his next adventure to exercise his conduct, as he did in the last his courage. For soon after the English army was obliged to raise the siege of Orleans, though they received recruits from the Duke of Bedford, they were in no degree strong enough to encounter the French army at *Patay*. At the battle which happened there in June 1429, many of the English, who were of most experienced and approved valour, seeing themselves so unequal, and the onset of the French so unexpected, that nothing but inevitable ruin would be the consequence of a rash resistance, that all would be lost; like those who made such a disadvantageous opposition; therefore some saved themselves, and among them, as it is said, Sir John Fastolff; who, with such as could escape, retired to *Corbeil* (e). It seems he deemed it romantic, to encounter the torrent that rushed on them in such a surprize, and so unprepared as his inferior forces were to repel it; but he being a principal Leader, it might well be expected that the overthrow of those who stood up against it, would be imputed to his said detachment, though the loss would have probably been greater by his conjunction; so he might be thought responsible for the ill success which happened, who would not have been accounted so, had it been worse, and he either been killed, or with the great Lord Talbot, Lord Scales, Lord Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Rampston, been taken prisoner of war. Here the French tales, which some English Historians have inconsiderately credited, contradict, or invalidate themselves; for after having made the *Regent* most improbably, and without any examination, or audience of defence, divest Fastolff

(e) *Jean Chartier*,  
Hist. de Char.  
VII. p. 26; and  
*Monfieur*, Vol.  
II. p. 46.

had raised him to the highest offices of command in the army; he proceeds to observe, that by reason of the discontinued, or piece-meal circumvallation, which the English had made about that town, the French were encouraged to steal their troops into it; and that this gave occasion to a considerable action: 'For, the Count of *Clermont*, having got a body of troops at *Blois*, to guard a Convoy to *Orleans*, had information that *Fastolff* was upon the road, conducting of provisions from *Paris* to the camp. He gave notice of it to the Count of *Dunois*, and desired him to make a sally out of *Orleans*, and carry off that Convoy. The Count of *Dunois* came out accordingly with his horse, passed the forts, and joined Count *Clermont's* army, at *Jenville*; and, their troops being thus joined, amounted to *four thousand men*. On the 12th of February, they set forward to meet *Fastolff*, and came up with him at *Rouvray St Denis*. That English General had, only *two thousand five hundred men* with him, and ranged his troops behind his carriages. The French immediately fell upon them with their cannon, and if they had continued in that manner, to shatter in pieces their waggons, which served as entrenchments, they had been infallibly lost; but the impatience of *John Stuart*, Constable of *Scotland*, and his brother *William*, was the cause of the ill success that happened. They cried out, that it was now time to give battle, and lighting from their horses, with the *Scotchmen* under their command, they marched up to the breach. The French were obliged to follow them; but, the English Archers having suffered them to draw near, made their discharge upon them at a small distance, and cut off most of those who were placed in the first ranks. *Fastolff*, at the same time, having ordered some of his battalions to advance with their swords and axes in hand, forced their assailants to retire. The horse, which was to have sustained the attack, instead of keeping their ground, when they saw the foot give way, betook themselves to flight, and the English pursuing, utterly routed them. There were *five or six hundred French and Scots* left upon the field; the two *Stuarts* suffered the punishment of their imprudence, and were slain, with several other Lords and Gentlemen. The Count of *Dunois* was dangerously wounded; however, he got together the remains of his routed army, and re entered *Orleans*, by passing between the intermitting forts, which had been built by the English. His arrival, a little recovered the townsmen from the consternation they were in, upon the news of this overthrow, which the besiegers had mightily augmented. This engagement was called, *The Battle of the Herrings*; because, among the provisions which *Fastolff* was carrying to the camp, there were a great many barrels of herrings (66). But if there were some who enlarged, there were also others who lessened this victory; and among them one of the old French Historians,

who mentions only a much smaller number to have been slain at it than the foregoing, and other writers. By this author we are informed, that *Fastolff* in his return with his said Convoy from *Paris* to *Orleans*, was met near *Jenville* and encountered by the Duke of *Bourbon*, and his army, which was much more numerous than the English. There they had very many and desperate skirmishes. *Stuart* the Constable of *Scotland*, and the *Sieur D'Orval* were killed, 'Et environ deux cent hommes en leur compagnie,' and about *two hundred men in their company*: then *Fastolff* and his troops proceeded on their march to *Orleans* (67). This account, which mentions but the death of *two hundred*, may very well agree both with the other before quoted, which reckons their loss at *five or six hundred men*, and even with that, here under recited, which computes the said loss at near three times this number; if we but understand that the lesser number which fell, was meant to have been in the particular regiments of *Stuart* and *D'Orval* only, the other, of the whole *French* and *Scotch* army in general. But there is an history compiled more distinctly of these times, by one who was then alive; was present at most of the important occurrences in them, and had greater advantages of knowing the full truth of this action, than any others who have written of it; this was *Peter Basset* sometime gentleman of the bed chamber to King *Henry V* (68), who in his said history, which was never printed, written also in the French tongue, tho' with a Latin title, has been much more accurate in some circumstances of this engagement than the rest. He agrees, it was in the time of Lent, that this Convoy was so resolutely defended by *Fastolff* thro' the French army to the English camp; which accounts for the great quantities of fish there were among the other provisions in it. That Sir *Thomas Rampston* with his soldiers were also joined to him in this charge, and likewise Sir *Simon Morheir*, Provost of *Paris*, with his band of cross-bows, and a party of the *Regent's* household troops; but that in all, they were not more than *fifteen hundred men of arms*; and when they were departed from *Jenville en Beauvise*, upon a very frosty morning towards the siege, and were arrived near *Rouvroy*, they discovered the enemy approaching them to the number as well *French as Scots*, of about *nine or ten thousand men*; where, among other Lords and Nobles, were *Charles* the eldest son of the Duke of *Bourbon*, Sir *William Stuart*, &c. whereupon *Fastolff* drew up his men in battle array, planted before the archers a pallisade, or entrenchment of sharp pointed stakes, to obstruct the French cavalry from overbearing them, and chained or bound all his loaded cars and carriages of provisions and artillery together also, as a more substantial bulwark, or enclosure against the cannon of the enemy; who, when they were approached, received their certain death or disablement with such incessant and vigorous activity, that the French were totally defeated and dispersed. Sir *Wil-*

(67) *Jean Chartier*,  
Hist. Char.  
VII. p. 17.

(68) Vide Bale,  
et Pitzcus, de  
Scriptoribus Angl.

(66) Father Daniel's History of France, Vol. II. 1429.

(f) Edw. Hall's Chron. fol. 26. And Hollinghed, fol. 601.

(g) Huet. Origin. de Caen. p. 50.

(b) Rymer, Vol. X. p. 525, 527, 530.

(i) Chartier, Hist. de Char. VII. p. 59.

(k) Rot. Fran. 12 Hen. VI. m. 5. 26 Jan.

(l) Rymer, Vol. X. fol. 642.

(m) Father Daniel's History of France, A. D. 1435.

fastolff of his honours [G], they no less suddenly restore him to them; for, as they phrase it, *apparent causes of good excuse* (f); though against the mind of the Lord Talbot; between whom, there had been, it seems, some emulous contests, and therefore it is no wonder that Fastolff found him, upon this occasion, an adversary. 'Tis not likely that the Regent ever conceived any displeasure at this conduct, because Fastolff was not only continued in military and civil employments of the greatest concern, but appears more in favour with the Regent after the battle of Patay than before (\*). It was but in 1430, that the Regent preferred him to the Lieutenancy of Caen in Normandy (g). In 1432 he accompanied the Regent into France, and was soon after sent Ambassador to the Council of Basil, and chosen, in the like capacity, to negotiate a final or temporary peace, with the adversary of France (b). And that year, Fastolff, with the Lord Willoughby, commanded the army which assisted the Duke of Bretagne against the Duke of Alençon (i). Soon after which he was, for a short space, in England; for, in 1433, going abroad again, he constituted John Fastolff of Olton, probably a near relation, his General Attorney (k). In 1434, or the beginning of the year after, he was again with the Regent of France; and, in 1435, he was again one of the Ambassadors to conclude a peace with the enemy of France (l). Towards the latter end of this year, the said renowned Regent died at Rouen, *deservedly reckoned among the greatest men of his age*, says a late French Historian (m); and as the greatest proof he could give of his trust or assurance in the honour

(\*) So that, rather than any dishonour here, can be allowed, the Retreat itself, as it is told, must be doubted.

*Liam Stuari* and his brother, with abundance more, as well French as Scots, to the number of about twenty five hundred, were left dead in the field, and not one Englishman of any distinction or above the common rank lost his life; but Fastolff carried his troops, his provisions, ammunition, &c. safe to the said siege (69), and this battle has been very justly admired, no less for the extraordinary conduct of it, than its success; it being almost incredible, as another has said of it, that fifteen hundred English, under the fatigue of a march, encumbered with the charge of a large quantity of provisions, should gain a complete victory over nine or ten thousand of the enemy who attacked them, under the conduct of the first persons of distinction; and that by killing twenty five hundred of them on the spot, without the loss of a single soldier of reputation (70).

[G] *Divest Fastolff of his honours*] However some of our Historians have been unwarily misled by French writers, this may certainly be accounted worthy of remembrance, among those Retreats which have met with great applause from men of the greatest military skill and experience (71). Leaders to a battle, often improve every step they take, as in their observations, intelligence, and knowledge, so consequently in their judgments, resolution, and determinations. The very motion of an army into different positions, or more advantageous places; the surprise of an enemy, disappointed of succours or supplies; the inequality that attack him, which may fall so heavy upon one part of the army that the other cannot relieve it; the discovery of unexpected reserves, ambuscades, or new recruits, may give a commander good occasion of new resolves, that may reverse his proceedings; so that even a precipitous retirement may be more honourable, than an obstinate perseverance to unavoidable ruin; and surely, unless in cases of inevitable necessity, a General, whose courage is duly tempered with the caution it ought to be, will not hazard a general loss without some apparent prospect of advantage; but conclude that, a prudent retreat will be more commendable than a dishonourable overthrow. That this was the case here is evident, in that, the Regent was so far from depriving Sir John Fastolff of his *George* and *Garter*, before any examination, and restoring them after one, or any other way diminishing or degrading him of his honour, that he was continually to his death, making additions to it; and more frequently now, more signally after this conduct at the *Battle of Patay*, in which the English had such a vast inferiority of so many thousand forces, than before. This were enough to clear his reputation, without any other argument; but hear what an able judge of these matters has said upon this occasion.

A charge of so high a nature, and such a severe animadversion, should have been vouched by authentic contemporary writers; and till such shall be produced, let us consider what absurd consequences are necessarily imply'd in this censure; and whether these do not afford us reasonable presumptions to doubt the truth of this tradition: and here, to omit that the image of *St George*, was not in all proba-

bility, a symbol of the Order in that age; and admitting that those words of the later Historians should be construed only to mean that the *Cross* of *St George*, an ensign of it, was taken from him; it will be however confessed, that this Duke, then Regent of France, could not constitute or invest any person with this Order, tho' by this action, if it should be true, it must be allowed, that he had an absolute power to divest a companion, and that, without the knowledge of the Sovereign, or any concurrence of the other Knights; and, which is the more incredible, that he actually exercised this power upon an information only, without hearing or examining into the truth of the charge, or complaint; which seems not consistent with the honour, generosity; and exalted character of this Regent, who had the greatest reverence for this Order (72), and was a most punctual observer of its statutes (73), as appears from several circumstances: and it is very surprising, that this most heroic Duke, who esteemed himself limited and circumscribed to the statutes, in the case of the election of our Knight, should be on a less guard in deposing him, and thereby casting on him an indelible infamy, by a voluntary power not allowed by the statutes then in being; for the degradation of a Knight who should fly from battle, was an article first inserted into the statutes made by King Henry VIII. which too is there restrained: if it should please the Sovereign and the Company in the next chapter.

But taking it for granted, as the same author proceeds, that the Regent, upon the first representation, should have been so far warmed, as, under that impression, to declare, that our Knight might in his opinion deserve to be degraded for this his supposed demerit; or, in the highest extent, as these authors deliver it, the ensigns of the Order were actually demanded and taken from him; yet this hasty prepossession of the Regent, cannot be construed to be any diminution of the character of our Knight, since these same Historians inform us, that after an examination of this charge, those ensigns were restored him, as they word it, for *apparent causes of good excuse, tho' against the mind of the Lord Talbot*, who must have been a powerful adversary. And tho' we have not the particulars of his vindication, or specification of his conduct, yet such an honourable acquittal, under these circumstances, gives reasonable grounds to presume, that this sudden accusation had no pretence of foundation, but was a causeless defamation; and that his retiring was irreproachable. But it is the greatest degree of evidence, that this Regent was fully convinced, and satisfied in the management of our Knight, in this critical nice juncture, in that he afterwards continued to employ him in military and civil administrations of the highest importance, &c.

(74) as we have instanced by many examples in the text above, which sufficiently prove, that he never could have been preferred to those honourable employments, commands in the army, and offices of trust, if ever he had been so degraded, dishonoured, or disgraced.

(72) In Regist. Arundel, apud Windsor, p. 90.

(73) Ashmole's Hist. p. 259.

(74) Antis, as before, p. 1399 &c.

hour and integrity of Sir John Fastolff, he made him one of the executors of his last Will (n). If any readers are inclined to suspect, that these distinctions wherewith he honoured our Knight, were the product of any private or particular affection in the Regent towards him, let them observe, that Richard Duke of York, who succeeded in the Regency of France, made Fastolff a grant of an annuity of twenty pounds a year out of his own estate, *pro notabili et laudabili servicio, ac bono consilio: for his notable and laudable services, and good counsel* (o). Which is sufficient to shew this Duke's sentiments also of his merits. In 1436, and for about four years longer, he seems to have been pretty well settled at his government in Normandy; after which, in 1440, he made his final return home, and, laden with the laurels he had gathered in France, raised a new plantation of them in his native country; where he shone as bright in virtue as he had in valour, and became as illustrious in his domestic, as he had been in his foreign character [H]; peace having

(n) Registr. Cbichele, Vol. I. p. 475.

(o) Cist. 19 Hen. Hen. VI. 12 May. And Sandford's General History, fol. 386.

[H] *Became as illustrious in his domestic, as he had been in his foreign character* ] As his valour made him a terror in war, his humanity made him a blessing in peace: all we can find in this scene of his recess, being elegant, hospitable, and generous, either as to the places of his abode, or those persons and foundations on which he showered his bounty. The streams of his treasure, that fed this fountain of his munificence, were very numerous and plentiful; as may be seen, in the jury's return to the writ of enquiry, into the lands and estates whereof he was possessed at his death (75) in Norfolk, Suffolk, Yorkshire, and Wiltshire. He was a benefactor to both the Universities; bequeathing a considerable legacy to Cambridge, for building the schools of Philosophy and Law (76), for which the first order under their Chancellor Laurence Bishop of Durham, is dated in June 1458; and at Oxford, he was so bountiful to Magdalen-Collège; thro' the affection he had for his friend William Wainfleet, the founder thereof two years before, that his name is commemorated in an Anniversary speech: and tho' the particulars of his bounty are not now remembered, because he *enfeoffed* the said founder in his life-time; it is yet known, that the boar's head in Southwark, now divided into tenements, yielding *one hundred and fifty pounds yearly*, together with Calcedot manor in Suffolk, were part of the lands he bestowed thereon; and *Lovingland* in that county is conceived also, to have been another part of his donation (77). But, at *Castre*, the antient seat of his family, is to be seen the remains of his magnificent seat or mansion house, the hall whereof was fifty nine feet long and twenty eight broad (78). At one corner thereof stands a ruined tower of brick, above one hundred feet high, and over one of the windows are carved his arms surrounded with the Garter. The current tradition, that this house was erected by a French Nobleman who was taken prisoner by our famous Knight, according to the model and architecture of his own castle in France, as the price of his ransom, does appear very probable from what has been before related. He furthermore appointed there by his executors, a college to be built for a master, six priests, and seven poor men, and that they should endow it with an annuity of an *hundred and twenty marks*; chargeable upon part of his estate, but by some accident it was reduced to a *Chantry* (†). He likewise built a splendid seat in *Yarmouth*, and a *Royal Palace* in Southwark (79). His liberality also extended to *Bicling* and *Pulham-Mary*, in Norfolk; the churches thereof being formerly adorned with his arms; and among the ornaments in the last of them, there was the effigies of Sir John Fastolff (80), in gilt armour *anneiled* on one of the glass windows, with his *Crest*, on a *Wreath*, *Azure*, and *Or*; a *Plume of Feathers*, *Argent*; and two *Escutcheons*, with the *Cross of St George*, within the *Garter*; and his *Lady kneeling*, in her coat armour; *Argent*, a *Saltere*, *Gules*; with these words subscribed, *Orate pro animabus Johannis Fastolff, qui multa bona fecit tempore vite, &c* (81). In some old books of Heraldry, his arms have been erroneously blazoned; for *Fastolff* bears *Or* and *Azure*, quarterly; on a bend *Gules*, three *Crosets Argent*; and not *Scallops*, according to the description we may meet with in some pedigrees of the family; as may be proved not only from several original seals of the *Fastolff's* still in being, but in the old arms which remain carved in stone over a window of his house at *Castre* by *Yarmouth* (82). Some errors have also escaped

the pens of learned men, in relation to that *William Worcester* above quoted. He was learned in Antiquities, and Heraldry, Physick, and Astronomy; and had a good genius, as well for History as Poetry. He is called in old writings not only *servant*, and *Soget*, or *Segret*, to Sir John Fastolff, but was his Pursuivant, and (\*) Secretary. Many of his letters, as we understand in this capacity are still in being (83). But that he was Sir John's Herald, by such a title, or distinction, as *Botoner*, from the *Cross Crolets Botouée*, in our Knight's arms, is a misconception in one author (84), no less than it is in another, who fancies, because this learned writer was conversant in medicinal studies, that he was therefore called a *Botaner*, or *Herbalist* (85). Whereas we may gather from his own writings, that he was born at Bristol; that his father's name was *Worcester* and his mother's *Botoner*, hence he often names himself *William Worcester*, alias *Botoner*; and hence arose the error in Pits (86), and others, of making two distinct persons of the two names. He had been exercised in wars above 44 years (87); so eminent and faithful were his services, under this great man, that in his will he left him one of his executors. He wrote many books, tho' we meet with but one that was printed, and that is his translation from the French, of *Cicero de Senectute* which he addressed to *William Wainfleet*, Bishop of *Winton*, and will be further quoted in the next note. He wrote *Antiquities of England*; *Abbreviations of the learned*; *Medicinal collections*; a book of *Astrology*; another of *Cities, Monasteries, Abbies, &c* (†); likewise his *Itinerary*; all it seems, or most of them, in Latin; besides a particular treatise, gratefully preserving the *life and deeds* of his master, under the title of *Acta Domini Johannis Fastolff*, which we hear is still in being, and has been promised the publick; had it been published sooner, it might have prevented some mistakes, if not liberties, which some conceive to have been unreasonably taken with the name and memory of our Worthy. The son of this *Worcester*, among other things, also made a *collection* of several authentic instruments relating to the *English Wars* and *Government in France*; which he dedicated to King *Edward IV.* wherein is a catalogue of the Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Bannerets, Knights, and other persons of eminence, who were of the *Regent's* court: Therein is remembered *Fastolff's* posts of honour, and the places under his government; styling him, Knight-Banneret, Baron of *Cilliquillim*; great Steward, or Grand-master of the *Regent's* Household; the King's Lieutenant of *Normandy* for one year, and after, Governor of *Anjou* and *Maine*, for many years; Captain of the City of *Mauns*, and the castles and towns of *Alançon*, *Mayn*, *Fresney le Vicont*, for fourteen years; likewise of *Cant*, *Verneuil*, and *Hunflue* some years. In this book are several publick memorials, concerning the grand articles and negotiations of peace and war; with some ordonnances as we remember, having seen a copy of this collection (88), which were composed in French and issued forth, by our no less politic, than heroic Knight; who, as well, penn'd those things, which are worthy of being read, as performed those, which merit to be recorded; being no less able to advise than to execute; and, as that collector remarks of him, if these his counsels, instructions, and admonition, had been duly observed, they would have prevented many miscarriages, which might conduce to our loss of *France*.

(\*) Peter Easslet, ut prius.

(83) The Rev. Mr Blomefield's Letter, as above.

(84) In Mr Anstis, p. 135.

(85) Mr J. Lewis's Life of William Caxton, 2<sup>vo</sup>, p. 53.

(86) De Illust. Script. p. 648, 861.

(87) Itin. W. Worcester, MS.

(†) Tho. Fuller cites a book of *Botoner's* containing all the *Ancient Gentry* in the county of Norfolk. *Worshipies of Engl.* fol. 250. And something in poetry, he also wrote, as that humorous ballad call'd *Comedia ad Monasterium Hulmi, &c. directa ad Reformationem sequentem, &c.* 1477. Also a long Chronographical *Epitaph* in verse, on the *Lady Millicent Fastolff*; in the possession of *Richard Foley*, Esq; late Prothonotary of the Common Pleas.

(88) In *Quinto*, some time in the custody of the late Brian Fairfax, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Customs.

(75) Esch. 58 and 39 Hen. VI. N. 45.

(76) Lib. Proct. Univ. Cantab.

(77) Mr Anstis, as before, p. 142, &c.

(78) Will. de Worcester in Itin. MS. in C. C. C. Cant. p. 229.

(†) Mr Anstis, as above, p. 143.

(79) Vincent MS. in Off. Arm. N. 18. p. 122.

(80) MS. inter Collect. Johan. Anstis, Arm. g.

(81) Mr Anstis, as above, p. 142, 143.

(82) Mr Blomefield's History of Norfolk, p. 343.

(7) Rymer, Vol. XI. p. 44.

(q) Clauf. 29 Hen. VI.

(r) Mr Blomefield's Letter, from Norwich, beforementioned.

(s) MS. Penes Dom. Hans Sloane, Baronet.

(†) As is computed from the date in our copy of it, recited in the next note.

having her victories, no less glorious than those of war. We have heard, there is still in being, preserved among the old family-writings, an *Inventory* of all the rich jewels, plate, furniture, &c. that he either had, or left in France, at his return to England. In 1443, he had licence granted him to employ some of his Majesty's ships to convey materials for building, or furnishing one of his mansion-houses (p). In 1450, he conveyed to John Kemp, the Cardinal-Archbishop of York, and others, his manor of *Castre* in *Fleg*, and several other lands, in the deed of conveyance specified (q). No retirement could obscure his reputation, no infirmities weaken him in the exercise of generous actions, to the last. At length being arrived, in the year 1459, beyond the venerable age of fourscore years [I], and ripe with the great honours of his good works, to be gathered from this world to a better, he disposed himself in the most charitable and religious manner, to his appointed translation. In that year, he says of himself, that he was *In good remembrance, albe it I am gretly vexid with sickenesse, and thurgh age infebelyd* (r). He lingered under an hectic fever and asthma for an hundred and forty-eight days (s); but before he departed he made his Will, on the fifth of *November* in that year (†), of which we shall give some extract below [K], and died the next day after, being that of *St Leonard's feast*, or the eve before

[I] *Beyond the venerable age of fourscore years.* As may be computed from the time of his birth at the beginning mentioned; however, for the sake of an even number, two or three odd years are omitted in the following character and account, that was published before a translation of *Cicero*, by our first Printer, of this excellent man, about twenty two years after his death, in these words.— ‘Whiche book was translated, and thystoryes openly declared, by the ordenaunce and desyre of the noble aunyent Knyght, Syr *Johan Fastolff*, of the Countee of Norfolk, Banneret, lyvyng the age of fourscore yere; exercysing the warrys in the Royame of *Fraunce*, and other countrees, for the diffence and unyversal welfare of both Royames of *Englond* and *Fraunce*, by forty yeres enduryng, the fayte of armes haunting, and in admynstryng justice, and polytique governaunce, under thre Kyngs; that is to wete, *Henry IV. Henry V. Henry VI.* and was Governour of the Duchey of *Angeou*, and the Countee of *Mayne*; Capytayne of many Townys, Castellys, and Fortressys, in the said Royame of *Fraunce*; havynge charge and saufguard of them dyverse yeres; occupying and sawlynge thre hondred speres, and the bowes accustomed thenne; and yeldyng good acompt of the foresaid Townes, Castellys, and Fortresses, to the seyde Kyngs, and to theyr Lyeutenantes, Prynces of noble recommendacion; as, *Johan*, Regent of *Fraunce*, Duc of *Bedford*; *Thomas*, Duc of *Exeter*; *Thomas*, Duc of *Clarence*, and other Lyeutenantes (89).’

(89) *Tullius's Book of Old Age*: printed by *W. Caxton*, fol. 143r, in the Prohem. Also *The British Librarian*, 8vo, 1738, p. 255.

[K] *Of his Will, we shall give some extract below.* It was written in Latin, and a fair copy of it, not very correct, we have seen, as also a translation or abstract in English; but in neither is it expressed, who the witnesses were, nor what the arms, or figure of the seal. It bears date, on the Sunday after the Feast of *All Saints*, in November 1459, setting forth, That the said Sir *Johan Fastolff*, Knight, of the County of Norfolk, and in the Diocese of Norwich, made and published this his last will and testament in his Manor of *Castre*, within the said Diocese, in the following manner. First, he commends his soul to *God*, to the *Virgin Mary*, and to all the *Saints*; and bequeaths his body to be buried after his death, in the conventual church of the Monastery of *St Bennet*, in the *Holmes*, in the said Diocese, under the arch of the new chapel, which he lately rebuilt there, on the south side of the choir or chancel, under a marble tomb, near the body of *Milicent* his former consort, who lies interred there. He further ordains, that the Abbot, and the said Convent, shall give security, before his interment, that they will grant and confirm to *John Paston*, and to such others as shall be nominated by him, full power of granting the lands, &c. which the said *John Paston* and other Peoffees of the said Sir *Johan Fastolff*, or their Peoffees hold of the said Abbot and Convent, to seven Monks, or Priests, and their Successors, towards endowing and establishing a College, within the Manor and Lordship of *Castre*; or so much of the land, as the said Sir *Johan Fastolff* shall think fit. Likewise orders, that all his debts should be paid, and all forfeitures be fully compensated, restored, and satisfied. He bequeaths towards the repair and support of the harbour at *Great-Yarmouth*, and towards renewing and

repairing the walls of the said town, for the public benefit, or conservation of the town, and the adjacent country, one hundred marks; on condition that, the Burgesses and Governors thereof, shall without delay, proceed to the said reparations, that the inhabitants may pray for the repose of his soul. He gives to the parish churches of the several villages, wherein he had either feat, manor, lands or tenements, a silk gown, to celebrate mass and pray for his soul in, and that there should be erected in those churches, his achievement of arms, embroidered at the discretion of his executors, and so as were most convenient to, or becoming those churches. He bequeaths to his tenants and menial servants, a competent reward out of his goods and chattels, to the sum of three hundred marks, according to their rank, condition, and merits; and so, as his gentleman or valets may have a proportion double to the rest; more especially regarding those who constantly attended him, in all perils and dangers, in sickness and health. Likewise gives to all the orders of religious and mendicant Friars, both in *Great-Yarmouth* and the city of *Norwich*, that they may offer their prayers for his soul, a sufficient sum, according to the discretion of his executors; on condition, that the partakers thereof have no property, but depend upon the alms and charity of good christians for their support. He bequeaths the residue of his goods, &c. after all debts, legacies, and charges are cleared, to his executors hereafter named; that they may distribute them according to discretion, and so as to promote the salvation of his soul, among the fittest objects of charity; the poor, infirm, lame, blind, those confined to their beds, and who cannot maintain themselves or their family. But still to prefer his poor relations, neighbours, and those who were known to him; or where he had any lordships, manors, lands, or tenements; and for repairing of churches, in the said towns and villages; also the public roads and bridges, and other charitable uses, especially in Norfolk and Suffolk. And that, one thousand marks or pounds be laid out, within a year, upon his funeral, his legacies and other charities aforesaid. And that five hundred and thirty three pounds six shillings and eight pence, shall be laid out annually, so far as his goods, lands, &c. by sale shall amount to, till they are fully disposed of; and he exhorts in the name of *Jesus Christ*, that this trust be sincerely and faithfully discharged by his executors; and as he would in conscience, reason, and justice, do for them in like case; and as they will answer for the contrary at the tremendous tribunal of *God*. Then he constitutes *William* Bishop of *Winchester*, *John* Lord de *Beauchamp*, *Nicholas* Abbot of *Langley*, *John* Stokes, Doctor of Laws, Friar *John* Brackley, Doctor of Divinity; *William* Yelverton, one of the King's Judges, *John* Paston, Esq; *Henry* Filongley, Esq; *Thomas* Howes, Priest, and *William* Worcester, to be the executors of this his last Will. And the execution thereof he thus declares limited: that the said *John Paston*, and *Thomas Howes*, shall have the administration and disposition of the moveable goods, money, &c. which shall arise from the sale of his lands, and the produce thereof, and they only, to dispose of the said effects for the benefit of his soul; and none of the rest to concern themselves, in disposing of his said goods, &c. unless they are

(?) In Mr An-  
stib's Preface to  
The Regist. of  
the Garter, Vol. I.  
p. 21.  
(\*) Worthies of  
Engl. in Nor-  
folk.  
(w) Mr Blome-  
field's Letter, as  
before.  
(x) In Cur. Prae-  
rog. Cant.  
(y) Which is a  
mistake, as was  
observed.

before, as it appears in the *Escheats* (t), being the 39th, or last year of King Henry the Vith's reign, and no less than thirty-six years beyond the extravagant retrenchment of T. Fuller (u). He was buried with great solemnity in a chapel of his own building, at the abbey-church of St Bennet at the Holm in Norwich, which was ruined at the dissolution (w); and so devoutly was he revered in the dust, that John Beauchamp, Lord of Powyke, in his last Will dated the 15th of Edward IV (x), appointed a chantry, more especially for the soul of Sir John Fastolff. In one of Mr Ashmole's choice old volumes of MSS. lately in the possession of a noble Peer, to whom we have been beholden for many extracts out of it, there is a concise character of our Worthy, written in the reign of King Henry VII, by a Knight who was then King of Arms, wherein Sir John Fastolff is called 'a rich Knight, and a grete bilder; having bilded *Caster Hall* in *Northfolk*, 'a *Royal Palace* in *Southwork*, and another in *Yermouth*: a speciall goode Maister to the 'Officers of Armes, and was most triumphantly brought in erthe, that I have heard of 'any man of his degre.' His arms are also there blazoned: *Or and Azure, quarterly; three Scollops* (\*) *argent, in a Bend verd.* The crest; *a Plume of Ostridge Feathers, of various colours*: his cognizance; *a Book with a Pencil* in it; and *a Shield*, with a branch of *Laurel* flourishing out of it (y).

(y) Sir Thomas  
Wrightley's He-  
raldical Collec-  
tions of the  
Knights of the  
Garter, Bath,  
&c. adorned  
with Limnings of  
their Portraite,  
Arms, &c. fol.  
MS. in the Pos-  
session of the late  
Duke of Mon-  
tagu.  
See an Abstract  
of this volume, in  
*The British Li-  
brarian*, 8vo,  
1738, p. 323.

are requested to aid and assist them. And that none of the rest, shall sell, receive, or distribute any of his effects, without the consent of those two; nor any of them interfere in the administration while those are alive; hoping they will not refuse their aid, when it is requested. But if either of those two decline, or refuse to act and officiate, or should die before the complete execution of his Will, then he of the two, who is willing to administer, or does survive, shall associate one of the other executors, whom he thinks most fitting and capable. So, as often as one dies, or declines the trust, the other shall elect one of the rest. But where both shall refuse to act, or both die, before a substitute is chosen, then such two of the survivors, as shall have a majority of suffrages among themselves, are allowed to administer; and the two thus chosen, may, as they see occasion, consult with the Bishop of *Winton*, Lord *Beauchamp*, Abbot of *Langley*, Friar *Brackley*, *Yelverton*, *Filongley*, and *William Worcester*. He further appoints *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canter-*

*bury*, *Walter* Bishop of *Norwich*, Master *Robert Popy*, Chancellor, and *Hugh Fen*, to be Supervisors of this his last Will; and desires, that the two acting executors may receive such recompence for their trouble, as the said Bishop of *Winton* and *John Stokes*, or the major part of the survivors, shall think fit. He also ordains that the supervisors of his Will, and the other executors, shall receive such reward for their trouble, as the two acting executors shall account fully proportionable thereto: and that, if any of the said executors shall obstruct, or molest the said *John Pafson* and *Thomas Horves*, in the due execution of their trust, or incur any of the offences before mentioned, they shall be discharged from having any concern therein: or if they are thus troublesome before they shall be admitted to a share in the execution, he wills and ordains, that every such delinquent shall be declared, and held, incapable of such trust, and be excluded from any share in it. Dated in the year, &c. abovementioned.

FECKENHAM (JOHN DE) the last Abbot of Westminster, was so called from his birth-place Feckenham-forest in Worcestershire, where his parents, who were poor cottagers, resided; his right name being *Howman* (a). Shewing in his youth a very good genius, and a strong propensity to learning, the Priest of the parish instructed him some years; and then, by his own and other persons interest, got him admitted into Evesham monastery. After having continued some time there, he was, at the age of eighteen, sent to study at Gloucester-college in Oxford; an house for students of the Benedictine Order; where the monastery just now mentioned had an apartment (b). When he had sufficiently improved himself in academical learning, he was recalled to his abbey, in order to give room for other students. That abbey being dissolved among the smaller ones, Nov. 17, 1536, he subscribed the resignation with the rest of his brethren, and had a yearly pension of an hundred florins [A] allowed him during life (c). Whereupon, returning to his studies at Oxford, he continued some years in Gloucester-college (d): and in 1539, June 11, took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (e); being then Chaplain to Dr John Bell Bishop of Worcester (f). That Prelate resigning his See [B] Nov. 17, 1543 (g), Mr Feckenham was entertained in the same quality of Chaplain, by Dr Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, with whom he continued till 1549. But Bonner being then deprived of his bishopric (h), by the Reformers; Feckenham was committed to the Tower of London [C]. Soon after, he was borrowed thence, as his own words are (i),

(d) Ibid.  
(e) Wood, Fast,  
Vol. I. col. 62.  
(f) Wood, Ath.  
ubi supra.  
(g) Fasti Eccl.  
Anglic. by J. L.  
Neve, edit. 1716,  
fol. p. 298.  
(h) See the article  
BONNER (ED-  
MUND).  
(i) Quasi mutu-  
atum accepit.

[A] *And had a yearly pension of an hundred florins* ] That is about 22 or 23 l. a year. But Br. Willis, Esq; says, it was only 10 l. per ann (1).  
[B] *That Prelate resigning his See* ] T. Fuller says (2), that it was *after his death*, our author Feckenham became chaplain to Bishop Bonner: which is a mistake.—J. Stevens (3); hath run into the like, or a greater error; when he affirms, that Bishop Bell dyed in 1539: and Mr Dart also (4), when he places his death three years after 1537.—Ant. Wood more properly expresses it, in the following words: 'that Bishop giving up his place in few years after.' viz. after 1539.—Dr John Bell, as is said in the text of this article, resigned his See in 1543; and did not die till Aug. 11. 1550 (5). What induced him to this resignation, is no where expressed. He was for some

time a promoter of the Reformation. But in 1543, when the act for the advancement of true religion, &c. was brought into Parliament, he did but faintly promote it, tho' he had promised Archbishop Cranmer to be strenuous therein (6). So that, either a dislike of the Reformation, or fear of danger, were the motives of this his resignation.  
[C] *Feckenham was committed to the Tower of London.* ] The reason of his commitment is not very exactly known. Dr R. Horne, Bishop of Winchester, says, the cause of his imprisonment, was his promising first, and then refusing, to administer the Sacraments after the Protestant manner (7). But T. Stapleton, who is not much to be depended on, affirms, that it was his defending the fast of Lent, and opposing justification by faith alone; and those, he says, were the

(1) Hist. of the  
famed Abbays,  
Vol. I. p. 90.  
(2) Church Hist.  
l. ix. p. 178.  
(3) Additional  
volumes to the  
Monasticon, edit.  
1722. Vol. I.  
p. 233.  
(4) Westmonaste-  
rium, Vol. II.  
in the Lives of  
the Abbats, p.  
cxvii.  
(5) Fr. Godwin,  
de Praeulibus,  
dit. 1616, 4to,  
p. 522.

(6) See Dr Bur-  
net's Hist. of the  
Reformation, P. I.  
p. 321.  
(7) Answer to  
Feckenham's De-  
claration of Scru-  
ples, &c. Lond.  
1566.

to dispute on the chief points controverted between the Protestants and Papists. The first disputation he engaged in, was at the Savoy in the house of Francis Ruffel Earl of Bedford: the second at Sir William Cecil's in Channel-row: and the third at Sir John Cheke's in White-Friers. Thence he was carried down to Worcestershire, where he still held a benefice; and had four solemn disputations with John Hooper Bishop of the diocese: the first at Pershore during that Bishop's visitation, and the last in the cathedral of Worcester (k) [D]. After that, he was remanded to the Tower, where he continued till the accession of Queen Mary I. to the crown in 1553. But being then released, he was called to Court, and made one of the Queen's Chaplains (l). He also became again Chaplain to Bishop Bonner [E], when restored to his bishopric, which was Sept. 5, 1553 (m). And, the 25th of January following, was collated by him to the prebend of Kentish-town, in St Paul's cathedral (n). The 10th of March next ensuing, he was elected Dean of the same church, in the room of Dr William May, deprived (o): and June 20, 1554, was collated to the rectory of Finchley in Middlesex, which he held only a few months (p). But the same year, on the 23d of September, he obtained the rectory of Greenford Magna in the said county (q). Before I proceed further, I must observe, that on the 10th of February 1554, he was sent by the Queen to the Lady Jane Gray (viz. two days before her execution) to commune with her, and to reduce her from the doctrine of Christ to Queen Mary's religion, as Mr Fox expresses it (r) [F]. In April, he was one of the Disputants, at Oxford, against Archbishop Cranmer, and the Bishops Ridley and Latimer, before they were inhumanly committed to the flames, and martyred for their strict adherence to the Protestant religion: but he said very little against them (s). He had also a conference, in 1555, with one Thomas Haukes, a Protestant; whom he endeavoured in vain to bring into a belief of Transubstantiation (t): and though he appeared warm upon that occasion, yet, if a just representation is given of him, it was contrary to his natural disposition. For, all Queen Mary's reign, he wholly employed himself in doing good offices to the afflicted Protestants, from the highest to the lowest. Francis Ruffel Earl of Bedford, and Ambrose and Robert Dudley, afterwards Earls of Warwick and Leicester, tasted of his kindness: as did also Sir John Cheke. Nay he even interceded so earnestly with Queen Mary for the Lady Elizabeth's enlargement out of prison, that he incurred the Queen's displeasure for a while (u). In May 1556, the university of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, without performing any exercise; and the ensigns of that honour were ordered to be carried to him (\*), being then in great esteem for his learning, piety, charity, humility, and other virtues (w). The September following he was made Abbot of Westminster-abbey, which was then restored by Queen Mary, and fourteen Benedictin Monks placed there under his government with episcopal power (x) [G]. Upon the death of Queen Mary in 1558, her successor Queen Elizabeth, not unmindful of her obligations to Dr Feckenham, sent for him [H], before her coronation,

(k) Reyner; Wood, Athenæ; and Stevens, ubi supra.

(l) Stevens, as above, p. 289.

(m) See the article BONNER (EDMUND). And Newcourt, Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 26, 48.

(n) Ibid. p. 171.

(o) Ib. p. 48.

(p) Ib. p. 605.

(q) Ibid. p. 615. He vacated it when made Abbat of Westminster.

(r) AEs and Monuments of Martyrs, edit. 1684, Vol. III. p. 25.

(s) Ib. p. 36, &c. 63, 67.

(t) Ibid. p. 217, &c.

(u) T. Fuller's Ch. History, B. ix. p. 178, 179; and his Worthies of England, in Worcestershire, p. 177.

(\*) Wood, Fast. Vol. I. col. 83.

(w) Id. Athen. Vol. I. col. 222.

(x) Stevens, ubi supra, p. 278. Fuller's Worthies, in Westminster, p. 240.

causes alledged in the register of Archbishop Cranmer; who for that reason summoned Feckenham to appear at Lambeth before several commissioners, and he persisting in his opinion, Cranmer caused him to be committed; for the truth whereof Stapleton appeals to the said register (8).

(8) Horn-blaff, &c. Lov. 1567.

[D] *And the last in the cathedral of Worcester.* Some say, that J. Jewel Bishop of Salisbury was one of the opponents at this last disputation (9). But Ant. Wood thinks it is false (10). Th. Stapleton mentioning this disputation, says, Bishop Hooper acknowledged, he was thoroughly satisfied with Mr Feckenham's reasoning (11). But by this we may justly doubt of that writer's veracity. For Bishop Hooper was a man not easily satisfied in any respect, much less with so direct an opponent to that opinion, for which he afterwards suffered; and therefore it carries with it an air of too great improbability. But, notwithstanding, Reyner takes it from him, Wood from Reyner, and others from them both, without boggling at the absurdity (12).

(9) Stevens, ubi supra, p. 289.

(10) Athen. ubi supra.

(11) Horn-blaff, &c.

(12) Dart's Westmonast. ubi supra.

(13) Ch. Hist. B. ix. p. 178.

[E] *He also became again Chaplain to Bishop Bonner.* And, as T. Fuller expresses it in his whimsical way, he crossed the Proverb, *like master, like man*; the patron being cruel, the Chaplain kind, to such who in judgment dissented from him (13).

[F] *And to reduce her from the doctrine of Christ to Queen Mary's religion, as Mr Fox expresses it.* Part of the communication between them, according to that author, was as follows: 'Feck. Why? what do you receive in that Sacrament? [viz. the Lord's Supper] Do you not receive the very Body and Blood of Christ? Jane. No surely, I do not so believe. I think that at Supper, I neither receive Flesh nor Blood; but Bread and Wine: which Bread when it is broken, and the Wine when it is drunken, putteth me in remembrance, how that for my sins the

Body of Christ was broken, and his Blood shed on the Cross, and with that Bread and Wine, I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his Body, and shedding of his Blood for our Sins on the Cross. Feck. Why? Doth not Christ speak these words, *Take, Eat, this is my Body.* Require you any plain-er words? Doth he not say, it is his Body? Jane. I grant he saith so; and so he saith, *I am the Vine, I am the Door,* but he is never the more the Door nor the Vine. Doth not St Paul say, *He calleth things that are not as though they were?* God forbid, that I should say, that I eat the very natural Body and Blood of Christ: for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two Bodies, or two Christs. One Body was tormented on the Cross, and if they did eat another Body, then had he two Bodies: or if his Body was eaten, then was it not broken upon the Cross, or if it were broken upon the Cross, it was not eaten of his Disciples, &c. (14).

[G] *And fourteen Benedictin Monks placed there under his government* They were brought in with some difficulty and opposition at first; for the Prebendaries of Westminster, legally settled in their places, would not resign them, till Cardinal Pole, partly by compulsion, partly by compensation, obtained their removal (15). What T. Fuller affirms in the same place, appears improbable; that 'fourteen Benedictins only could be found in England, then extant since their dissolution, which were unmarried, unpreferred to cures, and unaltered in their opinions.'

[H] *Queen Elizabeth, not unmindful of her obligations to Dr Feckenham, sent for him* The first messenger, it seems, found him planting those elms which are now in the Prebendaries garden; and we are told, he would not go till he had finished his plantation (16). Whether to his honour, or discredit, let the reader judge!

(14) AEs and Monuments, &c. as above, p. 226.

(15) Sanderus Schifm. Angl. l. ii. p. 305, edit. Col. Agr. 1650 and T. Fuller Ch. History, ubi supra, p. 179.

(16) Reyner, ubi supra, p. 235. Dart, as above.

nation, to consult and reward him; and, as tis said, offered him the archbishopric of Canterbury, provided he would conform to the laws, but he refused (y). He appeared in her first Parliament, taking the lowest place on the Bishops form; and was the last mitred Abbat that sat in the House of Peers (z). During his attendance there, he protested and spoke against every thing tending to the Reformation. Namely, the 27th of February 1559, he dissented to the bill, For restoring the Supremacy to the Imperial Crown of this realm: March 15, to the Provisoes in the bill for restoring the First Fruits and Tenths to the Crown: March 22, to the bill for restoring the Patentees of the Bishop of Winchester's lands: April 6, to the bill, empowering the Queen, upon the avoidance of any archbishopric or bishopric, to take the Temporal Possessions thereof, and recompense them with personages inappropriate: April 17, to the bill for the Supremacy a second time; and likewise when it passed, at which time he made an elaborate speech against it: And May 5, to the bill for annexing certain religious houses to the Crown (a). He also made a long speech against the bill for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and service in the Church (b) [I]. And offered zealously to be one of the Disputants, at the solemn conference held at Westminster, about religion, during this session of Parliament; but was not admitted (c). This strong opposition causing him to be looked upon with an evil eye, he was committed to the Tower in 1560 (d); where he continued till 1563, when he was taken thence, and put into the custody of Robert Horne Bishop of Winchester. But having written against each other about the oath of Supremacy, and now having frequent and warm disputes upon that subject [K], he seems to have had but an uneasy life there (e). And not altering his opinion, which seems to have been the end of his being put into the Bishop's hand, he was remanded to the Tower in 1564. But, soon after, through the intercession of friends, he was removed to the Marshalsea, where he had more liberty and air. Being also discharged from hence shortly after, he lived for some time in Holbourn, where he built an aqueduct (f). In 1571, he attended Dr John Story before his execution (g). We find him again in custody in the year 1574; when he was released upon bond of appearance (h). In 1578, he was in free custody with Richard Cox Bishop of Ely; whom the Queen had desired, to use his endeavours to bring Dr Feckenham (being a man of learning and temper) to acknowledge her Supremacy, and to come to church: He was induced at length to acknowledge the Queen's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, but could never be brought to a thorough conformity (i) [L]. Soon after, the restless spirit of some of the Roman Catholicks, and the frequent attempts upon the Queen's life, obliged her, for her greater safety, to have the most eminent and active of that profession closely confined. Whereupon our author was imprisoned, among others, in Wisbich-castle in the Isle of Ely; in which town he built the cross still standing there (k). He continued a prisoner the remainder of his life; which he spent in great piety and devotion, and in works of charity and beneficence. Dying in 1585, he was buried in Wisbich church (l). He was a middle-sized man, somewhat fat, round-fac'd, beautiful, and of a pleasant aspect, affable, and engaging in conversation (+). As to his character: Mr Camden calls him a learned and good man, that lived long, did a great deal of good to the poor, and always sollicitated the minds of his adversaries to benevolence (m). T. Fuller styles him, 'a man cruel to none, courteous and charitable to all ' who needed his help or liberality (n):' Dr Burnet, 'a charitable and generous man, ' that lived in great esteem in England (o).' And Mr Dart concludes the account he gives of him in these words: ' though I cannot go so far as Reyner, to call him a martyr, ' yet

(y) Keyner, ubi supra, p. 235.

(z) J. Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. 1. edit. 1725, p. 67. and Dart's Westm. ubi supra.

(a) See the Journals of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, published by Sir S. Dewes, under those several days.

(b) Strype, ubi supra, p. 75, 76.

(c) See Stevens, ubi supra, p. 289; and Strype, as above, p. 87, &c.

(d) Reyner, ubi supra; and Stevens, p. 289.

(e) Strype, ubi supra, p. 494, &c.

(f) Stevens, ib.

(g) Pitt. de Illustr. Angl. Script. ad ann. 1585, p. 786.

(h) J. Strype's Annals, Vol. 11. p. 329.

(i) Ibid, p. 525, &c. 641.

(k) Dart, as above; and Stevens, p. 289.

(l) Dart, ibid.

(+) Ibid, and Stevens, ubi supra.

(m) Camdeni Annales Reg. Eliz. ad ann. 1559.

(n) Worthies, in Westminster, p. 240.

(o) Hist. of the Reformat. P. ii. p. 397.

judge! Sanders affirms, that the Queen would fain have had Monks in her new establishment of religion; and, therefore, she pressed Feckenham and his Monks to continue in Westminster-Abbey, and she would secure them and their possessions, provided they prayed for her, and officiated according to her laws (17). But Sanders is an author of little credit.

[I] He also made a long speech against the bill for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, &c.] Dr Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, had attributed this speech to Archbishop Hethe (18). But Mr Strype hath restored it to its true author, from a MS. in the Cottonian Library (19), and published it at length in his Annals of the Reformation (20): where he observes (21), that in this speech, Dr Feckenham made very unworthy and unbecoming reflections upon the foreign Protestants of greatest eminence, as Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Martyr, for their different sentiments about the Sacrament; and especially upon two of our own Bishops, Cranmer and Ridley.

[K] But having written against each other about the Oath of Supremacy, &c.] What Dr Feckenham writ upon that subject, was in the time of the Parliament holden January 12. Anno 1562-3. and it was occasioned by the bill for assurance of the Queen's royal power; the Papists imagining thereupon, that commissioners should be appointed to exact from

them the oath of supremacy. The title of his book was, *A declaration of such scruples and stays of conscience, touching the Oath of Supremacy, as Mr John Feckenham by writing did deliver unto the Lord Bishop of Winchester, with his resolution made thereto.* See below note [M]. As for the subsequent disputes between him and Bishop Horne, you have an account of them in Mr Strype's Annals of the Reformation (22).

[L] But could never be brought to a thorough conformity.] His reasons principally were these. 1. ' He did not find fault indeed with any thing set forth in the book of common service: but desired withal, ' that all the rest of the old service that was taken out, ' should be restored again; as prayer to the Saints, ' and for the dead, the seven Sacraments, and external sacrifice. 2. He would not come to Church, ' because he was not of our Church for lack of Unity; ' some being therein Protestants, some Puritans, and ' some of the Family of Love. 3. He would not conform, because he could see nothing to be fought, ' but by the spoil of the Church, and of Bishops ' Houses, and of Colleges Lands: which he said ' made many to pretend to be Puritans, seeking for ' the fruits of the Church.' These reasons he gave in writing, with his name subscribed, to Bishop Cox above mentioned (23).

(22) Vol. I. p. 494, &c.

(23) Strype's Annals, Vol. 1. p. 500; and Vol. 11. p. 526; and Appendix to B. ii. No. 29, p. 142.

(17) Sanders de Schismate Angl. p. 345.

(18) Hist. of the Reformat. P. ii. p. 393.

(19) Vespaf. D. 13. No. 5.

(20) Vol. I. Appendix, p. 24. No. 18.

(21) Chap. iii. Vol. I. p. 7.

' yet I can't gather, but that he was a good, mild, modest, charitable man, and a devout Christian.' We need not take notice of the fulsome character given of him by J. Pits (p). For a list of his works see the note below [M].

(p) Ubi supra.

[M] *A List of his Works.*] The few things he published, were these, 1. ' A Conference Dialogue-wife, held between the Lady Jane Dudley, and Mr John Feckenham, four days before her death, touching her faith, and belief of the Sacrament and her religion.' Lond. 1554. 8vo. and 1625. 4to. There is a thing of the like nature in J. Fox's book of Martyrs (24), intituled, the Communication had between the Lady Jane and Feckenham. 2. Speech in the House of Lords, 1553. 3. Two Homilies on the first, second, and third articles of the Creed. Lond. 4to. 4. *Oratio funebris in exequiis Ducissæ Parmæ, Caroli quinti filiæ, & Belgicæ Gubernatricis.* i. e. A funeral oration on the death of the Duchess of Parma, daughter of Charles V. and Governess of the Netherlands. 5. Sermon at the Exequy of Joan Queen of Spain, &c. on Deuter. xxxii. 28, 29. Lond. 1555. 8vo (25).

(24) Vol. III. p. 25.

(25) Wood, Athen. ut supra, col. 222, 223.

6. A Sermon at the funeral of Queen Mary, on Ecclesiastes iv. 2 (26). 7. ' A declaration of such scruples and staies of conscience touching the Oath of Supremacy, as Mr Feckenham delivered by writing to Dr Horn, Bishop of Winchester.' Lond. 4to. 1566. Answered by Bishop Horne in 1566. 4to. refuted by Thomas Stapleton the year following. This piece of Feckenham is printed in Reyner: who calls the Bishop's answer thereto, an impious book, and full of lies; *librum impium, plenumque mendaciis.* 8. Objections or Assertions made against Mr John Goughe's Sermon preached in the Tower of London, 15 January 1570. 9. *Caveat Emptor.* Which seems to have been a caution against buying Abbey-Lands. He had also written Commentaries on the Psalms; and a treatise of the Eucharist, against John Hooper: which were lost among other things (27).

(26) Stevens, p. 290.

(27) Wood, ubi supra; and Pits, p. 785.

FELL (JOHN) a learned and most excellent Bishop in the XVIIth century, and son of Samuel Fell, D. D. Dean of Christ-Church [A], by Margaret his wife, daughter of Thomas Wyld of Worcester, Esq; was born at Longworth (a) in Berkshire, June 23, 1625 (b). He received his education mostly in the free-school at Thame in Oxfordshire, and in Christ-Church Oxon. where he was admitted Student in 1636, at the age of eleven years. On the 24th of October 1640, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (c), and that of Master June 2, 1643 (d): about which time he was in arms for King Charles I, within the garrison of Oxford, and afterwards was an Ensign. In 1648 he was turned out of his Student's place by the Parliament-Visitors, being then in Holy Orders; and from that time till the Restoration of King Charles II, he lived in a retired and studious condition, partly in the lodgings of the most famous Physician Tho. Willis his brother-in-law (e), in Christ-Church, and partly in his (f) house over-against Merton-college in Oxford; wherein he, and others (g), kept up the devotions and orders of the Church of England, and administered the sacrament and other duties to numbers of Royalists, especially Scholars that had been ejected in the year 1648 (h). After the King's Restoration he was made Prebendary of Chichester, and Canon of Christ-Church, (in the room of Ralph Button ejected) into which last he was installed July 27, 1660 (i). On the 30th of November following he was installed Dean of Christ-Church (k), being then one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary; and Doctor in Divinity (l) [B]. As soon as he was fixed in that eminent station, he earnestly applied himself to purge the college of all remains of hypocrisy and nonsense, which had but too much prevailed every where in the late times of confusion: and to improve it in all sorts of learning, as well as true religion; laying those foundations that have rendered it so famous to posterity, and will continue to make it ever flourish. Neither was he less diligent in restoring its discipline, than adorning it with magnificent buildings. For, by his own benefactions, and what he procured from others, he built the north side of the great Quadrangle [C], which had never been finished before, though

(a) Some say, it was at Sunningwell, where his father was Rector. But see his epitaph below.

(b) Wood, Athen. Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 795.

(c) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 283.

(d) Ibid. Vol. II. col. 33.

(e) He had married his sister. Wood, Athen. ubi supra, Vol. II. col. 549.

(f) Viz. the said Mr Willis's.

(g) Especially Mr John Dolben, afterwards Archbishop of York, and sometimes Mr Richard Allestry. Wood, ubi supra, Vol. II. col. 549, 792.

(h) Ibid. and col. 795.

(i) Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, &c. edit. 1730, 4to, p. 450, by Br. Willis, Esq;

(k) Ibid. p. 442; and Wood, ubi supra, col. 795; & Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 256.

(l) Id. Fasti, Vol. II. col. 137.

[A] *Samuel Fell. D. D. Dean of Christ-Church.*] He was born in the parish of St Clement-Danes, London, elected Student of Christ-Church from Westminster-School, in 1601, aged 17 years, took the Degrees in Arts, that of Master being completed in 1608, elected Proctor of the University in 1614, admitted Bachelor of Divinity the year after, and about that time became Rector of Freshwater in the Isle of Wight. In May 1619, he was installed Canon of Christ-Church, and the same year proceeded in Divinity, being about that time domestic Chaplain to King James I. In 1626, he was made Margaret-Professor, and so consequently Prebendary of Worcester, (which was about that time annexed to the Professorship) he being then a Calvinist. But at length leaving his opinion, he was, through Archbishop Laud's interest (1), made Dean of Lichfield, in 1637; and, the year following, Dean of Christ-Church, in the place of Dr Duppa (2). He was a person of a most publick spirit, as will be always remembered by the many stately works he carried on in his college; as namely, finishing the wainscote of the Choir, paving the Cathedral, and glazing the windows with painted glass, which his Predecessor Duppa had begun. He also laid out considerably on his lodgings, and completed Peckwater, and the noble staircase leading up to the hall; and began building the north side of the great Quadrangle, which he would soon have perfected: and,

(1) A. Wood says, in his snarling ill-natured way, that ' he became after great seekings and cringings, a creature of Dr Laud Archbishop of Canterbury.' Athen. ut supra, Vol. II. col. 118.

(2) Ibid. He was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in the years 1645, 1646, and part of 1647. Id. Fasti, Vol. II. col. 45, &c.

had not the times prevented it, endeavoured doing more. But having by his loyalty to his Prince, and zeal for the Church of England, exasperated the rebels, who sought his life, he was ejected, Anno 1647, and being threatened to be murdered, was forced to abscond, and dying heart-broken February 1, 1648 (the day he was made acquainted with the murder of his Royal Master King Charles I.) he was buried in the chancel of Sonningwell-Church near Abingdon in Berkshire, (where he had been Rector and built the front of the parsonage house) with only this short memorial, on a small lozenge of marble, laid over his grave: *Depositum S. F. February 1648* (3).

[B] *And Doctor in Divinity*] He was created so, October 3. 1660 (4).

[C] *He built the north side of the great Quadrangle.*]

It was begun to be built in a manner suitable to the rest of the Quadrangle, by his father Dr Samuel Fell; and was by him, the College, and several benefactors, carried on to the top, and had all the frame of timber belonging thereunto laid. But before the inside could be finished, and the top covered with lead, the civil wars began: so it continued exposed to the weather, till the Presbyterians became masters of the University; who minding their own private concerns more than the public good, took the timber away, and employed it for their own use. But after the Restoration, Dr Fell, by his own benefaction, and those of the then Canons,

(3) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; as above, p. 441.

(4) Wood, Fasti, ubi supra, col. 137.

and

though begun by the renowned Cardinal Wolsey. Next he rebuilt part of the lodgings of the Canon of the second stall, and the east side of the Chaplain's quadrangle, both which were finished in 1672; and a handsome range of buildings thereto adjoining, fronting the meadows, finished in 1677 and 1678 [D]. The next fabrick erected by his care, were the lodgings belonging to the Canon of the third stall, near the passage leading from the great Quadrangle into Peckwater; finished about the year 1674. And, finally, he built the stately tower over the principal gate of the college, begun on the old foundation (laid by Cardinal Wolsey) in June 1681, and finished in November 1682, mostly with the monies of benefactors, whose arms are carved on the stone roof of the gateway (m) [E]. He also made the elegant long walk in the meadow (n). In the years 1666, 1667, 1668, and part of 1669, he was Vice-Chancellor of the university; and whilst he continued in that office, took great care to have persons of all degrees go in their proper habits. He likewise looked narrowly to the due performance of the publick exercises in the schools; and reformed several abuses therein. That he might keep up the credit of them, and of the whole university, he frequently attended himself the disputations in the schools, the examinations for degrees, and the publick lectures of Professors; and others; and by his presence rendered them more considerable, and caused them to be better performed than they were before, or have been since (o). In a word, he was a most excellent Disciplinarian: and kept up the exercises in his own college also with great strictness; was admirable in training up youth of noble extraction, had a faculty in that peculiar to himself, and took great delight in it. Several mornings in the week constantly, he went round his college to the chambers of Noblemen and Gentlemen-Commoners, to examine and see what progress they made in their studies. No one was a greater encourager and promoter of learning in the university, and all publick works belonging thereunto, than himself; witness not only the edifices beforementioned, but also the Sheldonian Theatre, which was built chiefly by his sollicitation. He likewise advanced the press, and improved printing in Oxford in such a manner as it had been designed before by that publick-spirited person Archbishop Laud; by whom it would certainly have been effected, as well as other matters of greater concern relating to religion and learning, had not he been prevented by the iniquity of the times. He was an eager defender and maintainer of the university and its privileges, especially while he executed the office of Vice-Chancellor, and always endeavoured to advance its liberties; for which he often gained the ill opinion of the citizens of Oxford (p). So worthy and illustrious a person did well deserve to be advanced to the highest dignities in the Church: Accordingly (upon the translation of Dr Henry Compton to the See of London) he was nominated Bishop of Oxford; elected January 8, confirmed February 5, and consecrated Febr. 6, 1675-6 (q). At the same time he had leave to hold his deanery in commendam, purposely to keep him in the college, that he might do farther good therein, and in the university. No sooner was he settled in his See, but he undertook the rebuilding of the episcopal palace at Cuddesden in Oxfordshire: the outside of which was finished in 1679, and the inside soon after (r). Holding also the Mastership of St Oswald's hospital at Worcester, he rebuilt that in a sumptuous manner, bestowing all the profits of his income there, in augmenting it, and recovering its estates. And part of the revenues of his bishopric arising from the impropriation of the dissolved prebend of Banbury (s), he liberally gave five hundred pounds to repair that church; which being the largest in Oxfordshire, and much out of repair, would otherwise have fallen down. He likewise established daily prayers at St Martin's, alias Carfax, the principal city-church in Oxford, at eight in the morn-

(m) Br. Willis, ubi supra, p. 442; and Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(n) Br. Willis, ibid.

(o) Wood, Ath. ubi supra, col. 796.

(p) Ibid. col. 797.

(q) Willis, ubi supra, p. 435.

(r) Wood, ubi supra, col. 797; and Vol. I. col. 740.

(s) In Oxfordshire; formerly in the church and diocese of Lincoln.

(5) See a List of them, and of what they gave, in Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 285.

(6) Wood, Ath. ubi supra, col. 795, 796.

(7) Idem, Hist. & Antiq. ut supra.

(8) Ibid.

and many generous persons that had been formerly members of the College, and of others (5), quite finished that building, for the use of two Canons; together with the part between the then imperfect building on the north side of the great gate, and the north-west corner of that Quadrangle (6). Towards this building, Dr J. Fell gave no less than five hundred and fifty pounds (7). [D] Next he rebuilt part of the lodgings of the Canon of the second Stall, and the east side of the Chaplain's Quadrangle ——— and a handsome range of buildings thereto adjoining, fronting the meadows ———] In the place where this last-mentioned range of buildings stands, Philip King, Auditor of Christ-Church, had built, about the year 1638, very fair lodgings of polished free stone. But they were burnt by carelessness, Nov. 19, 1669, and with them the south-east corner of the Chaplain's Quadrangle, besides part of the lodgings of the Canon of the second Stall, which was blown up with gun powder, to prevent the spreading of the fire towards the Library, Treasury, and Church. But they were soon rebuilt by our worthy Dean's care, particularly the east side of the Chaplain's Quadrangle, with a straight passage under it, leading from the Cloister into the field, as it now is, which was finished in 1672 (8).

[E] And, finally, he built the stately Tower over the principal gate of the College, &c.] Into this Tower he caused to be removed, Anno 1683, out of the Campanile (or steeple) in the Cathedral, the bell called Great Tom of Christ-Church; said to be brought thither with the other bells from Osney-Abbey; which Bishop Fell took care to have recast with additional metal, inasmuch, that it is now by far the biggest bell in England. Round it is this inscription: *Magnus Thomas Cusius Oxonienfis, renatus April viii. MDCLXXX, regnante Carolo Secundo, Decano Johanne Oxon. Episcopo, Subdecano Gulielmo Jane S. S. Theol. Professore, Thesaurario Henrico Smith S. S. Theol. Professore, Curâ & Arte Christoferi Hodson.* The dimensions of it are as follows, Diameter seven feet one inch; from the crown to the brim five feet nine inches; thickness of the striking place six inches; weight of the whole bell near seventeen thousand pounds; and of the clapper three hundred and forty two pounds; sixteen men are required to ring it. It first rung out May 29, 1684, from which time to this, it is knolled every night, a hundred and one times, agreeable to the number of Students in the College, as 'tis said; as a signal to all scholars to repair to their respective colleges and halls; and so it used to be, while it hung in the Campanile aforesaid (9).

(9) Wood, ibid. col. 706; and Br. Willis, ubi supra, p. 408, 409.

morning, and eight at night. In a word, he expended his whole substance in works of piety and charity. Among his other benefactions to his college, it must not be forgot, that the best rectories belonging to it, were bought with his money. And as he had been so bountiful a patron whilst he lived, and as it were a second founder of that college, so he left to it at his death an estate for the maintenance of ten or more exhibitioners for ever; who are, as vacancies happen, to be elected every first day of November; when there is a publick speech spoken in the Refectory in commemoration of him (t). Thus this pious, learned, and zealous person, employed himself wholly in doing good. At length having brought his body to an ill habit, and wasted his spirits by too much zeal for the publick, and by forming too many noble designs: All these things contributed, with the unhappy turn of religion which he dreaded under King James II, to wear him quite out and shorten his life. So that he died July 10, 1686, to the great loss of learning, of the whole university, and of the Church of England (u). We may suppose that so active a man as he was, had not much time for contemplation. However, in general, what he published was excellent [F]. As to his character, besides what hath been already said of him above; He was the most zealous man of his time for the Church of England; and none went beyond him, in the performance of the rules belonging thereto. He constantly frequented divine service in publick four times a day; and had, besides, prayers twice every day in his own family. He was a person of strict morals and great virtues. In particular he was a man of a most generous spirit, undervalued money, and disbursed it so freely, upon learned, pious, and charitable uses, that he left sometimes for himself and his private use little or nothing. His charity was so great, that he was a husband to the afflicted widow, a father to the orphan, and a tender parent to poor children (w) [G]. In his episcopal capacity, he was an excellent judge of men and merits, an exemplary supervisor of his clergy, and a diligent asserter of the rights of the Church (x). To conclude his character; He was a bold and resolute man, and did not value what the generality said or thought of him, so as he could accomplish his just and generous designs: which being too many to effect was the chief cause of shortening his days (y). In this one thing he was particular, that he was no admirer of the Royal Society (z). He was buried July 13, in the Divinity-chapel, or north isle adjoining to the choir of Christ-church cathedral (a). Over his tomb, which is a plain decent marble, is an elegant inscription, composed by the learned and polite Dean Aldrich, his successor. He was never married.

(t) Br. Willis, ubi supra, p. 435, 443.

(u) Ibid. p. 443; and Wood, ubi supra, col. 799.

(w) Wood, ubi supra, col. 797.

(x) Br. Willis, ubi supra, p. 435.

(y) Wood, as above, col. 797.

(z) Ibid. col. 562.

(a) Ibid. col. 799.

[F] In general, what he published was excellent.] It is as follows. I. 'The Interest of England stated: or a faithful and just account of the aims of all parties now pretending; distinctly treating of the designs of the Roman-Catholick, Royalist, Presbyterian, Anabaptist, &c. 1659. 4to. two sheets.' But 'tis not certainly known, whether he was the author of this (10). II. 'The life of the most learned reverend and pious Dr Henry Hammond, who died April 25. 1660, &c.' Lond. 1660. 8vo. reprinted afterwards, with additions, at the head of Dr Hammond's works. III. He published, *Alcinoi in Platonicam Philosophiam Introductio*. Oxon. 1667. 8vo (11). IV. *In laudem musicæ carmen Sapphicum*. A sapphic ode in praise of music. Designed undoubtedly for some of the public exercises in the University; for a copy of it, now by me, was set to music. It is very beautiful and elegant. V. He published, *Historia & Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis, duobus voluminibus comprehensæ*. Oxon. 1674. fol. beautifully printed. i. e. The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, &c. written by Antony à Wood in English; and translated, at the charge of Dr Fell, by Mr Christopher Wake, and Mr Richard Peers, besides what he did himself. And he also was at the expence of the printing. But Mr Wood tells us, 'That Dr Fell taking the liberty of putting in and out several things, according to his own judgment, and those he employed being not careful enough to carry the whole design in their head as the author would have done; he desireth therefore, that the author might not be accountable for any thing which was inserted by him; or be censured for any useles repetitions or omissions of his agents under him (12).' At the end of it there is a Latin advertisement to the reader; containing an answer to a letter of T. Hobbes, wherein he complained, that Dr Fell had caused several things to be omitted or altered, which A. Wood had written in that book in his praise. VI. 'The vanity of scoffing; in a letter to a gentleman.' Lond. 1674. 4to. VII. He published, S. Clement's two Epistles to the Corinthians, in Greek and Latin: with notes at

(10) See Wood, Athen. ubi supra, col. 798.

(11) Ib. col. 221.

(12) Ib. col. 799.

the end. *Oxonæ*, 1677. 12mo. VIII. 'Account of Dr Richard Allestry's life.' Being the preface to the said Doctor's Sermons published by our author. IX. 'Of the Unity of the Church.' Translated from the original of St Cyprian. Oxford 1681. 4to. X. He published a beautiful edition of St Cyprian under this title, *Sancti Cæcilii Cypriani Opera recognita & illustrata per Johannem Episcopum Oxoniensem*. Oxon. 1682. fol. XI. He published several Sermons, as 1. 'The character of the last days,' preached before the King, on 2 Pet. iii. 3. Oxon. 1675. 4to. 2. 'A sermon preached before the House of Peers on December 22. 1680. Being the day of solemn humiliation.' Mat. xii. 25. Oxford 1680. 4to. XII. He also published, or reprinted, every year while he was Dean of Christ-Church, viz. from 1661, to the time of his death, a book, commonly a classical author, against New-year, to distribute among the Students of his house: to which books he either put an Epistle, or running notes, or corrections. XIII. He published the following pieces, written by the author of the Whole Duty of Man, with proper prefaces, and the contents, or marginal abbreviations. Namely, *The Ladies calling; The Government of the Tongue; The Art of Contentment; and The Lively Oracles given unto us, &c.* Oxford 1675, 1678, &c. The general preface before the folio edition was written by our pious and learned author (13).—He was, with regard to his learning, accounted an excellent Grecian, Latinist, Philologist, and an accomplished divine (14). [G] And a tender parent to poor children.] He constantly allowed a yearly pension to a poor man of St Thomas's parish near Oxford, purposely that he should teach gratis, twenty or twenty four poor children of that parish to read, some of which he afterwards bound apprentices, or made scholars (15).—And so eminent was he for charity, the most lovely and especial duty of Christianity, that he became a treasurer or almoner for the charity of others, and had frequently great and considerable sums put into his hands, to be disposed of by him as he thought fit (16).

(13) Wood, Athen. ut supra, col. 798.

(14) Br. Willis, ubi supra, p. 435.

(15) Wood, ubi supra, col. 797.

(16) Willis, p. 435.

FENTON (EDWARD) a bold adventurer for discoveries, an experienced seaman, and a gallant officer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was descended from an ancient family in the county of Nottingham, and had some estate there (a), which he sold, as did also his younger brother Geoffrey, afterwards Secretary of State for Ireland, being more inclined to trust to their own abilities, than the slender hereditary patrimony descending to them from their ancestors; and they were among the very small number of those, who take such daring resolutions in their youth without living to repent of them in their own old age. He was a person of very quick and lively parts, which had been improved by a good education (b), but as his brother's turn was to study and books, so his inclination led him rather to a military and active life, which induced him to court the favour, and by degrees procured him the protection, of the two potent brothers Warwick and Leicester (c). He served some time with great reputation in Ireland, but upon Sir Martin Frobisher's report of the probability of discovering a North-West Passage into the South-Seas, he resolved to engage with him in his second voyage, and accordingly was appointed Captain of the Gabriel, a bark of twenty-five tons, in which he accompanied that famous seaman in his voyage to the streights which bear his name, in the summer of the year 1577; but in their return he was separated from Sir Martin in a storm, notwithstanding which he had the good fortune to arrive safe at Bristol (d). In the third expedition undertaken in 1578, he commanded the Judith, one of the fifteen sail which composed Sir Martin Frobisher's Squadron, and had the title of Rear-Admiral (e). It is very certain that scarce any expedition was undertaken during that reign with greater expectation, or prosecuted with less effect; which misfortune put an end, for that time, to all endeavours of the like nature [A]. Captain Fenton, however, was very far from being

(a) Thoroton's Hist. of Nottinghamshire, p. 413.

(b) Fuller's Worthies, P.ii. p.313.

(c) This appears from the instructions given him, on his undertaking his last voyage.

(d) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 757.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 808.

[A] *To all endeavours of the like nature.*] It is a question that has been more than once started, but hardly ever discussed, *why so many great attempts for discovery were made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the art of navigation was so imperfectly understood, in comparison of what it now is, and when our shipping was so inconsiderable as on all hands it is at that time allowed to have been?* For this there may be various reasons assigned, such as, that it was an age of discoveries, the Spaniards and Portuguese had led the way, and almost every nation in Europe that had ships or could build them, was for making some trial, which excited that spirit of emulation, which effectually brings to light the hidden powers of genius, and this it was that enabled the English to display their natural advantages which in this respect, were many beyond other nations. Another motive was the Queen's encouragement to all enterprizes of this sort, for from the beginning of her reign, she had nothing more at heart than raising a force at sea, and besides, it was found in process of time, that there was no better method than this, of employing restless and impatient spirits, that might have been otherwise troublesome at home. A third cause was the number of gentlemen, that addicted themselves to the sea service, who from an innate spirit of generosity and activity, were most ready to set on foot and prosecute such expeditions as tended to raise their reputations, by affording them frequent opportunities of displaying both their conduct and their courage. In reference to this particular discovery of a North-West passage into the South-Seas, there were besides the general motives, some that were peculiar to those times, as for instance, this was looked upon as a point, in which the honour of England was highly interested, on account of the attempts made by the two Cabots, from whence, if it could have been perfected, we had an indubitable right to the title of first discoverers. In the next place, the great thing aimed at in those days, was to come at a share in the East-India trade, which at the time Captain Fenton made his two voyages, was altogether unknown to the English Nation, but was indeed, presently after opened to us by Sir Francis Drake. Add to all this, that a new passage was ardently desired from the difficulties, that were apprehended in proceeding by the old track of the Cape of Good Hope, which voyage its tedious length, and the great consumption made thereby amongst the seamen, had brought into discredit. A third question of as great importance as any of the rest may be moved, which is, *why after all the pains taken about it, all thoughts of this discovery were laid aside even in this reign?* To answer this fully would require a great deal of room, but possibly the notions contained in the following remarks of Sir William Monson, might somewhat con-

tribute thereto (1). 'If (says he) by the North-West there be so quick a passage, and so short a way to go and come as is desired, I say, the trade in a few years will be overlaid, for as it is now by the Cape of Good Hope, since we and the Hollanders have had traffick in the East-Indies, pepper is brought from two pence to four pence there, and when it increases in price where it should lessen, and falls where it should increase, what think you in time, this voyage will come to if followed, either the one way or the other? Let us likewise consider, what needless commodities they bring from thence. I see not but this country may live as well without spices as our forefathers have done, neither are they to be had in truck of our home commodities, as cloth, lead, and tin, but if the merchant make gain by this trade, the chiefeft stock he employs must be in silver, which has, and will in time make such a dearth of money in England, as all men in general will rue it: and as I have said before, we shall have the less money, and the greater quantity of those needless commodities, if the navigation should prove short and easy. If a man will speak truly and indifferently of the trade of the East-Indies, it is not so fit for any King or Prince, as the King of Spain, who has other Indies to supply the silver that goes out of his country, then what hope have we to persevere in that voyage, who have no mines or means by traffick to bring money into this kingdom? For this, take for an infallible argument, that country which receives more commodities than it vends, the overplus must of necessity be of money: and by reason of our wasteful expence in such needless and superfluous things, as silks, lawns, spices, wine, tobacco, sugar, and a hundred such vanities, we must confess there comes in much more of these commodities, than goes out of the realm in truck for them: and then let us consider the benefit of this trade, and how long it is like to continue good for the benefit and profit of this kingdom. The mischief that is befallen us by exhaulting our silver, was foreseen long since by Charles the Fifth, Emperor, who being holding the greedy gain of the Portugueses in their trade to the East-Indies, was wont to say, they were enemies to Christendom, by carrying their treasure from Europe to enrich the heathens.' In those days such suggestions as these must have been very plausible, but we know from experience that there is nothing in them. Both the English and Dutch have prosecuted their trade to the East-Indies by the ordinary course, and have as Sir William says, carried prodigious quantities of silver to the East-Indies, but notwithstanding this, the trade has been very profitable to them, by furnishing them with vast quantities of rich goods, which they have exported and sold with large profit,

(1) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 433.

convinced by this miscarriage that the design was impracticable; but, on the contrary, suggested from time to time, that the discovery of a North-west passage was a point of very great importance to the commerce and navigation of England, and might, notwithstanding former disappointments, be resumed with reasonable hopes of success. His importunate solicitations for several years, joined to the interest of his noble patron the Earl of Warwick, procured him at length another opportunity of trying his fortune at sea, and that in a way, and with a force, sufficient to gratify his ambition (f), and for the speedy execution of which he immediately betook himself, with the assistance of his friends, to make all the preparations possible. Of this voyage we have several authentick accounts, and yet it is not easy to apprehend the true design of it (g). The instructions given by the Privy-Council to Mr Fenton, and which are still preserved, say expressly, That he should endeavour the discovery of a North-West passage, but by a new route which is laid down to him, viz. he was to go by the Cape of Good Hope to the East-Indies, and, being arrived at the Moluccas, he was to go from thence to the South-Seas, and to attempt his return by the supposed North-West passage, and not by any means to think of passing the Streights of Magellan, except in case of absolute necessity (b) [B]. Notwithstanding

(f) Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 402.

(g) See this explained in note [c].

(b) See these articles in the note.

so that the carrying out of silver, tho', at first sight, it has a ruinous appearance, is in reality a right policy, because by carrying it out we acquire the means of bringing larger quantities in. What the consequence may be to Europe in general, is another consideration, which however does not affect us, for while we thrive by the East-India trade, it would be madness, from speculative considerations, to entertain the least thoughts of restrictions. But if, by degrees, we should be rivalled in that trade, then to be sure reviving Captain Fenton's project, and trying to preserve it by a new passage, would be a measure not rational only, but requisite; neither, perhaps, is that period, which demands such a consideration, at so great a distance as some may imagine.

[B] *Except in case of absolute necessity.* The instructions given to Edward Fenton, Esquire, by the Right-Honourable the Lords of her Majesty's Privy-Council, were dated April the ninth 1592, and are in all appearance extremely precise (2). According to these instructions Mr Fenton is declared to be Captain-General in this expedition, the number of men to be employed therein is limited to two hundred, the gentlemen, ministers, surgeons, factors, and their servants included. The following persons were appointed to be the General's Council, viz. Captain Hawkins, Captain Ward, Mr Nicholas Parker, Mr Maddox, Mr Walker, Mr Evans, Randolph Shaw, and Matthew Talboys, and he was restrained from doing any thing of moment, without the consent of at least four of these assistants. Mr Maddox the minister was appointed Secretary, and directed to keep a fair journal-book of the meetings of this council, and of the transactions therein, which was to be presented by them at their return to the Queen. In reference to the power of punishing, there is a very large and ample provision made, which because it is more than probable, that something of the like kind was put into all instructions, and as it gives great light into the method which Sir Francis Drake took upon the discovery of a conspiracy against himself, it is more than probable the reader will be glad to see at large. This article, I the rather transcribe, because it shews how men were restrained and kept to their duty, before martial laws received the sanction of the legislature, whence it will appear, that regulations in those days were nothing less than arbitrary, and that when Queen Elizabeth, by the advice of her Council, established rules for discipline in virtue of her prerogative royal, that prerogative was a fence to the law, and secured the persons suspected, the invaluable privilege of being tried by a jury.

V. Item, If there happen any person or persons employed in this service, of what calling or condition he or they shall be, should conspire or attempt privately or publickly, any treason, mutiny, or other discord, either touching the taking away of your own life, or any other of authority under you, whereby her Majesty's service in this voyage might be overthrown or impugned, we will therefore, that upon just proof made of any such treason, mutiny, or any other discord, attempted as aforesaid, the same shall be punished by you or your Lieutenant, according to the quality and enormity of the fact.

Provided always, and it shall not be lawful either for you or for your Lieutenant, to proceed to the punishment of any person, by loss of life or limb, unless the party shall be judged to have deserved it, by the rest of your assistants as is before expressed, or at least by four of them. And that which shall concern life, to be by the verdict of twelve men of the company employed in this voyage, to be impanelled for that purpose, with the observation of the form of our country laws in that behalf, as near as you may. Provided if it shall not appear, that the forbearing of the execution by death, shall minister cause to increase the fact of the offender, then it were better to convince the party of his fact, by the oaths of twelve indifferent persons, and to commit him to hard imprisonment until the return. And as well of the facts committed by any, as also of the proof thereof, and of the opinions of you and your assistants, and the manner of the punishment, the register shall make a particular and true note in the book of your consultation as is before appointed.

He was restrained from removing Captain William Hawkins, who was to command his own ship, Captain Luke Ward, who was to command the second ship, or Captain Carlisle, who was to have the command of the land forces. As to the nature and design of the voyage, the reader will be pleased to peruse the three following articles, which will at least shew him, in what light the Privy-Council desired to represent them.

VIII. You shall make a just and true inventory in every ship and vessel appointed for this voyage, of all the tackle, munition, and furniture, belonging to them at their setting forth hence, and of all the provisions whatsoever, and one copy thereof, under your hand, and under the hands of your Vice-Admiral and Lieutenant, to be delivered to the Earl of Leicester, and the other to the Governor of the Company for them, before your departure hence; and the like to be done at your return home, of all things then remaining in the said ships and vessels, with a true certificate how, and by what means, any parcel of the same shall have been spent or lost.

IX. Item, You shall use all diligence possible to depart from Southampton, with your said ships and vessels, before the last of this present month of April, and so go on your course by Cape de buena Esperança, not passing by the streight of Magellan, either going or returning, except upon great occasion incident, that shall be thought otherwise good to you, by the advice and consent of your said assistants, or four of them at the least.

X. Item, You shall not pass to the North-Eastward, of the fortieth degree of latitude at the most, but shall take your right course to the Isles of the Malucos, for the better discovery of the North-West passage, if, without hindrance of your trade, and within the same degree, you can get any knowledge, touching that passage, whereof you shall do well to be inquisitive, as occasion in this sort may serve.

The remaining articles in these instructions are not very material, whereas, those that we have cited deserve to be well considered, since whatever the literal import

(2) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 755.

standing these instructions, Sir William Monson tells us plainly, that Mr Fenton was sent to try his fortune in the South-Seas (*i*), and so himself understood it. In the month of May 1582, Mr Fenton left the English coast, with three stout ships and a bark. With these he sailed first to the coast of Africa, and then for that of Brazil, directly from whence he intended to have sailed for the Streights of Magellan; but hearing there that the King of Spain; who had better intelligence it seems of his project and intentions than if he had read his instructions, had sent Don Diego Flores de Valdez, with a strong fleet into the Streights to intercept him, he, upon mature deliberation, resolved to careen (*k*). Putting into a Portuguese settlement for that purpose, he there met with three of the Spanish Squadron, one of which was their Vice-Admiral, which he sunk after a very brisk engagement, and then put to sea in order to come home (*l*) [C]. His Vice-Admiral, Captain Luke

(i) Naval Tracts, p. 402.

(k) Hakluyt's Voyages. Vol. III. p. 726.

(l) Sir W. Monson's Tracts, p. 402.

import of them might be, it is pretty certain that Mr Fenton understood, that his business was to go into the South-Seas, and that by the Streights of Magellan, and, as we have hinted in the text, the Spaniards were in good time apprized of this also. It is very likely, that the scheme expressed in these instructions, was that originally proposed by this gentleman, and indeed a more probable way of finding the North-West passage could not be devised, for which reason it is not at all impossible, that this old scheme may be some time or other reviewed, revived, and carried into execution. But whatever Mr Fenton's notions might be, my Lord of Leicester was for joining a little profit with the honour, and going through the fore-door into the South-Seas, as the shortest and most likely way to find a back door out of them; in a word, our General had his small Squadron equipped, manned, victualled, and supplied with goods proper for the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, and after disposing of these, if he could find a North-West passage it would do him honour, if not, he was to get home again as well and with as much wealth as he could.

[C] *In order to come home.* As for the strength which Captain Fenton had under his command, it was for those times very considerable (\*), consisting of two ships and two barks. The biggest of the ships was called originally the Bear, but upon occasion of this voyage was new named the Leicester Gallion, of the burthen of four hundred tons, on board of this vessel went General Fenton, having under him, Captain William Hawkins, and Mr Christopher Hall. The other ship was the Edward Bonaventure of three hundred tons, of which Captain Ward was the Commander, and the Master one Thomas Perry, the Bark Francis of forty tons, was under the command of Captain John Drake, and the Elizabeth of fifty tons had in her, Captain Thomas Skevington. They were kept upon the English coast, by foul weather and contrary winds, all the month of May, but at length they put to sea, being bound, as Captain Ward says, for China; on the third of August they came to an anchor upon the coast of Guinea, where they began to trade with some profit, then they went to the coast of Brazil, and upon enquiring of the General what course they should steer in case of being separated, it was agreed first to make the best of their way to the river of Plate, and then to the Streights of Magellan. Upon that coast they took a small vessel, with an officer or two and some Friars on board, from whom they had the first news of a Spanish Fleet in those seas, and after they dismissed them, they likewise gave the first intelligence to the Spanish Fleet of those English ships being upon that coast. On the 20th of December, a Council was held on board the Gallion Leicester, in which Captain Fenton demanded their opinions, whether, notwithstanding the Spanish Fleet was in those seas, they should continue to make the best of their way to the Streights, or whether it might not be better to winter some where else, and where? Upon this the opinions of Captain Hawkins and Captain Drake were desired, because they had passed the Streights before, but it seems, they could not well agree, and after hearing them, the Council were of opinion, that it might be very dangerous in the condition they were in, and the strength of the enemy considered, to continue their voyage to the Streights of Magellan, and that therefore it would be but prudent to put into the Port of St Vincent in Brazil, or to sail for the river of Plate, with all imaginable expedition. This produced a new consultation, as to which of those places

should be preferred, and at last, after much debate, it was agreed to go to Port St Vincent, there to refit and gain intelligence, of which notice was presently given to the crews of their respective ships, that they might not apprehend the General had abandoned his design; on the 20th of January they came in sight of St Vincent, and on the 24th in the morning, there was a Council held on board the Leicester, where, upon the proposition of Captain Luke Ward, it was agreed to use the Portuguese as friends, and to make satisfaction for what they might have occasion for. The Spanish Fleet that had been sent, as well to hinder the English from passing the Streights, as to settle and build a town there (3), was prodigiously strong, consisting of no fewer than twenty three sail of large ships, with three thousand five hundred men on board, but never did a more unfortunate Fleet sail from the coast of Spain, or from any other country, for five of their largest ships with eight hundred men were lost upon their own coasts, two more were disabled, and the other sixteen arriving on the coast of Brazil wintered in the Rio de Janeiro. There he had intelligence of Captain Fenton's being at sea, upon which he resolved to proceed earlier than he intended for the Streights. But meeting with a storm, he sent three of his largest but weakest ships, with his infirm men, and most of the women on board, to remain in safety at Port St Vincent, not having the least suspicion that the English were there. These three Spanish ships attempted to enter the Port the afternoon of the same day, on which the Council was held which has been before mentioned. As these ships were very large, and had six hundred men on board, they fired upon the English immediately. General Fenton who did not expect this, and was embarrassed by his instructions, was not very hasty to engage, upon which two of the ships attacked the Edward Bonaventure very briskly, upon that the General seeing there was nothing to be done but by force, came in to her assistance, and behaved himself very gallantly till darkness put an end to the fight; the next morning it appeared, that the Spanish Vice-Admiral was sunk, and most of her crew lost, the Spaniards themselves agree that he might have sunk the other two, but he did not. After the fight the English ships put to sea, and on the 29th of January, the Edward Bonaventure lost sight of the Admiral. Captain John Drake in the Francis had been separated some time before, and sailed for the river of Plate where he lost his ship, but himself and his men got on shore. After this, General Fenton with the Leicester Gallion and the Elizabeth, sailed to Spirito Santo in Brazil, where they victualled and refitted, and then returned to England. This account is sufficient to convince the reader, of the truth of what we advanced in the former note; but if he has any scruples remaining, they will be entirely taken away by the perusal of Sir William Monson's short Relation of this expedition (4). 'In the year 1582, and two years

(3) See the Account of Lopez Vaz, in Hakluyt.

(4) Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 402.

Luke Ward, who commanded the *Edward Bonaventure* of three hundred tons, was separated from the Admiral soon after the action, and perceiving no hopes of rejoining him, proceeded homewards as well as he could, and, not without enduring great hardships, and passing through many difficulties, arrived at length safely at Plymouth, towards the latter end of the month of May 1583 (*m*). It is from this Captain Ward that we have an account of this voyage, which seems to be very fairly and honestly written, though it does not appear that he was in any degree in the secret of the design, or acquainted with the real intentions of his Admiral, either as to trade or discovery (*n*) [*D*]. As to Capt. Edward Fenton, he too returned safely into England, and does not seem to have lost any credit by the disappointment he met with in this expedition. It may be his patrons were satisfied with his conduct, and with the reasons that he gave them for his return; which seems the more probable, since we find him at sea again in 1588, and entrusted with the command of one of her Majesty's ships. In some of the accounts of that glorious action, he is said to have commanded the *Antelope* (*o*); yet Sir William Monson (*p*) makes him Captain of the *Mary Rose*; but, in which ever ship he was, it is unanimously agreed, that he behaved like a man of honour, and had a very distinguished share in those actions, the fame of which will last as long as History remains. We know little or nothing of his future course of life, except that he spent the remainder of his days, at, or near Deptford, it may be at Says Court, afterwards the seat of Sir Richard Brown, and now in the possession of Sir John Evelyn as his descendant, where he died in the spring of the year 1603, and was buried in the parish-church at Deptford (*q*). A monument was there erected to his memory, by the pious care of Richard Earl of Cork who married his niece, with a suitable inscription thereon (*r*), which, because it is not only elegant but succinct, the reader will find in the notes [*E*]. It may not be amiss to observe here, that one Edward

Fenton

[*D*] *Either as to trade or discovery.*] What we have delivered in the last note, is from Captain Ward's journal of this voyage, which is remarkably full and clear. He tells us amongst other things, that General Fenton and his Lieutenant Hawkins could never agree, but who was in the fault does not at all appear.

Another writer, and a man of great character (*5*), thinks they were all to blame, and lets us into a particular of this expedition, of which there is not a word mentioned elsewhere, and that is this, tho' other noblemen countenanced and forwarded the design, yet that noble Peer the Earl of Cumberland, was at the greatest part of the expence. The same writer says, that the expedition was ruined by General Fenton's being persuaded by some ignorant people to think of wintering in Brazil, for look, says he, and you'll find, that whoever turns but one foot back, never gets forward any more. But our business here, is to give an account of Captain Ward's return (*6*). As soon as he found himself parted from the Admiral, he proposed to his officers and ship's company to rejoin him, but they positively declared the thing was impracticable, and that returning to Port St Vincent was running into the mouths of the Spaniards, so that they convinced, or rather put him under the necessity, of returning home. Accordingly on the first of February they shaped their course for England, they landed on the 11th of March on the island of Fernando, where some of their men through the treachery of the inhabitants were seized on shore; however, they had the good luck to fill three casks of water which was of great consequence to them, having now but very little of that, or of any other necessaries, and were so weakly manned, that they were afraid of touching any where else. On the 27th of May they had sight of the lands end in England, and on the 29th in the morning brought the Ramhead to bear North of them, but the weather being thick and little wind, by a mistake in their sounding, they ran ashore and were in great danger of being lost in sight of Plymouth, however they were afloat again at the next tide of flood, and then came in safely. We have no farther account of Captain John Drake, except that in an engagement with the Savages, he lost five of his eighteen men, and with the other thirteen was taken prisoner. In this condition he continued fifteen months, when one Richard Fairweather, who had been master of his pinnace, persuaded him and a young man who was with him, to attempt crossing the river tho' it was nine leagues broad in a small canoe in order to get to the Spaniards; but when with much difficulty and danger they had reached the opposite shore, they were so weak and faint, that they were able to proceed no further, however meeting with some Indians, servants to the Spaniards, they gave them cloaths and meat, and a

Spanish Captain being informed of their adventure, sent four horsemen to bring them to his house and there he entertained them very kindly, intending to have sent them back to Europe at his own expence; but the Viceroy of Peru, being acquainted with what had passed, sent for them, upon which Captain Drake was dispatched to Lima, but the other two men being married remained where they were (*7*). We will close all with this remark, that the event plainly shews, if Mr Fenton had pursued his voyage to the Streights, he might have passed them without danger, and have executed his whole design.

[*E*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] The inscription mentioned in the text runs thus (*8*).

Memoriae perenni Edwardi Fenton, Reginae Elizabethae olim pro corpore Armigeri, Jano O-Neal, ac post eum Comite Desmondiae, in Hibernia turbantibus, fortissimi Taxiarchi, qui post lustratum improbo ausu, septentrionalis Plagae Apochryphum mare, & excusas variis peregrinationibus inertis naturae latebras, anno 1583, in celebri contra Hispanos Naumachia, meruit navis praetoriae Navarchus.

Obiit Anno Domini 1603.

In English thus.

*To the never fading memory of Edward Fenton heretofore, Esquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth, a gallant Commander during the troubles of Ireland, first against Shane O-Neal, and then against the Earl of Desmond, who after having explored the hidden passages of the Northern Seas, and in other hazardous expeditions visited remote and scarce known places, merited the command of a royal ship in that glorious sea fight against the Spaniards in the year 1588.*

*He died in the year of our Lord 1603.*

The reverend Dr Fuller tells us, that this gentleman breathed his last some days after Queen Elizabeth, upon which he makes the following remark (*9*). Observe, by the way, how God set up a generation of military men both by sea and land, which began and expired with the reign of Queen Elizabeth, like a suit of clothes made for her and worn out with her: for Providence designing a peaceable Prince to succeed her, in whose time martial men would be rendered useless; so ordered the matter, that they all almost attended their mistress, before or after, within some short distance, unto her grave. He who considers that the famous Earl of Nottingham, Lord High-Admiral; Sir Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, Sir George Carew, Earl of Totness, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Monson, Sir Robert Mansel, and many more great officers by sea and land survived Queen Elizabeth, may possibly doubt, whether the Doctor

(*m*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol III. p. 768.

(*n*) As appears from his relation.

(*o*) Stowe's Annals, p. 747.

(*p*) Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 171.

(*q*) Harris's Hist. of Kent, p. 97.

(*r*) Fuller's Worthies, P. ii. p. 318.

(*5*) Observations made by Sir Richard Hawkins in this voyage into the South-Seas, p. 87.

(*6*) This from the latter part of Capt. Luke Ward's Journal.

(*7*) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 72.

(*8*) Fuller's Worthies, P. ii. p. 318.

(*9*) Id. ibid.

(s) Tanneri Bibliothec. Britanico-Hibernica, p. 277.

Fenton published a book translated from the French, intituled (s), *The Wonderful Secrets of Nature*, collected from various authors, divided into forty-one chapters, and dedicated to the Lord Lumley; but it is generally agreed by the learned, that he was a different person from the Gentleman of whom we have been speaking; and, indeed, considering the nature of this treatise, and comparing it with the character of Captain Fenton, one cannot well doubt the truth of this opinion (t).

(t) If our Capt. Fenton had been an author, he would probably have furnished Mr Hakluyt with his own voyage.

formed a right judgment of the intention of Providence. This is certain that the reign of that Princess stands in no need at all of rhetorical flourishes; plain language, accuracy in facts, and impartiality in rela-

ting them, will set the history of it, above any thing with which even an ingenious fancy can adorn romance. E

FENTON (Sir GEOFFREY) a learned and elegant Writer, an active and able Statesman, Privy-Counsellor, and Secretary of State in the kingdom of Ireland, during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. He was descended from a very ancient family in Nottinghamshire, and born in that county to a small estate, towards the middle of the XVIth century (a). We have no distinct account of the place of his education, notwithstanding which there is good reason to believe that he was very well brought up, since it is certain, that, while a young man, he gave very pregnant instances of his acquaintance with ancient and modern learning, as well as of his being perfectly versed in the French, Spanish, and Italian languages (b), as is evident from his translations, which procured him great reputation, and the countenance of several persons of great quality, being very highly esteemed (as indeed they deserved to be) at the time they were published (c) [A]. What the inducements were which engaged him to leave his

(u) Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire, p. 415.

(b) Fuller's Worthies, Nottinghamshire, p. 319.

(c) Ware's English Works, Vol. III. p. 328.

[A] *At the time they were published.* It cannot but be acceptable to the judicious and inquisitive reader, that we draw out of obscurity, the history of such worthy persons as have made their way to considerable posts in the government, by their polite accomplishments. Whoever consults either T. Fuller, or Lloyd who transcribed him, will find very high commendations of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, but will be at a loss to know how he deserved them, otherwise than by knowing he translated an Italian book, and became Secretary of State for Ireland. We will endeavour to set this in a better light, by giving an account of most, if not all the writings that fell from his pen, and were made publick, from which the reader will receive several hints of the motives to his advancement, which could not have been obtained any other way, and will be also enabled to form some idea of his abilities.

I. *An Epistle or godly admonition sent to the Pastors of the Flemish Church in Antwerp, exhorting them to concord with other ministers written by Anthony de Carro.* Lond. 1578. 8vo. A Translation.

II. *An Account of a Dispute at Paris, between two Doctors of the Sorbonne and two Ministers of God's Word.* Lond. 1571. 4to. A Translation.

III. *Golden Epistles; containing variety of discourses both moral, philosophical, and divine, gathered as well out of the remainder of Guevara's works as other authors, Latin, French, and Italian.* By Geoffrey Fenton, newly corrected and amended. Mon heur viendra. Lond. 1577. 4to.

In order to understand this title page clearly, it is requisite to inform the reader, that the familiar Epistles of Anthony Guevara had been published in English, by one Edward Hellowes, so that this work of Mr Fenton's, consisted of such pieces of the same author as were not contained in that work. The Epistle dedicatory is, to the Right Honourable and vertuous Lady Anne, Countess of Oxenford, and is dated from the author's chamber in the Black Friars, London, February the 4th 1575. This Lady was the daughter of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and, from the following passage in the dedication, it will appear that noble person was our author's best patron, and that one great intension of Mr Fenton in translating and publishing this work, was to testify his warm zeal and absolute attachment to that great Minister. In the first part of his dedication he sets forth the advantages, which the study of the sciences bring to those who are in an exalted station, and having done this briefly, he proceeds thus. 'These happy fruits of science and learning, raise noble personages into merit and dignity, and set to work excellent wits, to record the reputation of their greatness and virtues, dividing the doings of their life, some into warnings to

avoid harms and miseries, and some into precepts the better to establish examples and draw to imitation. And as above all others of our time, your Honour hath been always right worthily noted a diligent follower of those arts and studies, which best serve to the declaration and glory of true virtue and piety; so at the contemplation of the same, I am bold to bring forth, under the protection of your Ladyship, this treatise, containing a moral discourse fortified with Philosophy and some texts of Divinity: not that I hold it worthy your view and judgment, but according to good meaning to use it as an interpreter of the devotion and service wherein I am vowed to your Ladyship, and your honourable house and parents. And wherein the intentions of the writers in these days, this is a lamentable error that they consider not those customs and good doctrines, agreeing with holy virtues and commandments of the law of God, but think it is a great testimony of their singularity and excellency, to publish under forms of speech, matter either merely vain in itself, or at least unfruitful to the use and instruction of life, I thought good by the experience of their writings, not to be so curious to set out this work with elegancy of phrase and rhetorick, as to exhibit precepts to live well, joining to that small eloquence of words, I have used a diligence withal to dress and institute conversation and manners, the same being the direct line that leads to virtue, which without this, is but the figure and image of that it ought to be. Wherein having respect to modesty, I am far here from meaning to challenge the labours of others, and much less seek to obtrude upon mine own any dignity or merit, but refer me and my travel to the opinion of your Ladyship, whom I humbly beseech, as touching the order and parts of art in the book, to judge them with that property of favour, which is wont to construe nothing to blame, and for the texts and precepts, whether moral, civil, or of divinity, your Ladyship, in all the works you shall read, cannot find better doctrine than in the life of your honourable father, in whose manner and actions is fulfilled a more full example of virtue, than in all the rules and similitudes which my pen can deliver. And as stones of rare and precious price, express their lustre better in gold than in any other metal; so good and well qualified discourses are holden so much the more noble and dear, by how much are worthy and excellent the persons to whom they are presented, the dignity of the one supporting and amplifying the nobility of the other. And as trees transplanted or removed out of their natural stock into a better, become both more fair and goodly to behold, and yield a fruit more pleasing

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his own country in order to serve the Queen in Ireland, cannot, at this distance of time, be recovered; it is however certain that he went thither well recommended, and that being in particular favour with Arthur Lord Grey, then Lord-Deputy in that kingdom, he was sworn of the Privy-Council about the year 1581 (*d*). It is more than probable that his interest might be considerably strengthened by his marriage with Alice, the daughter of Dr Robert Weston, some time Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Dean of the Arches in England, a man of great parts, and who had no small credit with the Earl of Leicester (*e*), and other Statesmen in the Court of Queen Elizabeth; and when he was once fixed in his office of Secretary, his own great abilities and superior understanding made him so useful to succeeding Governors, that none of the changes to which that government was more than enough subject in those days, wrought any alteration in his fortune (*f*). One thing indeed might greatly contribute to this, which was the strong interest he found means to raise, and never was at a loss to maintain, in England; so that whoever was Lord-Deputy or Lord-Lieutenant in Ireland, Sir Geoffrey Fenton continued Queen Elizabeth's Counsellor there, as a man upon whom she depended, from whom she took her notions of the state of affairs in that island, and whose credit with her was not to be shaken by the artifices of any faction whatever (*g*). He it was that infused into the Queen's breast that strong aversion to Hugh O-Neile, whom she had created Earl of Tyrone, and who, notwithstanding that and numberless other obligations, remained ever a faithless rebel to the Queen, and an implacable enemy to the English nation. He it was that persuaded the Queen, that the Irish were to be held in obedience by doing them, on all occasions, strict justice; but never to be won to a loyal affection for her government, by unnecessary acts of indulgence. He it was that convinced her, the safety as well as glory of her government in that island, depended upon the flourishing of the English interest, as this again must do, upon the security which the English inhabitants had of enjoying their property under the protection of the laws, and without being exposed to the caprices of great men, who might entertain too high notions of their own authority (*h*). The sense that wise Princess had of Sir Geoffrey Fenton's wisdom and fidelity, induced her to send for him frequently over into England, that she might receive full and true accounts of the state of things in Ireland, and take thereupon such measures, as appeared to her and her Council most expedient. Of this we have a very singular instance in the year 1585 (*i*), of which the reader will find an account at the bottom of the page [B]. But notwithstanding Sir Geoffrey's sentiments in respect to Tyrone, several

(*d*) Letter to Sir E. W. amongst Burleigh MSS.

(*e*) Queen Elizabeth's Worthies.

(*f*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 661.

(*g*) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Cork, in this Dictionary, note [Q].

(*h*) Collected from Letters to Lord Burleigh about this time.

(*i*) See this explained in the note.

' the taste; in like sort a work of learning, drawn out of his proper author, and recommended to some noble and vertuous personages, becomes so much the better received, and with a fruit more liked, by how much it is incorporate in the virtues and name of an excellent patron. In which respect knowing that there shines in your Ladyship, a virtue of learning and judgment, as doth the pearl in the gold, and that your mind is divinely inclined to the contemplation of vertuous studies, I beseech you let this be admitted amongst the publick monuments of your virtue, tho' far unworthy of your noble desire, yet being covered with the wings of your authority and name, it may be holden so much the more perfect and plausible, by how much it is an imp grafted in the foil of your greatness, and enriched with the gold of your name and virtues, referring the faults rather to the infirmity of my skill and knowledge, than to my desire and will, which is wholly dedicated to the service of your right honourable father and his house.'

IV: *The History of the Wars of Italy*, by Francis Guicciardini, in twenty books. Lond. 1599, folio.

This work is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and the dedication bears date January the seventh, 1578, from the author's chamber near the Tower of London. By comparing these two last dates it seems highly probable, that, in the edition which is now common, there is a new title page, and that, in reality, the book was published in 1579. He mentions his having wrote other pieces in his Epistle Dedicatory, as to which some writers express great uncertainty, but it is probable they are those abovementioned; nor is it unlikely that Lord Burleigh advised him to go to Ireland, where that most vigilant Minister never wanted some person in his confidence, who sent him from time to time advices of the true state of that country.

[B] At the bottom of the page.] In order to justify what has been said in the text, and to satisfy the reader of the great favour which Sir Geoffrey Fenton enjoyed in the English Court, through the recommendation of his patron the Lord Burleigh, we will cite but

one passage, from many that might be quoted, from the Irish History (1). 'But Secretary Fenton, who was one of the best servitors the Queen had in Ireland, and much confided in by her Majesty, or, as others word it, was a moth in the garments of all the Deputies of his time, was frequently, as at this time, sent for into England, to inform the Queen of the true state of that kingdom. What discovery he made of the miscarriages of the government I do not find, but they may be easily traced from the instructions he carried back, which bore date in December 1585, and were to this effect: That the Lord-Deputy, and the late Justices and Officers of the Exchequer, should answer. 1. What became of the fines, recognizances, forfeitures, wards, marriages, and reliefs, belonging to her Majesty, and of what value they were, since March 1579, and by whose warrants were they respectively given, pardoned, or disposed of. 2. What leases have been made of the crown lands in that time, with, or without, fine, and what fine, what rent? 3. What debts were due to the Queen at Michaelmas 1579, or since, and by whose fault they remain unlevied? 4. That the faulty officers may be suspended, and the recoverable debts immediately levied, and a list of the desperate debts returned. 5. What debts have been remitted on account of the land being wasted, and what proof there was of such waste. 6. What profits and casualties have been answered on Sheriffs accounts since Michaelmas 1579, and what sums have been by warrants called *Mandamus*'s divided amongst the Barons and Officers of the Exchequer, &c. Besides these, he had other instructions to communicate to the Deputy, viz. that since the kingdom was in peace, some of the army, being 1900 strong, might be discharged. 2. That the Deputy should certify, whether it were better to give the soldiers sterling pay and no victuals, in which case he is to take nothing from the country without payment at such reasonable rate, as the government shall assess, or to continue victuals, and the old Irish pay, for the Queen will no longer allow both victuals and the encreased pay. 3. That the contribution

(1) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 389.

several of the chief Governors of Ireland, and some of the most considerable men there were inclined to favour him, and to procure repeated acts of pardon for his repeated treasons, and notwithstanding these were, by constant experience, found altogether ineffectual, yet General Norris, who was Lord-President of Munster, and sent over on purpose to reduce him, procured a commission from the Queen directed to himself and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, dated May 9, 1595, empowering them to make a final treaty with the rebels (*k*). Accordingly, on the 24th of April 1596, they concluded such a treaty with the Earl of Tyrone, who promised submission, swore obedience, and had a full pardon granted him, dated the 12th of May (*l*). Soon after this, General Norris and Secretary Fenton were appointed Commissioners to settle the province of Connaught, in which they were very successful (*m*); but had not the same good fortune in a renewed conference with Tyrone, who was again in rebellion, and with whom, at the request of General Norris, they entered into a fresh negotiation (*n*). In this strange situation the affairs of Ireland continued, or rather grew worse and worse, till the great Earl of Essex was sent over Lord-Lieutenant, and sworn into that high office April 15, 1599 (*o*). He soon fell into the old track of negotiating with the rebels he was sent to subdue, which proved his ruin (*p*). Upon his return to England, which was followed by the death of Sir Thomas Norris Lord-President of Munster, the affairs of that island became in a manner desperate, but soon changed their appearance upon the coming over of Charles Lord Montjoy, with the title of Lord-Deputy, and Sir George Carew who was appointed President of Munster (*q*). With these noble persons Sir Geoffrey Fenton entered into a strict friendship, and, at their request, came over to England in the summer of 1600, in order to procure the necessary supplies of men and money for the service in Ireland, and his credit in England was so great, that he very speedily obtained all that he could reasonably expect, two thousand old troops being that very year sent into Ireland (*r*), which vigorous measure was quickly followed by the extinction of the rebellion, and total reduction of the kingdom (*s*): Upon the return of Sir Geoffrey Fenton into Ireland, he contributed as much as in him lay to the settling of publick affairs, and to the strengthening the English Protestant interest, in which he proceeded with great success, notwithstanding the Irish were well enough inclined to have revolted upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, if their late losses, their terror of the Lord-Deputy Montjoy, and Tyrone's having surrendered himself, had not rendered such an attempt extremely dangerous, or rather absolutely impracticable (*t*). In 1603, that noble person being constituted Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, had leave given him to come over to England, Sir George Carew, afterwards Earl of Totness, being sworn Lord-Deputy in his absence (*u*). At this time Sir Geoffrey Fenton married his only daughter Katherine to Mr Boyle, afterwards the great Earl of Cork (*w*), which proved to him a

(A) Monson's Affairs of Ireland, p. 37.

(l) Lib. M. inter MSS. Lambeth.

(m) Monson, ubi supra.

(n) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 775.

(o) Table of the Principal Governors of Ireland.

(p) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 792.

(q) Pacata Hibernia.

(r) Sidney State Papers, Vol. II. p. 203.

(s) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 893.

(t) Sir John Davis's Discovery why Ireland was never thoroughly subdued, p. 260.

(u) Table of the Chief Governors of Ireland.

(w) Thoresby's Antiquities of Leeds, p. 64.

of 2100 l. per annum in lieu of cess, purveyance, &c. be revived. 4. That Captain Norris be made Vice-President of Munster, with all the usual allowance, except the salary of two hundred marks per annum, which must be reserved for his brother the Lord President, and that the Vice-President's pension of twenty shillings a day be immediately stopped. 5. That the Queen's orders be publickly read in Council, except they require secrecy, and then to be communicated to such of the English Council as are ordinarily attending on the state. 6. That all offices be given to fit persons, who are personally to officiate, except in special cases. 7. That the courts be removed out of the castle. 8. That the Secretary of State keep the signet, as in England, and that he make all bills, warrants, and writings, that require signature, and that he keep a register thereof, and have his fees for the same. 9. That the Parliament being ended, Ulster might be so settled that the Deputy might repair into Munster, to watch the motions of Spain. 10. That suspected persons be secured, and that the suspected inhabitants in towns be disarmed, and that the loyal townsmen be armed and disciplined, and that those that were lately rebels be enjoined to keep at home; and if the Spaniards land, that the forage be destroyed, and the cattle removed up into the country. The Queen also gave Secretary Fenton particular instructions about the plantation of Munster, and devised a plot to this effect: that the undertaker for twelve thousand acres should plant eighty six families upon it, viz. his own family should have sixteen hundred acres, one chief farmer four hundred acres, two good farmers six hundred acres, between them; other two farmers two hundred acres a piece, fourteen freeholders each three hundred acres, forty copyholders each one hundred acres, and twenty six cottagers and labourers eight hundred acres, between them; and so proportionably for a lesser signiory: and she ordered, that, if any unforfeited lands be

intermixed with the forfeited, that the party should be compounded with to his content, and bought out, that so the undertaker might have his manor entire; and she also ordered a better survey to be made of the escheated lands, for the direction of the commissioners in setting them out to the undertakers.' It is very probable, that these marks of confidence in the Secretary were not highly pleasing to the chief governors in Ireland, but it was what the Queen could not well avoid, many of the governors being much more concerned how to promote their own power, and augment their own fortunes, than to reduce the rebels, and extend the Queen's authority, which if they had steadily pursued, might certainly have been brought to pass (2). We are told, that Sir William Fitzwilliams, who was many times Chief Governor of Ireland, by different titles, behaved there always extremely well, except when he was last in power, which is ascribed to a very indiscreet expression of a great Minister, upon his soliciting some reward from the Queen for his many years services in Ireland, who told him that his demand was ill founded, for the government of Ireland was not considered as a service but as a preferment (3). Sir William having had time to reflect upon this court notion, he carried it into execution when he went over the last time in 1588, with the title of Lord-Deputy; so that we need not wonder that grounds of complaint were continually found against these great men, and transmitted into England, where, if supported by proofs, they were sure of being heard and redressed. One thing appears much to the honour of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, which is, that, in the distribution of that vast plantation of Munster, when large estates cost little more than the asking for, he desired none for himself; neither was he in that commission granted in the year 1587, which gave such offence to the Lord-Deputy Fitzwilliams, but contented himself with discharging the duties of his own office, except, when by her Majesty's, or the chief governor's, command, he was put upon other services.

(2) Sir John Davis's Discovery, &c.

(3) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 397.

source of great satisfaction, though he did not live to see his son-in-law reach the zenith of his fortunes, but he saw him entering the road to the highest preferments, and, what must have added to his pleasure, saw this in some measure owing to his own interest and powerful recommendation [C]. His known zeal and great services secured him a sufficient interest in the new Court, and upon the coming over of Sir Arthur Chichester to exercise the office of Lord-Deputy of Ireland in 1604, Sir Geoffrey Fenton found a new friend, who had as great confidence in him (x) as his two predecessors; so that in full possession of his credit and authority, and, with a very fair prospect in respect to the happiness of his posterity, he paid that great debt which all men must pay, at his house in Dublin, October 19, 1608 (y), and with much funeral solemnity was interred at the cathedral church of St Patrick, in the same tomb with his wife's father the Lord Chancellor Weston (z), leaving behind him the character of a polite Writer, an accomplished Courtier, an able Statesman, and a true friend to the English nation, and Protestant interest in Ireland. At the time of his demise Sir Geoffrey Fenton left a son, Sir William Fenton, who survived him several years, but whether he left any posterity or not is more than, at this distance of place and time, we are able to determine.

(x) Earl of Cork's True Remembrances.

(y) Fuller's Worthies, Nottinghamshire, p. 319.

(z) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 661.

[C] *To his own interest and powerful recommendation.* We have in another part of this work touched upon this matter, and of what fame has whispered of the secrets that were between these two great men, who certainly were not more closely related by alliance, than by their tempers, and the maxims which governed their respective conducts (4). We reserved however for this note, some very curious passages in the Earl of Cork's (5) True Remembrances. After setting down his voyage to England, of which an account is given in the article relating to his life, he proceeds thus. Then I returned into Ireland with my Lord-President's licence to repair to Court, where in his way to Dublin where he proposed to embark, he dealt very nobly and father-like by me, in persuading me it was high time for me to take a wife, in hopes of posterity to inherit my lands, advising me to make choice of Sir Geoffrey Fenton's daughter, and that if I could affect her, he would treat with her parents to have the match between us, wherein he prevailed so far as the 9th of March 1602, I was in his Lordship's presence contracted to her in her father's house at Dublin. The 25th of July 1603. I was married to my second wife, Mrs Katherine Fenton, the only daughter of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Principal Secretary of State, and Privy-Counsellor in Ireland, with whom I never demanded any marriage portion, neither promise of any, it not being in my consideration; yet her father, after my

(4) See the article of BOYLE (RICHARD) Earl of Cork, note [Q].

(5) A copy of which was in the possession of the late Mr Smith, Apothecary in the Strand.

marriage, gave me one thousand pounds in gold with her. But that gift of his daughter unto me, I must ever thankfully acknowledge as the crown of all my blessings, for she was a most religious, virtuous, loving, and obedient wife unto me all the days of her life, and the happy mother of all my hopeful children, whom with their posterity I beseech God to bless. — I Richard Earl of Corke, was knighted by Sir George Carew, Lord-Deputy of Ireland at St Mary's Abbey near Dublin, the 25th of July 1603, being St James's day, and the very day that I was married to my second wife, Mrs Katherine Fenton. I was sworn a Privy-Counsellor to King James for the province of Munster, at the Council-table at Dublin, by the Lord Chichester, then Lord-Deputy of Ireland, the 12th of March 1606, with commandment from the Lord-Deputy and council to Henry Dunkard, then Lord-President of Munster, to admit me into that council, who upon former direction from this state had refused either to swear or admit me a Counsellor of that province. In the life-time of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, there were born of this marriage a son Roger, and a daughter Alice, the Earl of Corke named his third son Geoffrey after his grandfather but he died young, the Countess of Cork dying in 1629, she was buried in the choir of St Patrick's church in Dublin, in the same tomb with her father and grandfather. E

FERRARS (GEORGE) a learned Lawyer, a grave Historian, a celebrated Poet, and a most accomplished Courtier, in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. He was descended from an antient family seated in Hertfordshire (a), and was born there in a village not far from St Albans about the year 1510 (b). He was bred at the university of Oxford, but in what particular Hall or College, even the most indefatigable Anthony Wood himself, has not, with all his industry, been able to discover (c). He removed from thence to Lincoln's-Inn, where he applied himself with such vigour and diligence to the study of the Laws, as very soon rendered him eminent in his profession (d), so that he made a considerable figure in Westminster-Hall as an Advocate, at the same time that he was much admired in the Royal Court for his sprightly wit and good breeding. His first rise in his profession, and at Court, was owing to the King's great Minister Cromwell Earl of Essex, who was himself a man of great parts and strong passions, rose purely by his abilities, and countenanced men of capacity as long as he continued in favour; neither does it appear that his misfortunes affected them in their progress at Court, but in the business of equity it happened otherwise, and it seems such as had his countenance, were not so fortunate with respect to his successors, which was the case of Mr Ferrars (e). He was the King's menial servant, whom he attended in war as well as peace, and served, not with his pen only, but his sword; in short, he was a very gallant man in all the senses of the word, which entitled him to so large a share in that Monarch's favour, that, to manifest his affection for him, he made him a very considerable grant in his own native county, and that out of his proper and private estate (f) [A]. This was in the year

(a) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 193.

(b) From MS. notes on the Art of Poetry.

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 193.

(d) Bale, de Script. P. ii. p. 108.

(e) See the Poem in note [I].

(f) Chauncy's Hist. of Hertfordshire, p. 567 a.

[A] *And that out of his proper and private estate.* It appears from the roll of the gentlemen, able to spend ten pounds a year resident in this county, in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, that one Mr John Ferrars of St Albans, had an estate in the hundred of Crishow, and from him, in all probabi-

lity, our author was descended; and it is also very likely, that he had himself an estate in this county, descended to him from his ancestors, before King Henry the Eighth made him a grant of the manor of Flamstead. This place is by some writers supposed to have been antiently called Verlamsted (1), from the river

1535.

(1) Norden's Description of Hertfordshire, p. 15.

Verlam

1535, and yet within seven years afterwards, either through want of œconomy, or by too great confidence in his friends, he seems to have brought his affairs into a very untoward situation, which might perhaps be one reason, why he procured himself to be chosen a Member for the borough of Plymouth in the county of Devon (g), in the Parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on the twenty-second of January, in the thirty-third year of that King's reign, where, during the sessions, he had the misfortune to be taken in execution, by an officer belonging to the Sheriffs of London, and carried to the Compter, then in Breadstreet (b), the news of which being carried to the House of Commons occasioned such a disturbance there, as not only produced his discharge (i), but a settled rule with respect to privilege; which, with the proceedings therein before the King, Lords, and Commons, make his case not only extremely curious and entertaining, but of great use and importance, for which reason it will be found at the bottom of the page [B]. But notwithstanding

(g) Willis's Notitia Parliam. Vol. 11. p. 295.

(b) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 1255.

(i) Lex Parliamentaria, p. 263.

Verlam which rises in it, and that by degrees it was softened in the pronunciation into Flamlead; tho' others will have it, that it received this denomination from its being the seat, which the Flamins held in the time of the Britons (2). However this matter may be, it is certain, that it was part of the possessions of the Monastery of St Alban's in the time of Edward the Confessor, and was granted by Leofstane, Abbot of that Monastery, to three Knights, to defend the country from thieves (3). It was taken from them by William the Conqueror, and given to Ralph de Tony (4), or as it is in Domesday book, de Todeney, who was standard-bearer to that Prince at the battle of Hastings, and continued in his family, till, through the failure of heirs male, it came by the marriage of Alice Tony into that of the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick, and, with the rest of their lands, was held by Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, in right of Anne his wife; from her it was taken by Act of Parliament, and settled upon her two daughters, Isabel and Anne, the former married to George Duke of Clarence, and the latter to Richard Duke of Gloucester (5), afterwards King Richard the Third; but, in the third year of King Henry the Seventh, the old Countess of Warwick was restored to her whole estate by a new Act of Parliament, with power to alienate the same, or any part thereof, and she conveyed it to the King, entailing it upon the issue male of his body, with the remainder to herself and her heirs (6), and it continued in the Crown, till, as we have mentioned in the text, it was granted by King Henry the Eighth to George Ferrars, Esq; and his heirs, and in their line it continued, till, by the marriage of Catherine Ferrars, it came to Thomas Lord Viscount Fanshawe of the kingdom of Ireland, by whom it was sold to Edward Peck, Serjeant at Law (7). This manor has Court Leet and Baron, consists of between six and seven hundred acres of demesne, and several copyholds, fineable at the will of the Lord; so that it was a very considerable grant in point of profit, exclusive of the pleasantness of its situation, and the wholesomeness of its air, for which it is deservedly famous.

[B] At the bottom of the page.] A certain author has given us a very large account of this whole affair, under the title of Ferrer's case (8), without any mention of the author from whom it is taken, and also with some omissions; we will therefore set it down exactly here. For if it deserved to take up so much room (as certainly it did) in a general history of England (9), the more reason there is that it should be fully and truly stated in such an article as this. In Hollinshed it stands thus:

In the Lent season, whilst the Parliament yet continued, one George Ferrars, gentlemen, servant to the King, being elected a burges for the town of Plymouth in the county of Devonshire, in going to the Parliament house, was arrested in London by a process out of the King's-Bench, at the suit of one White, for the sum of two hundred marks or thereabouts, wherein he was late afore condemned, as a surety for the debt of one Weldon of Salisbury; which arrest being signified to Sir Thomas Moils, Knight, then Speaker of the Parliament, and to the Knights and Burgeses, their order was taken, that the Serjeant of the Parliament, called St. John, should forthwith repair to the Compter in Breadstreet, whither the said Ferrars was carried, and there demand delivery of the prisoner.

The Serjeant, as he had in charge, went to the Compter, and declared to the Clerks there what he

had in commandment. But they, and other officers of the city, were so far from obeying the said commandment, as, after many stout words, they forcibly resisted the said Serjeant, whereof ensued a fray within the counter gates, between the said Ferrars and the said officers, not without hurt of either part, so that the said Serjeant was driven to defend himself with his mace of arms, and had the Crown thereof broken by bearing off a stroke, and his own man stricken down. During this fray the Sheriffs of London, called Rowland Hill and Henry Suckliffe, came thither, to whom the Serjeant complained of this injury, and required of them the delivery of the said Burgeses as afore. But they, bearing with their officers, made little account either of his complaint or of his message, rejecting the same contemptuously, with much proud language, so as the Serjeant was forced to return without the prisoner; whereas, if they had obeyed authority, and shewed the service necessarily required in their office and person, they might, by their discretion, have appeased all the broil, for wisdom asswageth the outrage and unrestrainable furiousness of war, as the Poet saith,

*Instrumenti feri vincit sapientia belli.*

The Serjeant, thus hardly intreated, made return to the Parliament house, and finding the Speaker and all the burgeses set in their places, declared unto them the whole case as it fell, who took the same in so ill part, that they altogether, of whom there were not a few, as well of the King's Privy-Council, as also of his Privy-Chamber, would sit no longer without their Burgeses, but rose up wholly, and repaired to the Upper House, where the whole case was declared by the mouth of the Speaker, before Sir Thomas Audley, Knight, then Lord-Chancellor of England, and all the Lords and Judges there assembled, who judging the contempt to be very great, referred the punishment thereof to the order of the Common House. They returning to their places again, upon new debate of the case, took order, that their Serjeant should repair to the Sheriff of London, and require delivery of the said Burgeses without any writ or warrant had for the same, but only as afore. And yet the Lord-Chancellor offered them to grant a writ, which they of the Common house refused, being in a clear opinion, that all commandments, and other acts of proceeding from the Nether House, were to be done and executed by their Serjeant without writ, only by shew of his mace which was his warrant. But before the Serjeant's return into London, the Sheriffs, having intelligence how heinously the matter was taken, became somewhat more mild, so as, upon the said second demand, they delivered the prisoner without any denial. But the Serjeant having then further in commandment from those of the Nether House, charged the said Sheriffs to appear personally on the morrow by eight of the clock, before the Speaker, in the Nether House, and to bring thither the Clerks of the Compter, and such officers as were parties to the said fray; and, in like manner, to take into his custody the said White, which wittingly procured the said arrest, in contempt of the privilege of the Parliament.

Which commandment being done by the said Serjeant, accordingly, on the morrow, the two Sheriffs, with one of the Clerks of the Compter, which was the

(2) Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the British Churches, p. 75.

(3) Chauncy's Hertfordshire, p. 564.

(4) Domesd. fol. 53. n. 22.

(5) Rot. Parl. 14 Edw. IV.

(6) Rot. Parl. 3 Hen. VII.

(7) Chauncy's Hist. of Hertfordshire, p. 567.

(8) Petyt's Miscel. Parliam. p. 1.

(9) Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 935.

(k) Gurdon's Hist. of the High Court of Parliament, Vol. II. p. 365.

(l) Moore's Reports, fol. 57. n. 163.

standing the solemnity of this judgment, there have not been wanting some who have questioned the validity, or at least the equity of it, and these have suggested, that there were some private and particular reasons, which induced the King and the House of Lords to suffer things to be carried so very high upon this occasion (k); neither have there been wanting some, even of the great Sages of the Law, who have publickly expressed their doubts upon his case (l); notwithstanding which it has continued to be taken for a precedent, though it has been very seldom mentioned, but those suggestions and these opinions have been mentioned likewise [C]. He continued in high favour with King Henry

the chief occasion of the said fray, together with the said White, appeared in the Common House, where the Speaker charging them with their contempt and misdemeanor aforesaid, they were compelled to make immediate answer, without being admitted to any counsel, albeit, Sir Roger Cholmley, then Recorder of London, and other of the council of the city there present, offered to speak in the cause, which were all put to silence, and none suffered to speak but the parties themselves, whereupon, in conclusion, the said Sheriffs, and the same White, were committed to the Tower of London, and the said clerk, which was the occasion of the fray, to a place there called Little Ease; and the officer of London which did the arrest, called Tailour, with four other officers, to Newgate, where they remained from the eight and twentieth, until the thirtieth of March, and then they were delivered, not without humble suit made by the Mayor of London, and other their friends.

And for so much as the said Ferrers, being in execution upon a condemnation of debt, and set at large by privilege of Parliament, was not by law to be brought again into execution, and so the party, without remedy for his debt, as well against him as his principal debtor. After long debate of the same by the space of nine or ten days together, at last they resolved upon an Act of Parliament to be made; and to revive the execution of the said debt against the said Weldon which was principal debtor, and to discharge the said Ferrers. But before this came to pass, the Common House was divided upon the question; howbeit in conclusion the act passed for the said Ferrers, by fourteen voices.

The King then being advertised of all this proceeding, called immediately before him the Lord Chancellor of England and his Judges, with the Speaker of the Parliament, and other of the gravest persons of the Nether House, to whom he declared his opinion to this effect: First commending their wisdoms in maintaining the privileges of their House, which he would not have to be infringed in any point; he alledged, that he being head of the Parliament, and attending in his own person upon the business thereof, ought, in reason, to have privilege for him and all his servants attending there upon him. So that, if the said Ferrers had been no Burgefs, but only his servant, yet, in respect thereof, he was to have the privilege as well as any other. For I understand, quoth he, that not only for your own persons, but also for your necessary servants, even to your cooks and horse keepers, enjoy the said privilege; insomuch, as my Lord Chancellor here present hath informed us, that he being Speaker of the Parliament, the Cook of the Temple was arrested in London, and, in execution upon a statute of the staple. And for so much as the said Cook, during all the Parliament, served the Speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution by the privilege of the Parliament. And further we be informed by our Judges, that we at no time stand so highly in our Estate Royal, as in the time of Parliament, wherein we, as head, and you, as members, are conjoined and knit together into one body politick, so as, whatsoever offence or injury during that time is offered to the meanest member of the House, is to be judged as done against our person, and the whole Court of Parliament. Which prerogative of the Court is so great (as our learned Council informeth us) as all acts and processes coming out of any other inferior courts, must, for the time, cease, and give place to the highest. And touching the party, it was a great presumption in him, knowing our servant to be one of this House, and being warned thereof before, would, nevertheless, prosecute this matter out of time, and thereupon was well worthy to have

lost his debt, which I would not wish; and therefore do commend your Equity, that having lost the same by Law, have restored him to the same against him who was his debtor. And if it be well considered, what a charge it hath been to us and you all, not only in expence of our substance, but also in loss of time, which should have been employed about the affairs of our Realm, to sit here welnigh one whole fortnight about this one private case, he may think himself better used than his desert. And this may be a good example to others, to learn good manners, and not to attempt any thing against the Privilege of this Court, but to take their time better. This is mine opinion, and if I erre I must refer myself to the judgment of our Justices here, and other learned in our Laws.

Whereupon Sir Edward Montacute, Lord Chief Justice, very gravely told his opinion, confirming, by divers reasons, all that the King had said, which was assented unto by all the residue, none speaking to the contrary. The act, indeed, passed not the Higher House, for the Lords had not time to consider of it, by reason of the dissolution of the Parliament, the feast of Easter then approaching. Because this case hath been diversly reported, and is commonly alledged as a precedent for the privilege of the Parliament, I have endeavoured myself to learn the truth thereof, and to set it forth, with the whole circumstance at large, according to their instructions who ought best both to know and remember it.

[C] Have been mentioned likewise.] As, in the foregoing note, the reader is in full possession of the case, we shall in this discuss what has been observed thereupon by some very eminent writers; and first, let us observe, that a modern Author (10), whose eminent skill in our histories and antiquities have very justly gained him a high reputation, makes some very bold remarks upon these proceedings, which we will report in his own words. 'From this time the power and privilege of the House of Commons took a progressive increase, and this precedent was gained by the King's want of an aid, who, at that time, expected the Commons would voluntarily offer him a subsidy, the Ministry in the House of Lords knowing the King's Will, gave the Commons the compliance to punish those that imprisoned one of their members.' These are facts, and it is to be wished that some authority had been suggested in support of them. It is true, our author seems to have been led by his reading, what another person reports as the opinion of the Lord Chief Justice Dyer, we shall come to that hereafter, but, in the mean time, we will endeavour to explain what is hinted at above from the works of a noble Historian (11). 'During this session of Parliament some wrong was offered, as our histories say, to their antient privileges; a Burgefs of theirs being arrested: whereof the King understanding, not only gave way to their releasing him, but punishment of the offenders, insomuch, that the Sheriffs of London were committed to the Tower, and one delinquent to a place called Little Ease, others to Newgate. By which means the King, whose master piece it was to make use of his Parliaments, not only let foreign Princes see the good intelligence betwixt him and his subjects, but kept them all at his devotion: which also he so industriously procured, that rather than he would seem to require more at this time than they had lately given, he borrowed divers sums of money of men above fifty pound yearly in his books, which he looked on often, giving them in lieu thereof Privy-Seals, as security for their repayment in two years; by this means, suffering his Parliament rather to take notice

(10) Gurdon's History of the High Court of Parliament, Vol. II. p. 365.

(11) Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.

Henry all his reign, and seems to have stood upon good terms with the Lord Protector Somerset, in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI, since it appears that he attended the Protector, in quality of one of the Commissioners of the army, in his expedition into Scotland in 1548 (m), which perhaps might be owing to his being about the person of Prince Edward in his father's life-time, and consequently one for whom that young Prince had a singular kindness [D]. Another instance of this happened about four years afterwards,

(m) Patten's Journal of the Scottish Expedition, p. 13.

of his wants than to supply them, which yet served to prepare them for his next occasion. We have the same thing, tho' in fewer words, set down by Stowe, who tells us, that the Sheriffs were obliged to pay twenty pounds for their fees, before they were discharged; and that, in May following, the King took a Loan of all such as were rated at fifty pounds and upwards in the subsidy book.' We will now proceed to what has been alledged as the sentiment of the Lord Chief Justice Dyer (12), who lived in those days, and whose authority, in a point of this nature, would be of the greatest weight. 'It was said by Dyer, that if a man be condemned in debt or trespass, and is chosen one of the Burgeses or Knights of Parliament, and afterwards is taken in execution, he cannot have the privilege of Parliament, and so it was held by the judges of the Law in the case of one Ferrers, in the time of King Henry the Eighth; and tho' the privilege at that time was allowed him, yet it was unjust.' But suppose, after all this, we should resort to Sir James Dyer himself, and in his Reports we shall find, that in the thirty-sixth of Henry the Eighth, there was a case in the King's Bench, which brought the matter of Parliamentary privilege into question, and that case was this (13). One Trewynard was taken upon an Exigent, at the suit of one Skewis, and being in execution, a writ of privilege issued from the Parliament to R. Chamond, then Sheriff of Cornwall, reciting, that Trewynard was a Burges, and therefore entitled to the privilege of Parliament; in obedience to which writ the said Sheriff, in the time of the last session of the last Parliament, held in the thirty-fifth of the King, suffered him to go at large, and, upon this, an action of debt was brought by the said Skewis against the said Chamond. 'In this case three points are to be considered, first, whether privilege is to be granted to a Burges of Parliament, taken upon a writ of execution; secondly, if the privilege be grantable, whether the party, so enlarged, is discharged of the execution for ever, or only during the time of the Parliament: and, thirdly, admitting that the privilege is not allowable in this case, yet, whether the Sheriff, by this writ, issuing from the Parliament, shall be held sufficiently excused and discharged against the Plaintiff, in debt?' In reasoning on the first head, he observes, 'that it seems the privilege is allowable; for the proof of which he says, it is necessary to consider the state of Parliaments, which consists of three parts; the King, as the chief head; the Lords, as the principal members of the body; and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, as the inferior members; he next mentions the ceremony and solemnity attending elections; and then goes on thus: after that the members are returned, their attendance is so necessary to the Parliament, that they ought not, for any business, to be absent; and no one person can well be missed, for that he is a necessary member, and therefore if any die before the Parliament, a new one shall be chosen in his place, so that the entire number may not fail; and then, it follows, that the person of every such member ought to be privileged from arrest at the suit of any particular person, during the time that he is busied in the affairs of the King and the Realm; and such privilege has usually been granted at all times by the King to the Commons, at the request of the Speaker of the Parliament, the first day, &c. Common reason will persuade, that, for as much as the King, and his whole Realm, have an interest in the body of every one of its members, it seems that the private commodity of any particular man, ought not to be regarded. Then, as to the first point, he concludes that the Court of Parliament is the highest Court, and has more privileges than any Court of the Realm, for which, it seems, that, in every case, without any exception, every Burges is privileged, when arrest is only at the suit of the subject; and

the present case is so much the better, inasmuch as the execution was sued out during the sitting of Parliament, in such a case, as the Plaintiff was at his free election to sue out an execution against his body, or against his estate or goods.' He then proceeds to the second point, as to which he says, 'it seems to him the party is not discharged from the execution for ever, but only for a certain time,' for which he gives many reasons. In reference to the third point, he says, 'it seems that the Sheriff is not chargeable, because, if no default or offence in his office there is no reason to charge him, and there seems to be none in him, because the office of a Sheriff lies chiefly in the execution and serving of writs and process in the Law, for the doing of which he is the immediate officer, and to do which he is sworn. For this reason he is required, by his office and oath, to make just return, and the Law intends and considers him as a lay person, and not to have any cognizance of the science of the Law; and therefore, where a writ comes to him, whether it comes with or without authority, is not a point for him to dispute; on this head he offers several reasons, all tending to prove, that the Sheriff might think it right to execute that writ of privilege. He then puts this question, and now let us see, in case the Sheriff disobeyed this writ, what damage he would sustain? Truly, he would be in danger of perjury, and also of imprisonment and ransom at the King's will, and this was done in the same Parliament, in respect to Hill and Stukely (this should be Suckliffe) the Sheriffs of London, who were committed to the Tower for their contempts, for that they would not suffer George Ferrers, who was arrested upon an execution, to go at large, when the Serjeant at Arms came for him without any writ; so that, probably, Chamond might be terrified by this precedent from disobeying the writ of Parliament, which is the highest Court of the Kingdom. And it plainly appears by the writ, that it was clear in Parliament, that the party ought to have his privilege in this case, for otherwise the writ should have been a Habeas Corpus cum Causa, which writ is often granted before the Judges are satisfied whether privilege lies in any case or not; and if they find that it does not lie, then they remand the matter by *Procedendo*, &c. and tho' the Parliament do err in the grant of a writ of privilege, yet it is not reverfible in another Court, and therefore there can be no fault in the Sheriff.' I have stated this matter at large from Dyer's Reports, that the reader might see the reasoning of that great man, who, in time, became himself Speaker of the House of Commons, upon so nice a subject. It is true Sir Edward Coke, when Speaker of the House of Commons in the thirty fifth of Elizabeth, delivered his opinion to the House in these words (14); 'as for Trewynard's case, recited in my Lord Dyer, I have heard great learned men say, that that cause is no good Law, and that the House did more than was warrantable.' But to put an end to all disputes of this kind, in the first year of King James it was provided for by a statute (15), that the discharging a person out of execution by privilege of Parliament, should not void the judgment, in which the Legislature seem not to approve my Lord Coke's Law, so much as they did that of Lord Dyer.

[D] Had a singular kindness ] It appears sufficiently from all our histories, that Edward the Sixth, in his infancy, was very weakly, and therefore the King his father was very anxious for the preservation of his health, in respect to which, at the persuasion of this gentleman, he was sent to the Priory of St Giles's in the Wood, then the house of Sir Richard Page, Knight, Lieutenant of the Band of Pensioners given him by the said King, and this for the sake of its excellent air, standing also very near Flanshead. That estate came afterwards, by marriage, to the family of Saunderson,

(14) Dewes's Journal of the Parliaments of Queen Eliz. p. 516.

(15) Stat. 1 Jac. I. c. xiii.

(16) Chauncy's Hertfordshire, p. 571.

(12) Moore, fol. 7. n. 16; Drempton's Jur. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

(13) Dyer, fol.

(n) Stowe's *Annals*, p. 608.

(o) Grafton's *Chronicle*, p. 1317.

(p) Printed for Richard Tottle and Humphry Toye, 1569, fol.

(q) *Annals*, p. 632.

(r) Nicholson's *Engl. Historical Library*, p. 37.

(s) See the article of SPEED (JOHN) in this Dictionary.

(t) Lond. 1559, 4<sup>to</sup>.

wards, at a very critical juncture, for, when the unfortunate Duke of Somerset lay under sentence of death, and it was observed on the one hand, that people murmured and gave open testimonies of discontent; and, on the other, that the King himself was very uneasy and melancholy, those who were about him thought it their interest to study any method to quiet and amuse the one, and, if possible, to entertain and divert the other (n). In order to this, at the entrance of the Christmas holidays, George Ferrars, Esq; was proclaimed LORD of MISRULE, that is, a kind of Prince of sports and pastimes, which office he discharged for twelve days together at Greenwich, with great magnificence and address, and entirely to the King's satisfaction. In this character attended by the politest part of the Court, he made an excursion to London, where he was very honourably received by officers created for that purpose, splendidly entertained by the Lord Mayor, and, when he took his leave, had a present made him in token of respect (o) [E]. But notwithstanding he made so great a figure in the diversions of a Court, he preserved at the same time his credit with all the learned world, and was no idle spectator of political affairs, as appears from the History of the Reign of Queen Mary, which, though inserted in the *Chronicle*, and published in the name of Richard Grafton (p), was in truth penned by our author, as we are told by honest John Stowe (q), an author of incontestible authority in such cases. To this circumstance, if a certain critical writer had any way adverted, he would certainly have mentioned it amongst many less curious and less useful particulars (r). This method of sending works into the world under other mens names, who were benefited by it, was a thing in those days very common, and indeed a great part of another General History of England was composed in this manner; neither are the learned at a loss for the names of the true authors of most of the reigns, as will be shewn in another place (s). Our author, Ferrars, was an Historian, a Lawyer, and a Politician, even in his poetry, as evidently appears from those pieces of his that are inserted in the *MIRROR for MAGISTRATES* (t), and which are scarce inferior to any thing that have found a place in that collection [F]. He wrote likewise, in the earlier part of his life,

Saunders, who pulled down the old fabrick and built a new and very elegant house, in which, however, a bed very richly embroidered with the arms of England was preserved, on account of the tradition that he had slept in it, and several panes of glass, in which the royal arms were also painted, found, for the same reason, admittance into the new house (17). We need not therefore at all wonder, that King Edward should shew a particular liking to Mr Ferrars, whom he had known so long; and who, from the pleasantness of his temper, was very likely to inculpate himself into the good graces of a young Monarch, allowed to have parts much superior to his years.

[E] *In token of respect.* We have this story, and the occasion of it, largely enough related by several of our Historians; it is not therefore of any great consequence, the rather, since they transcribe each other, from which we take it. Honest John Stowe (18) tells it thus: 'The King kept his Christmas with open household at Greenwich, George Ferrars, gentleman, of Lincoln's-Inne, being Lord of the merry disports all the twelve days, who so pleasantly and wisely behaved himself, that the King had great delight in his pastimes. On Monday the fourth of January, the said Lord of Merry Disports came by water to London, and landed at the Tower-Wharfe, entered the Tower, and then rode through Tower-Street, where he was received by Serjeant Vawce, Lord of Misrule to John Mainard, one of the Sheriffs of London, and so conducted through the city with a great company of young Lords and Gentlemen, to the house of Sir George Barne, Lord Mayor, where he, with the chief of his company, dined, and after had a great banquet, and at his departure the Lord Mayor gave him a standing cup, with a cover of silver and gilt, of the value of ten pounds, for a reward, and also set a hoghead of wine, and a barrel of beer, at his gate, for his train that followed him, the residue of his gentlemen and servants dined at other Aldermens houses, and with the Sheriffs, and so departed to the Tower-Wharfe again, and to the Court by water, to the great commendation of the Mayor and Aldermen, and highly accepted of the King and Council.' Grafton observes (19), that this was so acceptable to the young King, that he made it sufficiently appear by his princely liberality in rewarding the service; but he does not tell us what that reward was. I have found it some where suggested (20), that it was a large grant of Abbey-Lands, but I believe this must be a mistake, for this grant was in the second year of the King, and consisted of the Priory of

Mergate, or Markiate, now called Market-Street, lying at a small distance from Flamstead, but in the county of Bedford, and valued at the time of the Dissolution at the annual rent of one hundred forty three pounds one shilling and three pence (21). It is true it may be suggested, that there might be two grants, one in reward of his services in Scotland, and the other upon this occasion; but we may fairly alledge, in answer to this, that gifts of such lands are so duly recorded, that it would be scarce possible to miss finding some notice of it, if such a subsequent grant there had ever been.

[F] *In that collection*] The first edition of this book, in which edition were many of our author's pieces, was printed in 1559; the second, into which the rest of his Poems are inserted, after his death in 1587; and the third, which was also not barely reprinted, in 1610, but with many additions; all in Quarto. The title of the second edition, at large runs thus:

*The Mirour for Magistrates, wherein may be seen, by examples passed in this Realm, with how grievous plagues vices are punished in great Princes and Magistrates, and how frail and unstable worldly prosperity is found, where fortune seemeth most highly to favour. Newly imprinted, and with the addition of divers tragedies enlarged.*

The first edition of this book was published by William Baldwin, who prefixed an epistle before the second part of it, wherein he signifies, that it was intended to reprint the *Fall of Princes*, by Boccace, as translated into English by Lidgate the Monk; but, that upon communicating his design, to seven of his friends, all of them sons of the Muses, they dissuaded him, proposing to look over the English Chronicles, and to pick out of them such stories as were most entertaining, and at the same time not void of instruction, which they undertook to adorn each with a robe of poesy. Amongst these friends of his, none more ready in promising, none more willing in performance, than our Mr George Ferrars, who furnished Mr Baldwin with four stories for that edition of the *Mirour*, &c. the titles of which follow:

1. *The fall of Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice of England, and other his fellows, for misconstruing the Laws, and expounding them to serve the Princes affections.*
2. *The Tragedy, or unlawful Murder, of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester.*
3. *Tragedy of King Richard II.*

(17) MS. Remarks on the Art of English Poetry.

(18) *Annals*, p. 608, 609.

(19) Grafton's *Chronicle*, p. 1317.

(20) Notes on the Art of English Poetry.

life, some pieces in his own profession, which gained him great reputation, and which manifestly shews, that he was not so great a Courtier as to prefer the prerogative of the Crown to the rights or property of the subject, but one who well understood, that the welfare of this nation must depend upon maintaining, in it's full vigour, our most excellent constitution [G]. It very rarely happens, that, where a man so often changes his course of life as Mr Ferrars did, or, to speak with greater propriety, was forced to do, that he maintains himself without blemish in the world's good opinion; and yet such was his happy fortune, that change in his station wrought none in his credit, but in all the variety of scenes through which he passed, and from the earliest to the latest day of his life, he was beloved, admired, and caressed, by all who knew him, and more especially respected by the learned, who consulted him upon their labours as a candid Critick and a generous friend (u). For these circumstances, notwithstanding that deluge of oblivion which has swept away the remembrance of many great things done in those times, we have with some pains been able to recover; though without question much more might have been said, if Leland had lived to perfect those works which he began, or if his unhappy fate had not deterred others from attempting to preserve the personal memoirs of those illustrious and ingenious men, who flourished in those days [H]. Yet to that great man,

(u) Art of English Poetry.

4. *The Story of Dame Elianor Cobham, Duchesse of Gloucester, &c.* which is much altered, and greatly augmented, in the second edition.

In the *second edition* are added to those four,

5. *The Story of Humphry Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, Protector of England.*

6. *Tragedy of Edmund Duke of Somerset.*

Amongst these the complaint of *Elianor Cobham, Duchesse of Gloucester*, who was banished for her consulting conjurers and fortunetellers about the life of King Henry the Sixth, and whose exile quickly made way for the murder of her husband, has, of all his compositions, been most admired; the reader perhaps, will not think his time mispent in the perusal of a few stanzas (22); that Lady speaks.

The Isle of Man was the appointed place  
To penance me for ever in exile;  
Thither, in haste, they poasted me apace,  
And doubting scape they pin'd me in a pyle,  
Close by myself; in care, alas, the while  
There felt I first poor prisoners hungry fare,  
Much want, things scant, and stone walls hard and bare.

The change was strange from sylke and cloth of gold  
To rugged fryze, my carcass for to cloath;  
From Princes fare, and dainties hot and cold,  
To rotten fish, and meates that one would loath:  
The dict and dressing were much alike boath:  
Bedding and lodging were all alike fine,  
Such Down it was as served well for swyne.

Neither doe I mine own case thus complayne,  
Which, I confesse, came partly by desert,  
The only cause which doubleth all my payne,  
And which most neer goeth now unto my hearte,  
Is that my fault did finally revert,  
To him that was least guilty of the fame,  
Whose death it was, though I abode the shame:

Whose fatal fall when I do call to minde,  
And how, by me, his mischief first began;  
So ofte I cry on fortune most unkinde,  
And my mishap most utterly doe banne,  
That ever I to such a nobleman,  
Who from my crime was innocent and cleare,  
Should be a cause to buy his love so deare.

Oh! to my heart how greivous is the wounde,  
Cailing to minde this dismal deadly case,  
I would I had been dolen under ground  
When hee first saw or looked on my face,  
Or tooke delight in any kind of grace;  
Seeming in mee that him did stir or move,  
To fancy me or set his heart to love.

Farewell Greenwych, my Pallace of delight,  
Where I was wont to see the christall streames  
Of royal Thames, most pleasaunt to my sight,  
And farewell Kent right famous in all realmes,  
A thousand times I minde you in my dreames,  
And when I wake most grieft it is to mee  
That never more agayne I shall you see.

[G] *Our most excellent constitution.* We have already observed, that the fall of his patron, Thomas Cromwell Earl of Essex, induced him pretty early to quit the publick exercise of his profession as a Counsellor at Law, but not before he had given publick testimonies of his great knowledge and reading, as appears from

*The double translation of Magna Charta from French, into Latin and English. Imprinted by Elizabeth, Widow to Robert Redman, 12mo.*

*Other Laws enacted in the times of Henry the Third, and Edward the First, translated into English.* But when or where printed does not appear.

[H] *Who flourished in those days.* There is no doubt, that many of the Poems penned by our author in the earlier part of his life, and by which he recommended himself to the favour of his gracious Sovereigns Henry and Edward, are now lost. Mr Wood mentions an Epitaph made on Dr Phayer (23), a very learned Physician, which is not now to be met with. The learned Mr Leland has entered amongst his notes one, which shews the respect he had to our author's judgment, in these words (24). 'Mr Ferrars told me, that Gower the Judge could not be the man that write the bookes yn English, for he said that Gower the Judge was about Edward the Secundes time.' His remarks upon the English History, in the prose part of the *Mirror of Magistrates*, are very judicious, and shew that he was perfectly master of the subject, that he had studied it long and carefully, and had made diligent enquiry into the secret springs of great events, which might have qualified him to have undertaken the writing any part of our history with reputation. Of this, what he has written, *viz.* the reign of Queen Mary, is another good proof; and John Stowe (25), who loved not Grafton, and in truth had no reason to love him, might very probably let us into the secret of this reign being written by Mr Ferrars, purely to prevent Richard Grafton from having the credit of it, and indeed it is very unlike the rest of his work, which, if a certain Prelate's judgment (26) will influence the reader, deservedly procured him, from George Buchanan (27), the character of a very heedless and unskilful writer. None of the authors we have met with deliver any thing as to Mr Ferrars's religion, but it is highly probable, if not certain, that he was a settled, and it may be a zealous, Protestant, not upon account of his receiving grants of Abbey Lands, for that might be but a precarious proof, but from his coming into the world under the protection of Thomas Lord Cromwell, a man certainly persuaded of the truth of the Protestant Religion, whatever errors he might fall into in the practice, and from the high credit in which he stood with

(23) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 135.

(24) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. p. 46.

(25) Annals, p. 608.

(26) Bishop Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 71.

(27) Hist. Scot. l. vii.

the

(w) Itinerary,  
Vol. VI. p. 46.

(x) Athen Oxon.  
Vol. I. col. 193.

(y) Meer's Wits  
Commonwealth,  
P. ii. p. 646.

(z) Ath. Oxon.  
Vol. I. col. 146.

man we stand indebted for several particulars of our author's history, occasionally set down in his valuable papers that are yet preserved (w), as well as for that excellent poem which he addresses to Mr Ferrars, and which alone had been sufficient to have transmitted his memory to posterity with honour, if all other helps had been wanting [I]. With respect to the time of our author's death we are not exactly informed, all we know is, that he died in the year 1579, at his house at Flamstead in Hertfordshire, and was buried in the parish-church; for, as Mr Wood informs us, on the 18th of May the same year, a commission was granted from the Prerogative, to administer the goods, debts, chattels, &c. of him the said George Ferrars, then lately deceased (x). There flourished also at the same time with him one Mr Edward Ferrars, a Warwickshire Gentleman of a good family, bred, as well as our author, at Oxford, a celebrated Poet likewise, and much in the good graces of Henry VIII, to whom a certain writer who lived near those times ascribed many of the pieces written by our author, and thereby misled (y) Mr Wood in his first edition, but he afterwards corrected that mistake from our author's poems (z). This Edward Ferrars died in 1564, and lies buried in the church of Badesly Clinton, in the county of Warwick.

the Lord Protector Somers and King Edward the Sixth, to which it is scarce possible he should have attained, if he had not been so. In his history also of the reign of Queen Mary, tho' written with much caution and wonderful moderation, and wherein he speaks highly of the personal virtues of that Princess, yet he shews himself clearly of the reformed religion, more especially in the large account he gives of the death of Archbishop Cranmer (28), and of Sir Thomas Wiat's insurrection; and, indeed, in all other passages where it could be expected, referring for further particulars, to the Acts and Monuments written by John Fox.

[I] *If all other helps had been wanting.*] What is said in the text is no more, than what is justly due to the pains taken by that incomparable Antiquary John Leland, whose elegies in praise of the worthy persons who flourished in his time, are many of them short histories of their lives and actions, as the reader will perceive by the following Poem, the beginning of which alludes to Mr Ferrar's feat at Verlamum or Flamstead, and is a very elegant complement. The late learned Bishop Tanner thought, that the last lines related to the Duke of Somers's expedition into Scotland; but perhaps they may be with more justice referred to his expedition into that kingdom, when Earl of Hertford, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth; nor is it at all improbable, that Mr Ferrars might attend him in the first, as he certainly did in the last. Mr Leland's Poem runs thus (29):

#### Ad Georgium Ferrarium.

Si modo Verlamum vetus urbs victoribus olim  
Cognita Romanis tota niteret ovans:  
Te niveis certe insigniret grata lapillis,  
Texeret ac facili florea ferta manu:  
Queis tua congaudens redimiret tempora festa  
Quod Mufas deamet Castaliumque gregem.  
Concidit antiquæ sed gloria funditus urbis,  
Albani fanum quod reparavit opus.  
Fortunæ scandens alta ad fastigia summæ,  
Cromuellus sibi te vir catus asseruit.  
Deinde animo leges patrias evolvis, & illis,  
Sedulus infervis caufidicoque foro.  
Patronum veterem repetis patronus & ipse,  
Ac lepidis dictis lætitiæque studes.  
Gloria at illius cecidit magnamque ruinam  
Passa est: sic verfat fors male fida rotas.  
Aulica vita tibi placuit, mox regia magni,  
Te Henrici gremio foverat ampla suo.  
Horrida bella sonant, Martis foetura coruscant,  
Et Scotti & Morini tela cruenta vibrant.

Fortior occurris, gladio clypeoque resumpto,  
Bellator produs Martius, atque minax.  
Vidisti Scottos victor Morinosque fugatos,  
Et patuit virtus amplior inde tua.  
Perge, ut cœpisti, magum te ostendere factis  
Ferrari, & nostro carmine major eris.

This I have found thus translated, or rather Paraphrased.

*If that fam'd City which the Romans knew  
(Renown'd for arms, renown'd for learning too)  
Shone now in splendour as in days of old,  
Happy her Citizen in Thee she'd hold,  
Whose genius back her former joys convey'd,  
Castalian springs and ev'ry tuneful maid;  
For in her turn, sweet bard, each muse is thine,  
I am content with one, but thou hast nine.  
Proud of thy virtues, she'd exalt thy fame  
With golden honours, strive to deck thy name;  
But what she was St Alban's is, and she,  
Tho' less her right, puts in her claim to thee.  
The cautious Cromwell early call'd thee friend,  
Bespoke thy fortunes, taught thee to ascend;  
When to the laws you bent your maiden choice,  
And crowds applauding listened to your voice;  
While your great patron fill'd the chair of state  
And saw you in your turn becoming great,  
You sooth'd the burthen of perplex'd affairs,  
Heighten'd his pleasures, and consol'd his cares.  
At length he fell! O fall severe indeed!  
And yet to all who fortune trust, decreed.  
Then to the Palace all your thoughts attend,  
And mighty HENRY well supply'd your friend.  
But war breaks out, the Scot and faithless Gaul,  
By base invasions for chastisements call:  
Thy sword and shield are readily sustain'd,  
And martial heat again your veins distend;  
The Scots well beaten, and the Gauls subdu'd,  
All arts of peace are once again pursu'd.  
Your valour found as sterling as your wit,  
All own your virtues for each station fit,  
For Courts and Camps alike by nature form'd,  
With sense enliven'd, and with courage warm'd:  
Go FERRARS on, compleat your brave designs,  
You have deserv'd, and shall transcend my lines.*

E

(28) Grafton's  
Chronicle, p.  
1350, 1351.

(29) Principum  
ac Illustrium ali-  
quot & Erudito-  
rum in Anglia  
Virorum, Enco-  
mia, Trophæa,  
Genethliaca, et  
Epithalamia. A  
Joanne Lelando  
Antiquario con-  
scripta. Lond.  
1589, p. 99.

FISHER (JOHN) Bishop of Rochester in the XVIth century, a man worthy to live in better times, was born at Beverley in Yorkshire, in the year 1459 (a). His father, named Robert, was a Merchant in that town, who left him an orphan very young. But his good and kind mother, whose name was Anne, though she married again, did not neglect this son, and another younger she had by her first husband; causing them to be carefully educated in the collegiate church of their native place, Beverley. When fit for the university, John was sent to Michael-House (b) in Cambridge, in the year 1484, and placed under the tuition of Mr William de Melton. He took the degrees in Arts in 1488 and 1491; and being elected Fellow of Michael-house (c), was one of the Proctors of the university in 1495 (d). The same year, he was elected Master of Michael-house, in the room of his tutor William de Melton preferred to the dignity of Chancellor of the cathedral church of York (e): and having for some time before applied himself to the study of Divinity, he took Holy Orders, and became eminent as a Divine. So that the fame of his learning and exemplary virtues reaching the ears of Margaret Countess of Richmond, mother of King Henry VII, she chose him her Chaplain and Confessor: in which station he behaved with so much goodness and wisdom, that she committed herself and her whole family to his government and direction. And by his advice and persuasion it was, that she undertook those munificent foundations at Cambridge [A], of which an account is given lower (f). In 1501, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (g). The same year he was chosen Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and again in 1504 (h); during the exercise of which eminent office [B], he encouraged learning and good manners: and is said by some to have had Prince Henry, afterwards King Henry VIII, under his tuition in that university (i). In 1502, he was appointed, by charter, the Lady Margaret's first Divinity Professor in Cambridge (k). Likewise, anno 1504, being nominated Bishop of Rochester [C], upon the translation of Richard Fitz-James to the See of London; he was confirmed by Pope Julius the Second's bull, dated 14 October 1504 (l). This small bishopric he would never afterwards exchange for a better, tho' he was offered both Lincoln and Ely [D]. For, he called his church his wife, and was wont to say, He would not change his little old wife, to whom he had been so long wedded, for a wealthier (m). At the time of this promotion he was attending the building and foundation of Christ's-college in Cambridge; and as he was not accommodated with a convenient lodging, Dr Tho. Wilkinson President of Queen's-college dying in 1505, the Society chose him their President in his room [E]. This Headship he gratefully accepted, and kept it a little above three years (n). In 1506, he perfected the foundation of Christ's-college, and was appointed in the statutes Visitor for his life, after the death

(g) R. Hall, p. 8.

(h) Fuller's Hist. of Cambr. p. 26, 87.

(i) Antiquit. Britannicæ, p. 464. Vide Godwin. de Priefulbur, edit. Cl. W. Richardson, 1743, p. 536, not. u.

(k) T. Baker's Pref. to our author's Sermon at the Lady Margaret's funeral, p. vii. lxiv.

(l) J. Le Neve, ubi supra, p. 250; & R. Hall, p. 13, &c.

(m) R. Hall, ubi supra, p. 16; and Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. v. p. 202, 203.

(n) R. Hall, p. 26. et Wharton. Angl. Sacra, P. i. p. 382.

[A] And by his advice and persuasion it was, that she undertook those munificent foundations at Cambridge.]

For this, among others, we have the authority of the renowned Erasmus (1). Reverendus Episcopus Rossensis, vir non solum mirabili integritate vitæ, verum etiam alta & recondita doctrina, tum morum quoque incredibili comitate commendatus maximis pariter ac minimis. — His nominibus aliquando Regis Henrici qui nunc Angliam moderatur aviæ paternæ Margaritæ egregiè charus, & à confessionis secretis. Cui Margaritæ auctor fuit, ut in Academia Cantabrigiensi Collegia duo construxerit, & amplis possessionibus ditaverit. Quorum alterum Christo Servatori, alterum S. Johanni Evangelistæ consecravit. Solebat etiam ipse pro sua facultate bonæ spei adolescentes, maximè pauperiores liberaliter ad studia nutrire.

[B] During the exercise of which eminent office.] Dr William Richardson seems to conclude, that Thomas Wolsey was chosen Chancellor in 1514, upon Bishop Fisher's refusing to continue so any longer (2). But in R. Parker's History of the University of Cambridge, it is said, that Bishop Fisher was then confirmed in that office for life. '1514. Hoc anno factus [scil. Job. Fisher] perpetuus Academiae Cancellarius (3).'

[C] Being nominated Bishop of Rochester.] He was promoted thereto, chiefly through the original recommendation of him to King Henry VII. by Dr Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, as he acknowledges in the dedication of his book against Oecolampadius to that Bishop.—Adde, quod Regi Henrico septimo — meam parvitatem commendasti, ut sola existimatione, quam de me concepit, & meo motu, citra quodvis aliud obsequium, citra cujusquam preces, quod & mihi non semel affirmabat, episcopatum Rossensem, cui jam indignus presum, ultro donaverit. Non desunt forte complures quibus creditum est genitricem illius, nempe Comitum Richmondia, Derbique, sceruarum eximiam, & plane incomparabilem, heraque mihi multis rationibus charissimam, suis precibus a filio dictum episcopatum impetrasse mihi Vere longe aliter sese res habet. Quod & tua

dominationi compertissimum est. — Sed ad dominationem tuam redeo, cui (ut dixi) post Regem prudentissimum defunctum, omnia commoda, quæ mihi meisque suppetunt, ex hoc episcopatu me debere confiteor. The substance of which is, that it was not through the Lady Margaret's interest, but the Bishop of Winchester's original recommendation of him to King Henry VII. that he obtained the Bishopric.—Before the King gave it him, he writ a letter to his mother, which begins thus. 'Madam, and I thought I should not offend you, which I will never do wilfully, I am well'

'myndit to promote Master Fisher your Confessor to a Bishopric; and I assure you Madam, for non other cause but for the grete and singular virtue, that I know and se in hym, as well in conyng and natural wisdom, and specially for his good and vertuose living and conversation. And by the promotyon of suche a man, I know well, it should corage many others to lye vertuosely, and to take such wayes as he dothe, which shulde be a good example to many others hereafter. Howebeit without your pleasure knowen I woll not move hym, nor tempt hym therein, &c— (4).

[D] This small bishopric he would never afterwards exchange for a better, tho' he was offered both Lincoln and Ely.] His own sentiments upon that subject are truly just and noble. Habeant licet alii proventus pinguiorcs, ego tamen interim pauciorum animarum curam gero, adeo ut quum utrorumque ratio reddenda fuerit, quod & propediem haud dubie futurum est, nec pilo meari sortem optarim uberiter. i. e. 'I ho' others have larger revenues, I have fewer souls under my care, so that when I shall have to give an account of both, which must be very soon, I would not desire my condition to have been better than it is (5).

[E] The Society chose him their President in his room.] Dr Fuller is mistaken, when he says (6), that this election was, whilst the Bishop was 'employed in building of St John's college.' For it was not built till some years after.

(4) See at the end of the Bishop's General Sermon on the Lady Margaret, p. 41, published by T. Baker.

(5) Dedicat. to Bishop Fox, in the foregoing note.

(6) Ch. History, B. v. p. 202.

(a) G. Lilius in Vita Fisher.

(b) Now incorporated into Trinity college.

(c) The Life and Death of John Fisher, written by Ric. Hall, D. D. but published under the name of Tho. Bailly, Lond. 1655, 8vo, p. 1—8.

(d) T. Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, p. 82. See also his Ch. Hist. B. v. p. 202.

(e) G. Lilius, ut supra, et J. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 318.

(f) Life, &c. as above, by Hall, p. 11, 12. Et Lilius.

(1) Epist. edit. Basil, 1540, p. 253, &c. and 1125.

(2) In editione Godwini de Praefulibus, ubi supra.

(3) Hist. of Cambr. p. 1722, 8vo, p. 197.

(c) T. Baker, ubi  
supra, Pref. p. xi.

of the munificent foundress (o). He was also the chief instrument in the foundation of St John's college in the same university, and from the same bountiful hand the Countess of Richmond. Her intention was, to bestow the remainder of her charities upon the most magnificent chapel, which her son King Henry VII was erecting at the east end of Westminster-Abbey, by richly endowing a chantry there. But communicating her design to her Confessor Bishop Fisher, the great director of her charity, she was easily prevailed upon by him, to whom she was all obedience, to alter her purpose, and found St John's college. The King's licence was obtained for that purpose; but before it was passed in due form, the King dies April 21, 1509, as does the Lady Margaret herself June the 29th following. By these unhappy and unforeseen accidents, the care of the new foundation devolved upon her executors, of whom the most faithful and most active, nay the sole and principal agent, was Bishop Fisher. And he carried it on with the utmost application, and an honest and industrious zeal (p). In 1512, he was appointed to go to the Council of Lateran at Rome, but never went (q) [F]. St John's college being finished in 1516, he repaired to Cambridge, and opened that college with due solemnity; and was also commissioned to make statutes for the same (r). Not content with all that he had done for that noble seminary of learning, he became a considerable benefactor to it afterwards (s) [G]. And it was through his persuasion and intreaties, that Dr Richard Croke came and settled at Cambridge, where he was the first Greek Professor after Erasmus (t). Upon Martin Luther's first appearance, and his stout opposition to the errors and innovations of Popery, Bishop Fisher, like a zealous champion for the Church of Rome, was one of the foremost to enter the lists against him. He not only endeavoured to prevent the propagation of his doctrine in his own diocese, and in the university of Cambridge, over which, as Chancellor, he had a very great influence: but also preached and wrote, with great vehemence and earnestness against him (u). The King's book, intituled, *An Assertion of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther*, is thought chiefly to be the work of Bishop Fisher (w): who, moreover, published, *A Defence of the King of England's Assertion of the Catholique Faith against M. Luther's Book of the Captivity of Babylon*; and, *A Defence of the Holy Order of Priesthood, against Martin Luther*. With other pieces, mentioned below in note [X], among the rest of his works. Nay, he even took a resolution of going to Rome, for the settlement of those points; but was diverted by Cardinal Wolsey's calling together a Synod of the whole clergy, wherein the Bishop delivered himself with great freedom [H], on occasion of the Cardinal's stately pride (x). Hitherto Bishop Fisher had continued in great favour with King Henry VIII, but the business of the divorce being set on foot in 1527, he adhered so firmly to the Queen's cause, and the Pope's Supremacy, that it brought him into great troubles, and in the end proved his ruin. For, the King who had a great esteem for him, both on account of his honesty and learning, having desired his opinion on the subject of his marriage with Queen Catherine of Arragon; the Bishop declared, That there was no reason at all to question the

(p) T. Baker, ibid. p. xv. xviii. xix. xxix. xxxii.

(q) Ibid. p. xlvi. & Wharton, ubi supra.

(r) T. Baker, p. xlv. xlvii.

(s) R. Hall, as above, p. 29, 30.

(t) Wood's Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 105; and Strype's Eccles. Memor. Vol. I. p. 143.

(u) R. Hall, p. 34, 35.

(w) Ibid. p. 36.

(x) R. Hall. p. 36, &c. 40, 41.

(7) Preface, as above, p. xlvi.

(8) Reg. Liter.

(9) Lib. Rub.

[F] *But never went.* For, as the learned Mr Baker well observes (7), 'tho' some of our historians have sent him thither, and the University had recommended their affairs to him, as ready to go, by a letter dated February 1514 (8), and tho' he had drawn up and sealed procuratorial powers to William Frefel, Prior of Ledes, during his absence, dated March 10 the same year, yet he never went; he says himself, his journey was stopt (9), and these procuratorial powers, together with other letters recommending him to some men of note at Rome, are yet lodged amongst the archives of St John's college, and show, they were never delivered.'

[G] *He became a considerable benefactor to it afterwards.* For he not only bore a part in the charge of the building; but much augmented the revenues of it with lands, whereby four fellowships were founded upon his own account, and one reader of an Hebrew Lecture, another of Greek, together with four examining readers, and four under-readers to help the principal. And observing that the price of victuals began to rise, he gave wherewith (by weekly dividend) the fellows commons might be augmented: bequeathing also thereto his library (thought to be then the best in Europe) after his decease; together with all his plate, hangings, and other household-stuff whatsoever, by a deed of gift in his life-time; and putting the college in possession of the same by indentures, only borrowing them back again for his own use, during his life. But they were seized, upon his being attainted of treason. He had moreover, to shew his perpetual good will to this college, built a little chapel near the college-chapel, and erected there a tomb of white marble finely wrought, for his own burial-place. But his body was laid elsewhere, as will be related in its due place (10).

(10) R. Hall, p. 30, 31.

[H] *Wherein the Bishop delivered himself with great freedom.* Part of his speech was in these words—  
'I had thought, that when so many learned men, as substitute for the clergy, had been drawn into this body, that some good matters should have been propounded for the benefit and good of the Church: that the scandals, that lye so heavy upon her men, and the disease which takes such hold on those advantages, might have been hereby at once removed, and also remedied. Who hath made any the least proposition against the ambition of those men, whose pride is so offensive, whiles their profession is humility? or against the incontinency of such as have vowed chastity? how are the goods of the Church wasted? the lands, the tithes, and other oblations of the devout ancestors of the people (to the great scandal of their posterity) wasted in superfluous riotous expences? how can we exhort our flocks to fly the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, when we that are Bishops set our minds on nothing more than that which we forbid? if we should teach according to our doing, how absurdly would our doctrines found in the ears of those that should hear us? and if we teach one thing, and do another, who believeth our report? which would seem to them no otherwise than as if we should throw down with one hand what we built with the other: we preach humility, sobriety, contempt of the world, &c. and the people perceive in the same men that preach this doctrine, pride and haughtiness of mind, excess in apparel, and a resignation of our selves to all worldly pomps and vanities. And what is this otherwise, than to set the people in a stand, whether they shall follow the sight of their own eyes, or the belief of what they hear ——— (11).'

(11) R. Hall, above, p. 37.

the validity of that marriage, since it was good and lawful from the beginning. And, from this opinion no considerations whatever could make him recede afterwards (y). When the affair came to be tried before the two Legates, Campeius and Wolsey; Bishop Fisher was one of the Counsellors assigned to the Queen; and presented to the Legates a book he had written in defence of the marriage: making a speech at the same time, wherein he desired them, to take good heed of what they did in so weighty a business (z). In the Parliament which met November 3, 1529, a motion being made for suppressing the lesser monasteries, the Bishop warmly opposed it in the Upper-House [I]; and endeavoured to wipe off some general aspersions, thrown upon the clergy in the Lower House, at the bringing in of bills about mortuaries, pluralities, and probates of Wills (a). He also opposed in Convocation, the proposal there made, for granting the monasteries of 200*l.* per annum value, and under, to the King: so that the proposal was then rejected (b). In 1530, he escaped two very great dangers, namely, of being poisoned, and shot, in his house at Lambeth-marsh [K]; whereupon he retired to Rochester (c). When the question, of giving King Henry VIII. the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, was debated in Convocation, in 1531, the Bishop opposed it with all his might: which only served the more to incense the Court against him, and to make them watch for all opportunities of getting rid of so troublesome a person (d). He soon gave them the opportunity they sought for; namely, in his tampering with, and hearing too much to, the visions and impostures of Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent (e): a proceeding, which nothing but his age, his bigotry for the Church of Rome, and a desire of supporting its doctrines by the same unlawful arts as have been too often employed, can excuse (f). However, it is necessary to see what reasons he alledges for his behaviour in that affair; for which the reader will be pleased to consult the note [L].

The

(y) Ibid. p. 42, &amp;c.

(z) Ibid. p. 66, &amp;c.

(a) Ibid. p. 94; and Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. P. i. p. 82.

(b) R. Hall, ubi supra, p. 98, 99, 100.

(c) Ibid. p. 107, 102.

(d) Ibid. p. 107—124.

(e) See above, the article BARTON (ELIZABETH).

(f) R. Hall, ubi supra, p. 117, &amp;c. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, P. i. p. 149, &amp;c.

[I] *The Bishop warmly opposed it in the Upper-House* ] His speech was as follows, ' My Lords, here are certain bills exhibited against the clergy, wherein there are complaints made against the viciousness, idleness, rapacity, and cruelty of Bishops, Abbots, Priests, and their Officials: but, my Lords, are all vicious, all idle, all ravenous, and cruel Priests, or Bishops? And for such as are such, are there no laws provided already against such? Is there any abuse that we do not seek to rectify? Or can there be such a rectification, as that there shall be no abuses? Or are not clergymen to rectify the abuses of the clergy? Or shall men find fault with other mens manners, whiles they forget their own? and punish where they have no authority to correct? if we be not executive in our laws, let each man suffer for his delinquency; or if we have not power, aid us with your assistance, and we shall give you thanks. But, my Lords, I hear there is a motion made, that the small Monasteries shall be taken into the King's hands, which makes me fear it is not so much the good as the goods of the Church, that is looked after. Truly, my Lord, how this may sound in your ears I cannot tell, but to me it appears no otherwise, than as if our holy mother the Church were to become a bondmaid, and new-brought into servility and thralldom, and by little and little to be quite banished out of those dwelling places, which the piety and liberality of our forefathers, as most bountiful benefactors, have conferred upon her; otherwise to what tendeth these portentous and curious petitions of the Commons? to no other intent or purpose, but to bring the clergy into contempt with the laity, that they may seize their patrimony. But, my Lords, beware of yourselves and your country; beware of your holy mother the catholique Church; and the people are subject unto novelties, and Lutheranism spreads itself amongst us. Remember, Germany and Bohemia, what miseries are befallen them already; and let our neighbours houses that are now on fire, teach us to beware our own disasters. Wherefore, my Lords, I will tell you plainly what I think, that except ye resist manfully by your authorities, this violent heap of mischiefs offered by the Commons, you shall see all obedience, first drawn from the clergy; and secondly from yourselves; and if you search into the true causes which reign among them, you shall find that they all arise *through want of faith* '——At this speech some of the Lords were pleased, others displeased. And the Duke of Norfolk, addressing himself to the Bishop, said, ' My Lord of Rochester, many of these words might have been well spared; but I wis that it is often seen that the greatest clerks are not always the wisest men.' To which the Bishop

replied, ' My Lord, I do not remember any fools in my time that ever proved great clerks.' But when the Commons heard of it, they were all in a flame, and sent their speaker Thomas Audeley to complain to the King: who thereupon sent for the Bishop, and asked him, ' why he spake thus?' The Bishop answered, that ' being in counsel, he spake his mind in defence of the Church, whom he saw daily injured, and oppressed by the common people, whose office it was not to judge of her manners, much less to reform them, and therefore he thought himself in conscience bound to defend her in all that lay within his power.' The King bid him ' use his words more temperately,' and that was all. Which gave the Commons little satisfaction (12).

[K] *In 1530, he escaped two very great dangers, namely of being poisoned, and shot, in his house at Lambeth-marsh.* ] One Richard Rouse, who was acquainted with the cook, coming into the Bishop's kitchen; took his opportunity, while the cook was gone to fetch him some drink, to throw a great quantity of poison into gruel which was prepared for the Bishop's dinner. He could eat nothing that day, so escaped; but, of seventeen persons that ate of it, one Mr Bennet Curwin, and an old widow, died, and the rest never perfectly recovered their healths. Upon this occasion, an act was made, which declared poisoning to be high-treason, and adjudged the offender to be boiled to death. That severe punishment was inflicted upon Rouse, in Smithfield, soon after. But the act was repealed, 1 Edw. VI. c. 12. & 1 Mar. c. 1. — As for the other danger, it was thus. A cannon-bullet, that was shot from the other side of the Thames, pierced through his house, and came very near his study, where he used to spend most of his time (13).

[L] *For which the reader will be pleased to consult the note.* ] Those reasons are taken from a letter written by him to the House of Lords, while the bill for attainting Elizabeth Barton and her accomplices, was depending.—— ' It may please you to consider that I sought not for this woman's coming unto me, nor thought in her any manner of deceit. She was the person that, by many probable and likely conjectures, I then reputed to be right honest, religious, and very good and vertuous. I verily supposed, that such feigning and craft, compassing of any guile or fraud had been far from her: and what default was this in me, so to think, when I had so many probable testimonies of her virtue? 1. The bruit of the country which generally called her the *Holy Maid*. 2. Her entrance into religion upon certain visions which was commonly said that she had. 3. For the good religion and learning that was thought to be in her ghottly father (14), and in other

(12) R. Hall, ubi supra, p. 94, &amp;c.

(13) R. Hall, ubi supra, p. 101, 102, and Burnet, as above, p. 113.

(14) Dr Eocking. virtuous

The Court having the advantage against him they wanted, soon made use of it, by adjudging him to be guilty of misprision of treason, for concealing the Maid's speeches that related to the King; and condemning him (with five others) in loss of goods, and imprisonment during the King's pleasure: but he was released upon paying 300*l.* for his Majesty's use [M]. In the same Parliament, which met Jan. 15, 1533-4, wherein this sentence was passed upon him and the rest of Elizabeth Barton's accomplices; an act was made, which absolutely annulled King Henry's marriage with Catherine of Arragon; confirmed his marriage with Anne Boleyn; intailed the crown upon her issue, and nominally upon the Lady Elizabeth; made it high-treason to slander or do any thing to the derogation of this last marriage; and enjoined all persons whatsoever to maintain and keep the contents of this act (g). In pursuance of it, on the day of the prorogation of that Parliament, March 30, an oath was taken by both Houses, whereby they 'swore to bear faith, truth and obedience all onely to the King's Majesty, and to his heirs of his body of his most dear and entirely beloved lawfull wife Queen Anne, begotten and to be begotten. And farther to the heirs of the said sovereign Lord, according to the limitation in the Statute made for surety of his succession in the crown of this realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other within this realm, nor foreign authority or potentate, &c. (b).' Instead of taking this oath, Bishop Fisher withdrew to his house at Rochester. But he had not been there above four days, before he received orders from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Commissioners, authorized under the Great-Seal to tender the oath, to appear before them at Lambeth. He appeared accordingly, and the oath being presented to him, he perused it a while, and then desired time to consider of it; so five days were allowed him. At the expiration of them, he appeared again before the Commissioners, and told them, 'He had perused the oath with as good deliberation as he could: but as they had framed it, he could not (with any safety to his own conscience) subscribe thereto, except they would give him leave to alter it in some particulars; whereby his own conscience might be the better satisfied, the King pleased, and his actions rather justified, and warranted by Law.' They all made answer, that 'the King would not in any wise permit, that the oath should admit of any exceptions or alterations whatsoever.' And the Archbishop in particular, said, 'You must answer directly, whether you will or will not subscribe.' To which the Bishop replied, 'If you will needs have me answer directly, my answer is, that forasmuch as my own conscience cannot be satisfied, I absolutely refuse the oath.' Whereupon he was immediately committed to the Tower, it being on the 26th of April 1534 (i). But, in respect of his great reputation for learning and piety, earnest endeavours were used to bring him to a compliance. Some Bishops waited upon him for that purpose; as did afterwards the Lord Chancellor Audeley, and others of the Privy-Council, but they found him immoveable (k) [N]. Secretary Cromwell was also with him, to try

(g) Statut. 25  
Hen. VIII. c. 22.

(b) Statut. 26  
Hen. VIII. c. 2.

(i) R. Hall, ubi  
supra, p. 138—  
147.

(k) Ibid. p. 150,  
&c.

(15) Archbishop  
Warham.

(16) Cotton. Lib.  
Cleop. E. 6. fol.  
166. It is also  
printed in Col-  
lier's Eccl. Hist.  
Vol. II. p. 87,  
88.

(17) Page 138.

'virtuous and well learned Priests, that then testified of her holiness, as it was commonly reported. Finally, my Lord of Canterbury (15), that then was both her ordinary and a man reputed of high wisdom and learning, told me that she had many great visions. And of him I learned greater things than ever I heard of the Nun herself.——But here 'twill be said, that she told me such words as was to the peril of the Prince, and of the realm.——The words that she told me concerning the peril of the King's Highness were these, That she had her revelation from God, that if the King went forth with the purpose that he intended, he should not be King of England seven months after, and she told me also, that she had been with the King and shewed unto his Grace the same revelation.——But whereas, I never gave her any counsel to this matter, nor knew of any forging or feigning thereof, I trust in your great wisdoms that you will not think any default in me touching this point.——It will be said, that I should have shewed the words unto the King's Highness. Verily if I had not undoubtedly thought that she had shewed the same words unto his Grace, my duty had been so to have done. But when she herself, which pretended to have had this revelation from God, had shewed the same; I saw no necessity why that I should renew it again to his Grace.——And not only her own saying thus persuaded me, but her Priorefs's words confirmed the same, and their servants also reported to my servants that she had been with the King. And yet besides all this, I knew it not long after by some others that so it was indeed—— (16).

[M] He was released upon paying 300*l.* for his Majesty's use ] This is R. Hall's account (17). But Dr Burnet says, he does not find, that the King pro-

ceeded against him upon this act, till by new provocations he drew a heavier storm of indignation upon himself (18). He observes further upon this point, that when the cheat was first discovered, Secretary Cromwell, sent the Bishop's brother to him, with a sharp reproof for his carriage in that business; and withal advised him to write to the King, and desire his pardon, which he knew the King, considering his age and sickness, would grant. But he wrote back, excusing himself, that all he did, was only to try whether her revelations were true, &c.—Cromwell sent him a long answer (19); in which he charges the matter upon him heavily, and shews him, that he had not proceeded as a grave Prelate ought to have done; for he had taken all that he had heard of her upon trust, and had examined nothing.——Then he shews, how guilty he was, in not revealing what concerned the King's life, and how frivolous all his excuses were.——And after all, tells him, that though his excusing the matter had provoked the King, and that if it came to a trial, he would certainly be found guilty; yet again he advises him to beg the King's pardon for his negligence, and offence in that matter, and undertakes that the King would receive him into his favour.——But Fisher was still obstinate, and made no submission, and so was included within the act for misprision of treason.

[N] But they found him immoveable ] His answer to the Bishops was thus, 'My very good friends, and some of you my old acquaintance, I know you wish me no hurt, but a great deal of good; and I do believe, that upon the terms you speak of, I might have the King's favour as much as ever. Wherefore, if you can answer me to one question, I will perform all your desires. What is that, said they? It is this, said the Bishop, what will it gain a man

(18) Ubi supra, p. 154.

(19) It is printed in the Collection of Records at the end of Dr Burnet's 1st Part of the Hist. of the Reformat. No. 48. p. 123.

to

to persuade and convince him. He advised him to write to the King: But he told Cromwell, that as he knew the King's jealous temper, he was afraid of writing, for fear his Majesty should take something amiss: however, upon his repeated solicitations, he consented to write. Cromwell found, that the thing which stuck mostly with him, was, That the marriage was to be reckoned contrary to the law of God, on account of the prohibition in the Levitical Law. He sent therefore Roland Lee, elect of Coventry and Lichfield, to talk with him upon that point. The issue was, Bishop Fisher declared, that he would swear to the succession; never dispute any more about the marriage; and promised allegiance to the King: But his conscience could not be convinced, that the marriage was against the law of God (l). These concessions did not satisfy the King [O]: who was resolved to let all his subjects see, there was no mercy to be expected from him by any one who opposed his will (m). Therefore, in the Parliament which met the 3d of November 1534, he was attainted for refusing the oath of succession, and his bishopric was declared void from the 2d of January following (n). During his confinement the poor old Bishop was but hardly and unkindly used, and scarce allowed necessaries; as appears by Dr R. Lee's Letter, and the Bishop's own complaints, to Secretary Cromwell (o) [P]. He continued above a year prisoner in the Tower, and might have continued there till released by a natural death, which could not be far off considering his advanced age: But an unseasonable honour paid him by Pope Paul III (p), hastened his destruction; that was, the creating of him, on the 21st of May 1535, Cardinal, by the title of Cardinal Priest of St Vitalis. When the King heard of it, he gave strict orders that none should be permitted to bring the Hat into his dominions; and therefore it came no nearer than Calais (q). Moreover, he sent Secretary Cromwell to examine the Bishop about that affair [Q], and from this time his ruin was absolutely determined. But as no legal advantage could be taken against him, Richard Rich, Esq; Solicitor-General, a busy and officious man, went to him, on the 7th of May (r); and in a fawning and treacherous manner, under pretence of consulting him (as from the King) about a case of conscience, unwarily drew him into a discourse about the tender point of the Supremacy. Concerning which the Bishop inconsiderately uttered these words: 'As to the business of Supremacy, I must needs tell his Majesty, as I have often told him heretofore, and would so tell him, if I were to die this present hour, that it is utterly unlawful; and therefore

(l) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 174, 175.

(m) Dr Burnet, ubi supra, p. 354.

(n) Ibid. p. 158.

(o) Idem, p. 156.

(p) And not Clement, as Bishop Burnet has it, ubi supra, p. 353. Clement died in 1534.

(q) R. Hall, as above, p. 168, 169.

(r) Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. v. p. 193.

'to win the whole world, and to lose his own soul.'

— To the Lords of the Privy-Council he answered thus, 'My Lords, you present before me a two-edged sword; for, if I should answer you with a disacknowledgment of the King's Supremacy, that would be my death; and if I should acknowledge the same perhaps contrary to my own conscience, that would be assuredly unto me worse than death. Wherefore I make it my humble request unto you, that you would bear with my silence, for I shall not make any direct answer to it at all (20).'

[O] *These concessions did not satisfy the King.* When they were reported to him, he swore, 'Mother of God, both More and he should take the oath, or he would know why they should not; and they [Cromwell, and rest of the counsellors] should make them do it, or he would see better reasons why they could not (21).'

[P] *As appears by Dr R. Lee's letter, and the Bishop's own complaints, to Secretary Cromwell* Dr Lee represented to Secretary Cromwell, that the Bishop's body could not bear the cloaths on his back; that he was nigh going, and that he could not continue unless the King were merciful to him. — And how great and just were the poor Bishop's complaints, appears from the following extract of a letter of his to the same Mr Secretary Cromwell.

'Furthermore, I beseech you be good master unto me in my necessity. For I have neither shirt nor sute, nor yet other cloaths, that are necessary for me to wear, but that be ragged and rent too shamefully: notwithstanding, I might easily suffer that, if that would keep my body warm. But my diet also, God knoweth how slender it is at many times. And now, in my age, my stomach may no away but with a few kind of meats: which if I want, I decay forthwith, and fall into crases and diseases of my body, and cannot keep myself in health. And, as our Lord knoweth, I have nothing left unto me, for to provide any better, but as my brother of his own purse layeth out for me, to his great hindrance. Wherefore, good Master Secretary, estones, I beseech you, to have some pity upon me, and let me have such things as are necessary for me, in mine age, and especially for my health. And also that

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'it may please you, by your high wisdom, to move the King's Highness to take me unto his gracious favour again, and to restore me to my liberty, out of this cold and painful imprisonment. Whereby ye shall bind me to be your poor bedesman for ever unto Almighty God: who ever have you in his protection and custody. Other twain things, I must desire upon you. The toon is, it may please you, that I may take some priest with me in the Tower, by the assignment of Master Lieutenant, to hear my confession against this holy time. That other is, that I may borrow some books, to say my devotion more effectually these holy days, for the comfort of my soul. This I beseech you to grant me of your charity. And this our Lord God send you a merry Christmas, and a comfortable, to your heart's desire. At the Tower, the 22d day of December, your poor bedesman,

JOHN ROFF (22).

[Q] *Moreover he sent Secretary Cromwell to examine the Bishop about that affair.* After some conference between them, Cromwell asked him, 'My Lord of Rochester, what would you say, if the Pope should send you a Cardinal's hat, would you accept of it?' The Bishop replied, 'Sir, I know my self to be so far unworthy of any such dignity, that I think of nothing less; but if any such thing should happen, assure yourself I should improve that favour to the best advantage that I could, in assisting the holy Catholick Church of Christ, and in that respect I would receive it upon my knees.' When this answer was brought to the King by Secretary Cromwell, Henry said in a great passion, 'Yea, is he yet so lusty? well, let the Pope send him a hat when he will, Mother of God, he shall wear it on his shoulders then, for I will leave him never a head to set it on (23).'

'The Bishop's answer hath been differently represented by our historians, as if it had been, 'That if the Cardinal's hat was laid at his feet, he would not stoop to take it up.' But that was Sir Thomas More's answer to his daughter Mrs Roper, when she acquainted him that the Bishop was created a Cardinal (24).

(22) Strype's Fecl. Memorials, Vol. I. p. 175, 176.

(23) R. Hill, p. 170, 171.

(24) See Cotton. Libr. Cleop. E. 6. fol. 169.

(20) R. Hall, as above, p. 151, 153.

(21) R. Hall, p. 156.

‘ therefore I would not wish his Majesty to take any such power or title upon him, as he loves his own soul, and the good of his posterity (s).’ The Bishop being thus caught in the snare purposely laid for him; a special commission was drawn up for trying him, dated June 1, 1535 [R], and the indictment against him for high-treason was found the 11th of the same month, it being (as the record expresses it) for having said, ‘ The King owre Sovereigne Lord is not Supreme Hed yn Erthe of the Cherche of England (t).’ He was then so ill that he could not be brought to his tryal, but in the mean time all his books and other effects whatsoever were seized. On the 17th being a little recovered, he was brought to the King’s-Bench-bar; partly on horseback, and partly by water, because his weakness did not permit him either to walk, or to go wholly on horseback. Upon a short tryal he was found by his jury guilty of high-treason [S]; chiefly, if not solely, for the words abovementioned, spoken by him in confidence to Mr Solicitor Rich: and condemned to suffer death as in cases of treason (u), notwithstanding all that he could alledge in his own defence [T]. On the 22d of June he received the news of his execution on that day, from the Lieutenant of the Tower, at five o’clock in the morning, with great calmness; and slept soundly two hours after it. When he was getting up, he caused himself to be dressed in a finer and more cleanly manner than usual [U]. Being come down stairs, he was carried in a chair, upon account of his great weakness, to the place of execution, upon Tower-hill; where, instead of suffering the usual death of traitors, he was beheaded, about ten o’clock in the morning. Such was the tragical end of John Fisher Bishop of Rochester (w), after he had arrived to the age of 76 years 9 months, and some days over. His body was buried in the church-yard of All-hallows-Barking, removed afterwards within the chapel in the Tower; and his head set up the next day over London-bridge (x). He was a very tall man, as being six foot high; and with that, comely, upright, and well-formed; and strong and robust. But, in the decline of life, he grew extremely emaciated. His complexion was brown, his forehead broad, and his features duly proportioned (y). Erasmus represents him as a man of the greatest integrity, of deep learning, incredible sweetness of temper, and grandeur of soul [W]. Both friends and enemies acknowledge, that he was a pious man, sober, temperate, and charitable; and not only learned himself, but also a great lover and encourager

[R] A special commission was drawn up for trying him ] The persons in that commission were, Sir Thomas Audeley Lord Chancellor, Charles Duke of Suffolk, Henry Earl of Cumberland, Thomas Earl of Wiltshire, Thomas Cromwell Secretary, Sir John Fitz-James Chief Justice of England, Sir John Baldwin Chief Justice of the Common pleas, Sir William Paulet, Sir Richard Lyfter Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir John Port, Sir John Spilman, and Sir Walter late Justices of the King’s-Bench, and Sir Antony Fitz-herbert, one of the Justices of the Common pleas (25).

(25) R. Hall, p. 189.

(26) Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 96.

[S] He was found by his jury guilty of high-treason.] Mr Jeremy Collier rightly thinks (26), that he was proceeded against only upon Statute 26 Henr. viii. c. 13. [and that too strained.] This Statute made it high-treason, maliciously to wish or desire by words or writing, or to imagine, invent, or attempt any bodily harm to be done to the King, the Queen, or their heirs apparent; or to deprive any of them of the *Dignity, Style, or name of their royal estates.*—At the time of his tryal, the Bishop made the following observation with regard to that statute;—‘ I pray you, my Lords, consider, that by all equity, justice, worldly honesty, and courteous dealing, I cannot (as the case standeth,) be directly charged—with treason, though I had spoken the words indeed, the same being not spoken maliciously, but in the way of advice and counsel, when it was requested of me by the King himself; and that favour the very words of the statute do give me, being made only against such as shall maliciously gainsay the King’s Supremacy, and none other: wherefore, although by rigour of law, you may take occasion thus to condemn me, yet I hope you cannot find law, except you add rigour to that law to cast me down, which herein I hope I have not deserved (27).’

(27) R. Hall, p. 194.

[T] Notwithstanding all that he could alledge in his own defence ] He objected mostly against the Solicitor-general’s evidence, and thought it exceedingly hard and cruel. And therefore he addressed himself to him in this manner; ‘ Mr Rich I cannot but merit to hear you come in and bear witness against me of these words, knowing in what secret manner you came to me.’—Then addressing himself to his Judges, he related to them all the particulars of Rich’s coming; and thus went on.——‘ He told me,

‘ that the King, for better satisfaction of his own conscience had sent unto me in this secret manner to know my full opinion in the matter [of the Supremacy] for the great affiance he had in me more than any other:——and he told me, that the King willed him to assure me on his honour, and in the word of a King, that whatever I should say unto him by this his secret messenger, I should abide no danger nor peril for it, neither that any advantage should be taken against me for the same.——Now therefore, my Lords, concludes he, seeing it pleased the King’s Majesty to send to me thus secretly under the pretence of plain and true meaning, to know my poor advice and opinion in these his weighty and great affairs, which I most gladly was, and ever will be, willing to send him; methinks, it is very hard injustice to hear the messenger’s accusation, and to allow the same as a sufficient testimony against me in case of treason (28).’

(28) R. Hall, as above, p. 192, 193.

[U] He caused himself to be dressed in a finer and more cleanly manner than usual.] And when his man expressed his wonder at it, seeing his Lordship knew well enough he must put off all again within two hours, and lose it. ‘ What of that, said the Bishop, doest thou not mark, that this is our Marriage-day, and that it behoves us therefore to use more cleanliness for solemnity of the Marriage-fake (29).’

(29) R. Hall, p. 204. Burnet, as above, p. 353.

[W] Erasmus represents him as a man of the greatest integrity, &c.] See above note [A]. And also observe these words of the same celebrated author. *Aut egregiè fallor, aut is vir est unus cum quo nemo sit hac tempestate conferendus, vel integritate vitæ, vel eruditione, vel animi magnitudine* (30). Dr S. Knight rightly observes, that he was, ‘ in all respects, the greatest favorer of learning and learned men’ in his time: and that ‘ no age ever afforded a person whose heart was more set upon the promotion of good literature in himself, and others.’ Erasmus, of immortal memory, whom he greatly admired, encouraged, and supported, is a pregnant instance of his singular affection for learned men. And his learning Greek, (\*) when he was advanced in years, is a sufficient proof of his relish and love for all polite literature. To which add, his endeavours to restore learning in the University of Cambridge to a right use, and to banish thence every thing that had too long usurped that name (31).

(30) Erasmi Epistolæ. p. 353. See also p. 357, 729.

(\*) Erasmi Epistolæ. p. 359, 360, 307, 357.

(31) S. Knight’s Life of Erasmus p. 136, 139, 140

[X] We

courager of learning (z). For, besides the care he took of the foundation of the two colleges abovementioned, he designed also to have built one of his own (a). He was indeed much addicted to the superstitions in which he had been bred up. But few people, at the age of fourscore, are very prone to forsake the notions they have imbibed from their tenderest years. We shall give an account of what he writ, or published, in the note [X].

[X] We shall give an account of what he published.] The several pieces published by him, were these. I. A Sermon on Psalm 116. at the funeral of King Henry VII (32). II. A funeral Sermon at the moneth minde of Margaret Countess of Richmond. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde: republished in 1708. by Thomas Baker B. D. with a learned preface. III. His opinion of King Henry the VIIIth's marriage, in a letter to T. Wolfey. Printed in the collection of records, at the end of Jeremy Collier's Ecclesiastical History (33). IV. Commentary on the seven penitencyal Psalmes. Written at the desire of the Countess of Richmond. London 1509. 4to. & 1555. 8vo. V. Sermon on the Passion of our Saviour. VI. Sermon concerning the Righteousness of the Pharisees and Christians. VII. The method of arriving to the highest perfection in religion. These four last were translated into Latin by John Fenne (34). VIII. Sermon preached at London, on that day when the writings of M. Luther were publickly burnt; on John xv. 26. Cambridge 1521. translated into Latin by R. Paice (35). IX. *Affertionum Martini Lutheri confutatio*. i. e. A confutation of Luther's Assertion; in 41 articles. X. *Defensio Affertionis Henr. VIII. de 7 Sacramentis contra Lutheri Captivitatem Babylonicam*. i. e. A Defence of King Henry the 8th's book against Luther's intituled, *The Captivity of Babylon*. XI. *Epistola responsoria, Epistolæ Lutheri*. i. e. A letter in answer to Luther's. XII. *Sacerdotii Defensio contra Lusberum*. A Defence of Priesthood against Luther. XIII. *Pro damnatione Lu-*

*theri*. XIV. *De veritate Corporis & Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia, adversus Johaunem Oecolampadium*. Colon. 1527. 4to. i. e. Of the reality of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, against Oecolampadius. In this book he answers Oecolampadius, paragraph by paragraph, and gives him many hard names. It is but a very indifferent performance. XV. *De uinca Magdalena contra Clichtoveum & Jac. Fabrum Stapuleusem* i. e. That there was only one Magdalen, against Clichtoveus, &c. Lov. XVI. *S. Petrum Romæ fuisse*. i. e. That St Peter was at Rome, against Ulric Velenus. XVII. Several other small Tracts, viz. on the Benefit of Prayer. The necessity of Prayer. Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. Psalmes, and Prayers. A letter on Christian Charity, to Herman Leclatius, Dean of Utrecht. A Treatise on Purgatory, &c. Most of the foregoing pieces were printed together in one volume folio at Wurtzburg, in 1595. *Herbipoli*. It is also justly supposed, that he had a considerable hand in King Henry the 8th's book against Luther, intituled, *Affertio septem sacramentorum*, &c. tho' Bishop Burnet is very angry with Sanders for saying so (36). For it is hardly credible, that a Prince of King Henry's disposition should have allowed himself time and leisure enough for such a work. Finally, there is in the Norfolk Library of MSS belonging to the Royal Society, an answer of Bishop Fisher's to a book printed at London in 1530. concerning King Henry's Marriage with Queen Catharine. N<sup>o</sup>. 151. C

FITZHERBERT (Sir ANTHONY) a very learned Lawyer, as his most excellent writings testify, and one of the Judges of the Court of Common-Pleas in the reign of King Henry VIII. He was descended from the most ancient and noble family of Herbert, honoured with the titles of Huntingdon and Pembroke, notwithstanding what is said to the contrary by the judicious and learned Mr Camden (a), whose authority, however, in this, as well as in some other points of a like nature, has borne down that of all others (b), and, which is still worse, even truth itself, as will manifestly appear in that examination, which, for this reason (and sure a better could not be assigned) will be afforded to this point in the notes [A]. He was the younger son of Ralph Fitzherbert,

[A] To this point in the notes ] The matter of this note will give the reader full satisfaction, as to the means by which so many errors creep into all kinds of history, and more especially into that of eminent personages, and their descents. It must be allowed, that, in things of this nature, the greatest men may mistake, and that such mistakes might be, and indeed ought to be excused; but for this very reason persisting in such mistakes is altogether inexcusable; and for a man to presume his own authority and credit to be of more consequence than truth, is offering a great indignity to the publick; and yet it has sometimes happened, that this indignity has been not only borne with, but such as have endeavoured to set right mistakes of this nature, have drawn upon themselves only scorn and reproach. In the present case we will first state the account given us by Camden, in all the editions of his book, except the last; then, the remark of Rafe Brooke upon that account; next Mr Camden's reply; after that, the substance of Brooke's rejoinder; and last of all, the paragraph as it stands in Camden's best and most correct edition; with a few observations as to the necessity and use of such discussions.

CAMDEN (1).

Herbert married the sister of William Earl of Hereford, and in her right, was Lord of Deane, from whom is descended the noble family of the Herberts: from hence also, if we shall credit the Heralds and Escutcheons of arms, Anthony Fitz Herbert, that great Lawyer, and Lord Chief Justice of England, took his ori-

ginal. But I think he rather descended from the worshipful family of the Fitz Herberts in Derbyshire.

BROOKE, or as he styles himself YORK, i. e. York Herald (2).

' Your often and suspicious objections, calling in question the credit of her Majesty's Heralds, as tho' you judged them scarce worthy to be believed, doth proceed, as I suppose, from a malignant humour in you, rather then of any good ground, or sufficient reason, that might move you therunto. But I trust that those of discretion will sooner give credit unto them, in matter they shall aver by good warrantife and authority, than to you, who ground your contradicting arguments upon hearsays and opinative imaginations. And where you charge the Heralds to have made Anthony Fitz Herbert, that was Lord Chief Justice of England, to be descended from that family of Herberts, which married the sister of William Earl of Hereford: I say, that therein they have done like honest and learned officers of arms; and those that have, or shall, derive the said Anthony, or any of that family of Fitz Herberts, from any other original than that aforesaid, they have and shall err from the truth.'

CAMDEN's Reply (3).

That I did but so much as believe, that Anthony Fitz Herbert, Lord Chief Justice, did descend of the Lineage of the Fitz Herberts in the County of Derby. He revileth me as tho' he were Lord of my belief.

He

(a) Wharton. Angl. Sacra, P. I. p. 382.

(36) Hist. of the Reformat. as above, p. 356.

(a) Britan. Lond; 1594, 4to, p. 267.

(b) Tanner's Bibliotheca Britannico Hibernica, p. 283.

(2) Discovery of Errors in the much commended Britannia, p. 37.

(3) Ad Lectorem, p. 12.

(z) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 155, 156, 354. Fuller, ubi supra. R. Hall, passim. Sanders, de Schism. Angl. Colon. Agr. 1610, p. 120, &c.

(32) Catalog. Biblioth. Bodl.

(33) Vol. II. p. 4.

(34) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. I. col. 377; & Pitts, de Illustr. Angl. Script. No. 948, sub ann. 1535.

(35) Wood, ubi supra, col. 31.

1 Britannia, 94, 4to, p. 267.

of Norbury in the county of Derby, Esq; and on this account in all probability it was, that,

*He denieth it, and that with many words. He deriveth him from Peter, son of Herbert of Deane, of his own bare words, ipse dixit, he said it, but proof he bringeth none. Let him look upon the visitation, and he shall see that he was of the Lynage of the Fitzherberts of Norbury in the County of Derby. Let him also give ear to one, that having diligently searched all the deeds with their seals fixed of that family, because he would find out the truth, affirmeth, that they never, in former ages, did bare the arms of that Fitzherbert of Deane, but others, which they took from the Earls Ferrar's, of whom in the time of King Henry the Second, they held their lands, and that before and after they flourished under the surname of Fitzherbert. Neither let this fellow, which hath so plodded in the pedigree of the Herberts, which descended from Peter son of Herbert, forget, how that they never took Fitzherbert for their surname, but, after the old and Welch fashion, did alter always their surname by the christian name of their father; for the son of Reginald, Peter Fitz Reginald, and until it came to William ap Thomas, whose son, the Earl of Pembroke, did assume the christian name of Herbert for his surname, and left it to his posterity. And so likewise did others out of that family, whom it shall be needless particularly to reckon up. But wherefore do I stay upon these points? I will in one word end all this matter. He derives this family from Peter Fitzherbert of Deane, but that Peter lived under King John and was of his Council, as witnesseth Roger of Wyndouer, 1211. But William Fitzherbert had Norbury in the year 1125, fourscore years before, as appeareth by the book of Tuttesbury-Abby, where these words are to be read. In the year of the Incarnation 1125, William Prior and the Convent of the Church of St Maries of Tuttesbury, did give to William Fitzherbert, Norbury, to him and his heirs, &c. and for this did William give one measure of wheat.*

(4) A Second Discovery of Errors, p. 128.

BROOKS Rejoinder (4).

‘ Gentle reader, in my discovery I reproved this learned man for discrediting of her Majesty’s officers of arms in these words; if we shall credit the Heralds, Anthony Fitzherbert, the great Lawyer, and Lord Chief Justice of England, did descend from Herbert Lord of Deane, &c. as tho’ their labours and travels were not to be believed or regarded so soon as his own thoughts, and thus most subtly he goeth about to impeach their credits, whose books he was not then worthy to carry, in regard of their knowledge and profession. I think this man was much dis tempered in minde, when he suffered these obstinate and unadvised speeches to pass from him, or else was misinformed by his negligent tutors, otherwise to seek revenge upon his adversary. He would not have play’d Sampson’s part rashly, to have crushed the pillars whereby he leaned, and have shaken the whole house upon himself. I appeal to the judgment of the indifferent reader, and his own writings, what this man will not say and write, when as in this place most untruly he dareth to charge me to derive Sir Anthony Fitzherbert to descend from one Peter Fitzherbert of Deane, when as I neither writ, or ever thought, of any such matter, my words being only as before, that who so ever did derive the said Sir Anthony to descend from any other family then of that which married with the sister of William Earl of Hereford, should err. And where he voucheth the visitation of Derbyshire to prove this Sir Anthony Fitzherbert to descend of Fitzherberts of Norbury, I marvel greatly at his weakness therein, considering that the same proveth no further then to Nicholas Fitzherbert in King Henry the Sixth’s time, who was grandfather to the said Sir Anthony beforementioned; but it sheweth his ignorance, and that he dareth to alledge any thing to serve his turn, rather then he will be unfurnished of matter, altho’ very impertinent to that in question.

‘ What will not this man say or put in print upon his own imagination or report of others, there being not any that will or can averr and prove, that they have searched and seen all the Fitzherberts deeds

‘ and charters, therefore have I no cause or reason to lend my ear, and much less to believe one which hath no name, neither that hath reported a truth. And for proof thereof I have at this instant in my custody, divers original deeds and charters of the said Fitzherberts being of the younger house, sealed with the foresay’d coat of the three Lyons, about King Edward the First’s time, which will prove that the Fitzherberts of Norbury did use and bare the said arms, as did they of Deane, which is also acknowledged to be true even by the said Sir Anthony’s own tombe at Norbury, where he lieth buried with the very same arms as Fitzherbert of Deane did use in King Henry the Third’s time (which he that searched all their deeds missed to see) and if this good man, and his diligent searcher, be desirous of further proof hereof, let them go and view the church and cross in Castleton in Derbyshire, but with better eyes than this man did the Castle of Norwich, for the Earl Bygots arms, and they shall find there very antient, both wrought in glass, and carved in stone, the said arms of three Lyons rampant, and the other coat he saith was taken from the Earls Ferrars arms quartered with the same.

‘ This which he hath cited here out of the book of Tuttesbury-Abbey is not faithfully done, according to his former promise at the first, which I hold to be in him a great fault, to make a common occupation of falsifying of his authors which I find set down thus. *In the year from the Incarnation 1125, William Prior, and the Convent of St Mary of Tuttesbury, have given to William Fitzherbert, Norbury, in fee to him and to his heirs, in consideration of one hundred shillings to be paid annually, fifty shillings at the feast of the Annunciation of St Mary, and the other fifty on the festival of St Michael, for his homage, &c.*

‘ This learned man’s fellow hath indeed diligently, and with his best endeavours, collected and set forth (with good authorities) for the late Right Honourable Henry Earl of Pembroke, the honourable and antient descent of Fitzherbert Lord of Deane, &c. which he is and will be ever ready to averr and prove true, therefore let us see how cunningly this learned man will carry himself, which saith he will end all this matter in one word, when I doubt he will not be able to make good his promise in a thousand. First he affirmeth, that the family of Fitzherbert of Deane, did never assume Herbert for their surname before William ap Thomas his son, in King Edward the Fourth’s time, did assume the same, which I hold to be as untrue as his denial of Brute, our antient and great Monarch of Britain, which for the truth sake, and his own credit, I wish he had omitted in his four former editions, as he hath now done in his fifth and last edition; as also his untrue interpreting of surnames, upon his own bare imagination, wherein he hath done great wrong, and misled divers antient families from their right surnames and parents. Because he findeth one Peter, to be the son of Herbert in King John’s time, and that he was called Peter Fitzherbert, therefore, upon his bare word, *ipse dixit*, he hath spoken it, we must believe it, and that the name of Fitzherbert was but a christen name, and not a surname, before King Edward the Fourth’s time, altho’ he hath produced no proof at all for the same; which to disprove, and make plain that it was a surname long before, as also to warn him hereafter of the like vain imaginations conceived and bred in his own brain, I will endeavour to prove unto you, that this name of Herbert was a surname, and a noble family, above five hundred years past; all surnames being at the first taken either of their parents christian names, their dwelling places, occupations, nicknames, or such like; and that both Fitzherbert of Deane, and Fitzherbert of Norbury, were lineally descended of one paternal ancestor, altho’ here very cunningly he would carry away and abuse the reader, with saying, that I derive the family of Fitzherbert from one Peter, son of Herbert in King John’s time, when as I did never so much as once dream or think of any such matter. For I do, and ever did, derive them to descend and come of Henry Fitzherbert, Chamberlain

that, from a child, he was destined to a learned profession (c). After he had received the first tincture of letters in the country, he was sent to the university of Oxford, but in what college he studied there does not appear (d). He went from thence to one of the Inns of Court, but to which of these is also a point, that, at this distance of time, cannot be determined (e). His great parts, penetrating judgment, and incomparable diligence, soon distinguished him in his profession, and, in process of time, he became so eminent, that November 18, 1511, being the third year of the reign of King Henry VIII, he was called to the state and degree of a Serjeant at Law (f); and, in 1516, he received the honour of knighthood (g). As he rose more into publick view, his prudence and probity became more and more conspicuous, so that November 24, 1517, and in the ninth year of the same King's reign, he was appointed one of his Majesty's Serjeants at Law (h). It was two years after this, and not before it as many of our writers say, that he published his great work in relation to the Law, which was then so well received, and has been ever since both revered and admired, as well for the utility of the matter, as the elegance of it's form (i) [B]. It was not long after this that he published several other learned pieces,

(g) Tanneri Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 283.

(h) Chron. Jurid. p. 153.

(i) See Sir Edward Coke's Proem to the tenth Part of his Reports.

which

lain to King Henry the First, son of William the Conqueror; and to prove the same I will first use the testimony of that worthy Herald, which our Pedant himself so much commendeth, Robert Glover, Somersset-Herald, who, in his Collectanea, hath this: Henry Fitzherbert, Chamberlaine to King Henry the First, married the daughter of Robert Corbet of Alenester, and had issue Herbert Fitzherbert, the King's Chamberlain, father of Herbert Lord of Deane, in right of his wife Luce, sister of William Earl of Hereford.

This might persuade this learned man to know and confess, that the first Herbert assumed not his surname of Henry his father, after the Welsh fashion in King Edward the Fourth's time, for then should he have been called Herbert Fitz-Henry. But this I doubt will not yet satisfy this learned man, unless I prove it by some other authentical record, wherefore I wish him to read this in the red book in the Exchequer, which he will not deny but to be very antient and authentical. "Tempore Henrici Secundi, Herbertus filius Herberti Camerarii senioris, tenuit feoda duorum militum in Comit' South' de Epo' Winton, & modo tenet Herbertus filius ejus." This doth prove directly, that the first Herbert, son of Henry, had his surname of Herbert, and not of Henry his father, which may give this man cause to be sorry and repent him of his folly, and wrong he would and hath done unto this noble family of Fitzherbert, had he not been encountered in the same, yet will he object against me, and say, that altho' I have proved the family of Fitzherbert to have a surname in King Henry the First's time, yet have I not proved Fitzherbert of Deane, and Fitzherbert of Norbury to be one family, and therein he thinketh surely to give me the jerk, if I fail to perform the same. Wherefore, to make good what before I have promised, and to stop his mouth, as also his diligent searchers and famous antiquaries whom he so much boasteth of, who have very much wronged me, let both he and them satisfy themselves with this, which Roger Hovedon, his own author, hath set down, who affirmeth that the first Herbert, father to the second Herbert, Lord of Deane, and William Fitzherbert, which had Norbury given him in King Henry the First's time, were both brothers, and that Reginald Earl of Cornwall, natural son of King Henry the First, was begotten of their mother. The words are these. Anno 1177. King Henry the Second gave to Herbert Fitzherbert and William, the brethren of Reginald Earl of Cornwall, and Jossilane de la Pomeray, their Nephew, the kingdom of Limerick, for the service of sixty Knights fees, to hold of him and John his son, &c.

Thus hath Roger Hovedon, his own author, proved for me, that Reginald Earl of Cornwall, Herbert Fitzherbert, and William Fitzherbert of Norbury, were three brothers. And yet for a further proof, I will use here one more of this man's own testimonies, avouched in his Apologie ad Lectorem, which is, as he saith, an antient deed of the aforesaid Reginald Earl of Cornwall, wherein he calleth the second Herbert Lord of Deane his Nephew, and William Fitzherbert of Norbury his brother, and this I hope he will allow of, because he hath avouched it himself. But to a worse purpose than I have here

applied it unto. Reginaldus Henrici Regis filius omnibus &c. sciatis me dedisse Gulielmo de Boterell filio Alice Corbet materteræ meæ, totam terram quam dederam Gulielmo de Boterell in Comitatu Cornubiæ, patri scz. prædicti Willielmi vz. Penill Widune, &c. Testibus B. Exon. Episcopo & Nicholao filio meo, Herberto filio Herberti, Radulpho, & Richardo nepotibus meis, Willielmo fratre meo, Hugone de Dunstwill &c.

Now that you have had manifested unto you, gentle reader, by good proofs and records, that these two great and honourable families of Fitzherbert of Deane and Norbury, had a surname in King Henry the First's time, as also that they were descended of one original ancestor, and did use all one coat of arms, which this Pedant, and his unnamed friend, hath laboured to obscure. Give me leave here, I pray you, with your patience, to demand of him, by what commission or authority he hath made this Anthony Fitzherbert to be Lord Chief Justice of England, which if he refuse or fail to satisfy me of, let him not blame me if I tell him that he hath forged that title and office out of his own brain, as he hath done many others of the same kind. The said Anthony himself never assuming any other title or office, than only Knight, and one of the King's Justices of his Common Bench.

C A M D E N's Paragraph in his last Edition (5).

(5) Britannia, 1626, fol. p. 313.

Whence, as some will have it, descended Anthony Fitzherbert, a most excellent Lawyer, as appeared both in that Court in which he sat, and from his most elaborate writings which he published; but that he was of the Knightly family of the Fitzherberts in Derbyshire has been the belief of others.

It appears plainly from hence, that Mr Camden was himself convinced that he could not support his charge against the Heralds and Herald Painters, and therefore he withdrew it, but, that he might confess as little as possible, he still inserts both the opinions, as if they were opposite and inconsistent; whereas Brooke has manifestly proved, that they were very reconcilable, perfectly corresponding one with the other, and both of them true; our Judge being descended from the Fitzherberts of Norbury, and the Fitzherberts of Norbury from the same stock with the noble family of Herbert.

[B] As the elegance of its form.] We have assigned the time when our author's grand Abridgement was published, from unquestionable authority. That original edition, magnificently printed upon royal paper, which is very fine, and in a character resembling antient writing, is become very scarce and very dear. There have been several editions of it since, particularly one in 1665, in large folio, and another in 1577, in a short folio, but upon a fine paper, and with a broad margin. I shall give the title from thence at large:

I. La Grande Abridgement, Collecte par le Juge tres reverend Monsieur Anthony Fitzherbert, dernièrement conserre ouesque la copie escripte & per ceo correcte, ouesque le nombre del feuil, per quel facilement poies trouver les cases cy abrydges. en les liuers duns, nouvellement annote iammais devaunt imprimes. Auxi vous troueres les residuans de lauter liure places icy in ces lier

which gained him such reputation, that, in Easter term 1523, and the fifteenth year of the reign of Henry VIII, he was made one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas (k), in which honourable station he spent the remaining part of his life, discharging the duties of his office with such sufficiency, that he was held the oracle of the Law in his time, and with such integrity as gained him universal respect (l). Two things are mentioned in reference to his conduct; one, that (without fear of his power) he openly opposed Cardinal Wolfey in the height of his favour (m); the other, that, when he came to lie upon his death-bed, foreseeing the changes that were like to happen in the Church as well as State, he pressed his children in very strong terms to promise him solemnly, neither to accept grants, nor to make purchases of abbey-lands (n), which it is said they did, and adhered constantly to that promise though much to their own loss. We may add to this a third point, viz. that he continued his labours in the closet for the benefit of succeeding times, as well as upon the Bench for the advantage of his contemporaries, and provided thereby that posterity should be the better for his valuable writings (o) [C]. At length,

(k) Chron. Jurid. p. 155.

(l) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 50.

(m) Tanneri Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 283.

(n) Pitf. de Illust. Angl. Script. p. 707.

(o) Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 215.

*liuer en le fyne de lour apte titles.* That is, *The Grand Abridgement collected by that most reverend Judge, Mr Anthony Fitzherbert, lately conferred with his own manuscript corrected by himself, together with the folio's referring the cases to the books, by which they may be easily found; an improvement never before made. Also in this edition, the additions or supplements are placed at the end of their respective titles.* The Colophon runs thus: Imprinted at London, in Fleet-Street, within Temple-Bar, at the sign of the hand and star, by Richard Tottel, the 20th day of August, Anno 1577, Cum privilegio. To this edition there is added a most useful and accurate table, by the care of William Rastall, Serjeant at Law, and also one of the Justices of the Common Pleas in the reign of Queen Mary; which table is very highly commended by the Lord Chief Justice Coke.

As to the original of these abridgements of cases, we are told that the first was published in the reign of King Henry the Sixth by Stathom (6), a learned Lawyer of that time and Baron of the Exchequer, concerning whom there is a very singular paragraph to be met with, in the works of the facetious Doctor Fuller (7), which will give some light into the reason of our author's composing his abridgement. 'Much esteemed, says he, at this day, (speaking of Stathom) for the antiquity thereof. For otherwise Lawyers behold him, as soldiers do bows and arrows since the invention of guns, rather for sight than service. Yea a grandee in that profession hath informed me, that a little of Stathom, if any at all, is Law at this day; so much is the practice thereof altered, whereof the learned in that faculty will give a satisfactory account, tho' otherwise it may seem strange, that reason continuing always the same, Law grounded thereon should be capable of so great alteration.'

Sir Edward Coke mentions our author, and this work of his, in many places, and always with much respect; tho' at the bottom he is far enough from being fond of Abridgements, yet he has left us a passage, in which he shews us not only his approbation of this, but even of that which Fuller would have us believe was worn altogether out of date, and is exceedingly puzzled to know, why the reason of things should not outlast the things themselves, and why the Law should not remain always the same, tho' made to regulate the most changeable of all subjects, the manners, opinions, and circumstances of men. But to the passage in Lord Coke (8), 'Perkins, Fitzherbert, Natura Brevium, and Stamford, of which the Register, Littleton, Fitzherbert, and Stamford, are most necessary, and of greatest authority and excellency, and yet the other also are not without their fruit. In reading of the cases in the books at large, which sometimes are obscure and misprinted, if the reader, after the diligent reading of the case, shall observe how the case is abridged in those two great Abridgements of Justice, Fitzherbert and Sir Robert Brooke, it will both illustrate the case and delight the reader, and yet neither that of Stathom, nor that of the book of assizes, is to be rejected: and for pleading, the great book of entries is of singular use and utility.' These reasons are certainly clear and convincing, to which we may add, that there is something singularly accurate in our author's method, arising probably from his writing this book with a design to publish it, whereas Sir Robert Brooke's Abridgement, like Sir James Dyer's

Reports, was composed for his own use, and therefore in reading them this circumstance should be always remembered.

*Magna Charta cum diversis aliis statutis.* Lond. 1519, in 12mo. i. e. *Magna Charta, and several other statutes.*

[C] For his valuable writings.] In this note we will endeavour to give a distinct account of the rest of our author's writings, and of such as have been attributed to him, and of which it is doubtful whether they are his or not.

II. *L'Office & auctorite des justices de peas, compyle & extrayte hors des anciens livres, si bien del commentey, come des statutes.* That is, *The office and authority of Justices of Peace, compiled and extracted out of the old books, as well of the Common Law, as of the Statutes.* Lond. 1538, 12mo. part in French, part in English, without the author's name, and several times afterwards.

It was held a very useful book for that time, being the first upon the subject that was ever published; it was afterwards augmented by Richard Crompton, Esq; and printed in Quarto at least seven times during his life, and before Serjeant Crompton published it with additions, it had been translated and printed several times in English.

III. *L'Office de Viconts, Bailiffes, Escheators, Constables, Coroners, &c.* That is, *The Office of Sheriffs, Bailiffs of Libertys, Escheators, Constables, Coroners, &c.* Lond. 1538. 4to.

This has been also annexed by Serjeant Crompton, to his Office and Authority of Justices of the Peace, and has been frequently printed with it.

IV. *Of the Diversity of Courts.*

This was written by him, as the reader will see hereafter, in the twenty first of Henry the Eighth, but without the author's name; it was originally written in French, but was translated into English by W. H. of Grey's-Inn, and added by him to Andrew Horne's *Mirror of Justices.*

V. *Natura Brevium novel*, that is, *The new Natura Brevium.* Lond. 1534. afterwards translated into English, and often published with very accurate tables, having been always in very high esteem; the nature and design of this work, as also the reason of its being styled the new *Natura Brevium*, will fully appear from our author's short and excellent proem.

'In every art and science there are certain rules and foundations, to which a man ought to give credit, and which he cannot deny. In like manner, there are divers maxims and fundamentals in the knowledge of the Common Laws of the land, which a man ought to believe very necessary for those who will understand the same, especially at the beginning of their studies: for, upon those fundamentals, the whole Law doth depend. For which purpose, in time past, there was composed a very profitable book, called *The Register*, which doth contain fundry principles, by which he must be well instructed who would study the Law. And also for that purpose was there composed by a learned man, a book called *Natura Brevium*, which book doth declare and set forth the diversities and natures of many original writs, with their process, which book helped much to the understanding not only of *The Register*, but also of the Law of the land; but because of late time that book hath been translated into the English tongue, and

(6) Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 233.

(7) Fuller's Worthies, Derbyshire, p. 233.

(8) Proem to the third Part of Coke's Reports.

length, full of years, in high esteem with his Sovereign, and universally revered by his fellow-subjects, he yielded his last debt to nature the 27th of May, 1538, deservedly lamented and admired (p). His body was interred in his own parish-church of Norbury (q), upon which there was some time afterwards laid a blue marble stone, with a very plain and modest inscription, which, because it is not easily to be met with, the reader will find inserted in the notes [D]. This venerable Sage in the Law, Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, left behind him a very numerous posterity; and as he became, by the death of his elder brother, John Fitzherbert of Norbury, Esq; possessor of the land estate of his family, he was in a condition to provide, in a very plentiful manner, for his younger children (r); so that long after his decease we find several very considerable families, not only in the county of Derby, but also in some other adjacent counties, that very justly valued themselves upon having this learned and upright Judge for their common ancestor (s) [E]. We shall, in a subsequent article, see, that some of his descendants (who understood his last words in so rigorous a sense, as to believe they prohibited them from leaving the Church of Rome (t), as well as from acquiring church lands) suffered very severely for their obstinacy in that particular, but were notwithstanding so far happy, as that while they remained exiles in foreign parts, by the modesty of their behaviour, quickness of their parts, and great probity of their lives, they maintained the reputation of their family, and were not in the slightest degree a discredit to their country, abating their adherence to Popish tenets.

‘ and many things are therein, which are not according to the Law of the land, and many other things are omitted which are very profitable and necessary for the understanding of the Law, for that cause is this work composed and published. Wherein, if there be any thing against the opinion of the sages who have the administration of the Laws, the request of him who hath taken the pains to make this treatise, is, that they would correct and amend the same, as they shall see good according to the Law.’

These observations of our venerable author are highly commended, and strongly supported, by that judicious writer, and exquisite Lawyer, Sir Edward Coke (g). For an example of an original writ, says he, among many others, I refer the studious reader especially to Caly's case, in Easter term in the twenty sixth of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, of ever blessed memory, now published, whereby it more clearly appeareth how judicious the opinion of Justice Fitzherbert is, in his preface to his *Natura Brevium*, where he saith, that original writs are the foundations whereupon the Law dependeth, and how truly he calleth them the principles of the Law, and fortifieth also the opinion of Bracton, where he saith, that *Breve, formatum est, ad similitudinem regulæ juris*, which case I have reported in that form, to this end, that students, seeing the singular use of original writs, will, in the beginning of their study, learn them, or at least the principallest of them, without book, whereby they shall attain unto three things of no small moment. 1. To the right understanding of their books. 2. To the true sense and judgment of Law: and lastly, 3. To the exquisite form and manner of pleading.’

The same intelligent person has, in another place, given us a short account of most of our author's Law treatises, in these words (10): ‘ Fitzherbert's Abridgement was painfully and elaborately collected, and published in the eleventh year of King Henry the Eighth, by Fitzherbert, then Serjeant at Law: and he wrote also another book, called his *Natura Brevium*, an exact work, exquisitively penned, and published in the six and twentieth year of Henry the Eighth, when he was Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Knight, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas: about the same time he wrote his treatise of Justices of the Peace, wherewith the Judges, as I have seen it reported, found fault, for that he therein affirmed, that Justices of Peace, having, by their commission, authority to hear and determine felonies, &c. could not hear and determine murders, &c. which, amongst others, they clearly over-ruled, that Justices of Peace lawfully might do.’

VI. *Of the surveying of Lands*, 1539. 8vo. Lond. 1567.

VII. *The Book of Husbandry, very profitable and necessary for all persons.*—Printed by Tho. Berthlet 1534, 8vo and several times after in the reign of

Queen Mary, and in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth. It is said, in an advertisement to the reader, that this book was written by one Anthony Fitzherbert, who had been forty years a husbandman, from whence many have concluded, that this could not be our Judge, but have rather inclined to think it written by his brother John Fitzherbert. Upon examination, however, it will be found, that this latter opinion is less sustainable than the former; for so it is, that, in the author's preface to his book of *measuring of lands*, he mentions his book of *Agriculture*, and in the advertisement prefixed to the same book it is expressly said, that the author of that treatise of *measuring*, was the author likewise of the book concerning *the office of a Justice of Peace*, whence it should seem, that both those books were written by our author, who perhaps in those seasons when he had leisure to go down into the country, might apply himself as vigorously to husbandry, as to the study of the Laws when in town; and as his genius naturally led him to method and order, so he might be inclined to commit his thoughts upon that useful subject to writing, tho', it may be very well doubted, whether he ever intended they should be published.

[D] *Inserted in the notes.* We owe the preservation of this inscription to Mr Brooke, York-Herald, who published it in his dispute with Mr Camden, as a point decisive in his favour; for therein he observes, that, as to his bearing the antient arms of the family, and his being one of the Judges, not Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, appears from his epitaph, taken from his tomb at Norbury, whereon his arms are engraven, *viz.* Gules, three Lyons rampant, or, with this inscription:

*Of your Charitie, praye for the Soules of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Knyght, one of the King's Justices of his Comon Bench, and some tyme Lo. and Patrons of this towne; and Dorathy his wife, daughter of Sir Henry Willoughby, Knyght, &c. Which Sir Anthony deceased 27 May 1538.*

[E] *For their common ancestor.* We are informed by Mr Phillips, that, in the year 1684, there were the following families subsisting, of the descendants of our Judge, *viz.* Basil Fitzherbert, descended of William Fitzherbert, Esq; a younger son of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's, who marrying Elizabeth, daughter and coheirefs of Humphry Swinnerton, of Swinnerton in Staffordshire, brought that estate likewise into the family, which, together with the old paternal seat of Norbury, was then enjoyed by Basil Fitzherbert (11). William Fitzherbert, of Tiffington in the county of Derby, was likewise descended, in a direct line, from Sir Anthony (12). As also Francis Fitzherbert, of Somersall-Herbert in the county of Derby (13). Likewise John Fitzherbert, of Luckington in the county of Wilts, Esquire (14). The reader may learn something more, upon the same subject in the succeeding article (15).

(p) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 51.

(q) Fuller's Worthies, Derbyshire, p. 233.

(r) The Grandeur of the Law, p. 191.

(s) Pitt. de Illust. Angl. Script. p. 707.

(t) See the article ensuing.

Poem to the Bench part of his reports.

Poem to the Bench Part of Reports.

(11) Grandeur of the Law, p. 191.

(12) Ibid. p. 166.

(13) Ibid. p. 225.

(14) Ibid. p. 244.

(15) Pitt. de Illust. Angl. p. 813.

FITZHERBERT (THOMAS) a deep sufferer for, and a learned defender of the Popish cause, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the son of William Fitzherbert by Isabel his wife, daughter and one of the heirs of Humphrey Swinnerton of Swinnerton in Staffordshire, fourth son of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, Knt (a), of whom in the former article, and born in the said county of Stafford in 1552, in which county being initiated in grammar learning, he was sent either to Exeter or Lincoln-college in 1568 (b). But having been mostly before bred up in the Catholick religion, the college grew uneasy to him, for though he would sometimes hear a sermon, which he was permitted to do by an old Roman Priest that then privately lived in Oxon. yet he would seldom go to prayers, for which he was often admonished by the Sub-Rector of his House (c). At length, seeming to be wearied with Heresy, he receded without a degree to his patrimony, where also refusing to go to his parish-church, he was imprisoned about 1572 (d). But being soon after set at liberty he became still more zealous in his religion, and not only confirmed many wavering Catholicks, but wrote also Several Reasons for the Catholicks not going to Protestant churches, for which being like to suffer, he withdrew and lived concealed (e). In 1580, when Campian and Persons the Jesuit came into England, he retired to London, found them out, shewed himself exceedingly attached to, and supplied them liberally. Whereupon bringing himself into a *Præmunire*, and foreseeing great dangers, he went a voluntary exile into France, anno 1582, where he continued a zealous sollicitor in the cause of Mary Queen of Scots, with the King of France and Duke of Guise, though in vain (f). After the deplorable death of that Princess, and the loss of his own wife, Mr Fitzherbert resolved to leave France and to repair to Madrid, in order to implore the protection of Philip II, to whom indeed most of the English exiles resorted sooner or later; he continued there till about the year 1589, and then, being either tired out with vain expectations, or finding that he was not a man of fit principles to thrive in that Court, he resolved to accompany the Duke of Feria, who had been formerly in England with King Philip, married an English Lady, and was justly esteemed a great patron of the nation in Spain, to the city of Milan in Italy, where he remained for some time, and from thence repaired to Rome (g). It is reported that during his residence there he fell into great necessities, notwithstanding he had left behind him a competent fortune in England, which distress is supposed to have driven him to think of entering into Orders (h). However that matter may be, it is certain, that he took a lodging very near the English college, and observed the same hours of prayers they did who were resident in the place. He spent the rest of his time in composing several books, and, amongst the rest, one which he addressed to his son Edward Fitzherbert, Esq; against the maxims of the famous Italian Politician, Nicholas Machiavel, which has been of some use to modern writers, and was in those times esteemed a most sound and excellent treatise (i) [A]. He entered into the Society of Jesus in the spring of the year 1614, and received Priests Orders much about the same time; after which he speedily removed into Flanders, in order to preside over the Mission, and continued at Brussels about two years, during which space he wrote several books in defence of his opinions. In these, though he falls much short of the rest of his persuasion, yet he

(a) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 631.

(b) Intrigues of Romish Exiles, p. 19.

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 631.

(d) Pitf. de Illustr. Angl. Script. p. 813.

(e) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 631.

(f) Intrigues of Romish Exiles, p. 35.

(g) Pitf. de Illustr. Angl. Script. p. 813.

(h) English Spanish Pilgrims, p. 65.

(i) See this explained in note [A].

[A] *Esteemed a most sound and excellent treatise.* The first writings published by our author, and which gave those of his party a true opinion of his worth, that was not certainly inferior to any of their zealous champions at that time, were the following pieces:

I. *A Defence of the Catholick Cause, containing a treatise in confutation of sundry untruths and slanders published by the Heretics, &c.* To which is added, an apology, or defence, of his innocency, in a feigned Conspiracy against her Majesty's person, for which one Edward Squire was wrongfully condemned, and executed, in November 1598. St Omer's 1602. This is the book which the learned Camden (1) tells us was written by Walpole a Jesuit, or one under his name.

II. *TREATISE concerning Polity and Religion, Doway 1606, 4to.* wherein are confuted several principles of Machiavel. The second part of the said treatise was printed also at Doway 1610; and both together in 1615, 4to. A third part was printed at London 1652, 4to. being then, says Mr Wood, cried up for a good book, as the other parts had been.

III. *An sit utilitas in scelere, vel de infelicitate Principis Machiavellani?* Rome 1610. 8vo. that is, whether there be any utility in wickedness? or, Of the infelicity of Machiavel's Prince.

These last treatises met universally with a favourable reception, amongst Protestants as well as Papists, and did the author great honour as they shewed him to be a man of deep sense, strong parts, and of a generous disposition, as well as of much reading and sin-

gular experience. The truth is, these treatises give Mr Fitzherbert a right to be remembered among the learned men of our nation, since they were extremely well calculated to expel the poison infused by Machiavel's books, which have done incredible mischief ever since they were published. Our author goes the right way to work, he shews that cunning, subtilty, and artifice, are but the mimicks of wisdom and civil prudence, and therefore naturally beneath great minds, and altogether inconsistent either with a good heart or a good understanding. He shews next, that address, intrigue, and contrivance, are so far from being proofs of genius, that they are convincing testimonies of the want of it, for that men of true genius move always in a direct path, with their eyes fixed on the object they would obtain, and overcome all obstacles, not by dirty plots, but by noble perseverance. He demonstrates, that the Machiavelian principles lead to infelicity, and that as it is impossible a wicked man should be happy, so it is as impossible that a wicked Prince should be prosperous, or great; it is true that his language is not a little perplexed and obscure, that his method, according to the custom of those times, is somewhat embarrassed and pedantick; and that he has intermixed many things in his discourse, which might have been much better omitted; but tho' these circumstances abate, yet they are far from destroying the merit of his work, in which the materials are to be found of a better refutation of Machiavel's writings than is to be met with in our own or perhaps in any other language.

he expresses himself with a bitterness, which would be altogether inexcusable, but from the nature of his circumstances, which, on the one hand, might sharpen his temper; and, on the other, oblige him to write in such a style as might be most agreeable to his benefactors (k). These books of his, at the time they were published, were highly commended and much esteemed, though now they are little read, and hardly remembered [B]. His great parts, his extensive and polite learning, together with the high esteem that he had procured by his prudent behaviour at Brussels, procured him what any other in his situation would have esteemed a very high preferment, but which he with much reluctance accepted. This was the Government, with the title of Rector, of the Roman College at Rome, which office he exercised with unblemished credit for twenty-two years, and was often named within that space of time for a Cardinal's hat, in the room of Cardinal Alan, which it is thought he might easily have obtained, if it had been in reality the object of his ambition (l). But he was a man of a mild and moderate disposition, more especially in the latter part of his life, and for that reason was more willing to decline, than to aspire to, that envied dignity. He died there August 27, 1640, in the eighty-eighth year of his age (m). His body was interred in the chapel belonging to the English college at Rome (n). As he remained so great a part of his life an exile, and under the imputation of being an enemy to his country, he may be justly reputed unhappy, but yet less so than a near relation of his who was contemporary with him, and resided for some years in the same college (o) [C], since our author lived the far greater part of his days decently, if not splendidly, and died at last peaceably in his bed, exceedingly admired by those of his own faction, and as much esteemed as he could expect by the rest of his countrymen, who disliked nothing in him but his persuasion, and were sorry that a man of his parts, learning, and politeness, should, by his obstinacy, make himself so unhappy.

(k) Intrigues of Romish Exiles, p. 23.

(l) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 632.

(m) Intrigues of Romish Exiles, p. 31.

(n) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 632.

(o) Pitf. de Illust. Angl. Script. p. 814.

[B] *And indeed hardly remembred*] The remaining works of Mr Thomas Fitzherbert are entirely controversial, and by no means equal to those before-mentioned, for the reasons that have been briefly assigned in the text. The titles of them are as follow:

IV. *A large Preface, in which are laid open some few examples of the singular ignorance, lying, and other bad dealings, of Mr William Barlow, in his answer to the censure of the apology set before Robert Person's book, entitled, A discussion of the answer of Mr William Barlow, to a book entitled, The Judgment, &c.* printed 1612. 4to (2).

V. *Supplement to the Discussion of Dr Barlow's answer to The Judgment of a Catholick Englishman, &c. interrupted by the death of the author F. Rob. Persons, Jesuit.* St Omer's 1613. 4to. Published under the two letters of F. T.

VI. *Censure of Dr John Donne's book entitled, Pseudo-Martyr* (3).

VII. *Additions to the Supplement.*—These two last are printed at the end of the Supplement to The Discussion, &c. against Dr William Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, beforementioned.

VIII. *Confutation of certain absurdities in Lancelot Andrews's answer to Bellarmine.* 1603. 4to and published under the two letters of F. T. instead of T. F. This was written in vindication of Cardinal Bellarmine's Apology, for his answer made to King James's book, *De jure fidel.* Whereupon came out a book, entitled, *Epphata to T. F. or a Defence of the Bishop of Ely (Lancelot Andrews) concerning his answer to Cardinal Bellarmine's Apology, against the calumnies of a scandalous Pamphlet.* Camb. 1617. 4to. written by Sam. Collins, D. D.

IX. *Of the Oath of Fidelity, or Allegiance, against the Theological Disputations of Rog. Widdrington.* St Omer's 1614. 4to.

X. *The Obmutescence of F. T. to the Epphata of Dr Collins, &c.* Printed 1621. 8vo.

[C] *And resided for some years in the same college*] We were unwilling to multiply, beyond what necessity required, the number of articles in this book, and therefore chose to speak of the cousin of this gentleman, who, in his time, made a great figure in the English College at Rome, in a note. This Nicholas

Fitzherbert was the second son of John Fitzherbert, second son of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert of Norbury in Derbyshire, Knight. In his youth he was a student in Exeter College, and exhibited to it by Sir William Petre, about 1568, for his name stands in the register under the title of Coll. Exon in 1571 and 1572, being then the Senior Under-Graduate of that College. About that time he left his native country, parents, and patrimony, for religion, and went beyond the seas as a voluntary exile (4). At first he settled at Bononia in Italy, to obtain the knowledge of the Civil Law, and continued there in 1580. Not long after he went to Rome, and, in the year 1587, began to live in the family of William Alan, the Cardinal of England, and continued with him till the time of his death, being then accounted eminent for his knowledge in the Laws and polite literature. He distinguished himself in the learned world by the following pieces:

I. *Johannis Casæ Galatæi de bonis moribus.* i. e. *John Galatæus, of good manners.* Rome 1595. This is no more than a translation of a celebrated Italian treatise into Latin, intended for the special use of young scholars.

II. *Oxonienfis in Anglia Academia descriptio,* i. e. *A description of the University of Oxford in England.* Rome 1602, in three sheets and a half. 8vo.

III. *De Antiquitate & Continuatione Catholicæ Religionis in Anglia.* Of the Antiquity and Continuance of the Catholick Religion in England. Rome 1608. 8vo.

IV. *Vitæ Cardinalis Alani Epitome.* An Epitome of the Life of Cardinal Alan. Rome 1608. He also wrote the Life of that Cardinal, who was his patron, more at large, which, for certain reasons, was never made publick (5).

This Nicholas Fitzherbert, in a journey that he made from Rome, was unfortunately drowned, some time in the year 1612 (6), being, in the opinion of his acquaintance, about sixty three years of age. We have a very high character given of him by Pitts (7), as might well be expected, his religion considered, and his living, on account of it, an exile from his native country for so many years.

(4) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 382.

(5) See the article of ALAN WILLIAM.

(6) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 382.

(7) Pitf. de Illust. Angl. Script. p. 814.

E

FITZ-WILLIAM (WILLIAM) an eminent Commander at sea in the XVIth century, and created Earl of Southampton by King Henry VIII, was the second son of Sir Thomas Fitz-William of Aldwarke in the county of York, Knt. by Lucia his wife, daughter and coheir to John Neville, Marquis Montacute (a). In the year 1510, he was made one of the Esquires for the Body to King Henry VIII (b), and, in 1512, had that grant renewed for life (c). The year following, he was one of the Chief Commanders in

(b) Pat. 2 Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 19.

(c) Pat. 4 Hen. VIII. m. 2.

the fleet sent out against France [A]; and had the misfortune to be sorely hurt with an arrow in attempting to destroy the French fleet at Brest (\*). Shortly after, he attended King Henry at the siege of Tournay; and, for his bravery there, received the honour of Knighthood (d). In 1520, he was Vice-Admiral of England, and employed in guarding the Channel, at the time the Emperor Charles V. came to England (e). He so ingratiated himself with the King his master, that he obtained from him, in 1521, a grant of the manor of Navesby in Northamptonshire, part of the possessions of Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, then lately attainted (f). At that time he was Embassador in France; but, upon a rupture between that kingdom and England, he was recalled, in January 1521-2, and ordered to sea with a strong fleet of twenty-eight sail, to secure our Merchants, and take what French ships he could (g). Shortly after, he assisted at the taking of Morlaix in Bretagne (h) [B]: and, with Sir William Sandes, and Sir Morice Barkeley, went and burnt Marguison, which was newly built and fortified; and many villages (i). In 1523, the King of France preparing to send John Duke of Albany Regent of Scotland into that kingdom, in order to invade England from that quarter; Sir William Fitz-William was made Admiral, and dispatched, with a strong fleet, to try to intercept him. Having missed of him, he determined to land on the French coast, which he accordingly did, at Treport in Normandy, and burnt the suburbs of that town, and several ships in the harbour; tho' there were but seven hundred English, opposed by six thousand French (k). The year following, being Captain of Guisnes in Picardy, he mightily annoyed Boulogne, and other places adjacent (l). Before the end of that year, he was made Treasurer of the King's Household; and, in October, sent to France, with John Taylor Doctor of Law, to see the Lady Regent (whose son King Francis I, was then prisoner in Spain) swear to observe the articles of a treaty newly concluded between the two Crowns (m). In 1529, he was one of those who subscribed the articles exhibited in Parliament against Cardinal Wolsey (n). At the grand interview between the Kings of England and France in 1532, he attended his Master King Henry VIII to Boulogne, the place of interview, amongst many other persons of the highest quality (o). In May 1535, he was sent, with the Duke of Norfolk, the Bishop of Ely, and Dr Fox, to treat with the French King's Commissioners, about a league between the Crowns of England and France: one of the articles whereof were, That the Duke of Angoulesme, third son to the King of France, should marry Elizabeth second daughter of King Henry (p). Shortly after, he was made Knight of the Garter, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and in 1536, constituted Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gasconne, and Aquitaine (q). On the 18th of October 1537, he was advanced to the title of Earl of Southampton (r): and made Lord Privy-Seal the 27th of October 1539 (s). The April following, some disputes having arisen between England and France, he, and John Lord Ruffel lately made High-Admiral, were sent over to Calais with a few troops of horse; and having set all things in good order, they quickly returned (t). He was also employed as Captain of the Foreward, in the expedition to Scotland, in October 1542; but, in the way thither, he died at Newcastle. However, so much esteemed was he, that for the honour of his memory, his standard was borne in the vanguard in all that expedition (u). By his Will, bearing date the 10th of September the same year, he ordered his body to be buried in the church of Midherst in Suffex (w). He left no issue by Mabel his wife, daughter to Henry Lord Clifford, and sister to Henry the first Earl of Cumberland (x). Of this great man it is recorded, whilst he was Admiral, that there was not a serviceable man under him whose name he knew not; not a week passed but he paid his ships; not a prize but his seamen shared in as well

(s) Lord Herbert, as above, under the year 1540.

(t) Hall, as above, fol. 243.

(u) Ib. fol. 254; and Lord Herbert, under the year 1541. See Holinshed, p. 958.

(w) Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 105.

(x) R. Brooke, ubi supra.

as

[A] *The year following, he was one of the chief commanders in the fleet sent out against France* ] The design of this expedition, was, to clear the sea of French ships, before King Henry and his confederates attacked France by land. The most considerable persons employed in this service, besides Sir William Fitz-William, were, Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral, Sir Walter Devereux Lord Ferrers, Sir Wolstan Browne, Sir Edward Ichyngham, Sir Antony Poyntz, Sir John Wallop, Sir Thomas Wyndham, Sir Stephen Bull, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sidney, Esquires, &c. (1). They failed to Brest, and resolved to attack the French fleet in that harbour, where it lay under the covert of many platforms raised on the land; besides, which they had joined twenty four hulks together, with intention to set them on fire, and let them go adrift with the tide, to keep the English ships from theirs. Notwithstanding that, Sir Edward Howard sent out his boats, to make a shew of landing; whereupon the French flocking to the shore, to the number of above ten thousand (the English in all the boats being not above fifteen hundred) he thought fit to land over against Brest, where he burnt the country in fight of the castle, under which the French ships lay, defended by their hulks. He could do no more at that

time, for want of provisions. But some galleys of the enemy having anchored, a few days after, at Conquet below Brest; the Admiral, attended by Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Wallop, Sir Henry Sherborne, and Sir William Sidney, fell upon those galleys, tho' they lay betwixt two rocks, that had bulwarks on them full of ordnance: and the Admiral boarded one galley, in which the commander of them, — Pregent, was; but he had the misfortune to be thrust overboard by the enemy's pikes, and drowned. By which means this expedition became unsuccessful (2). — An attempt of the like nature under the Marquis of Caermarthen, in 1694, did also miscarry. Which shews the great difficulty of such undertakings.

[B] *Shortly after, he assisted at the taking of Morlaix, &c.* ] There were seven thousand men employed in that enterprise; and amongst them the following nobility and gentry; the Lords Fitzwalter, and Curson, Sir Richard Wyngfield, Sir Richard Jernyngham, Sir William Barantine, Sir Adrian Foskew, or Fortescu, Sir Edward Donne, Sir Edward Chamberlayne, Francis Bryan, Richard Cornewall, Sir Antony Poyntes, Sir Henry Sherborne, Sir Edmond Bray, Sir Giles Capel, Sir William Pyrton, Sir John Cornewall, Sir John Wallop, Sir Edward Ichyngham, Sir William Sidney,

(2) See Lord Herbert, ubi supra, under the year 1513.

(\*) E. Hall's Chron. in Hen. VIII. fol. 32; R. Holinshed's 3d Vol. of Chronicles, edit. 1587, p. 816. col. 2.

(d) Hall, as above, fol. 45; and Holinshed, p. 824. col. 2.

(e) Hall, ubi supra, fol. 72.

(f) Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(g) Life and Reign of King Henry VIII, by Edw. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, under the year 1522. Hall, as above, fol. 93.

(h) Hall, as above, fol. 100.

(i) Ibid. fol. 103. Holinshed, p. 875.

(k) Hall, fol. 113. Holinshed, p. 879.

(l) Hall, ibid. fol. 126, &c.

(m) Hall, as above, fol. 145. Holinshed, p. 892.

(n) Lord Herbert, as above, under the year 1529.

(o) Hall, as above, fol. 208.

(p) Lord Herbert, as above, under the year 1535.

(q) Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(r) Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(1) Hall, as above, fol. 22.

as himself; it being his rule, that none fought well but those which did it for a fortune (y). And it was chiefly for the sake of recommending so worthy an example to posterity, that we have inserted here this article.

(y) Complete History of the Transactions at Sea, &c. by John Burchett, Esq; edit. Lond. 1720, p. 339.

Sidney, Antony Browne, Giles Hufe, Thomas More, John Ruffel, Edward Bray, Henry Owen, George Cobham, Thomas Owdayle, Thomas Lovel, Robert Jernyngham, Antony Knevet, Esquires, Sir John Tre-

mayle, Sir William Skevyngton Master of the Ordnance, and John Fabian Serjeant at Arms, the chief encourager of this adventure (3).

(3) Hall, as above, fol. 99, 100.

FLAMSTEED (JOHN) one of the most eminent English Astronomers in the XVIIIth century, was born at Denby in Derbyshire, August 19, 1646. His father, whose name was Stephen, was third son of Mr William Flamsteed of Little Hallam in that county. His mother was Mary, daughter of Mr John Spateman of Derby, Ironmonger, who died when he was a little above three years old. Our author had, from his infancy, a natural tenderness of constitution which he could never surmount (a). He was educated at the free-school of Derby where his father lived, and at fourteen years of age, when he was but just become head of that school, he was visited with a severe fit of sickness, followed by a consumption and other distempers, which however did not so much obstruct his progress in learning but that he kept his station till the form broke up, and some of his school-fellows went to the university, to which, though designed for it, his father thought it not advisable to send him on account of his infirmity. Being thus taken from school in 1662, within a month or two after he had John de Sacrobosco's book *de Sphæra* put into his hands; this accident, and the leisure which accompanied it, induced him to make Astronomy the principal object of his studies [A]. He had already perused

(a) The reader will find in the note an account of the MSS. from which these particulars are taken, which remain in the hands of that learned, communicative, and worthy person, Mr James Hodgson, F. R. S. and Master of the Royal Mathematical School at Christ's Hospital, in London.

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[A] Induced him to make Astronomy the principal objects of his studies ] In the text of this article, we have given an account of his progress in that science in his junior years, as it is represented in a manuscript of his, written in 1707, and intitled (1), *Historica narratio vitæ meæ ab anno 1646. ad 1675*. But we shall give a more particular account of his several steps in that study, from another manuscript of his, dated May the 8th 1667, and intitled *The self inspections of J. F.* being an account of himself in the actions and studies of his twenty one first years, written at several times, by his own hand. It is there he tells us, that, in 1662, he had *Sacrobosco's book de Sphæra* lent him, which he set himself to read without any director, but not unsuccessfully, for here he laid the ground of his mathematical knowledge. In that winter, some time before Christmas, his father taught him arithmetic, and the doctrine of fractions, and the golden rule of three direct and converse. At Christmas, or a little after, he went to Uttoxeter for his health, and took with him Mr Thomas Fale's *Art of Dialling* (2); and having seen a quadrant formerly, the construction of which he was informed was laid down in that book, he set himself immediately to calculate a table of the sun's altitudes at all hours in the Equator, Tropics, and some intermediate parallel in the latitude of fifty three degree, by Mr Fale's tables of natural sines, which our author performed in Lent of that year without any help, and before he had heard of any artificial tables, and accordingly made himself a quadrant. The rest of the winter he was greatly indisposed, and his distemper continued violent upon him the summer of the year 1663, when it abated a little, and suffered him to prosecute his studies. For upon his return home he was introduced to Mr Elias Grice, who told him of artificial tables, and shewed him Wingate's Canon. He procured likewise Mr Stirrup's *Art of Dialling*, which he read this summer with some other authors on mathematical subjects, as Mr Gunter's Sector and Canon, and soon after he obtained Mr William Oughtred's Canon, in all which, says he, *I read some parts cursorily, not abiding a tedious profection of any throughout, without the help or directions of any one, not being permitted (because they were scarce to be met with) the help of any one so much as to expound a term unto me.* His studies were discountenanced by his father, but his natural inclination led him to prosecute them thro' all impeding occurrences. Having got the Artificial Canon, he calculated several both general and particular tables, fitting the particular ones to the latitude of Derby, viz. fifty three degrees. He collected also a calculative method of dialling from Mr Gunter's Sector, and transcribed it, with a method for the construction of the quadrant and tables fitted thereto, calculated with his own hand in a small paper

book. In this task, and in perusing some other authors on various subjects, he spent his studious hours this year and the beginning of 1664, when he became acquainted with Mr George Linacre and Mr William Litchford, desiring the friendship of the former on account of his knowledge of the fixed stars, and of the latter on account of his knowledge of the planets. Mr Flamsteed being desirous to essay all sorts of mathematical science, and unwilling to be seen with Mr Gadbury's book which contained Horrox's tables, lest he should be suspected to study Astrology, bought Mr Street's Caroline tables, intending, when he had an opportunity, not only to learn to calculate the places of the planets, but also to study their motions and understand their theory, but was prevented from executing this design for that year. January 1st, 1665, he applied himself to calculate the true places of the planets to a given time by his tables abovementioned, and accordingly effected it, tho' not so exactly as by his following calculations, yet so auspiciously, as gave him a further encouragement to prosecute these endeavours, in which, says he, *I observe it was my fault to err more thro' want of care than knowledge, which since I animadverted, I have striven with double care to prevent.* He employed himself afterwards in writing an Almanack for the year 1666, but never offered it to the press. He had in the summer of the preceding year, calculated several new tables, and digested some of them into a convenient book, and this year he added some more. He likewise calculated the nativities of several of his friends and acquaintance. He wrote also a piece upon the construction and uses of a quadrant, with necessary tables for the framing of the same, and of a rule which he had drawn, fitting both to the latitude of fifty three degrees. He began this piece August the eighth, and finished it on the twenty fourth of the same month, intitling it his *Mathematical Essays*, which was the first piece he wrote, August the 26th he set out for Ireland, in order to be touched by Mr Valentine Greatraks, (3), but receiving no benefit returned to Derby, September the 23d following. Soon after he added an Appendix to his *Mathematical Essays*, and the projection of an universal dial, and a catalogue of seventy of the fixed stars, with their right ascensions, declinations, longitudes, and latitudes, to the year 1701, which he had composed by the Lychonic places, and allowing the annual procession of the fixed stars 50". He also proceeded to perfect the calculation of the solar eclipse which was to happen June 22, 1666, in the morning, according to the Caroline tables. In the Lent assize in 1666, he became acquainted with Mr Emanuel Halton of Wingsfield manor, who lent him the Richleian tables composed by Natalis Durret, a Frenchman, the introduction to which Mr Flam-

(3) See an Account of this famous Straker in Mr Boyle's Life, prefixed to his Works.

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(1) That is, An Historical Narration of my own Life, from 1646 to 1675.

(2) This was printed 1626, 4to.

a great deal of History both Ecclesiastical and Civil, but this was a new subject to him, and he found in it a mighty pleasure; and having translated so much as he thought necessary for his use into English, he proceeded to make dials by the directions of some ordinary books, and having changed a treatise of Astrology found amongst his father's books for Mr Street's Caroline Tables, he set himself to calculate the places of the planets by them, and to enquire into the reasons of them, in which he found little satisfaction, that author being very concise and short, and leaving the reasons of his processes to be learned from others. Having calculated, by these tables, an eclipse of the sun which was to happen June 22, 1666, he imparted it to a relation of his, who shewed it to Mr Emanuel Halton of Wingfield manor (b), who coming soon after to see him, and finding that our author was not acquainted with the Astronomical performances of others, sent him Ricciolus's *Almagest*, and Kepler's *Rudolphine Tables*, with some other mathematical books to which he was before a stranger. Mr Halton, who was a good Algebraist, endeavoured to draw him in to the study of Algebra, by proposing little problems to him, which, having not long before made himself acquainted with Euclid, he gave geometrical solutions to, and never applied himself unto Algebra till after he removed to London. He prosecuted his Astronomical studies from this time with all imaginable vigour, and with all the success that he could wish [B]. In 1669, he collected some remarkable eclipses of the fixed stars by the moon, which would happen in 1670, and calculated them from the Caroline Tables, and directed them to the Lord Viscount Brouncker, President of the Royal Society (c), which produced very good effects [C]; for, this piece being read before that Society, was highly approved, and procured him letters of thanks from Mr Oldenburgh their Secretary, and Mr John Collins one of their members, with the latter of whom our author held a correspondence for several years, and wrote a great many letters to him, most of which were in the hands of the late William Jones, Esq; F. R. S. and of which we shall give the reader some extracts, since they will shew the progress of our author's studies till his settlement at Greenwich in 1675, when that correspondence ended [D].

From

(b) This Gentleman, Emanuel Halton, Esq; was a very good Mathematician, as appears from some pieces of his in the Appendix to Mr Foster's *Mathematical Miscellanies*.

(c) This was towards the close of 1669.

stead translated into English, and corrected the errors of it. Mr Halton soon after communicated to him Ricciolus's new *Almagest* in Latin, which our author was extremely glad to receive, because it shewed a method of finding the Sun's true parallax by observations of the Moon's Dichotomy, which he was very desirous of investigating at that time. He spent likewise some part of his time in Astrological Studies, 'but so, says he, as my labours were rather astronomical. Amongst others, I spent some time on Mr Linacre's, and another great person's schemes, yet could I not any ways satisfy myself in the arcs of directions for the measuring of time, nor am I yet perfectly satisfied: yet I think Kepler's measures most rational and best grounded, tho', in the great person's nativity which I directed, I used Naboyd's measure, which is most in use amongst Astrologers. In fine, I found Astrology to give general strong conjectural hints, not perfect declarations.' After Mr Flamsteed had received Ricciolus's *Almagest*, he read it over with great attention. In 1667, some considerations of the different equations of time, used by several Astronomers, tho' well demonstrated by none, induced him to endeavour the discovery of a demonstrable equation. He was at first of opinion, that the natural days were always equal, and that there needed no equation of time; but whilst he was endeavouring to demonstrate this, he proved the contrary, first, that the excentricity of the Earth's Orbit from the Sun's Center caused an inequality; and afterwards, that the Ecliptic's Obliquity caused another inequality of the apparent day, which two causes applied together, would make the absolute equation of time. After a long meditation having removed most of the difficulty, he wrote a letter of three sheets to Mr Halton upon this subject. He likewise endeavoured something with regard to the Obliquity of the Ecliptic, the Sun's true distance from the Earth, and the mean length of the tropical year, in April 1667.

[B] *And with all the success that he could wish.* He employed himself in calculating the places of the Planets observed by Hevelius, and related in his *Mercurius sub sole visus*, from the Caroline tables, whereby Mr Flamsteed found that they agreed not so well with the Heavens as he presumed they had, and that further observations were requisite to correct them. An Eclipse of the Sun happening October 25, 1668, he had calculated the times of the appearance from the Caroline tables, and afterwards observed it, but not being yet furnished with convenient instruments for measuring and correcting the times, he could not

believe it accurate enough to be published, tho' he found by this that the tables differed very much from the Heavens.

[C] *Which produced very good effects.* He speaks of this in the Appendix to his *Self Inspections*, in these words: 'At the latter end of the year 1669, I wrote an Almanack for the following year, not after the usual method, but much more accurately, inserting an Eclipse of the Sun that might have been observable but was omitted in the Ephemerides, and five Appulses of the Moon to fixed Stars. But this being rejected, as being beyond the capacity of the vulgar, and returned me. I excerpted the Eclipse and Appulses, and addressed them with some astronomical speculations to the Royal Society, suppressing my name under my anagram. My little labour was better accepted than I expected. I received a letter of thanks from Mr Oldenburgh, the Secretary of the Society. My papers I sent to Mr Stansby, he delivered them to Mr Ashmole, that great lover of curiosity, and he presented them to the Royal Society.' *The original manuscript of this piece was in the hands of the late learned and ingenious William Jones, Esq; F. R. S. and is inscribed thus:* 'To the Right Honourable William Lord Viscount Brouncker, President of the illustrious Royal Society, as also the Right Worshipfull worthy and truly ingenious Henry Oldenburgh, Esq; Christopher Wren, M. D. and all other the Astronomical Fellows of the said Society. I. F. humbly presents this epistle.' *At the close of it he writes thus:* 'Excuse, I pray you, this juvenile heat for the concerns of science, and want of better language from one, who, from the sixteenth year of his age to this instant, hath only served one bare apprenticeship in these arts, under the discouragement of friends, the want of health, and all other instructors, except his better genius. I crave the liberty to conceal my name, not to suppress it. I have composed the letters of it written in Latin in this sentence, *In Mathesi à sole fundes*. I had many materials to add, but they would have swelled my letter beyond its prescribed limits. If I may understand that you accept of these, or think them worth your notice you shall e'er long hear more from yours, &c. J. F.

[D] *When that correspondence ended.* In his letter dated at Derby, January the twenty fourth, 1669-70, he writes thus: 'Your's of the fifteenth I received, by which I understand that my papers, however unworthy, were read in the Royal Society, an honour which I could as little either expect or deserve, as it

merited

From the time that the abovementioned piece was read to the Royal Society, he began to have

(4) The Lord  
Viscount Brouncker,  
Chancellor  
to the Queen.

‘ merited their applause, or I their thanks. My intent in addressing those Calculi to his Lordship (4) was only to give notice, what Phenomena the Heavens were about to afford us, which since I was not accommodated with instruments sufficient to observe them with the requisite accuracy myself, I made bold to present to his Honour, whom I supposed to be amply accommodated for such observations. But prescribing the use of a Telescope before other instruments, and taking occasion thereon to urge something too boldly on Mr Hook, and in another on Mr Street, concerning the Ephemerides, being likewise conscious of my rude addresses to those worthy persons with my papers, and fearing that my heat for the promotion of science might be worse taken by them than I intended, knowing also the smallness of my merits, I resolved to suppress my name till I understood how it was like to speed with my papers. I fear I addressed myself too rudely to his Lordship, but since he is pleased to take notice of those unpublished papers and enquire after their author, you may please, if you have not already, to tender my humble and sincerest services with my name to his Lordship, and desire his excuse for me that I have not explained my method of calculation; I suppose it cannot be hid to those who are versed in Trigonometry. It is the accuratest I could choose, and the numbers were twice, some thrice, repeated, for more certainty. If any desire to be more fully satisfied, I hope I shall answer their expectations in an epistle to the excellent Hevelius, containing a commentary on, and a correction of, several particulars, in his *Mercurius sub sole visus*, and commentary on Mr Horrox’s *Venus sub sole visa*, which I have lying by me written in Latin about half a year since. But my style not pleasing some of my more judicious friends, I have since then given myself to the perusal of the Classic, old Roman, and some modern authors, that so I may bestow a better language on it before I expose it to the view of such severities as I shall be sure to meet with. I intend to present it, with an epistle *de æquatione temporis*, to the view of the Royal Society, before I commit it to the public; but by reason of my frequent distempers, my parents affairs, and the coldness of the season, I shall be forced to protract the time I have set myself for the perusal of my papers, which yet I hope to present you with compleated, within these six months. I have solar tables by me composed above two years since, to wit, before I was twenty one years of age, which I intend to expose with my epistle *de Æquatione Temporis*, directed to Mr Street, whom, on occasion, you may let know I shall write to him before the term be over, by my kinsman an Attorney. But I shall be forced to trouble you with the letter, because I know not the place of his habitation. I desire to transact things fairly with him as I have done with his deceased antagonist Mr Wing, with whom I had a fair correspondence, and tho’ we differed *de Parallaxi & Æquatimibus Systematis Solaris*, and several other things, yet our dissent made us not the less friends, and tho’ I may not subscribe to Mr Street’s opinions, *de fixatione apheliorum & nodorum in superioribus*, & *de Æquatimibus Lunæ oscillatoriis*, yet I hope that he will not refuse that we may friendly communicate by letters, of such things as concern the Heavens and our studies. As to the severity of calculations, I suppose that if the artist be but careful and curious enough, we have canons sufficiently large. In the study of my especial friend Mr Halton, I once saw one of Vlaccus to every ten sexagenary seconds: and if our supputations be exact to seconds, I think it is enough, and more than ever we may hope by instruments to obtain from the Heavens; I mean in defining the places of the Luminaries fixed, and the Planets. As for their Diameters, I dare not deny but that, by the help of glasses, we may be enabled to define them to seconds, or smaller parts; especially if a short telescope may be made to perform as much as a long one, which you say that Mr Newton hath not only proved by demonstration, but fact. Sir, if it be no concealed secret, if you have the liberty, and may do it, I desire that you would

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‘ please to inform me of what glasses his small Telescope is composed, how, or in what figures ground, and how disposed in the tube. I intend to work some for my own use, and am framing such an engine as Mr Hook describes for the grinding and polishing of them. I intend to grind with ordinary fine sand, dressed, and polish first with chalk, and after with putty. I know no better powders, but would be much obliged to any one that would inform me that, or any thing else, either concerning the usual method or necessaries for grinding and polishing them; if you know any thing which you may freely impart, I should be much obliged by a communication.’

In his letter dated at Derby July the sixteenth, 1670, he writes thus. ‘ I have received another letter from you since, with an account of Gassendus’s observations, and an information of Mengolus’s book, for which I am obliged to you. Pray, when it is known, let me understand his opinion of the quantity of the Sun’s horizontal parallaxes, and the refractions, and what refraction he allows the Sun in the altitude of twenty degrees. I suspect, and have good reason for it, that in inland places it is nothing or not sensible in that altitude, for by some of Mr Wright’s observations, the Sun at noon had no refraction the fifteenth of December in altitude fifteen degrees. . . I thank you for the advice of writing to Mr Townley.—I am at present calculating the Moon’s Appulses for the next year, which, when I have finished, I will send him a specimen of, to make way for our future correspondence. . . As for what I have noted in *Ricciolus*, besides the frequent errors of his schemes, you may note these P. 161. he applies the horizontal parallax of the Sun in all altitudes, as if it was the same both in the zenith and the horizon, and so gathers the Ecliptic’s obliquity 20’ more than his own observations permit. P. 435; he, in his second example, is guilty of the highest dishonesty, for he first lays down a vicious observation, by which he thrusts the Sun’s place above ten minutes further than either Street’s or my tables afford, and then derives a right ascension almost two minutes larger than his observation will allow, as I can easily prove, but that I have neither time nor room at present. If you desire it, I shall make it good hereafter. P. 477, in his catalogue of the fixed stars; he protrudes the right shoulder of Auriga 1 deg. 20’ forwarder than his own observed distances from Capella the brightest of the Pleiades and Procyon will permit, that he may make his catalogue agree with the Tycho’s, from which, he was so conscious of his own defects, he scarce has dared any where to recede; so that he seems to me rather to affect the name of having corrected our tables, than really to have amended what was faulty in any one. I had first notice of this star’s varying from the Tycho’s Canon in Hevelius’s *Mercurius sub sole*, but found it absolutely confirmed by the *Ricciolan* observations. In his Appendix, p. 733, Prob. 3. he teaches how to correct the apparent time of the quadrature, as if the parallax caused the Moon to be really cove, when she was apparently semi-illuminated. But this correction is needless, and all that is said in that column and the two next, absolutely to be rejected, since the parallax cannot vary the phasis at all, as I can easily prove, and will appear to any one that duly considers what he there lays down. Lastly, he is wholly inclined to the Peripatetics, against all other Philosophy, and on this account favours Claramontius against Tycho, Kepler, and reason itself. And tho’ he protests against it, yet I fear he was partial to Tycho, because a Calvinist, and propense to Claramontius, as one that was a Priest of his own order, and in his principles a rigid Peripatetic, and one that had left some persons his relations of, and well deserving from their society.’

In a letter dated at Derby, September the nineteenth, 1670, he writes as follows. ‘ I sat up this last night, waiting to observe the Eclipse of the Moon. The Heavens were clear till midnight, after which they were by little and little covered over with thick whitish clouds, thro’ which, when our clocks struck

have accounts sent him of all the mathematical books which were published either at home  
OR

one, I saw the Moon eclipsed almost a digit, but I could not find a convenient star to take its altitude, being on one side prohibited by the buildings, and the Heavens all covered with the white clouds, that none of the bigger stars, or any almost removed from the meridian, appeared, and the Moon was scarce an hour removed from the noonstead, so that it was in vain to think to take her's amongst the clouds. The Heavens continued covered with these till morning, and the Moon appeared very rarely through the clouds, so that despairing of any good observation, and seeing the Heavens thicken, I left off and went to my rest, when I had seen the cusps parallel to the horizon, and the finitèr end had covered the occidental spot, or *Palus Mareotidis*, of Hevelius, but could not note the time. I wrote to Mr Hook about the observing this Eclipse. Pray if you chance to meet him, enquire whether he observed it or not: if he did, and the Heavens smiled on his endeavours, desire him to be pleased to communicate his observations to me: for I think the Heavens antevèrted our calculations some minutes, which, if so, favours an equation I have long since conceived ought to be induced into the Lunar System. . . . I hope speedily to present you with the Phænomena of the next year, for I have as good as finished my calculations.'

In his letter dated at Derby, October the first the same year he writes thus. 'If the Lunar Eclipse last hath been observed by any in London, if you can procure the observation without trouble, please, by your next, to communicate it to me. I have now finished my calculations, and am writing them out, but cannot tell what tongue to expose them in, English or Latin. Let me have your opinion, that shall rule me. The appearances are treble, the number I calculated last year, and most of them some way truly notable. I have read a part of Fabri's Optics. I was much pleased with his acuteness and acurateness at first, but coming to his forty third proposition. I find it lost, for in his sixth, seventh, and eighth sections, he demonstrates not what he intends, but by drawing his ninety and ninety one schemes too close, deceives and mocks his reader.'

In his letter dated at Derby, December the first following, he writes thus: 'I hope you have received my last, with my calculations of the last year's appearances, in my introduction to which, if I seem to have asserted too boldly against our Astronomical tables, I have now received an observation of my Cousin Wilson that will fully confirm my affirmations, which I send you inclosed. I cannot but congratulate you for your happy correspondence with P. Berrètet, and I am much pleased to hear of De Mouton's book *de mensurâ Diam. Solis & Lunæ*, one of which, when they come to your hands, I desire you to send me, and pay yourself out of what you have in your hands. If the piece be well done it will conduce no little to the correction of Astronomical Lunar tables. When I have received and perused it, I shall, according to your directions, write to De Mouton, till then, not having any occasion offered, I suppose you will neither hold it convenient nor necessary. Sir, you once, I remember, proffered to lend me Mr Horrox's papers which are now in your hands. If, Sir, you have not procured them yet to be printed, nor any Bookseller offers to undertake them, I would accept of the offer gladly, for I have leisure now to peruse any author, and I would gladly try if that deviation which is now very perceptible in the motion of Saturn, was not, in his time, sensible: for, if I remember aright, one of his books contains the observed distances of the Planets from the fixed stars, with other his observations, from which, nothing as yet, hath been deduced.'

In his letter dated at Derby, January the thirtieth, 1670-1, he writes as follows: 'I have lately written to Mr Moore, from whom I have received an answer full of his natural civility and generosity. By his advice I have likewise wrote to Mr Townley, from whom I cannot yet expect an answer, by reason my letter went but on Tuesday last, and can scarce yet reach his hands. . . . I have the Transaction in which Mr Oldenburgh hath printed the short abstract

of my calculations, which give the observers notice of such appearances, but the other requisites of the supputations being wanting, they will be put to a second trouble of calculating to gain the anomalies, and other parts of the calculation, before they can be able to guess how, or where, any thing in our numbers are to be corrected. I am framing tables of oblique ascensions for the latitudes of London, Dantzick, and Derby, supposing the declination 23 gr. 30'. 00'' to second minutes, the old ones falsely supposing it 23 gr. 31'  $\frac{1}{2}$ , to which I intend to add the angle orient, which will not a little assist calculations, and such as are minding to make Astronomical predictions, or compare cælestial observations, with our numbers.'

In his letter dated at Derby, March the 20th 1670-1, he writes thus: 'I have both your letters. . . . I am exceedingly pleased to hear that Mr Horrox's papers will be printed, and I suppose the *Venus sub sole* with them, to which, having well perused it, I know not what can be added. The notes of Hevelius I find generally needless, and those on the sixth chapter, page 124, absolutely false, conceding his own parallax, because he hath taken the angle of the position of Venus, which is made by a line drawn through her's and the Sun's center, instead of the angle of the vertical circle, *per centrum Veneris*, with the Ecliptic or the parallactical angle, whence he not only vitiates the truly computed parallaxes of Mr Horrox, but also supposing the parallax of Venus from the Sun in altitude 1. 57, he falsely calculates these parallaxes.

h.	of Long.	of Lat.	Par Long.	Par Lat.					
3	15	1	20	1	27	} which 0' 32	} 1' 50		
3	35	1	17	1	28			} ought 0 42	} 1 49
3	45	1	15	1	29				

So that what he hath deduced, from these his vitious parallaxes, ought, if his comment be printed with the original, to be corrected. Of this you may please to inform the Doctor. You wrote that Dr Wallis desired my comment on the *Mercurius* of Hevelius might be printed with Horrox's papers. When I received your letter, I looked up my papers, but find that I shall scarcely have time to transcribe and fit them for the press, partly because my occasions, but more frequently my distempers, withdraw and detain me from my pen endeavours. For the spring coming on my blood increases, which if I should not exercise strongly, I should spit up or receive into my stomach with great detriment to my health. When I return from exercise, other occasions are ready to detain me. Farther, I have received a letter from Mr Oldenburgh, who is not willing that I should advert too plainly on Hevelius, lest he should recede from his correspondency, and detain his observations from us, if he be disgusted. However, if I might but know by what time Mr Horrox's papers would be ready for the Printer, I would endeavour to get my notes ready to succeed them, for I am resolved not to desist if my distemper will be forced to intermit by my usual remedies, which I much question not, God permitting. In the meantime I am preparing cases for my glasses, for which I hope to raise a pole to elevate them on this evening, and then I shall endeavour, when I have leisure, to observe the Heavens, that I may some ways benefit the science, I am enamoured of, Astronomy. . . . I have received and returned letters to Mr Townley, from whom I have an account of the Solar Eclipse of 1668, October the 25th, and the occultation of Antares on May the 23d, 1670, of which I desire you to procure me Mr Hook's observation, if he made any, for I fear Mr Street's is wrested a little.'

In his letter dated at Derby, May the third, 1671, he writes as follows: 'I have your's of the twenty seventh last past, for the communications in which I heartily thank you. I am glad to hear that Mr Horrox's papers are gone to the press. I shall against that time they may be almost finished, have retranscribed my notes on Hevelius's *Mercurius sub sole*, which, lest I may offend, I shall willingly submit to  
' the

or abroad. And in June 1670, his father taking notice of his correspondence with several ingenious

the castigations and corrections of Dr Wallis, or any other ingenious person. My distempers and affairs of late have been so intermutually urgent, that I have performed little. I have by me a sheet or two which I wrote some five years ago, *de æquatione temporis astronomica*, which I have last summer made Latin, and would gladly it might see the light. It being readiest, I intend first to absolve and send it to you, to be disposed of as you shall think most meet. What you write of Mr Horrox's papers being in Mr Townley's hands, I am well pleased to hear of, and I hope I may do you some service in that business, for Mr Townley corresponds with me very familiarly, and promises me all the services he can do me in my studies. But before this comes to your hands, I suppose you may hear of him in London, for he wrote to me some ten days ago, that he would set forward on Monday last for the city, which I suppose he will reach by this week's end. I am to go into Lancashire, and near his house the latter end of this month, where I intend to call if he be returned into the country. In the mean time, if you or Mr Jonas Moore can meet with him, you may do well to urge him in this business, and if I can do any thing when I go into Lancashire, let me have your directions and you shall not want my endeavours, either for collecting or methodizing any papers, that may fall or be intrusted into my hands. I desire you, Sir, to let me hear from you concerning these things within this fortnight, for I cannot know precisely what time this month I shall take my journey. I must before I end acknowledge myself much obliged to you and Mr Hook, for procuring me my glasses. They serve well in a tube of  $13\frac{1}{2}$  feet but cause some colours which will not be easily removed, tho' I put on a narrow aperture to the object glass. Pray present my service to Mr Moore. I am reading his Algebra and find it not very difficult unto me, and intend when I shall have spare time to make some progress in Geometrical studies.

In his letter dated at Derby May the 13th, 1671, he writes thus: 'Having written to Mr Oldenburgh, I thought convenient to inclose this—— I have sent Mr Oldenburgh my observation of the moon's appulse to the star in virgo  $9^{\circ} 53'$ . whose latitude  $1^{\circ} 20'$ . north of the fourth light, which I saw covered by the dark side of the moon, in something less latitude than the lowest part of the *Propontis*, when Jupiter was elevated  $32^{\circ} 52'$  whence I deduced the hour  $9. 16'. 30''$ . The precise emersion I saw not, for I was elsewhere then engaged, but coming to the tube, I found that the star was the breadth of the Caspian Spot, or *Palus Mæotis*, distant from the moon's limb, and higher than the supreme part of the said spot it's whole length; whence turning to my quadrant I took the height of the moon's supreme limb,  $31^{\circ} 54'$ . therefore the star's height was  $71^{\circ} 45'$ . and the hour  $10. 24'. 36''$ . I noted the height of Jupiter to be  $22^{\circ} 36'$ . and find the hour thence  $10. 25'. 00''$ . I am persuaded that the times are pretty exactly taken, for they shew partly the same duration, and, all things considered, as the tables, but at least 10 if not 15 minutes later. I desire to hear from you, whether any of your acquaintance have observed this appearance, of which the Calculus is with the rest in the Transactions. If you have any observations, pray favour me so far as to impart them to me. I have given Mr Oldenburgh a calculation of the moon's transit by Jupiter on the twentieth of September next at sun rise, which I suppose he will if you desire impart to you, for I have not time to transcribe it at present, but you shall command it when you please.'

In his letter dated at Derby July the 10th, 1671, he writes thus: 'I have finished my transcript of my Solar Tables, which I wait but for an opportunity to transmit safely unto you. Last week here I saw a boy, one Smedley, about fourteen years old, who has two perfect rows of teeth on the upper side of his mouth, round, save that the third tooth on each side from the fore-teeth are lately come forth, and has a third half cut and coming forth, more inwards to-

wards the roof of his mouth. Of these two inwards extraordinary rows, the two foremost teeth of the second row came first, not a year ago, the rest all within this half year or less. — The boy is of a good complexion and healthful, only in his childhood he was lamed in his knee.'

In his letter dated at Derby August the first 1671, he writes as follows: 'With these I send my promised Solar Tables, by my school-fellow Mr Sergeant, though I have not added the sun's diameters, yet I intend, before these may be printed, to send them to you to be annexed to them, or included with the rest. — My occasions are so frequent, and I am so much forced from my studies, that I fear I can scarce get any time to transcribe what I have written on Monsieur Hevelius, it being so prolix, that it will cost me more time than I can possibly spare to abbreviate it. I esteem myself obliged to continue my annual præadmonitions of the lunar appearances, which is a work not only necessary, but, if I flatter not myself too much, something honourable for our countrymen, and therefore not to be discontinued. Sir, my spare hours betwixt my indispositions and affairs being now but few, and likely to be much less, I cannot possibly perform both these tasks, therefore desire you to excuse me my papers upon Hevelius, by which perhaps I might disoblige him to the English Society which he honours, and permit me only to make my new calculations, towards which I have not as yet wrote one figure. If you think them not so necessary I shall forbear thinking of them, and perform my notes on Hevelius with all speed and sweetness possible. I shall have, e'er long, an opportunity of sending to Dantzick, when perhaps I shall write to him, and inform him civilly of his errors myself. In the mean time I submit my intentions to your discretion, and resolve in this to be ruled by your advice. — I cannot but joy with you in the knowledge of your French correspondence, but I fear you have given them an account of my abilities beyond what they will prove. I desire to know if you ever communicated any of my calculations, or my few observations, unto any of them, and what you have in return. As for the correspondence of the French Astronomers, I shall gladly undertake it with the first convenient opportunity, but not over hastily. I have several observations of the moon's transits by the fixed stars, and her diameters made by Mr Gascoigne, and related in his letters, which yet the like for accuracy not being to be had amongst the French, I think not fit to communicate, nor buy their acquaintance with them. As for my exercise *de Æquatione Temporis*, I have no perfect copy of it, so I cannot send one, but shall, if you have not already, inform them of my observations of the last visible solar eclipse, and the lunar transit, and some admonitions of future appearances.'

In his letter dated at Derby November the eighth, 1671, he writes thus: 'I have now somewhat extraordinary to furnish your correspondencies, and shall have every day more and more. Last October I observed with my fourteen foot tube, and the Townleian micrometer, the underwritten distances of the Pleiades, which I have compared with those I find in Mr Gascoigne's papers, and those of Mutus in Ricciolus.' Here Mr Flamsteed incloses a scheme of the Pleiades.

In his letter dated at Derby January the thirty-first, 1671-2, he writes thus: 'I have seen the December Transaction, in which Mr Oldenburgh has transcribed some lines from my letters concerning the appearance of Saturn, which I am glad to find agree so well with the like of the French Astronomers. You may farther intimate, that I viewed the same planet on New-year's day at night, with my long tube and more convex eye-glass. But neither myself, nor a young man with me, could discern any anses, altho' the appearance was sufficiently clear. I have several times measured the sun's semidiameter, which none of my observations allow less in *Perigæo* than  $16'. 24''$  or  $25''$ . I think I communicated to you some measures of his diameters when he appeared elliptical,

ingenious Gentlemen, whom our author at that time had never seen, advised him to take

tical, if I have not I shall when you please to command them, for I owe and esteem a good part of my endeavours a debt to you. I am now excerpting some observations from Mr Gascoigne's and Crabtree's reciprocal letters, in which I find exact observations of the moon's eclipse, December the tenth, 1638, and the sun's May the twenty-second 1639, this by Mr Gascoigne, that by Crabtree; which if they were not in Mr Horrox's papers, and Mr Townley would permit, might do well if they were added to them, of which I desire to hear how many are printed by the next. — If Mr Jonas Moore gives any attendance on the Heavens, I shall early enough let him know of some observable appearances, not published nor certified in the Transactions, with some observations made by the micrometer he gave me, and therefore a due debt to him. I have read De Mouton de *Aequatione Temporis*, &c. whose notes upon the equations of others might easily be redargued, but that I would spare your correspondents, of whom if any now will agree to observe the diameters of the planets, the sun and moon especially, with the satellite appearances of Jupiter, I shall not fail as the weather and my distempers permit to do my endeavour to make respondent observations. All the times I have viewed the sun I could never see any *macula* upon him, but his whole disk perfectly clear. — I had sent you a draught of my new micrometer, but that I lately sent one to Mr Townley, whose sentiments I expect concerning it, before I mind it should travel further.

In his letter dated at Derby February the tenth, 1671-2, he writes thus: 'I have wrote to you lately, so have not much to write at this time. — The Heavens of late have not favoured me with any serenity, more than served one night, *viz.* February the first, to observe the immersion of the first satellite into the shade of Jupiter, and the application of the third to his limb, of which I gave Mr Oldenburgh an account in a late letter. I am now excerpting some things from Mr Gascoigne's letters to Mr Crabtree, and his answers, but find some schemes and papers wanting, of which Mr Crabtree could not be careless, but they are supposed to be fallen into Mr Jonas Moore's hands. Pray let him know what I am doing when you see him, they can be of no concern by themselves, wherefore he may do well to put them into Mr Townley's hands, who owns the letters referring to them.' In this letter he likewise sends the sun's diameters on January the 5th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 15th, and 1st of February 1671-2.

In his letter dated at Derby February the twentieth, 1671-2, he writes as follows: 'Mr Halton is translating Kinkhuysen's *Moone-wijzer* into English that I may have a view of it, and at Mr Townley's request I have lately wrote and sent him the History of Malting. I have begun that tract concerning the distances and diameters of all the planets, which I promised in my letter to Mr Oldenburgh, but shall go but very slowly forward, by reason that sometimes my infirmities, oftener affairs, interrupt me. But this I have certainly learned from my observations, that the sun's parallax is not above  $10''$ , yea probably but  $7''$ , and his distance, *à terrâ*, 26,000 semidiameters, which is a distance to which none ever durst remove him yet, and thrice as far as I supposed him formerly in my Solar Tables.'

In his letter dated at Derby, April the first, 1672, he writes thus: 'The included paper contains the last observation of Jupiter's transit by a fixed star, and another since made with my deductions therefrom. These (being busy at this time of the year) to save a labour of transcription I send through the hands of Mr Oldenburgh, that so you may have the perusal of them. I hope you had my last, informing you that I have received Mr Horrox's papers, and satisfying you concerning the contents of my last letter. I have perused Horrox's *Venus sub sole*, and find he needs no comment save, in this he has taken the Sun's semidiameter less by  $20''$  or more than really it was, so that this calculation will need some little correction, which if you think fit, I shall give them by way of comment. He has assumed the diame-

ters of the fixed stars too large, which Hevelius has only well corrected, and his diameters of the Planets are much amiss. But not having observed them all myself as I intend, if God afford me opportunity, I shall not meddle with them, yet only to you I may say, that those settled in Hevelius, except in Venus and Mercury, are as erroneous as those of Mr Horrox. Hevelius is much mistaken in the parallactical angle in his *Venus sub sole*, but it is so easily proved that I cannot think, but if ever he again reads over that piece and his notes, he could not but see his mistake. I find by my frequent observations, that the remotest satellite of Jupiter goes not twenty three semidiameters only from him, as Cassini has it, but rather  $24\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{3}{4}$  as Mr Townley gave it me in a loose note, and this you may prove by an observation, March the 19th, amongst the rest if you have it, I think those observations the exactest that ever were had of this Planet, and if we had but a few more such in several places of his orbit, I should not doubt but to restore his motions more accurately than we have yet done, or perhaps can expect. I cannot think the satellites of Jove subject to any great inequalities in their motions, since I find their distances from Jupiter on each side him, equal in their greatest elongations. If I had but the opportunity of observing one transit of Mars in his achronical appearance from a fixed star, I should not doubt but to derive the Sun's parallax and distance, *à terrâ* as well if not better therefrom, than from any observations as yet we possess. This I expect and have forecasted for, but by an accident the course of my observations are, and will be, a little interrupted; for being last Thursday night preparing to observe the diameter of Jupiter, I took my object glass of my long tube to smear it, as I had often done before at my candle. As I was holding it over the light it gave a crack, and a little piece splintered from it in the middle, and the glass cleft clear through. I durst not remove it out of the box, because I was afraid I could not so well make it close again. I keep it by me, but dare not adventure to make any observations by it, tho' I have viewed the Moon with it, and find it does not perform much worse if any than it did.'

In his letter dated at Derby, April the 17th 1672, he writes as follows. 'I have your's of the twelfth instant, whereby you intimate your desire to have me say something farther concerning the Lunar Theory of Mr Horrox, for the satisfaction of Dr Wallis. I am content, and therefore shall e'er long send you the whole calculation of the Moon's place at her last transit over the Pleiades, after his method, with my further thoughts upon it. I am very desirous to be framing Lunar numbers but want observations of her apogæon diameters, which the inconveniency of my dwelling permits me not to make, because the apogæon Moon in Sagittarius goes so very low this year; and further the refractions in her low meridional heights, would greatly diminish her vertical diameters, which upon continual experience I find can only be taken to the requisite exactness, so that I fear I must wait till the year 1674, or 1675, e'er I can well observe them. I cannot but much approve of the form of Mr Horrox's Theory, and having considered it several times, I find that we might almost as easily compute her place in her orb as the elliptical place of any other Planet, if tables were fixed to his method, which therefore for facility of calculation, I intend to propose to myself to correct when I shall gain so much leisure, and I hope this summer may afford it me. . . . The Heavens never since I broke my glass afforded me any opportunity for observation till yesterday, when at noon having covered the broken part of my glass with the bigger piece, I took the Sun's diameter  $5325 = 31 - 58$  which still conspires for the exactly bisected excentricity, and the perigæon  $\frac{1}{2}$  diameter  $16' 25''$ . In this letter there are some remarks upon Mr Newton's letter concerning colours.'

In his letter dated May 6th, 1672, he writes thus: 'I have received two letters from you conveying the most current news for which I am bound to give you

take a journey to London, that he might be personally acquainted with them. He gladly

' you hearty thanks. . . . I hope you have by this time received a letter from me by Mr Sargeant. . . . I intimated by that, I would send you the Lunar tables by Monday next.'

In his letter dated at Derby, May the thirteenth following, he writes thus: ' With this you will receive the promised Lunar tables, to which I have added an *Epilogus* directed to yourself. But my desire of brevity, and not to meddle where Mr Horrox had done any thing himself, restrained my thoughts in that place. Here with your leave I shall enlarge. How the Apogee of the Moon is librated, Mr Horrox has shewn us very well, but why it should be so librated, methinks, he shews no good reason. What he says of the Sun's attracting that end of the axis of the system next him, is framed from Kepler's groundless notions.' Mr Flamsteed then proposes his own solution, and afterwards proceeds thus. ' You have sometimes desired to know what I found amiss in the Hevelian edition of Horrox's *Venus sub sole*, I am not willing to let all be known I have against that great man, but in his comments on that treatise the main cause of his error there is, that he hath mistaken the parallactical angles calculated by Mr Horrox at

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3—15	supputat	$\overset{\circ}{70}-\overset{1}{56}$	} and used } instead of } them,
3—35		$\overset{\circ}{68}-\overset{1}{53}$	
3—45		$\overset{\circ}{67}-\overset{1}{55}$	
			$\overset{\circ}{46}-\overset{1}{34}$ $\overset{\circ}{48}-\overset{1}{37}$ $\overset{\circ}{49}-\overset{1}{35}$

' Which were the Angles made by a line passing thro' the centers of the Sun and Venus with the Ecliptic, or that he hath used the  $\angle \angle ECV$  instead of  $\angle \angle NCL$ , whence having proceeded all those faults and faulty corrections of Mr Horrox's works, which are found every where in the succeeding comments. He finds fault with Mr Horrox for having framed the Diameter of the Planets amiss, whilst his own, if well considered, tho' something alike in proportion to each other, are not less erroneous in quantity. His greatest Diameter of Jupiter is but  $24'' \frac{1}{2}$  yet I find that Mr Gascoigne once observed it  $51''$  he says accurately. I have seen it above  $46''$  and Mr Townley no less, and that it is wholly so much the observed elongations of the satellites from Jupiter's center, taken in minutes and seconds, compared with the estimated diameters do plainly evince. But Mr Horrox hath erred himself in the Sun's diameter which he states only  $31'-30''$  which my observations warrant  $32'-42''$  Hevelius has stated it  $32'-30''$ . He has likewise in his comment on the sixth chapter, p. 124. delivered the parallaxes of Longitude and Latitude in his own hypothesis, which supposed the Sun's distance from the Earth,  $5064$  semidiameters of the Earth, and its horizontal parallax  $41''$ . I know not what warrant he may have for this, since he says nothing of it in his works that I have seen, but I hope at this next achronical apparition of Mars, or at the latter end of September next, to make those observations of him which may shew his parallax, and by consequence the Sun's, I hoped to have observed him this morning, but the skies are clouded, yet if they clear before Tuesday, I doubt not to gain another accurate observation of him, and to measure his diameter, which yet I could never do conveniently. I have observed the return of Jupiter to the star in Virgo,  $9^{\circ} 58''$ . If you desire it I shall send you both it, and what I observe of Mars when I have heard from you. . . . Since I wrote this, I have received your's of the 13th instant. I have therefore pasted new radices to the meridian of Derby, that so they may comply the better with the solar numbers. I have so pasted them, that if you turn them up you may find those for London under: but if you approve the radices to Derby, that so they may comply the better with my solar numbers, the title may be written thus: *Lunares numeri, ad novum Lunæ systema excogitatum ab astronomo peritissimo Jeremia Horroxio; ad meridianum Derbiæ, notissimi coritanorum oppidi in ipso ferè totius Angliæ umbilico siti, accommodati ab J. F.*

In his letter dated at Derby, May 20th, 1672, he

writes thus: ' I have lately observed the distance of Mars from a fixed star very accurately. Last week I made equations for Mr Horrox's greatest eccentricity of the moon: for the least, I have them made ready to my hands. This week I will more accurately calculate the equations of the apogee and eccentricities, and reduce the mean motions to current time. So that you may within a fortnight or three weeks at farthest, expect the Lunar tables from me, if God spare me health. I shall now have more time than formerly. I intend likewise to note the erroneous places in Hevelius's notes on the *Venus sub sole*, and send them as soon as I have finished the new Lunar tables. My observation of Mars, I intend not to send you till I have made some more, which I expect about the middle of next month.'

In his letter dated at Derby, May 30th, 1672, he writes thus. ' I have this morning completed my numbers for Horrox's theory, which I shall transcribe and send you, with some little account of the method of calculation as my leisure and occasions will permit. These I hope to send you on Monday come sevensnight. I have late observed the return of Jupiter to the star in Virgo  $9^{\circ} 58''$  but have not yet had time to commit it to my book, and calculate the times from the observed altitudes, but with the Lunar tables you may expect them.'

In his letter dated at Derby, June the 12th, 1672, he writes as follows. ' I had delivered my Lunar tables after Mr Horrox's system to our carrier last Monday, but that some employments cast upon me since the death of my uncle put me so behind hand, that I have finished but this morning. However, I hope, they will be no whit the later in your hands, for I shall procure one of our Attorneys to deliver them to you, either the end of this week, or the beginning of the next. I have wrote in Latin an epistle to you containing what I have altered in their form, and what I think concerning the equation of time and alteration, of the eccentricity and the variation. I suppose you print Mr Crabtree's letter which contains this theory with Mr Horrox's works, for the theory contained in the letter of December the tenth 1638, as I find in some loose papers, and the exercises is not that which Horrox resolved upon, and further in it the optical part of the equation varies, not but only the focus of the mean motion and the physical equation; so that the distance of the moon à terrâ, varies not above five semidiameters of the earth, which in his later papers he says all eclipses, require to alter above seven. You have done well therefore to omit that letter, but in the room of it, I suppose you will give Mr Crabtree's which will lead to mine.'

In his letter dated at Derby, July the tenth, 1672, he writes thus. ' Included I send you the catalogue I promised. I have chosen those towns where celestial observations have been made, and where I have found none, I have ordered them by comparing their positions to one another in our maps, which yet I dare not trust, for by celestial observations of the pole's height, and eclipses made in several places at once compared together, I find they place Italy too near, and all the towns of Poland, Germany, and France over remote. The maps I used were Speed's where I wanted, but I find them not good. I would gladly make some further enquiry into the nature of light and colours, but want a prism for experiments, which may have two faces of an equal breadth, the third not half so broad as either of them, that so the angle included by the broader faces may be less than  $30$  gr. It needs not be large so it be but clear glass and well wrought. If you can procure me such an one, provide it me against the latter end of the next week.'

In his letter dated at Derby, July the 23d, 1672; he writes thus. ' I have received Dr Wallis's letter to you of the 18th of this month, which finding me at an unusual leisure, I thought fit not to delay an answer that might give you satisfaction, tho' I hope you are satisfied already. The difference of the least and greatest extrencities in my tables, is as the Doctor makes it,  $2323 \sqrt{}$  qualium Radius  $100000 \sqrt{}$ . That I wrote  $22235$  was a mistake in the

gladly embraced this offer, and visited Mr Oldenburgh and Mr Collins, who introduced him

' first transcript of my number, and ought to be made  
' every where  $2323\sqrt{}$  for that I have used in all  
' my calculations, and the table of equations is framed  
' upon that difference else the greatest distance could  
' not be  $7^{\circ}-40'$  as I have calculated it. The other  
' faults of my copy pray correct after the Doctor's in-  
' timations. You need alter nothing in the example  
' of the calculation, for the fault exceeds not one se-  
' cond, which since we cannot observe with such ex-  
' actness, I willingly yield in any calculation, and few  
' expect that severity. I mention in my Epilogus the  
' letter in which you have an account of Mr Horrox's  
' theory, I mean that you sent me the copy of, the  
' theory from which, if I remember, you wrote me  
' word, that Dr Wallis had long since translated.  
' This I suppose you intend to print, and it is neces-  
' sary to be placed before my tables, and supposing  
' that you intend it, I have said nothing of any thing  
' contained in that letter, but only of such things as  
' Horrox has said nothing of.—I have lately pro-  
' cured some lough water (so the miners call it) for  
' one Webster the author of the Metallographia. It  
' is found in the midst of a firm stone in the lead  
' mine. This I have is very transparent, but looks a  
' little whitish and smells of sulphur. I am promised  
' some stones which being made of water, that con-  
' geals as it drops, are yet all of them hollow in the  
' middle. These are rarities seldom met with or  
' heard of.'

In his letter dated at Derby, August the fifth, 1672,  
he writes thus. ' Your last I received on Wednesday,  
' and having then a letter new written to Mr Town-  
' ley, I sent the included papers of your's to him ac-  
' cording to your desire. When he returns them, I  
' shall impart them to Mr Halton, to whom I be-  
' lieve they will be as welcome as to myself.—  
' But the business of this letter is to let you know,  
' that you mistook my meaning concerning the letter  
' I mentioned in my Epilogus, which was not that of  
' December the twentieth, 1638, but one of Crab-  
' tree's to Mr Gascoigne, dated Junii 21 1642, in  
' which he describes Mr Horrox's system upon the  
' author's second thoughts, which he might find in his  
' exercises, and his calculations on some loose papers.  
' This differs much from that in the December Epi-  
' stle, for, 1. In that he makes the greatest equation  
' of the apogæon less than in his later papers. 2. The  
' greatest physical equation  $5^{\circ} 10'$ , the greatest optical  
'  $2^{\circ} 30'$ , whereas afterwards he made either of them  
'  $3^{\circ} 50'$  equal to each other. 3. In that epistle he  
' directs to take  $\frac{2}{5}$  of the Tyconic variation, but on  
' after-thoughts he assumes  $\frac{2}{10}$ . Lastly, that calcula-  
' tion is compiled by aid of Lansberg's and Kepler's  
' tables, which in this epistle is done more artificially  
' by Trigonometry. Add, that he directs no correc-  
' tion of the mean motions, which yet I find in his  
' Exercises and in Crabtree's letter. These considered,  
' the difference betwixt this first system of Mr Horrox  
' in the letter of December the 20th 1638, and that  
' collected from his later papers by Mr Crabtree is so  
' wide, that I believe you would not think fit to be  
' placed before tables from which they differ so much.  
' I have therefore translated so much from that epistle  
' of Crabtree, as contains the system and trigonome-  
' trical method of calculation, which you may cause  
' to be printed before the tables, which are framed  
' from them and agree punctually with them.'

In his letter dated at Derby, August the thirteenth,  
1672, he writes thus. ' I have your's of the tenth in-  
' stant.—I am glad you are satisfied of Horrox's  
' system by the letter I sent you. The precepts I  
' found translated by the ingenious Mr Shakerley,  
' which I transcribed from him, because I thought  
' them clearer expressed than the English ones in  
' Crabtree's letter, tho' they are in substance the very  
' same. I remember not that he bids any where dou-  
' ble the co-sine of an arch, or that he uses natural  
' numbers at all. I doubt you mistake, and that the  
' third precept may have caused the error. It is  
' *Duplicetur argumentum annuum & duplicati co-sinui*;  
' and the last two words I fear you read to the dou-  
' bled co-sine, by which nothing can be understood,  
' but to the co-sine of that argument doubled, which

' is clear another sense and sound enough. For his  
' method of calculating the Prosthaphereis of the orb,  
' it is so framed as that it may include that little arch  
' which Street applies at the focus of mean motion  
' and calls the variation; otherwise, the difference be-  
' twixt *Anomalia media*, and *Anomalia excentri* dou-  
' bled, as Crabtree finds it, will give Bishop Ward's  
' elliptic equation or Street's without that variation. As  
' for that inequality in the moon's motion which Hor-  
' rox calls the variation, and in his letter of Decem-  
' ber the 20th, confesses he knew not how to apply,  
' and Crabtree alike in that of June the 21st, 1642.  
' I esteem it purely physical, and have not forgotten  
' to say something of it in the Epilogus to the tables,  
' as you will find if you peruse it again. Nor can  
' Horrox be thought to have judged it otherwise on  
' his after-thoughts, since he makes no use of it in  
' computing the moon's distance from the earth, which  
' if it were not only physical it must necessarily vary.  
' I thought Crabtree's precepts sufficiently clear for  
' calculation. If they shall not be so to some, our ta-  
' bular method and direction will explain them and  
' render them easy, though we need not fear that any  
' will give themselves the trouble to calculate by them  
' trigonometrically, when the tabular calculation is so  
' easy, accurate, and expeditious. I think it is not any  
' ways evident from Crabtree's letter, that his friend  
' Mr Horrox died not the third of January 1640, ex-  
' cept I have amiss translated something. Pray peruse  
' it again and let me know, for besides the note on  
' the back of the letters, I find that in a letter of  
' Crabtree's to Gascoigne, dated March the 18th  
' 1640-1, he much laments the death of Horrox. Mr  
' Gascoigne was slain in our wars, I believe in the  
' year 1642, for I find no letters either of his or Crab-  
' tree's to him, after that of Junii 21, 1642, if I  
' have not miswritten. Crabtree lived much longer,  
' I believe till 1652, if his neighbour Mr Wroe in-  
' formed me truly. I shall write to morrow to Mr  
' Townley, and will make one part of my desires to  
' be ascertained of the time of his death.' In the post-  
script he writes thus, ' when I came to compare Hor-  
rox's own system in the letter of December the 20th,  
' 1638, with his in Crabtree's letter, June the 21st,  
' 1642, I found that Crabtree had demonstrated it in  
' Horrox's own words, from that letter in December  
' 1638, I mean the libration of the apogæon, concern-  
' ing which what I have written to you formerly, I  
' intended once to have composed into the Epilogus,  
' but upon second thoughts, judged it better to take  
' your opinion of it. I consent that you should in-  
' fert it, since I perceive you esteem of it not amiss,  
' and I doubt not but hereafter to have something  
' that may further illustrate and confirm it, if occasion  
' be given.'

In his letter dated at Derby, May the 5th, 1673,  
he writes as follows. ' I received the sheet omitted in  
' Mr Horrox's book, without which I think it may  
' do as well as with it; for the corrections in Crab-  
' tree's letter I find by Mr Horrox's exercises are the  
' very same, he intended, only by this addition we  
' shall see the progress of Horrox's endeavours, and  
' how he framed that in the rough which he after  
' mended, but left to his successors to polish and per-  
' fect. I have spent my spare hours of late in cor-  
' recting Kepler's numbers in the planet Mars, so as  
' they may represent my observations which I think  
' they will do very accurately, I mean those of Sep-  
' tember last, which I made for finding his parallax  
' and the sun's. To make them fit all others is im-  
' possible, by reason that the places of the fixed stars  
' are erroneously sometimes stated by Tycho. But if  
' we should once be so happy as to have them restored  
' by telescope observations on large instruments as  
' Tycho's, I should not doubt in a short time to frame  
' numbers that should represent all the celestial ap-  
' pearances at least of one age, and perhaps, the next  
' very exactly. What I have done, I think will fit all  
' observations as well as any, but my great desire is  
' to have them represent my own well, which being  
' made with larger and more accurate instruments than  
' were ever used before Mr Townley's time, must  
' needs be more exact than any before his. I hoped  
' to

him to Mr Jonas Moore, who presented him with Mr Townley's micrometer, and undertook to procure him glasses for a telescope at a moderate rate. At Cambridge he visited Dr Isaac Barrow, and Mr Isaac Newton, and Dr Wroe, then Fellow of Jesus-college there, with whom he corresponded frequently for the four following years. He also entered himself a Student of Jesus-college. In the Spring of the year 1672 he excerpted several observations from Mr Gascoigne's and Mr Crabtree's letters, which had not been made publick, and which he translated into Latin. He finished the transcript of Mr Gascoigne's papers May 12, 1672. Amongst that Gentleman's letters he found some, in which Mr Gascoigne shewed how the images of remote objects were formed in the distinct base of a convex object glass. From these our author got his Dioptrics in a few hours, having read Des Cartes's Dioptrics before, but learned little from them, because Des Cartes discourses not of this subject, his main business being to shew, how, by elliptical or hyperbolar glasses, all the rays of light which fall on the object parallel to the axis, may be collected into one point of the image in the distinct base, supposing all the rays of light of the same species, and liable to the same law of refraction, which yet Mr Isaac Newton has demonstrated they were not, by many experiments published in this year's Philosophical Transactions. 'And this, says our author, is the only thing that I can perceive, for which Des Cartes's Dioptrics have been so celebrated.' The spare hours of the remaining part of the year 1672, were employed in his observations as the weather

'to have had many accurate observations this spring of all the planets, but the clouded Heavens have almost constantly deprived me of my foreseen opportunities in all but Jupiter, of whom what I have observed Mr Oldenburgh can now inform you.'

In his letter dated at Derby, July the 7th, 1673, he writes thus. 'I wrote to you about a week agoe. — I might have informed you in my last, that after I had discovered the sun's distance in September last, to be near 21000 semidiameters, I place it just so much in perigeo, then will his parallax be just  $9'' 82$ , which is precise the hundredth part of the sun's semidiameter there *i. e.*  $16' 22''$ ; so that I find the earth is but the millioneth part of the sun. This caused me to think of putting it in a problem, which I did to puzzle some boasting pretenders to skill. Thus the sun's distance from the earth is 21000 of the earth's semidiameters, whose body is but the  $\frac{1}{1000000}$  part of the sun. *Quere, What is the sun's diameter.'*

In his letter dated at Derby, July the twenty sixth, 1673, he writes thus. 'Thursday last I received a letter from Mr Gregory about the Scotch observatory and instruments. I had written a good way of an answer, but when I came to describe my new micrometer, I find my papers in which I had described it removed. I have not time to search for it at present, and am on Monday next to go some thirty miles from home, but shall return within three days, God willing. After, I shall search for my papers, and return him an answer in the mean time. Yesterday I wrote to Mr Townley to send you his advice, and think it convenient you would visit Sir Jonas Moore, who has one of Mr Townley's micrometers, which Mr Gregory may there see fitted to the tube better, if I mistake not, than by Mr Hook's.'

In his letter dated at Derby, August the twentieth, 1673, he writes thus. 'If Vlac's canon would be had for a crown or a noble, I should be glad of it, but I cannot go beyond that rate, for my father takes notice of my expences, and I am at the outside of my allowance. I have more than half finished my Hecker, for so I call my Ephemeris, and after the next week hope to get time to conclude him, so that you may have him before Michaelmas. My service to Mr Gregory, if he be still in the city. I shall be glad to know what instruments and books he takes into Scotland with him.'

In his letter dated at Derby September the twentieth, 1673, he writes thus: 'This day I have received one from you, by which I understand you have found those tables of Vlac's I desired. — I am very well pleased with the news of Hugenius's treatise being come over, but more to hear of Cassini's book of refractions being expected. I am of his opinion that they ought to be continued to the zenith, because the refractive air reaches some height above our heads. But from Tycho's observations, such as I find in Ricciolus's *Aimageß*, and some late

'experiments of mine own, which I intend to repeat as soon as I can borrow a convenient room, I have good reason to think that he makes them too large a little in the horizon, and their decrease over flow, or themselves much too big in altitudes above thirty degrees. I shall shortly write to Mr Townley to engage him to make some such experiments as I have thought of, and perhaps if mine own succeed I shall in the mean time let you know the event of them. — I wish I could have any ways assisted Mr Sherburne's Catalogue (5) with particulars of Mr Gascoigne's Life, who I believe was the first that applied screws to telescopes. He made with them several curious observations *ab anno* 1638 to 1642. Such as could be found in his letters I have digested into a small book, with notes of my own to them where they were needful for my own use. But I fear we have lost many more, and that past hopes of recovery.'

In his letter dated at Derby December the 27th, 1673, he writes thus: 'Your's informs me of the reasons why my Ephemeris is not printed, with which I am very well satisfied. But if you have not already done it, I would not have you propose the printing it at the charges of the Royal Society, lest they lose by it, to whom I am so much already obliged for their respects, that I desire not to be made their further debtor. As for Mr Gregory, after I wrote the letter to him with the description of the micrometer in it, I never heard any thing from him, and therefore forbore to write, supposing he would, if desirous to have any correspondence with me, have given me an occasion to continue it by some answer to mine. I desire to know from you what instruments he took into Scotland. If he desire any intercourse of letters, if he please to give me a good occasion, he shall ever find me ready to satisfy and comply with his desires.'

There is another letter of his from Derby, but without any date, in which he writes thus: 'I intend to send you my Hecker, which I hope to finish either this day or to morrow. If that my father's affairs had not pressed me extraordinarily, I had long since finished it, but hope now will be soon enough. I find a table of the equation of natural days in Hugenius's piece seemingly much different from mine, from which it keeps a constant distance of about fourteen minutes of time, which that ingenious person has so contrived, that the equation may always be of the same species. I doubt not but that though it be seemingly different, I shall find it, on further examination, to agree exactly with ours, but not fit to be applied to astronomical calculations, or any experiments but those about his watches; but of these more hereafter. In the mean time, when you find an opportunity to write to me again, I shall be glad to know what Mr Gregory has done in reference to the instruments he was about procuring, and what is the opinion about my alteration of Mr Townley's micrometer.'

(5) Subjoined to his version of Manilius.

(d) See the article of NEWTON (Sir ISAAC).

(e) See this point explained in note [G].

(f) Life of the late Lord Keeper Guilford, by Roger North, Esq; p. 236.

(g) Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 337.

weather permitted, and in preparing advertisements of the appulses of the moon and planets to the fixed stars, for the following year, which were printed by Mr Oldenburgh in the Philosophical Transactions, and some observations of the planets which Mr Flamsteed imparted to him (d). In 1673 he wrote a small tract in English, concerning the true diameters of all the planets, and their visible diameters when at their nearest distances from the earth, or their greatest removes from it, which I lent, says he, to Mr Newton in 1685, who has made use of it in the fourth book of his *Principia*. By Mr Oldenburgh's means he exchanged some letters with Monsieur Cassini. In 1673-4, besides his usual task, he wrote an Ephemeris, in which he shewed the falsity of Astrology, and the ignorance of those who pretended to it, and gave a table of the moon's rising and setting carefully calculated, together with the eclipses and appulses of the moon and planets to the fixed stars. This fell into the hands of Sir Jonas Moore, for whom, at his request, Mr Flamsteed made a table of the moon's true southings for that year, from which, and Mr Philips's Theory of the Tides, the high-waters being made, he found that they shewed the times of the turn of the tides very near, whereas the ordinary seamens coarse rules would err sometimes two or three hours (e). In the summer of the year 1674, our author passing through London in the way to Cambridge, Sir Jonas Moore informed him that a true account of the tides would be highly acceptable to his Majesty, and offered the help of his servant to make the table, or any other work of the like nature. Upon this they resolved to compose a small Ephemeris for the King's use, which was in good part finished before Midsummer, but not compleated till near Christmas after, by reason of Mr Flamsteed's return to Derby about Michaelmas. Sir Jonas had heard him often discourse of the weather-glass or Barometer, and the certainty of judging of the weather by it. Mr Townley having communicated to our author his observations and the rules deduced from them, Mr Flamsteed set up a barometer at Derby, where, for three years together before this, he had noted, thrice a day commonly, the height of the mercury in the barometer, and of a tinged spirit in the thermometer, and found, considering the different situation, that Mr Townley's remarks agreed very well with his, which were, That upon every sinking of the mercury the air was more moved, and that either wind or rain followed, not the same day always, but one, two, three, or four days after, according to the time and height it had been stationary at. Something of this had been noted by Mr Boyle but not prosecuted, by reason that the daily watching it's motions and noting them, was thought perhaps a trouble which such a trifling subject as the weather did not deserve. But now, at Sir Jonas Moore's request, Mr Flamsteed set up for him a pair of these glasses, and left him materials for making more. It had been long settled fair weather when Mr Flamsteed left London, soon after which the mercury in the glasses began to sink, but no rain followed till the fourth or fifth day after. This made Sir Jonas esteem the glasses and rules very much, of which informing the King and Duke of York, he was ordered to prepare them the next day, which he did, together with Mr Flamsteed's directions for judging of the weather from their rising or falling. Sir Jonas had shewed the King and Duke our author's telescopes and micrometer before, and whenever he acquainted them with any thing which he had gathered from Mr Flamsteed's discourse, he told them frankly from whom he had it, and recommended him to the Nobility and Gentlemen about the Court (f). Mr Flamsteed having taken his degree of Master of Arts at Cambridge, designed to enter into Orders, and to settle in a small living near Derby, which was in the gift of a friend of his father's, and therefore went to Okeham in order to proceed to Peterborough at Christmas, but it happened that there was no ordination there. In the mean time Sir Jonas Moore having been informed of his design, wrote to him to come to London, upon which he returned thither in the beginning of February 1674-5, and was entertained in the house of that Gentleman, who designed an employment for him, wherein Mr Flamsteed might have been assistant to his son, for whom Sir Jonas had procured the reversion of his place, which, though in nothing like his father, he enjoyed for the few years he lived. But Sir Jonas finding Mr Flamsteed persist in his resolution to take Orders, and that his son's temper was such as would make him as uneasy as himself, he did not continue to dissuade him from his intent. March the fourth following he brought Mr Flamsteed a warrant to be the King's Astronomer, with the salary of an hundred pounds *per annum*, payable out of the Office of Ordnance, to commence from the Michaelmas preceding (g). The Easter following our author was ordained at Ely house by Bishop Gunning, who ever after conversed freely with him, and particularly upon the new Philosophy and opinions, though that Prelate had always maintained the old. August the 10th, 1675, the foundation was laid of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich [E].

While

[E] *Of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich* Between the time of Mr Flamsteed's coming up to London in February, and the Easter following, an accident happened which hastened, if not occasioned, the building of the Observatory. The Sieur de St Pierre, a Frenchman who had some small skill in Astronomy, and made an interest with the Duchefs of Portsmouth, proposed no less than the discovery of the longitude,

and procured a kind of commission from King Charles the Second to the Lord Brouncker, Dr Seth Ward Bishop of Sarum, Dr Christopher Wren, Sir Charles Scarborough, Sir Jonas Moore, Col. Titus, Dr Pell, Sir Robert Murray, Mr Hook, and some other ingenious persons about the town and Court, to receive his proposals, with power to elect and receive into their numbers any other skilful persons, and to give the King

While it was building Mr Flamsteed resided at the place last mentioned, his quadrant and telescopes being kept in the Queen's house; there he observed with them the appulses of the moon and planets to the fixed stars. In 1681 his DOCTRINE OF THE SPHERE [F] was

was

King an account of them, with their opinion. Sir Jonas Moore carried Mr Flamsteed to one of their meetings, where he was chosen into their number. The Frenchman's proposals were then read, which were, I. To have the year and day of the observations. II. The height of two stars, and on which side of the meridian they appeared. III. The height of the moon's two limbs. IV. The height of the pole. All of them to degrees and minutes. It was easy to perceive from these demands, that the Sieur de St Pierre knew not that the best Lunar Tables differed from the heavens, and that therefore his demands were not sufficient for determining the longitude of the place where such observations were or should be made, from that to which the Lunar Tables were fitted. This Mr Flamsteed immediately represented to the company. But they, considering the interest of his patroness at Court, desired to have the Sieur de St Pierre furnished according to his demands. Mr Flamsteed undertook it, and having gained the moon's true place by observations made at Derby, Feb. 23, 1672, and November 12, 1673, gave him observations such as he demanded. The Sieur de St Pierre did not think that they could have been given him, but answered that they were feigned. Mr Flamsteed delivered them to Dr Pell Feb. 19, 1674-5, who returning him his answer some time after, Mr Flamsteed wrote a letter in English to the Commissioners, and another in Latin to the Sieur de St Pierre, to assure him that they were not feigned, and to shew that if they had been so, yet if we had Astronomical Tables which would give us the true places of the fixed stars, and moon's true places, both in longitude and latitude nearer than to half a minute, we might hope to find the longitude of places by lunar observations, but not by such as he demanded; but that we were so far from having the places of the fixed stars true, that the Tychoic Catalogues often erred ten minutes or more; that they were uncertain to three or four minutes, by reason that Tycho affirmed a faulty obliquity of the ecliptic, and had employed only plain sights in his observations; that the best Lunar Tables differed  $\frac{1}{4}$  if not  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a degree from the Heavens; and, lastly, that he might have learned better methods than he proposed from his countryman Morinus, whom it was proper to consult before he made any more demands of this nature. Mr Flamsteed heard no more of the Sieur de St Pierre after this, but was informed that his letters being shewn King Charles the Second, he was startled at the assertion of the places of the fixed stars being false in the Catalogues, and said with some vehemence, *That he must have them anew observed, examined, and corrected, for the use of his seamen.* And further, when it was urged to him how necessary it was to have a good stock of observations taken for correcting the motions of the moon and planets, with the same earnestness he declared, *That he must have it done;* and being asked, Who could or should do it? replied, *The person that informs you of them.* Upon this Mr Flamsteed was appointed, with the allowance abovementioned, and assurances, at the same time, of such further additions as should be found requisite for carrying on the work. The next point to be thought of, was a place to fix in. Several were proposed, as Hyde Park and Chelsea College. Mr Flamsteed went to view the ruins of the latter, and judged it might serve the purpose, and the better because it was near the Court. Sir Jonas Moore enclined to Hyde Park; but Dr Christopher Wren mentioning Greenwich, it was resolved on. The King allowed five hundred pounds in money, with bricks from Tilbury Fort, where there was a spare stock, and some wood, iron, and lead, from a gatehouse demolished in the Tower, and promised to grant what more should be necessary.

[F] *His Doctrine of the Sphere.*] In the preface he observes, that, in this treatise, he has shewn how all the diurnal appearances of the sun and stars are naturally made, and how, laying aside all those old projections of the sphere which falsely suppose the earth's stability, they may be represented, and the problems concerning them answered, by new ones grounded on

that true system of the world, which supposes the annual and diurnal motions of the earth, proposed at first by Pythagoras, asserted by Copernicus, demonstrated by Kepler, and, as most agreeable to reason and experience, approved and entertained by the ablest Astronomers of our times. He tells us, that, in the second part, he has taught how to find within what space of the earth the solar eclipse is visible, and where the principal phases appear by calculation, as also how all the requisites of the same eclipse may be found for any given place, without the calculation of parallaxes; which useful invention, says he, having never appeared in publick before, I find myself obliged to give the following account of it's original, that I may not hereafter be accused of injustice to two of my singular good friends, the admirably ingenious Sir Christopher Wren, Master Surveyor of his Majesty's buildings, and our southern Tycho, Mr Edmund Halley. It was in the winter of the year 1676, that Mr Flamsteed lighted upon this method. The autumn before some spots had appeared in the sun, and then he was observing a compact one that made more than two entire revolutions before it was wholly extinct. Examining his observations to find the reason of their different appearances, he collected from them that the spots adhered to the superficies, and that they were carried round his centre once in twenty-five days and a quarter, the northern half of that axis on which this revolution was performed being inclined about eight degrees to the plane of the ecliptic, between the twelfth and eighteenth degrees of Virgo, which being concluded, he found that allowing what alterations must necessarily happen in their appearances by reason of the earth's diurnal progress in her orbit, all his observations would be represented as nearly as he could expect. And now having seen how the poles, axis, equator, and parallels in the sun, altered their appearances to the eye placed on the earth, according as she changed her place in her orbit, and 'being ill of the stone, that he might have some thing to think of besides his pains,' he set himself to consider how the axis of the earth, and the several paths and parallels imagined on it, would appear from the sun, and how the diurnal phenomena would be represented by an orthographical projection of our globe on a plane, standing at right angles to the ecliptic, and the line connecting the centers of the sun and earth. Here he found what he has delivered in the first section of his treatise of the Doctrine of the Sphere, *viz.* how the parallaxes of altitude, longitude, and latitude, were made and given by construction; and upon a little farther consideration, how the times of any appearance of a solar eclipse, the part then darkened, with the inclination of the cusps, might be determined without any calculation of them, by the help of projection. Much pleased with this discovery, he immediately constructed an eclipse which he had observed at Derby, October 25, 1668, and, with a brief description of the method, transmitted it to his kind friend and patron Sir Jonas Moore, by whom it was communicated to the Royal Society at one of their meetings. It happened that Sir Christopher Wren was there present, who having viewed the figure only, told Sir Jonas, that himself had known the same method sixteen years before, and, to assure him of it, sent him soon after a like projection neatly drawn on pastboard, and fitted with several ingenious contrivances of numbers and scales, for the construction of solar eclipses in our latitude. This Sir Jonas brought to Mr Flamsteed, then labouring under some distempers, to Greenwich, whereby the latter was satisfied, that the honour of the first discovery of this useful invention was absolutely due to Sir Christopher Wren, whom, of all mortals, he believed to have been the first who knew how to find the times of the beginning, middle, digits then darkened, inclination of the cusps at any phasis, and end of a solar eclipse, without the calculation of parallaxes. In some discourse which our author had with Mr Halley, before he went to observe the southern constellations at St Helena, the latter mentioned the construction of eclipses (6) as possible, but, out of a tender affection, says Mr Flamsteed, to his own in-

(6) This shews somewhat of dissimule to Captain Halley, but they were afterwards good friends.

(b) The title of this most useful and excellent work runs thus: *The Doctrine of the Sphere grounded on the Motion of the Earth, and the ancient Pythagorean or Copernican System of the World. In two Parts.* Lond. 1680, 4<sup>to</sup>.

(i) Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford, by Roger North, Esq; p. 286. Aubrey's Antiqu. of Surry.

(k) Some instances of which have been made publick.

was published in a posthumous work of Sir Jonas Moore (b). We may expect a new and accurate edition of this treatise of Mr Flamsteed, with a great many alterations and additions by him, from the very ingenious Mr James Hodgson, F. R. S. About the year 1684 he was presented to the living of Burfrow near Blechingley in Surry (i), which he enjoyed during his life. It appears from hence that he was but very moderately provided for, and yet it seems to have contented him, for notwithstanding he had a warm and aspiring mind, yet this discovered itself only in the pursuit of knowledge, which, like all other violent passions, occupied him in a manner entirely, and, by withdrawing his thoughts from ordinary considerations, enabled him to give the publick so many, and those such incontestible, marks of true genius. As these raised him to the notice of the world, and recommended him to the royal favour and protection; so they likewise procured him the friendship and confidence of some of the greatest persons in point of science this nation could boast, such as the incomparable Sir Isaac Newton, who corresponded with him from 1680 to 1699; Dr Edmund Halley, William Molyneux of Dublin, Esq; (k), Dr John Wallis, and several others; and of the celebrated M. Cassini, for which indeed he was fitted by nature, as being himself very communicative, and blessed with so much candour and justice, that none of his correspondents ran the least hazard from their making him acquainted with their discoveries. He was also exceedingly ready to give any assistance in his power for facilitating the studies of his friends, and took as much pleasure in contributing to the reputation of others, as some do in lessening the fame of their rivals that they may exalt their own. He shewed the same indefatigable assiduity in the prosecution of his labours for the improvement of Astronomy after this moderate provision was made for him—that he did before, the Philosophical Transactions affording such clear evidences of his activity and diligence, as well as of his penetration and exactness, as must fully satisfy any candid enquirer of the truth of this assertion [G]. He spent the latter, as he had

ventions, or for what other reason I know not, he was pleased to conceal his method both from me, who then thought it scarce possible, and for ought I can understand from all others. Nor is it to be wondered at, that three of us should make this discovery severally, and without any intimation of the method from each other. For to me it seems very unlikely, that any one who admits the motion of the earth, and apprehends how the moon passing between the sun and it, eclipses some part of him to all those people who lie under its passage should ever miss of it. But we might rather admire, had I not intimated the reason of it in the fifth section of the second part, that the acute wit of the sagacious Kepler should overlook it, when he had discovered the method of finding by calculation, within what spaces on our globe the solar eclipse is bounded, and where the principal phases of it would appear. Mr Flamsteed then tells us, that he had almost finished what he had here delivered concerning the construction of eclipses, when it was intimated to him by his ingenious friend Mr Perkins, that there was little extant in the English tongue concerning the general method of calculation above mentioned, and that therefore he might do well to explain it. He considered then, that this might be performed more easily than is taught by the first famous inventor, and without his nonagesimary table. Waving therefore his first intent, which was not to engage himself in any thing which had been expressly handled by others before him, he thought it necessary to undertake this further task, and accordingly wrote the precepts relating to that subject after, tho' for method's sake they are inserted before the construction of the solar eclipse. He observes likewise that in 1670, he first published predictions of the moon's appulses to fixed stars, which he continued eight years after successively, first in the Philosophical Transactions, after in the royal Almanack, proposing them as an useful and the most practicable expedient for finding the longitude or difference of meridians betwixt any two places, by reason both of their frequency, and that a single person might obtain whatever is required in observations of them, with a small apparatus of instruments. But the calculation of parallaxes required in their application caused them to be less regarded than he hoped they would have been. He has therefore shewn how this tedious labour may be avoided, and the occultation or emersion of a star from the moon, or time of its visible conjunction with the center and distance, then from her next limb, may be found by construction as the phases of a solar eclipse, and the difference of meridians betwixt two distant places by observations of the same appulse made at each. And now, says he, the main difficulty

being removed, I would again recommend this method to the study and practice of the ingenious Astronomer and Navigator.

[G] *Of the truth of this assertion.* We find before the close of the year 1675, a large and accurate account of a lunar eclipse, December the twenty first, observed by our author, and communicated by him to Sir Jonas Moore in a letter from Greenwich, December the 24th (7). This paper, written in Latin, being communicated to the famous Signior Cassini, he sent over also his observations, with some remarks upon those of Mr Flamsteed; in which he pays very high complements to that gentleman, in respect as well to his diligence and accuracy, as to his great skill and learning (8). Upon this Mr Flamsteed wrote him a short letter, in which are contained some very curious celestial observations. Our author published likewise a very copious and clear account of the eclipse of the sun, June the twenty third, 1676, to which he added also the account sent him by Mr Townley and Mr Halton, in the succeeding months of July and August. Himself at Greenwich, and Dr Edmund Halley at Oxford, observed some spots in the sun very carefully, and published both their observations (9). On the twenty first of August the same year he observed, and published, an occultation of the planet Mars by the Moon, for the benefit of such as were desirous of settling thereby the difference of meridians (10). May the 18th, 1677, he observed a comet very carefully, of which he gave an account by a letter to Mr Oldenburgh. Upon the interruption of the Philosophical Transactions, he sent a most accurate account of his observation of an eclipse of the moon, August the eighteenth, 1681, at Greenwich to Dr Hook (11), to whom he likewise communicated some observations upon tides, the practical knowledge of which with any tolerable degree of accuracy we owe entirely to his labours, as appears from the following account annexed to his tide table for the year 1683 (12). 'Sir, considering how much the river of Thames is frequented by shipping, and how long it has been the chief place of commerce in these parts of the world, one would think our seamens accounts of its tides should be very exact, and their opinions concerning them rational; whereas if they be enquired into, nothing will be found more erroneous and idle.

'For they taking notice that the high waters at, and near, the new and full moons, run an hour and a half or two points of the compass longer than at the quarters, conclude generally that 'tis the inconstancy of the winds that causes it, never considering how improbable it is that so inconstant and changeable a cause, should effect so constant an inequality.

'In

(7) Philosoph. Transactions, No. 121.

(8) These are also printed in the Transactions.

(9) Ib. No. 127.

(10) Ib. No. 134.

(11) Hook's Philosophical Collections, No. 3.

(12) Philosoph. Transact. No. 143.

had done the former, part of his life, in promoting true and useful knowledge, by the constant exercise of his own great abilities, and by taking all possible methods to obtain whatever lights the endeavours of others might afford him. In the latter end of the month of December, 1719, he was seized with a strangury, which brought him to his end on the last day of the same month and year (1). He left a widow behind him by whom he had no children. His *Historia Cælestis Britannica* was published at London in 1725, in three volumes folio, and dedicated to the King, by his widow Mrs Margaret Flamsteed and Mr James Hodgson; great part of this work was printed off before his death, and the rest compleated, except the Prolegomena prefixed to the third volume. In the Preface we are informed, that, in 1704, he having communicated by a friend an account of his collection of observations to the Royal Society, they were so highly pleased with it, that

(1) Historical Register, Vol. V. in the Diary,

‘ In which opinion the tide tables of our Almanacks have contributed much to confirm them, for therein the moon’s age is got by the epacts, thence the time of her southing by the allowance of forty eight minutes of time for every day’s age, as if her diurnal motions and returns to the meridian were altogether equable, than which nothing is more false; and then the time of the high water at London Bridge is made by adding three hours to the time of her southing so got, as if there were the same constant space of time betwixt the moon’s southing and the high waters, which by this means are often made two hours different from truth and experience.

‘ To amend this fault, some of the more skilful have calculated the times of the moon’s southings exactly, and then made their tide tables by adding three hours constantly to them, by which means they agreed nearer with experience at the spring tides, or near the new and full moon, yet they erred not much less than by the old way of account they would have done at the quarters or in the neap tides, the inequality of the tides being above double to the error committed in finding the moon’s southings by her age.

‘ Mr Booker was the first that gave any directions for the amendment of this reckoning, and that was only to subtract an hour from the times in his tide table about the first and last quarters of the moon, because the neap tides did not flow so long as the springs by one point of the compass. But Mr Henry Phillips, a person well known by his works of navigation, was certainly the first that brought the inequality to a rule, whose theory of the tides, and a table grounded on it for the year 1668, was printed in Mr Oldenburgh’s *Philosophical Transactions* for the month of April that year, numb. 34. which was found much more conformable to experience than was expected.

‘ Having frequent occasion to pass betwixt London and Greenwich by water some two years ago, I took notice that the tides seldom held out so long as Mr Phillips’s calculation gave them; and therefore in the months of October and November, I began to observe them more diligently, and procured them to be carefully noted by an ingenious friend at Tower wharf. From these observations I raised a correction of Mr Phillips’s numbers, and caused a tide table to be made agreeable to it, which was printed by Mr Hook in his *Philosophical Collections* numb. 4.

‘ But the weather then proving stormy and unseasonable, I durst not rely on those observations nor that correction, and therefore in the spring and summer months following of the year 1682, I set to observe them again; and with the help of my friends and servants, I noted the times of above eighty high waters at Tower-wharf and Greenwich, whereby I found that the greatest and least differences betwixt the moon’s true southing and the high waters, were not as Mr Phillips had placed them at the full or new and quarter moons, but the greatest nearer to the neaps, the least to the highest spring tides. I found also that the inequality was not the same that he had made of it, and after a trial or two, that I could represent and answer above six hundred of these observations, with less than one quarter of an hour’s difference, which, considering how difficult it is to determine the time of an high water exactly, I cannot but esteem a very good agreement.

‘ Hitherto, our tide tables have only shewed the

‘ time of that one high water which next follows the moon’s southing, but in this new table I have given the times of both; concerning which I desire it may be noted, that when by reason of great droughts in summer, or extreme frosts in winter, the springs are low, and the fresh waters less than usual, the tides may hold up longer than the times noted in the table; as also when strong north-westerly or northerly winds blow, which bring in an extraordinary flood from the northern seas and keep it up longer than other times.

‘ So, on the contrary, when the winds blow hard on the opposite points of the compass, or when we have much rain and great freshes, the tides hold out not so long as the times shewed in the table, the freshes over-powering and checking them sooner. Yet have I never found that the differences betwixt the calculated and observed high waters have much exceeded half an hour; most commonly they are scarce half so much.

‘ This table may be reduced, and made to serve for any other port of his Majesty’s dominions or neighbouring countries, by only subtracting or adding so much time to the high water noted in it, as the high water observed in the said place, shall be found to precede or follow the time of the high water the same day herein noted. For by such accounts as I have met with and received of the tides in remote places, I find there is every where about England the same difference betwixt the spring and neap tides, that is here observed in the river of Thames.

‘ I could easily have made and given you a table for this reduction, if I durst have relied on the account our mariners give of the tides in other ports; but I find their opinions different, except where they have copied from one another in their Kalendars, by reason of the aforementioned difference betwixt the times of the moon’s southings and the true high waters, for which reason I forbear it till further experience shall have informed us better.

He continued to publish tables of the like nature, with continual improvements for many years together. We have chosen this familiar instance, that every reader might have it in his power to judge of the nature of Mr Flamsteed’s enquiries, and of the value of his improvements. He took the same method in respect to things of a superior nature, his discoveries end always at something useful; and when he had once found errors in the common schemes of computation, he never left examining, searching, and comparing, till he found the source of the error, and was able to point out the surest and speediest way of investigating the truth.

It would be tedious and trifling to give the heads of almost numberless papers, addressed by our author himself to the Secretaries of the Royal Society, or communicated to them by him from others. Let it suffice that through a long course of years Mr Flamsteed was never deficient in sending his excellent remarks, which were of greater use in promoting the progress of that science to which he applied, than the compass of a note will afford us by any means the power of describing; so that the goodness of his royal master in erecting that post he so worthily filled, and his choice of so able, so indefatigable, and so communicative, a man to discharge it, were equally conspicuous. How far he pushed his enquiries, and to what a bulk his learned labours swelled by degrees, the reader will learn in the next note.

[H] And

that they recommended the work to his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, who ordered Francis Roberts, Esq; Sir Christopher Wren, Sir Isaac Newton, Dr David Gregory, and Dr John Arbuthnot, to inspect Mr Flamsteed's papers, and accordingly a report was made in their favour. Upon this, ninety-seven sheets were printed at the Prince's expence before his death, after which the remainder was published at the charge of our author and his executors, and will prove a noble and lasting monument to his memory <sup>(m)</sup> [H]. How great his reputation was, even in his life-time, appears from what has been already said, and may be rendered still more so, from the testimony of many eminent persons, of which some notice will be taken at the bottom of the page <sup>(n)</sup> [I].

<sup>(m)</sup> It is apparent from hence, that this excellent Mathematician never remitted of his industry so long as he had strength.

<sup>(n)</sup> Institutions Newtoniennes, ou Introduction a la Philosophie de M. Newton. Par M. Sigorne. Pref. p. 17, 18.

He

[H] *And will prove a noble and lasting monument to his memory.*] The first volume contains the observations of Mr William Gascoigne, the first inventor of the way of measuring angles in a telescope by the help of screws, and the first who applied telescopic sights to astronomical instruments taken at Middleton near Leeds in Yorkshire, betwixt the years 1638, and 1643, collected from his letters to Mr Crabtree, with some of Mr Crabtree's observations of the same year; as also observations of the sun's and moon's diameters, configurations, and elongations of Jupiter's satellites from him, small distances of fixed stars, with appulses of the moon and planets to them, observed with a telescope and micrometer at Derby by Mr Flamsteed, betwixt the years 1670, and 1675, with the larger intermutual distances of fixed stars, and of the planets from them; eclipses of the sun, moon, and Jupiter's satellites, spots on the sun, comets, and refractions, taken with a sextant of near seven foot Radius, a voluble quadrant, and the abovementioned instruments, betwixt the years 1675 and 1689, at the Royal Observatory; ranked under proper heads; with the places of the Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, deduced from the observations; and also necessary tables to be used with them. The second volume contains his observations made with a mural arch of near seven foot Radius, and 140 degrees, on the limb of the meridional zenith, distances of the fixed stars, sun, moon, and other planets, with the time of their transits over the meridian; together with observations of the sun's and moon's diameters, eclipses of the sun, moon, and Jupiter's satellites, variations of the compass, from 1689, to the end of the year 1719, &c. tables shewing how to render the calculation of the stars and planets places, from the observations, easy and expeditious; to which are added the places of the moon (at the oppositions, quadratures, and on her limits, &c.) and the places of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, derived from the abovementioned observations. The third volume contains a catalogue of the right ascensions, distances from the pole, longitudes and magnitudes, of near three thousand fixed stars, with variations of their right ascensions and distances from the pole, whilst they change their longitudes one degree, whereby the right ascensions and distances from the pole of the stars and planets being given, their longitudes and latitudes may be found by inspection. To this volume is prefixed a very large preface, containing an account of all the astronomical observations made before his own time, with a description of the instruments made use of, as also an account of his own observations and instruments, together with a new Latin version of Ptolomy's catalogue of 1026 fixed stars, from the Greek and Uleg-beigs places annexed on the Latin page, with the corrections, small catalogues of the Arabs, Tycho Brahe's of about 780 fixed stars in a proper order, the Landgrave of Hesse's of 386, Hevelius's of 1534, in a proper order; a catalogue of some of the southern fixed stars not visible in our hemisphere, reduced to right ascension, distance from the pole, longitude and latitude, with variations of right ascensions and distances from the pole, calculated from observations made by Dr Halley at St Helena, and Mr Flamsteed's stars places, and fitted to the year 1726.

[I] *At the bottom of the page.*] The merit of Mr Flamsteed, as an Astronomer, would be but very indifferently supported by producing general characters of him from historical or biographical writers, little known or distinguished in the world for their skill in that science: we will therefore present the reader with testimonies of another kind, that is, from such as were themselves eminent for their knowledge in Astronomy, who could not therefore be deceived, and who out of

regard to their own reputation would never attempt to deceive others. Mr Stephen Gray in a letter of his dated from Canterbury, May the fifth 1701, describing a very ingenious instrument invented by him for drawing a true meridian line by the pole star (13), and also for finding the hour of the day or night by the same, has the following passage. 'That most learned, accurate, and judicious Astronomer, Mr John Flamsteed, Mat. Reg. and F. R. S. has lately discovered that there is a parallax of the earth's annual orbit at the pole star, of about forty or forty five seconds, whereby the diameter of the star's parallel is greater in June than in December, by about 1 minute 2 seconds, which he has evinced from seven years successive observations, whereby the earth's motion is indubitably demonstrated, as appears from his learned letter to Dr Wallis on that subject. Now if on the edge of this index there be drawn a scale of degrees, minutes, and seconds, to the Radius of the glass, we shall not only have a very accurate instrument for the hour, but be furnished with one whereby we shall see the truth of the earth's motion confirmed by the access and recess of our star, towards and from the pole, according to the earth's place in the ecliptick, as that learned person abovementioned has discovered, and that not only when the star transits the meridian, but in clear air at any time of the day, one shall likewise observe that annual increase of the pole star's declination caused by the procession of the equinox. My own observations assure me, that the pole star may be seen in the day time with a telescope of sixteen foot, for with one of this length I saw that star on the 26th of April, this present year 1701, from four o' clock in the morning till seven, and could have seen it longer had not clouds interposed; and again the first of May, I did not look for the star till the sun had been up more than half an hour, viz. at five in the morning, yet I soon found it and saw it afterwards as oft as I pleased, till half an hour after nine the same morning; so that I doubt not this star may be seen in a clear day throughout the whole year.' The very learned Dr William Wotton (14), who was a person of universal knowledge, produces the labours and discoveries of Mr Flamsteed to prove, that the antient Astronomy was not at all comparable to the modern; or, which is the same thing, that modern Astronomers have far surpassed the antients in point of accuracy, as well as extensiveness in their observations. 'Galileo Galilei, says he, was the first who discovered four planets moving constantly round Jupiter, from thence usually called his satellites, which afterwards were observed to have a constant, regular, and periodical motion. This motion is now so exactly known, that Mr Flamsteed, who is one of the most accurate observers that ever was, has been able to calculate tables of the eclipses of the several satellites, according to which, Astronomers in different quarters of the world, having notice of the precise time when to look for them, have found them to answer to his predictions, and published their observations accordingly. This is an effectual answer to all that rhapsody which Stubbe has collected in his brutal answer to Mr Glanville's *Plus ultra*, about the uncertainty of all observations made by telescopes; since it is impossible to calculate the duration of any motion justly, by fallacious and uncertain methods. By the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, longitudes would soon be exactly determined, if tubes of any length could be managed at sea.' That ingenious and intelligent Mathematician, William Molyneux, Esq; of Dublin, gives our author a very high character and mentions several testimonies of his friendship. Dr Edmund Halley, in a parallel drawn by him,

(13) Philosoph. Transact. No. 270. p. 817, 818.

(14) Reflexions upon Ancient and Modern Learning, p. 175.

He was succeeded in his post of Astronomer Royal by the late learned and ingenious Dr Edmund Halley, though the Reverend Mr William Whiston, as he has informed us, made some application during the vacancy, in which, though not successful, he was not much disappointed (o). There has been, while this article was in the press, a short pamphlet of our author's published (p), being indeed no more than the copy of a letter to a gentleman at Turin in Piedmont, dated April 10, 1693, in relation to the dreadful earthquakes that had done so much mischief the year before in Jamaica and Sicily, and had been, though but slightly, felt here. Our author does not seem to have employed much time in the consideration of this difficult subject; he collects from these circumstances, viz. That earthquakes always happen in calm seasons; that a small hollow noise in the air precedes them; that they are felt at sea as well as on shore; that sometimes they shake a whole country at once, sometimes only a very small part, and that gradually; that they are frequently attended with eruptions; that the upper stories of houses are more affected than the lower; and that some people are made sick by the shock: that most of them are really occasioned by some tremor or explosion in our atmosphere, and he endeavours to shew how this will answer all the phenomena beforementioned. But in the end he admits, that some earthquakes may, indeed must, happen, from nitro-sulphureous vapours taking fire in the earth, being induced thereto from the consideration of what happened in Jamaica, Sicily, and other places. He expresses a very strong reluctance to the seeing this little work of his in print, for fear of cavils and disputes, which he seems to have abhorred as much as any man could, and which, in the present case, he took all imaginable pains to prevent. It had in all probability been buried in obscurity, but for the late melancholy accidents, which brought it first to the Bookseller's knowledge, and made it not improbable that it might be also acceptable to the publick. There are certainly in it some very just hints and useful observations, but it is too short, and too hastily written, considering the weight of the argument, to give that full satisfaction to an inquisitive and judicious reader, which the name of so great a man might lead him to expect. It may be very serviceable however to such as turn their thoughts this way, as it gives a fair and full instance of the true method of collecting the capital heads of an enquiry, that may conduct us in discovering,

(o) Memoirs of his own Life, p. 296.

(p) Printed for A. Miller in the Strand, 1750, 8vo.

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him, and who could draw it better? between the ancient Astronomers and the moderns discourses thus. ' Now in this science to compare the antients with the moderns, and so make a parallel as just as may be, I oppose the noble Tycho Brahe, or Hevelius, to Hipparchus, and John Kepler to Claudius Ptolemy, and I suppose no one acquainted with the stars will doubt, that the catalogue of the fixed stars made by Tycho Brahe above C years since, does beyond competition far excel that of Hipparchus, being commonly true to a minute or two, when the other many times fails half a degree both in longitude and latitude; and this is the fairlier carried, for that it was as easy for Hipparchus to observe the fixed stars, as for Tycho or Hevelius, had he made use of the same industry and instruments, the telescope, wherewith we now observe to the utmost possible nicety, being equally unknown to Tycho, as to Hipparchus, and not used by Hevelius. But what may justly be expected from Monsieur Cassini, and Mr Flamsteed in this matter, does yet further advance in preciseness as not capable to err half a minute, though made with instruments of the production of Gresham.' We are likewise told by that judicious Astronomer, Dr John Keil (15), ' That Mr Flamsteed, with indefatigable pains for more than forty years, watched the motions of the stars, and has given us innumerable observations of the sun, moon, and planets, which he made with very large instruments exactly divided by most exquisite art, and fitted with telescopical sights. Whence we are to rely more on the observations he hath made, than on those that went before him, who made their observations with the naked eye without the assistance of telescopes. The said Mr Flamsteed has likewise composed the British catalogue of the fixed stars, containing about three thousand stars, which is twice the number that are in the catalogue of Hevelius, to each of which he has annexed its longitude, latitude, right ascension, and distance from the pole, together with the variation of right ascension and declination, while the longitude increases a degree. This catalogue, together with most of his observations, is printed on a fine paper and character, at the expences (16), of the late Prince George of Denmark.' To all these authorities we will presume to add, that of a foreign writer of great eminence, M. Sigorne, Member of the Sorbonne, and Professor of Philosophy

in the University of Paris, who mentions the approbation of Mr Flamsteed (17), as the very seal of the Newtonian Philosophy, by which with respect to the system of the heavens, or rather of the heavenly bodies, it came to be esteemed certain and beyond all dispute. *Quant aux planettes principales, dit il, l'attraction seule du soleil doit les assujettir à decrire des ellipses, &c. that is,* ' With respect to the primary planets, the attraction of the sun only is sufficient to oblige them to describe ellipses, but as they ought also to attract each other, there was some room to apprehend that the regularity of their motion might be thereby somewhat disturbed. We ought, however, to take Sir Isaac Newton's word upon this head, since we shall presently see from what he has done, that there is no reason to be in pain upon this account; according to his observation, bodies attract each other in a direct proportion of the quantities of matter they contain, and the converse proportion of the squares of their distances, and in this proportion it is, that the planets affect each other. Now if the Newtonian Philosophy be true, there is a certain method of knowing the quantity of matter in the planets, and consequently of calculating the force of their impressions; such a calculation being made, it appears that Mars, our Earth, Venus, and Mercury, attract each other so little, in proportion to the force with which they are attracted by the sun, that the disorder arising from thence must be altogether imperceptible in many revolutions; and hence there appears a wonderful agreement between the principles of this philosophy and the phenomena. But this agreement appears still more clearly in what happens, with respect to Jupiter and to Saturn, the quantity of matter in Jupiter is so great, that the calculation demonstrates the effects of its attraction upon Saturn, ought to be very sensible in the time of their conjunction. Sir Isaac Newton predicted this to the Astronomers, Flamsteed and Halley, but the former of these great men gave no credit at all to that prediction. However, the conjunction of those two planets approaching, this singular observation was made for the first time, and the consequence was, that the calculation was exactly verified. This procured the Newtonian Philosophy the approbation of so great an Astronomer as Flamsteed, indeed it would have been very difficult for him to have denied it.' We might add much more of the same kind,

(17) Préface à la Institutions Newtoniens, p. xviii, xviii.

(15) In the Preface to his Introduction to the True Philosophy, p. xiii. xiv.

(16) This was true only in part.

so far as human reason is able to discover, the natural causes of such tremendous convulsions.

kind, but the design of this note being fully answered, by our having shewn how high the fame of Mr Fleetwood has risen, amongst the best judges both at home and abroad, we shall conclude.

E

FLEETWOOD (WILLIAM) a very eminent Lawyer, and Recorder of the city of London in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the son of Robert Fleetwood, who was the third son of William Fleetwood of Hesketh in the county palatine of Lancaster, Esq; and consequently descended of a very antient and worthy family (a). He had a liberal education, and was for some time a member of the university of Oxford, but whether of Brazen-Nose-college or of Broadgate-hall, is a point not now to be certainly determined; but of one of those two learned bodies he was (b). There being no intention of breeding him to Divinity, Civil Law, or Physick, he left the university without a degree, and went to London, where he was entered of the Middle-Temple (c), and having very quick natural parts, and, which rarely happens in the same person, wonderful diligence and application, he became in a short time a very distinguished man in his profession (d). In 1562 he was elected Summer-Reader of that house, and the very next year chose again; but however did not read (e), which it may be presumed was the reason, that, in 1568, he was elected Double Reader in Lent (f). His reputation was far from being confined to the Inns of Court, for it having been thought necessary to appoint Commissioners in the nature of a Royal Visitation in the dioceses of Oxford, Lincoln, Peterborough, Coventry and Lichfield, Mr Fleetwood was of that number (g). In 1569 he became Recorder of London, which was then held an employment of great credit and importance. It does not appear whether his interest with the Earl of Leicester procured him that place or not, but it is very certain that he was considered as a person entirely addicted to that Nobleman's service, and consequently one, who, in any case of necessity, could never want protection at Court (h). It was a very wise maxim in those times, *That every great transaction should have a colour of law*, and whenever any extraordinary measure was taken, the motives to it were so far from being kept secret, that the Queen took care that the whole world should be made acquainted with it, to prevent false rumours from gaining ground. Thus, in 1571, upon the commitment of the Duke of Norfolk for treasonable practices, the Recorder, Fleetwood, was directed to repair to the Guild-Hall (i), and there to declare in a proper manner to the Lord Mayor, his brethren the Aldermen, and the Commons, the nature of this conspiracy, and the danger to which the Queen and her government had been exposed, which he accordingly did, and acquitted himself with great reputation [A]. As in this, so in every thing else, he was extremely

(a) English Baronetage, Vol. 1. p. 196.

(b) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 261.

(c) Tanner. Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 286.

(d) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 261.

(e) Tanner's Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 286.

(f) E. Regist. Societat. Med. Templ.

(g) Strype's Annals, Vol. 1. p. 168.

(h) Leicester's Commonwealth. Leicester's Ghost.

(i) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 237.

[A] *And acquitted himself with great reputation.*

We have more than once, had occasion to speak of the heavy misfortunes and untimely death, of this Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, whose great-grandfather was slain in Bosworth field, whose grandfather was condemned for high-treason, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and remained a prisoner under that sentence, during the whole reign of Edward the Sixth, and whose father, the learned and witty Earl of Surry ended his days, as himself did, upon a scaffold (1). This noble person, by a contrivance of the Earl of Leicester's, was, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, drawn into a design of marrying the Queen of Scots, to which Leicester pretended, that he would obtain Queen Elizabeth's consent; instead of which he revealed to her all he knew, which brought disgrace, suspicion, and imprisonment upon the Duke of Norfolk. He was released out of the Tower in 1570, chiefly by the interest of Sir William Cecil, who appears to have been his true friend, by the advice he gave him to marry as soon as possible, if he would avoid taking up his lodgings there again (2). The Duke neglected this caution, was the very next year drawn into new intrigues, in the management of which, he received several letters and papers from Mary Queen of Scots, which, when he had perused, he delivered to Mr Higford with orders to burn them, but instead of doing that, he hid them under a mat in the Duke's bed-chamber; when something of these matters was disclosed, the Duke again put under an arrest, and Higford cast into prison, he confessed all he knew, and amongst the rest where the papers were to be found, amongst which was a draught of the whole design, transcribed from one in the Queen of Scots's own handwriting; and also informed them that Barker, one of the Duke's servants, was privy to the delivery of the money to Brown, who was to have carried it into Scotland, and from whom it was pretended this dis-

very originally came. When the council had received this draught, the letters abovementioned, and others sent by the Pope, and when Barker being apprehended had confessed every particular, Sir Ralph Sadler was ordered to keep a strong guard upon the Duke's house at London, formerly belonging to the Carthusian Friars (3). The third day after the Duke himself was examined, and not knowing what his servants had confessed, but supposing the draught with the letters were burnt, he stiffly denied all which they had confessed. Hereupon within a day or two, namely the seventh of September, he was, to the great grief of the people, carried back to the Tower of London, from whence the year before he was released, by Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Henry Nevill, and Doctor Wilson. Afterwards Banister, the Duke's Counsellor at Law, the Earl's of Arundel and Southampton, the Lord Lumley, the Lord Cobham, and Thomas his brother, Henry Percy, Lowder, Powel, Goodier, and others, were clapt in prison, who every one of them in hopes of pardon, confessed what they knew. 'As soon, says Camden, as the Council produced these mens confessions, the Queen of Scots and Rofs's letters, with the draught, to the Duke's face, he was strangely confounded. But upon sight of the draught, and the letters, which he supposed to have been burnt, he was amazed, and at last brake forth into these words; *I am betrayed and undone by my confidents, not knowing how to distrust them, tho' diffidence is the very essence of wisdom* (4). However, he humbly prayed the Council to intercede for him to the Queen, promising to conceal nothing he knew, and solemnly protesting, that he had never consented to any thing, which might prejudice the Queen, or injure the realm, but had declared heartily against the plots they laid for surprising the Queen, for seizing upon the Tower of London, and setting the Queen of Scots at liberty, and that he never thought of calling

(3) Stowe, Holinshed, Strype.

(4) Camd. Annal. Eliz.

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. 1. p. 274.

(2) Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, p. 131.

over

extreamly vigilant and active, looking upon himself as obliged in his office of a Minister of Justice, not only to do what he was commanded, or what appeared requisite for the service of the State, but to do it with alacrity and spirit, which without all doubt recommended him highly to the Statesmen of those times, but at the same time did not prevent his meeting some very untoward rewards for such seasonable and important services (k). As for instance; in the year 1576, being informed that there was a great resort of some of the Queen's subjects to a certain Popish chapel, kept in the house of one who was reputed to be a foreign Minister, he resolved, in conjunction with the two Sheriffs and proper assistance, to go thither, thinking it a reproach to the city of London that the laws for preventing such assemblies should be therein openly broken, and this with the utmost impunity. He accordingly executed his purpose, not without communicating it, as has been thought, to some of the great Ministers of State, without whose approbation he seldom did any thing. But however that might be, the person who kept this house, and who stiled himself an Ambassador from Portugal, complained to the Queen of this act of violence, in direct breach, as he affirmed, of the law of nations; and it so falling out, that a most advantageous treaty of commerce being just concluded with the Court of Portugal, the negotiation of which had been entrusted with this Minister, it was by the Queen therefore held necessary that he should have satisfaction given him, and that in such a manner as might be acceptable to his Court. Upon this motive both the Sheriffs and Recorder were arrested, brought before the Privy-Council, remanded, and a Committee appointed to examine into the whole affair; by this Committee, or rather by Postscript to the Committee's Order written by the Lord Treasurer, the Recorder was directed to draw up a state of his own case, his adversary having represented to the Lords, that his house was first invested, and then entered by force of arms, several persons coming in with their swords drawn, and not only himself insulted and his servants maltreated, but his Lady and her women frightened almost out of their wits (l). Mr Fleetwood, upon the signification of their Lordships pleasure, speedily returned them such a paper, which, for it's singularity, the reader will find at the bottom of the page [B]. But notwithstanding this

(k) See this story  
explained in the  
[B].

(l) Int. MSS.  
Burgheian.

' over foreign forces into Britain, but only to suppress  
' the Queen of Scots rebellious subjects. The same  
' day he was examined upon fifty articles, or there-  
' abouts, and concealed nothing. Afterwards, the  
' whole proceeding was reported in the Star-Chamber,  
' in a full assembly of the nobility, the Lord Mayor  
' and Aldermen of the City of London being present,  
' and after that to all the citizens at the Guildhall,  
' by William Fleetwood their Recorder.' This speech,  
as we shall see hereafter (s), was, for the further satis-  
faction of the publick, printed by the direction of  
those for whose service it was delivered.

[B] At the bottom of the page.] This narrative of  
Mr Fleetwood's, bears date November the 9th 1576  
(6), and is delivered in the following words. ' Upon  
' Sunday last, at eleven a clock in the forenoon, Mr  
' Sheriff Kimpton, and Mr Sheriff Barnes, and I the  
' Recorder, did repair unto the Charter-house, and  
' knocking at the gates no man answered. Mr Sheriff  
' B. by agreement, went upon the back stairs to see  
' that no Maf-hearers should escape. And after di-  
' vers knockings at the gate, the porter came, being  
' a Portugal, who did speak English, and say'd, my  
' Lord, was not at home. Then, quoth we, let us  
' speak with you Mr Porter, for we have brought let-  
' ters. And the porter answered us very stubbornly.  
' And at length he opened the gate, and I the Recor-  
' der put in my left leg, meaning to enter in at the  
' gate. And being half in, and half out, the porter  
' knowing me very well, said, Back, villain, and thrust  
' the gate so sore upon my leg, that I shall carry the  
' grief thereof to my grave. Sithence that time my  
' pain hath been so great that I can take no rest.  
' And if Mr Sheriff Kimpton had not thrust the gate  
' from me, my leg had been utterly bruised into  
' shivers. And besides, the porter began to buffet  
' himself to his dagger, and took me by the throat.  
' And then I thrust him from me. For indeed, he  
' was but a testy little wretch. And so I willed Mr  
' Sheriff and the officers to stay the fellow from do-  
' ing any hurt to any other in his fury. After this,  
' we pass quietly all doors being open out of the hall  
' up the stairs. And at the stair head there was a  
' great long gallery, that in length stood east and  
' west. In the same gallery all the Maf-hearers, both  
' men and women were standing. For the Priest was  
' at the gospel, and the altar candles were lighted as  
' the old manner was. After this, we knocked at the  
' outer door of the gallery, and all they looked back.

' And then Mr Sheriff K. and I, charged all such  
' as were Englishmen born, and the Queen's subjects  
' to come forth of that place. And then came all the  
' strangers running towards us, some of them begin-  
' ning to draw first their daggers, and then after they  
' buckled themselves to draw their rapiers. And by  
' that time, two Bailiffs-errants of Middlesex, whose  
' names, I remember not, being at the door, did draw  
' their swords, and immediately Mr Kimpton caused  
' the strangers to be quiet, and I caused the Bailiffs to  
' be quiet, and then Mr Kimpton with all the Maf-  
' hearers, with Signor Giraldie's wife, and her maids,  
' were all in a heap, forty persons at once speaking in  
' several languages. And then I said to Mr Sheriff,  
' I pray you let me and you make a way for my  
' lady; and so he making way before, I kissed my  
' hand, and took my Lady Giraldie by the hand, and  
' led her out of the press to her chamber door, and  
' there made a most humble cursey unto her, and af-  
' ter I put my hand out to the rest of her gentlewo-  
' men, and first kiss it, and delivered them into their  
' chamber also. And Mr Sheriff Barnes came into the  
' gallery, and so we three examined every man what  
' he was. And first, such as were Signor Giraldie's  
' men we required them to depart. And after many  
' lewd and contumelious words used by them against  
' us, we, by fair means, got them out of the gallery  
' into their lady's lodging. And then proceeded we  
' to the examination of the strangers, that were not of  
' Signor Giraldie's house, nor of his retinue. And  
' they most despightfully, against all civility, used such  
' like words in their language against us, that if our  
' company had understood them there, might have  
' chanced great harm. But in plain terms I said unto  
' them, Sirs, I see no remedy but ye must go to pri-  
' son. For most of you be free denizens. And then  
' I willed the officers to lay hands on them, and im-  
' mediately every man suddenly, most humbly put  
' off his cap, and began to be suitors and sought  
' favour. And so upon their submission we suffered  
' them to depart all, saving Anthony Guarra, who  
' was not willing to depart from us, but kept us  
' company. And all this done, we examined the Eng-  
' lish subjects and sent them to prison, who, to say  
' the truth, provoked the strangers into fury and  
' disorder against us. For if the English then had ac-  
' cording to our direction departed from the strangers,  
' and come forth unto us, the strangers had been quiet,  
' and we without trouble. But truly the greatest fault  
' was,

(5) In the note  
[G].

(6) Strype's An-  
nals, Vol. III.  
p. 410, 411.

this representation, and his being heard in person before the Council, where he made a long and good defence, he was, for this breach of the Ambassador's privilege, committed again close prisoner to the Fleet, where he continued for some time, and at length, upon the Ambassador's departing the kingdom, was released. One may collect from his behaviour and submission, as well as from a variety of circumstances attending this affair, that the Privy-Council and the Recorder (not to carry the matter any higher) understood each other very well, and that the whole transaction was with a view to two different points; first, to deter the Papists from resorting to these chapels; and next, to give the Merchants and traders in the city of London, a high opinion of her Majesty's concern for whatever regarded commerce (*m*). This is certain, that whatever happened upon this occasion did not in the least injure either the credit of the Recorder in the city, or his interest at Court, as appears from his name being the first in the writ for calling Serjeants in Michaelmas term 1580, when, with Edward Flowerdue, Thomas Snagge, William Periam, and Robert Halton, he was advanced to that degree (*n*). It also appears that it did not in the least abate his zeal against the Papists, on the contrary, he was as active in disturbing their mass-houses, committing Popish Priests, and giving informations of their intrigues, as ever. Some instances of which are remarkable enough to deserve the reader's notice [C]. In 1582, when he presented Mr Thomas Blank to her Majesty,

(*m*) Traditionary  
Memoirs of Qu.  
Elizabeth, p. 35.

(*n*) Chron. Jurid.  
p. 183.

' was, that as well the English Massmongers, as also  
' the free Denizons, for the covering of their own  
' offences, practised rather to have murder committed  
' than to be taken as they were. All this while the  
' Mass-fayer stood at the north end of the altar, and  
' no man living said a word to him, nor touched him,  
' saying that he did give to divers of our servants  
' sining cakes, wherewith I was offended with them,  
' for receiving that idolatrous bread. And all being  
' done, and we ready to depart, it was said by a  
' standerby, if ye look in at that door near the altar  
' said he, you shall find a number of Massmongers.  
' And then did the Priest take a key out of his pocket,  
' and smiling opened the door, and Mr Sheriff Kimpton  
' with the Priest looked in, and there was no body.  
' And then Anthony Guarras took me by the hand to  
' see the altar how trim it was. For Mr Barnes and  
' I stood afar off in the gallery. And I said to Guar-  
' ras, Sir, if I had done my duty to God and to the  
' Queen, I had taken two hundred here upon All-hol-  
' low day last, and as many upon All-souls day also.  
' Ho, Sir, said Guarras unto me, become of this re-  
' ligious, and surely you will like it well, and it will  
' be a ready means to make you a good Christian. And  
' so we went near the altar, where neither he nor I  
' touched any manner of thing. And so we bade  
' the Priest farewell, who gently saluted us. And I  
' suddenly looking back, saw the Priest shake his head  
' at us, and mumbled out words, which sounded dia-  
' ble and male croix, or to that effect. And then I  
' said to Mr Sheriff, Sirs, let us depart for the Priest  
' doth curse. And so we departed. Anthony Guar-  
' ras brought us to the utmost gate, where Mr Sheriff  
' and I invited him to dinner with us, but he departed  
' back to hear out the aforesaid Mass. The foresaid  
' Guarras at this business said, that he himself was an  
' Ambassador to a greater person than the ———  
' and so did shake his head. What, quoth I, do you  
' mean a greater personage than the Queen our Mis-  
' tress? Na, na, said he, I meant not so. No, quoth  
' I, it were not best for you to make comparison with  
' the Queen our Mistress. Whose Ambassador are you  
' then, quoth I? The Pope's? And then he departed  
' further off in an anger. This Guarras was a very  
' busy fellow in this action. Among all these strangers,  
' I marked one Swygo, who is a free Denizon, mar-  
' ried to an English woman. He is a broker, and  
' hath his chief living by our merchants. This fellow  
' made himself more busy than it became him. There  
' was a tall young fellow an Italian, that was very  
' wanton with us. And it hath been told me, sith-  
' ence, that he and others are kept here for two causes,  
' the one for uttering the Pope's allom, and the other  
' to serve for intelligencer. Which I think are very  
' spies. This youth was very busy, and bestirred him  
' as tho' he had been treading of a galliard. There  
' was one John Chivers, an Irishman, a Student of the  
' Inns of Chancery, who, as it appeared unto me, I  
' having a vigilant eye of all sides, was a great stirrer  
' of the strangers against us. This young man when  
' he could not prevail, then he got up to the south  
' end of the altar, and there he confronted the Mass-

' fayer with his cap on his head, who was on the other  
' end, and stood there as tho' he had been an Italian.  
' His garments were a cloak and a rapier after the  
' Italian fashion. And when I demanded what he was,  
' he bowed on the one side and the other, as tho' he  
' had not understood me, much like the fashion of  
' Signor Giraldie. By which I did not note that he  
' had been often there. This is all that I do remem-  
' ber, and in my conscience, and as I shall answer be-  
' fore God at the latter day, we used ourselves with  
' such humble reverence unto his lady and her family,  
' as more we could not do to the Queen our Mistress,  
' save kneeling. I sent Signor Giraldie word as I re-  
' member at Easter last, by Mr Benedict Spinello, that  
' he should not suffer the Queen's subjects to repair to  
' his Mass: yea, and that other things also should be  
' amended, wherewith the people did wonderfully  
' grudge at him: and I am sure, Mr Spinello did my  
' message to him in a decent order. This is not  
' the first time, that his house hath been dealt withal  
' by the Sheriffs. Strumpets have been gotten with  
' child in his house: and we of the hospital driven to  
' take order for their keeping. The masters shall jus-  
' tify this. I never saw any Ambassador sent out of  
' England, but that he was both wise and vertuous,  
' and was not indebted to any. And whether Signor  
' Giraldie was an Ambassador or not, surely my Lord,  
' I knew not, until my Lords of the Council had told  
' me thereof upon Monday last at the Council Board.'

[C] *The reader's notice.*] The laborious Mr Strype, who has preserved from destruction and oblivion a multitude of passages, serving to illustrate the personal history of most of the eminent men for two centuries past, will furnish us with sufficient materials to make good all that is asserted in the text; what follows will shew, how close a correspondence there was between the great Ministers and Mr Fleetwood, the former having an eye even to the smallest matters, and the latter striving to make his court to them by his punctual administration of justice (7).

' A French merchant, in a bag sealed, delivered  
' forty pounds to a carrier's wife of Norwich, to be  
' carried thither to some certain correspondent of his.  
' But she secretly conveyed the money to an house a  
' good way off the inn, and within a quarter of an  
' hour the French merchant came again to see his mo-  
' ney packed up. But the woman denied that she ever  
' received one penny, with most horrible protestations.  
' Upon this Secretary Walsingham, who was made ac-  
' quainted with it, wrote to Fleetwood Recorder of  
' London, from whose letter I have this relation, and  
' the Frenchman. And after great search made, the  
' money was found and restored, she not knowing  
' of the same. The Recorder examined her in his  
' study privately. But by no means would she confess  
' the same: but did bequeath herself to the devil, both  
' body and soul, if she had the money or ever saw it.  
' And this was her craft that she then [when she said  
' so] had not the money, for it was either at her  
' friend's, where she left it, or else delivered. Then  
' he asked her, whether the French merchant did not  
' bring her a bag sealed, full of the metal that was  
' weighty,

(7) Amongst  
Lord Burleigh's  
papers.

upon his being chosen Lord Mayor of London, he made a florid and copious speech of the felicity of the nation in general, and of the advantages derived to the city of London in particular, by her Majesty's religious, wise, and fortunate administration (o). The Queen, upon that occasion, gave a gracious reception to the Mayor, and ordered the Lord-Chamberlain to confer upon him the honour of knighthood, but reprimanded several of her servants for suffering some of the young citizens to crowd so near her person as to trample upon the cloth of state, and signified to the Recorder, that she had been better pleased if he had been more sparing of his praises. Mr Serjeant Fleetwood, who understood the language of a Court perfectly well, states this matter at large in a letter to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, but instead of expressing any great mortification from the Queen's reprimand, he insists that he was in the right. *My good Lord*, says he, *I said nothing but truly and justly, as it was indeed* (p). It seems he was one of those bold men that thought Princes may reprove without dislike, and that however unpleasant the answer, his discourse did not give her Majesty any real uneasiness. One thing was very remarkable in Mr Recorder's conduct, and deserves to be remembered as an extraordinary feature of those times. He kept a very exact Diary of all his proceedings, from which, from time to time, he made extracts, and transmitted them to the Lord-Treasurer, who from thence perfectly understood whatever passed in the city of London, and indeed every where else if it fell within the compass of Mr Serjeant Fleetwood's notice, who in this respect seems to have been incredibly diligent, and to let nothing escape him that was either worth his patron's attention or his own (q). We may discern from some fragments of his Diary that are yet remaining, that we have no great reason to look upon the present as an age of more wickedness and debauchery than any that have preceded it, or that ought not to be compared with the times of that glorious Queen, the Recorder's secret history plainly shewing, that though justice was never more strictly administered, yet the idle, the extravagant, and the vicious, were even then a very numerous party, and capable of committing as great outrages on the laws, sacred and civil, as perhaps were ever committed at any time (r) [D]. This course of life, for the space of many years, wore out at length the patience

(o) Baker's Chronicle, p. 402.

(p) Strype's Annals, Vol. III, p. 147.

(q) So it appears from the Lord Treasurer's papers.

(r) See this fully proved in the notes.

' weighty, were it either plate, coin, counters, or such like. Then said she, I will answer no further. And then the Recorder using the Lord Mayor's advice, bestowed her in Bridewell: where she was punished being well whipt. It was observable what she said then, that the devil stood at her elbow in the Recorder's study, and willed her to deny it. But so soon as she was upon the cross to be punished, he gave her over.

' The same Recorder Fleetwood about this time, acquainted Secretary Walsingham in a letter to him of another strange accident, of a woman named Mrs Norton that had drowned herself. She was mother-in-law to one Thomas Norton, a person of some reputation in London, whose father was then aged and sick in bed, in her youth, she was bred up in Sir Thomas More's family. In which place she learned idolatrous toys (I transcribe from the Recorder's letter) and usages in the night, so as thereby she was led by evil spirits, sometimes to hang herself, and sometimes to drown herself, as she did at last. Some part of her lewd demeanour, was in the exercise of necromancy: that is to say, in conferences and speeches had (as she thought) with dead bodies being of her old acquaintance. The Recorder writ this accident, the rather to the said Secretary, because she had left behind her divers children, brothers to the said Thomas Norton which were shrewdly given. And that if the old man should then die, it was to be feared all his goods would come to spoil. And therefore he proposed, that if Mr Peter Osborn, who was a worthy Citizen and Remembrancer of the Exchequer, had a commandment, he could devise some good order, as he the Recorder thought, for the saving of things that might be lost. And he prayed his honour to make the Lord Treasurer, who was Master of the Wards, acquainted with the unfortunate case. Such was the care of this good Recorder of the children of the city.' This last story plainly proves how little he liked the Papists, and if it was not for tiring the reader's patience, we could afford him large accounts of his hunting out Jesuits, Massmongers, and Recusants, without distinction of rank, age, or sex. In short, he was the greatest plague these people had, and therefore in all the numerous libels against Queen Elizabeth's government, the Recorder of London is painted in the blackest colours, as a man without either moderation or pity, restless and officious, and willing to make his court to the Administration, in the way that was most in fashion.

[D] *As perhaps were ever committed at any time.* When we read in some of our old plays of so much quarrelling, fighting, and duelling, we are apt to fancy that things are magnified, whereas the naked truth is, that there were more disturbances then in a week, than we now hear of in a year; in order to be satisfied of this, we need but cast our eyes upon one of our old Chronicles, where the author speaking of the pains taken to pave Smithfield, gives us the following short history of the company that frequented it, during the whole period of Mr Fleetwood's Recordership (8).

' This field commonly called West Smithfield, was for many years called Ruffians-hall, by reason it was the usual place of affrays and common fighting, during the time that sword and bucklers were in use. When every serving-man from the base to the best, carried a buckler at his back, which hung by the hilt or pomel of his sword, which hung before him. This manner of fight was frequent with all men, until the fight of rapier and dagger took place, and then suddenly the general quarrel of fighting abated, which began about the twentieth year of Queen Elizabeth, for until then, it was usual to have affrays, fights, and quarrels upon the Sundays and Holidays, sometimes twenty, thirty, and forty swords and bucklers, half against half, as well by quarrels of appointment as by chance. Especially from the midst of April, until the end of October, by reason Smithfield was then free from dirt and plashes. And in the winter season, all the high streets were much annoyed, and troubled with hourly frays of sword and bucklenners, who took pleasure in that bragging fight, and altho' they made great shew of much fury, and fought often, yet seldom any man hurt, for thrusting was not then in use, neither would one of twenty strike beneath the waste, by reason they held it cowardly and beastly. But the ensuing deadly fight of rapier and dagger, suddenly suppressed the fighting with swords and buckler.' This may serve as an introduction to the following extract from our Recorder's Diary, transmitted to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh about Michaelmas 1554 (9).

' At Bridewell, on Saturday we had a minister's wife of Cardiganshire, who confessed, that she was greatly sought unto by young women, when they were gotten with child. She confessed that she gave them laven, &c.

' One Higham an old fellow, that is both an excommunicate for putting away his wife, and his for such other like part: he hath this year gotten three

(1) Stow's Annals, p. 1024.

(9) Strype's Annals, Vol. III, p. 220, 447.

patience and the constitution of Serjeant Fleetwood, notwithstanding his high spirit, and the pleasure which he apparently took in discharging his duty as a Magistrate with the utmost ardour and application. He thought, it seems, that some regard ought to be had to his past services, and that he deserved to be removed to some post of greater honour and less fatigue, to obtain which, upon a vacancy of one of the Queen's Serjeants, he solicited the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh in a very warm and moving manner, in 1582, which solicitations however were without effect (s) [E]. It seems the Ministers were so well pleased with his behaviour where he was, and found so much advantage from his dexterity in managing affairs in the city, that they were not willing to part with him; and therefore Serjeant Rhodes was preferred at that time to the post of which he was so desirous, and Mr Fleetwood continued in his Recordership ten years longer; but at length, when he was in a manner quite wore out, viz. Jan. 27, 1592, in the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth (t), when he had served the Crown upwards of thirty years, he was made one of the Queen's Serjeants at Law, in which post however he did not continue long, dying, about that time twelvemonth, at his house in Noble-street in Aldersgate ward, which he had built but a little before (u), from whence his corps was carried to great Missenden in Buckinghamshire, where he had purchased a good estate, and buried in the parish-church there. As for the private character of this our Magistrate, he was certainly of a very lively and facetious disposition, which made him very acceptable in the city, and enabled him to do his patrons great service there, which perhaps may account for his being stiled, in one of the bitterest libels of those times, *Leicester's mad Recorder* (w), with an insinuation that he was placed in his office to encourage those of this Lord's faction in the city; but it is very certain, that, whatever respect he had for, or obligations he might lie under to; that powerful Nobleman, he applied himself very assiduously to the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh, and from him received both countenance and promotion. Amongst the Latin poems of Thomas Newton of Cheshire, who celebrated many of the great men in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (x), there is one addressed to our Recorder Fleetwood; and other instances might be brought to prove how much he was esteemed, as well for his wit as his learning, in those days [F]. He was perfectly well versed in the History of England,

as

(s) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 150.

(t) Chronica Jurid. p. 177.

(u) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 261.

(w) Leicester's Commonwealth. Leicester's Ghost.

(x) Encomia quædam: a Thoma Newton, Cestreshyro, successivis horulis exarata. London. Apud T. O. 1589, p. 121.

of the laundry maids with child in the Fleet, being there a prisoner. He stoweth out the matter with us, and will not find the children but writeth lewd letters unto us.

Sessions of Goal Delivery were the Monday after. Mr Dockwray's son of Chamberhouse in Berkshire, was arraigned for stealing of a portmanteau, with eighty four pounds in the same: taken out of an inn in London. But he was acquitted.

There was one Heton a Preacher, who contended to be Parson of St Andrew's Holborn, being maintained by some of the Parish, did confront Mr Vice-Chamberlain (Sir Christopher Hatton) therein, was brought to us for \* \* \* a lewd vice which he hath been often accused of before this time. We bailed him. For my part, I was loth to have that vice openly spoken of, until further consideration were had thereof. This Heton's father was at Newgate arraigned, and convicted for incest with his own daughter: and stood upon the pillory for the same.

Another extract of his Diary (10), there remains written in the year 1586, which runs thus. 'Whit-funday May 23. upon Friday at afternoon, I sat in the Commission Ecclesiastical at Lambeth, with my Lord's Grace: where three Oxford Preachers were charged, for that they would have all temporal causes to be decided by the seniors of the church. And that her Majesty had not to deal in causes ecclesiastical, with such like matters. My Lord Almoner did bear much with them.

Saturday was by me employed, to abbreviate and explain a new commission, granted for the relief of the Fleet and King's Bench. And that I did by the command of my Lord of Canterbury his Grace.

Wednesday was spent at the Goal of Newgate, where we had little or nothing to do. The matters there were slender, and of no great importance. There were none executed.

Your good Lordship peradventure may marvel, why we have had so few dealings in criminal causes at this our late sessions. The reason is this. We have in prison, here in Newgate, the most principal thieves of this realm. We lack none but Mannings, who doth daily gather into his society lewd persons, who commit in all parts of the realm most dangerous robberies. I hear that the Genn or Ingen (Engine) is in your Lordship's custody. The want whereof is a great stay of many burglaries.'

September the 6th (11) he wrote and intended to have sent another Diary, which after he had closed, he broke open again to tell the Lord Treasurer, what mighty joy there was all over the city the next morning, and of his being invited out to six or seven places to supper, on the score of its being the Queen's birthday, at first sight this will appear a very insignificant thing, but when it is considered that just at that juncture, Babington's plot was either discovered or divulged, it becomes a thing of consequence; for very probably the Lord Treasurer made his court, by being the first to inform the Queen, what a tender regard her subjects in the City of London, at so critical a season, expressed for her health and safety.

[E] *Were without effect.*] The foregoing note is a very proper introduction to what we shall say here, because it shews in what manner, Mr Recorder Fleetwood spent his time, and how strict an account he thought it necessary for him to give of it; industrious Strype, to whom we have been before obliged, has preserved this passage, and a very singular one it is, the letter to the Lord Treasurer, was dated Easter Eve 1582, from Bacon-house, which, if I mistake not, was in Chancery-Lane, and is sometimes stiled Bacon's-Inn, or Curstors-Inn, from the Curstors keeping their office there, and this appears to have been the residence of Serjeant Fleetwood, till he removed to Noble Street.

The letter runs thus (12). 'My singular Lord, &c. I never rest, and when I serve her Majesty the best, then I am for the most part the worst spoken of, and that many times in the court. I have no man to defend me, and as for my Lord Mayor, my chief head, I am driven every day to back him and his doings. My good Lord, for Christ's sake be such a mean for me, as that with credit I may be removed by her Majesty from this intolerable toil. Certainly, I serve in a thankless soil. There is, as I learn, like to fall a room of the Queen's Serjeants. If your Lordship please to help me to one of those rooms, assure your Honour, that I will do her Majesty as painful service as six of them shall do: help me, my good Lord, in my humble suit, and I will, God willing, set down for your Lordship such a book of the Law, as your Lordship will like of.'

[F] *As well for his wit as his learning in those days.*] In reference to this Thomas Newton mentioned in the text, he appears to have been not only a good Latin Poet, but the professed Panegyrist of the whole

(11) Strype's Annals, Vol. III.

(12) Amongst Lord Burleigh's papers.

(10) So in the Burleigh Papers, and in Strype.

as also in it's Antiquities, with respect to which he was at great expence in procuring, and spent much time in the perusal of, manuscripts relating to these subjects, and for this reason was often consulted by the learned persons of those times, who made such things their chief study, and with whom also, when he had any leisure, he was glad to confer. He was farther esteemed a shrewd Politician, and indeed that character was most likely to recommend him to his patron Leicest. He was a good popular speaker, and, when occasion required, wrote very well upon subjects of government (y). These matters however, drew him not at all from his profession, in which he made a very great figure, being equally celebrated for his eloquence as an Advocate, and for the solidity of his judgment as a Lawyer. His employments hindered him from writing much, yet some pieces of his there are extant, and a great many more are lost; those however which remain are sufficient to justify the character that has been given him [G]. Serjeant Fleetwood married Mariana, daughter to John Barley of Kingsley in the county of Bucks, Gent. by whom he had two sons and two daughters. The sons were both Knights; Sir William Fleetwood, the eldest, had his father's estate in Buckinghamshire; and the younger, Sir Thomas Fleetwood, was of his father's profession, became very eminent therein, and was made Attorney-General to Henry Prince of Wales. The daughters were both married to Knights; Cordelia, the eldest, to Sir David Foulis, of Ingleby in the county of York, Baronet; and Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Chaloner, Tutor to Prince Henry before-mentioned (z). These memoirs, however short and imperfect, may serve in some measure to acquaint posterity with the merit of this ingenious and accomplished Lawyer; and it is certainly to be regretted, that more care has not been taken to preserve the personal histories

(y) Wood. Strype, &c.

(z) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 262.

whole Leicestrian party. The reader will judge of his abilities, by his Epigram in praise of our Recorder Fleetwood, which I the rather insert, because his Poems are extremely scarce (13).

Ad D. Guil Fleetwood Rec. Londinensem.

*Ipse forem brevibus Gyaris, & carcere dignus,  
Culleolo insutus, si te mea musa sileret  
Thespiadum Fleetode comes facunde sororum,  
Æqua justitiam trutinæ qui lance severam,  
Et Londinigenis jura Anglica rite recludis,  
Fulminea pollens velut alter voce Pericles.*

This I have found translated thus.

To the Worshipful William Fleetwood, Esquire, Recorder of London.

What the worst men, for their worst crimes deserve,  
Were the rewards to my demerit due;  
If while my muse can other names preserve  
She should forget how much she owes to you.

Needless her Song since FLEETWOOD knows to sing,  
A POET, he his graver cares laid by;  
On PINDUS top if he but touch the string,  
The MUSES to their Bard, in raptures fly.

His graver cares resumed and legal power,  
All LONDON'S many ears our FLEETWOOD draws;  
And like the ATHENIAN chief in days of yore,  
His thundering eloquence supports the LAWS.

[G] That has been given him.] We have hitherto had but very indifferent accounts of our author's performances; Mr Wood assures us, that tho' he wrote many things, yet none of them, except one, appeared in his life-time, in which however he was certainly mistaken, as will appear from the following catalogue, tho' we are far from asserting that this is perfect, but the reader may be assured, that it is as perfect as we could make it.

I. An Oration made in Guildhall, before the Mayor, &c. concerning the late attempts of the Queen's Majesties evil seditious subjects, October 15th 1571. London by John Day 12mo.

II. Annalium tam Regum Edwardi quinti, Richardi tertij, & Henrico septimi, quam Henrici octavi, titulorum ordine alphabetico multo jam melius quam ante digressorum Elenchus. Studio & labore Gulielmi Fleetwoodi, Recordatoris Londinensis, in adibus Janæ Vetswert 1579, 1597. that is 'an index of the Year Books

as well during the Reigns of Edward the Fifth, Richard the Third, and Henry the Seventh, as under that of Henry the Eighth, digested under titles in an alphabetical order, in a much better method than before.'

The bare transcribing this title at length, will perhaps be sufficient to convince the reader, that a certain great critick might have spared his censure of our author's work, which he has delivered in the following words (14). 'The short Epitome of this (Edward the Fifth) and the three following reigns, that was written and published by William Fleetwood Serjeant at Law, is so thin a piece, and refers so particularly to the transactions in the Courts at Westminster, that it has been rather looked on as a table or index to the Year Books of those times, than any historical treatise.' It is very difficult to understand, what he means by saying, it ought rather to be looked on as an index, than an historical treatise, when there is not so much as a syllable of history in it, and the running title throughout is, *Index temporum* E. 5. R. 3. & H. 7. and through the second part, *Index temporis Henrici octavi*; so that in plain English, our critick mistook an index of the Year Books, for Annals of the Reigns of these Princes. There is however a very remarkable dedication, prefixed to the Lord Chancellor Brumley, dated from Bacon-house, August 23d 1579. in which there are contained abundance of curious things. He observes, that the Year Books of the three first reigns, are infinitely better written, than those of Henry the Eighth, which was the reason that he divided his work into two parts; the reason he gives for composing it is worthy of notice, he mentions the great Abridgment by Sir Robert Brooke, as a very ingenious performance in its kind, and, properly managed, very useful; but intimates, that he thought the chief cause why it was so much preferred to that of Fitzherbert, was on account of its being divided into a greater number of titles, there being only two hundred sixty two in the former, and no fewer than six hundred thirty three in the latter. This, as he intimates, recommended it strongly to young Students, who were but too apt to spend their whole time therein, without recurring to the books from whence it was taken, against which he remonstrates to the Lord Chancellor as a very lazy and ineffectual method of study, by which men might come to persuade themselves they were Lawyers, when in truth they were nothing less. He observes, and observes very justly, that abridgments are of admirable use to those who make them, and of very little use to any body else, with many other things to the same purpose. The design therefore of his labour, was to render the Year Books familiar to young students, by putting into their hands a copious and methodical index, which would enable them to make abridgments for themselves, not by seeing in a narrow compass what

(14) Nicholson's Engl. Historical Library, p. 83.

(13) Principum, ac illustrium aliquot & eruditorum in Anglia Virorum, Encomia, trophæa, Genethliaca & Epithalamia. A Jeanne Lelando Antiquario conscripta, nunc primum in lucem edita. Quibus etiam adjuncta sunt Illustrissimorum aliquot Heroum, hodie viventium, aliorumque hinc inde Anglorum, Encomia quedam: à Thoma Newtono, Cestreshyrio, succisiva horulis exarata. Londini. Apud Thomam Orwinum, Typographum. 1589.

histories of the eminent men of that profession, many of whom have been true Patriots, great Statesmen, and very worthy Members of the Republick of Letters.

what another man took to be the sense of those authorities, but by perusing, in a small space of time, the authorities themselves.

III. *A table to the Reports of Edmund Plowden.* This is in French.

There is something laid down as certain in this table which ought to be corrected, as appears from the following passage in a discourse by a learned Antiquary

(15) Mr Thynne's Discourse of the Antiquity of the Houses of Law. (15) 'Touching the Inns of the Serjeants, the houses which they now have in Fleet-Street and Chancery-Lane are but of late erection, and altho' Mr Serjeant Fleetwood in his table to Ployden's Commentaries, would infer that there was no Serjeant's-Inn in the time of Henry the Seventh, there was a Serjeant's-Inn in Holdborn over against St Andrew's Church, now called Scrop house, whereof you shall have the record itself, being an inquisition taken at

Guilddhall in the parish of St Laurence in Old Jury, in the Ward of Chepe in London, 13 Octob. 14 H. 7. *Furatores dicunt, &c.*

IV. *A short copy of Latin verses prefixed to Sir Thomas Chaloner's de Repub. Anglorum instauranda.*

V. *The Office of a Justice of Peace: Together with instructions how and in what manner Statutes shall be expounded.* Lond. 1658. 8vo.

VI. *Observations upon the Eyre of Pickering Lambert's Archeion, &c.* MS. fol. some time in the Library of Richard Smith, Secondary of the Poultry Compter; with other things which I have not seen says Anthony Wood (16).

VII. There are also several political discourses of his going from hand to hand in MS. and it appears he contributed considerably towards the last edition of Hollinshed (17). E 286.

FLEETWOOD (JAMES) a pious and loyal Divine, and Bishop of Worcester in the reign of Charles II. He was descended from the same ancient family of Fleetwood of Hesketh in the county of Lancaster, being the grandson of Thomas Fleetwood, Esq; Master of the Mint, by his fifth son Sir George Fleetwood, of the Vache in Chalfunt St Giles, in the county of Bucks, Knt. by Catherine, daughter of Henry Denny, of Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, Esq; and Honora his wife, daughter of William Lord Grey of Wilton, and sister to Edward Denny Earl of Norwich (a). As he was his father's seventh son he was intended for the Church, and as soon as he arrived at a proper age was sent to Eaton school (b), through which having passed, with great reputation to himself and satisfaction to his family, he was from thence removed to King's college in Cambridge, of which he was admitted a Scholar in 1622 (c). He continued there near ten years, till he was removed by his kind patron Dr Robert Wright, Bishop of Lichfield, who presented him to the vicarage of Prees in the county of Salop (d), and, in September 1636, bestowed on him the prebend of Eccleshal in his cathedral, void by the resignation of the Reverend Mr Higgons (e). He was hardly settled there before the Civil War broke out, which obliged him to leave his preferments in order to provide for his safety (f). He was a man of a very mild and gentle disposition, but extremely fixed in his purposes, which he assumed with much deliberation, and from which he could not be removed. A great many of his family stuck to the Parliament, and amongst them some of his nearest relations. Mr Fleetwood's subsistence was gone, but he stuck to his old principles, and became Chaplain to that noble Peer John Earl Rivers, in his capacity of Colonel of a regiment of foot, which he raised for the King's service (g). In this situation he acquired fame though he could hardly get bread. For, in 1642, he was, by the university of Oxford, created Doctor of Divinity by the King's special command (h), for the service he rendered him in Edge-hill fight [A]. Soon after he was made

[A] *He rendered him in Edgehill fight.* It might be reckoned none of the smallest of the calamities which attended this deplorable war, that as it dissolved the relation between the King and his subjects, so it disturbed likewise the peace of private families, and divided, in point of sentiments, interests, and behaviour, those who by the strongest ties of blood and nature were united. Our Divine's eldest brother George Fleetwood, Esq; went into the Parliament's service, where he had the rank of a Colonel, and was one of those that were not only named, but sat and acted as one of the King's Judges, for which he lost his estate (1), and a grant being made of it to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, he sold it to Sir Thomas Clayton (2). Another relation of our Divine, tho' I think in no nearer degree than that of a cousin, was Charles Fleetwood, Esq; who married Mrs Ireton, Oliver Cromwell's daughter, and had for a time the title of Lord Fleetwood, was General of the Parliament forces, but by degrees lost his credit and power, and returned again to the state of a private gentleman (3). Our worthy Divine was in the battle of Keynton, or Edgehill, the first that was fought between the King and the Parliament, on Sunday October the 23d, 1643 (4), and which had been certainly decisive, if Prince Rupert's conduct had in any degree been allied to his courage, but having routed the enemy's left wing, and pursuing them beyond their camp, he left the King with his infantry uncovered, which advantage was taken by some of the best officers in the Parliament's army, who immediately charged the King's own regiment

which they put into great disorder, killed his General, the loyal Earl of Lindsey, his Standard-bearer Sir Edmund Verney, and put the persons of the King and his two sons in very great danger. Some who were near his Majesty advised him to withdraw with the two Princes, which counsel he approved in respect to his children, but not for himself. He would have recommended them to the care of the Duke of Richmond, but his Grace said it was his duty to follow his Majesty, and not to think of safety when he was in danger (5); the King then spoke to the Earl of Dorset, who replied smiling, that all the Kings in the world should not command him out of the field, when so good a cause required his sword (6). At last the Princes were committed to the care of the gentleman pensioner who attended them, Sir Henry Blount (7), who with Mr James Fleetwood conveyed them from the field, for which service the former was afterwards questioned by the Parliament, but justified himself from the duty of his office, and probably the latter would not have escaped so well, if he had not taken care to keep constantly out of their reach (8). It was his clear and singular fidelity upon this and every other occasion, that kept him in constant favour with both his royal masters, to whom through all their misfortunes he steadily adhered, tho' there is very little doubt to be made, that if he would have sacrificed his principles, he might have made his peace from the interest of his powerful relations, but he never had a thought of that nature, and therefore chose to remain in exile till he returned in triumph, and received the reward

(a) English Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 194.

(b) Walker's Suffrages of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 47.

(c) Fast. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

(d) English Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 194.

(e) Willis's Hist. of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 441.

(f) Fast. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

(g) English Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 194.

(h) Fast. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

(1) History of Independency, P. ii. p. 124.

(2) Anthony à Wood, in his Diary.

(3) English Baronetage, Vol. I. p. 195.

(4) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 251.

(16) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 261.

(17) Tanner. Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, P. 286.

(5) Memoirs of the House of Lennox.

(6) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 1040.

(7) See the article of BLOUNT (SIR HENRY).

(8) Wood's Fast. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

made Chaplain to Charles Prince of Wales, and had also the rectory of Sutton Colefield in Warwickshire (*i*) bestowed upon him, for which preferment however he was little the better; for the King's affairs falling into confusion, Dr Fleetwood travelled with the Earls of Kildare and Sterling, as he also did with that hopeful young Peer Esme Duke of Richmond, who, dying at Paris in 1660, his title devolved upon Charles Stuart Earl of Lichfield (*k*), who was likewise a pupil of Dr Fleetwood's. After the Restoration of the King he returned to England, and was most graciously received by his Royal Master, being the first Divine that was sworn one of his Chaplains in Ordinary. In June 1660 he was made Provost of King's college in Cambridge (*l*), and had also the rectories of Anstey in Hertfordshire, and of Denham in Bucks, being Proctor likewise in the Convocation for the clergy of the diocese of Lichfield (*m*). On the 29th of August 1675 he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester, in the room of Dr Walter Blandford, in the church of St Peter le Poor in Broad-street, London (*n*). He discharged his episcopal function with great punctuality, and was exceedingly beloved both by the clergy and laity in his diocese, where he spent the remainder of his days in doing himself, and exhorting others to do good. He deceased July 17, 1683 (*o*), when he was somewhat above fourscore, and lies interred under a monument, behind the high-altar, erected in his life-time, with an inscription thereon by his own command, and of his own composition, of which the reader will find a very exact copy in the notes [*B*]. He was succeeded in the government of King's-college Cambridge by Sir Thomas Page (*p*), Knight, a person of incomparable abilities and of an unblemished character; and in the See of Worcester by Dr William Thomas, who was suspended for not taking the oaths at the Revolution, but died before deprivation which was intended (*q*). To him succeeded the worthy and learned Dr Edward Stillingfleet, who, at his decease, directed his body to be buried behind the high-altar, near the tomb of this pious and venerable Bishop Fleetwood, which was accordingly performed.

(i) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 41.

(k) Encl. B. net. 1. p. 191.

(l) Kennet's Historical Register, p. 632.

(m) List of the Convocation, 1661.

(n) Continuation of Godwin's English Bishops, p. 424.

(o) See the monumental inscription.

(p) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 30.

(q) Willis's Hist. of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 654.

reward of his services, and of that particular affection with which he was honoured as long as he lived by King Charles the Second (*g*), whose domestick servant he was during part of that cruel and unnatural war, when from the evil arts of a few general ruin ensued.

JOHANNES FLEETWOOD Archidiaconus Wigorniensis,  
Filius prædicti Præfulis,  
Natu minimus,  
Epigraphen hanc poni curavit,  
In memoriam Reverendi admodum Patris,  
Vitam cum morte mutavit,  
July 17.  
Ætatis suæ octogesimo primo,  
Anno consecrationis suæ octavo,  
Salutis humanæ reparata,  
Anno 1683.

Thus translated.

This Epitaph

Living, and having the use of my faculties, I have written,  
Let it be inscribed by those into whose hands it comes.  
I James Fleetwood Dr of Divinity of the Cathedral  
Church of Worcester the (\*) ninetieth Bishop, of  
sinners the most miserable lie here. Most worthy  
to lie here for ever: but by the merciful  
love of the LORD

(\*) According to Bishop Godwin's Catalogue he was the ninety-first.

I attained his Grace.

What to me imports varnished Nobility.

This is my only boast,

That CURIST took on him my Flesh.

Therefore,

Let none with tears deplore me, CURIST shall assert,  
His right and from the yawning Tomb redeem me,  
Soon shall I climb the heavenly way and view,  
Recloth'd with Flesh, my LORD in Flesh too cloth'd.

I have lived; I have spoken.

John Fleetwood Archdeacon of Worcester-shire,  
Son of the abovementioned Prelate,  
by birth the youngest.

took care that this inscription should be here placed,  
In memory of that right reverend Father,  
who changed this life for another,

July xviith.

In the eighty first of his age,  
The eighth year after his consecration,  
and from the coming of our Saviour,

1583.

[*B*] A very exact copy in the notes.] This monumental inscription which affords the highest testimony of the sincere piety, and incomparable humility of this good prelate, who passed through all the vicissitudes of this troublesome life without the smallest reproach, has been frequently but faultily printed, so that the sense of it was scarce to be collected, which is the reason of our giving it a place together with a translation here. As for his youngest son Mr Archdeacon Fleetwood, by whose care it was in pursuance of his father's will engraved upon his tomb, he was also Rector of Ripple in his own Archdeaconry, to which he was collated by his father in 1676, upon the demise of Dr Hodges. He died in 1705, and lies buried in the Church of Ripple (10).

M. S.

Epitaphium hoc

Vivus, Vidensq; Scripsi,  
Ponant quorum intererit.

Ego

JA. FLEETWOOD S. T. P. Cathedræ Wigorn Episcopus  
Nonagesimus

Miserimus Peccatorum. Hic jaceo dignissimus qui in  
æternum jacerem: sed misericordiâ Domini  
Gratiam consecutus sum.

Quo mihi nobilitas fucata.

Hoc glorior unum,

Quod Christus de carne meâ est.

Proinde

Nemo me lachrymis decoret, me, vindice Christo,  
Incolumen renovet patefacti fossa sepulchri.  
Mox Cæli tentabo vias: Christumq; supernè  
Vivus carne meâ, viventem in carne videbo  
Vixi Dixi.

At some distance follows.

(9) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 41.

(10) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 664.

FLEETWOOD (WILLIAM) a learned Divine, an excellent Preacher, and successively Bishop of St Asaph and Ely in the XVIIIth century. He was descended from the Fleetwoods of Lancashire beforementioned, and inherited an estate in that county (a). His father was Jeffery Fleetwood, Esq; and his mother Anne, daughter to Mr Richard Smith, Prothonotary of the Poultry Compter (b). He was born January 21, 1656, and, as we are told, in the Tower of London (c); but perhaps there may be some mistake as to that circumstance, since his father died in the Tower April 18, 1665, leaving his widow with six small children (d); so that it is possible this circumstance of his father's death, by transposing the two last figures of the year, might be confounded with his son's birth (e). He received the first tincture of letters at Eton school, and was from thence elected to King's-college in the university of Cambridge (f). About the time of the Revolution he entered into Holy Orders, and was considered as a celebrated Preacher almost at his first setting out. Having preached the anniversary sermon on the founder's day before the university in his own college, March 25, 1689, it fell to his turn to preach before them on the Sunday following at St Mary's, when the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of colleges desired him to print both sermons, but he declining one part of the honour, printed only the first [A]. He was soon after made Chaplain to King William and Queen

(a) Account of his Life and Writings, prefixed to the Collection of his Sermons and Tracts, in fol. Lond.

(b) As appears from Mr Smith's Obituary.

(c) Account of Bishop Fleetwood's Life and Writings.

(d) Peck's *De-fiderata Curiosa*, Vol. II. l. xiv. P. 37.

(e) Our Historians take no notice of this ten years confinement of Mr Fleetwood, which they certainly would have done if it had ever happened.

(f) See the Dedication to the first part of his *Inscriptionum Antiquarum Sylloge*.

[A] Printed only the first.] The true character of a genius is this, that it not only penetrates but irradiates every subject, and how common or beaten soever gives it fresh life, sets it in a new light and compels us to acknowledge that we are pleased both beside and beyond our expectation. This observation could never be more properly made than at our entrance on the notes to this article, since our whole business in them will be to exhibit instances of the truth and justice of this remark.

I. A Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge in King's College Chapel on the 25th of March, 1689, being the Anniversary for Commemoration of King Henry VI. the Founder, London 1689. 4to.

Our author made a very judicious choice of a text (1) 2 Cor. ix. 12. (1), upon this occasion, viz. *For the administration of this service not only supplieth the want of the Saints, but is abundant also by many thanksgivings unto God.* Which, having first handled with great perspicuity and prudence as a Divine, he proceeds next to the application, and therein gives us not only a fine picture of Henry the Sixth, but intersperses also a variety of historical passages, which the learned reader will allow me to say are hardly to be met with any where else. First, says he, if St Paul so earnestly exhorts to and commends a piece of private, casual, temporary, transient charity, how much is due, what might be said of such a publick, so deliberately designed, such a lasting one (an everlasting one I hope) as I stand here the grateful subject of? A private man may cast his bread upon the waters in hopes to find it after many days; and give a portion to seven, and also to eight, because he knoweth not what evil shall be upon the earth. And if notwithstanding this design, and these self-interested principles, the work is excellent and acceptable both to God and Man, it must needs be infinitely more, so when a Prince becomes the donor, under whose consideration none of those hopes or fears can reasonably be thought to fall. And if the relieving private and some few persons, wants not its praise and glory, they must both of them rise as the merit does, where the publick is obliged, and all may put in equal claim and title to the benefaction, that will be content with his way of education. The story is well known to us be sure, but he that would record the virtuous qualities and fair endowments of our glorious founder, to those that are without or to posterity, could not by any means forget that most remarkable and noble instance of his large and comprehensive soul, in generously rejecting one of our first governors for his too partial fondness to his native county, and endeavouring to appropriate all the royal bounty to it only, considering with himself that tho' a private man might do the same with reason enough and justice too, yet that a Prince should both in this and every thing besides approve himself a father of the publick. Secondly, a formed premeditated and deliberate work of charity, has certainly the advantage of a casual accidental one, this may be wrested only by the importunity of some that want, compliance with the custom of the place, forced by the example of the company and shame of being singular, or express

from men by the lamentable moans and presence of some piteous object, and men are often seen upon removal of those objects, and the going down of those mechanick springs of tenderness, to harden and return again to their ill-natured tempers, and frequently repent them of the good they did, wishing themselves again possessors of their riches. But he that acts deliberately, that forms his designs beforehand, without any present artificial motives, and certainly intends them for a lasting benefit to all posterity, must be presumed, in reason and in justice, to build upon the best and surest grounds, to proceed upon the noblest and most perfect principles. It cannot indeed be said, that this foundation was the design of many years before, for the King himself was then but twenty three at the most, an age most commonly of little thinking with great men, or at best of little else, than how to pass away that spring of life in gaiety and pleasure. But yet it was his earliest undertaking and design, and had for some considerable time been the whole employment of his thoughts, and his heart was so intent upon the matter, that he had little rest till he had brought it to a hopeful prospect, and to some degree of its perfection. It was no sudden accidental thing that moved him, it was not the effect of his relenting thoughts after the shedding some innocent blood by the rage of his own hand, or by the hasty execution of some furious order, for he was meek and merciful, sparing of blood, and tender to his ruin; of such a gentle and forgiving disposition, that when a rude and impious soldier struck him knowingly in prison, he afterwards upon the throne rebuked him only with a piece of Scripture, told him he should not strike the Lord's anointed; nor was it an effect of his repentance upon the cooling of his youthful blood, nor of the injunction of his confessor for some extravagancies common to that age. For what was said of virtuous Gratian may be said of him with equal truth, not Vesta's altar, Pontifex his bed, nor Flamen's pillow, was more pure and holy than his chamber. No honourable wife, no noble virgin, private maid, or consecrated spouse of Christ, called at his hands for satisfaction to their injured honour. He was of such white innocence, and such unfulfilled sanctity in that behalf, that he could not bear those liberties and freedoms, that since make up the very innocence and modesty of Courts. This virtue was in truth so much his own, and so peculiarly engrossed up by him, that he seems to have carried her to heaven along with him, and not to have left succeeding Kings the very virtue of hypocrisy, no, not so much as the grace to dissemble any kind of liking to that purity. Nor was it an atonement for some loud oppression, violence, injustice, or some sacrilege. It is, said one of old, the last defence of wicked Kings to take away from some to give to others, and deprecate the envy and the odium of their present rapines by some large works of bounty to posterity; but it was not so with him, for tho' his reign were long and troublesome, and its years might have been named and numbred from some remarkable calamity befalling his person or his government,

his

Queen Mary, and by the interest of Dr Godolphin, at that time Vice-Provost of Eton and Residentiary of St Paul's, he was made Fellow of that college, and Rector of St Austin's, London, which is in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's (g). His own great merit brought him soon after into the lecture of St Dunstan's in Fleetstreet, where his sermons were generally admired. He maintained that high reputation which he acquired at the university, by publishing a most admirable *Introduction to the Knowledge of Antiquities*, which has been very highly and very justly admired [B]. His love for that study, which he preserved as long as he lived, did not hinder him from applying to the modern languages, and to every branch of polite learning. He was as candid a Critick as he was an indefatigable Scholar, and could readily admire and recommend the performances of others, and, where it was necessary, yield them any other assistance, of which he gave a pregnant instance in translating a celebrated book of devotion, which was rendered

(L) See his Dedication to Dr Godolphin, prefixed to the second part of the same book, dated November 1, 1690.

his affairs perpetually embroiled by the prevailing faction of his powerful rival and competitor for sovereignty, and by the passions of his own imperious and intriguing Queen, by the rude works of war abroad, and by the miseries of a worse at home, and consequently a great deal of injustice must be done, yet no man ever had the hardiness to charge the King with any evil, and that not for good manners or respect, but for the truth and justice sake. And it is so little likely he would cement our buildings with the blood or tears of the oppressed, that when he was in want of money to expedite his intentions, and was shown the way by seizing to that use the estates of some that had forfeited them by treason, he generously rejected their advice, and could not bear the thoughts, that any one in after-times should curse our walls, and call with bitterness and anguish of their souls for their forefathers patrimony. — In compliance therefore with the text, I thank the immortal God for that munificence, by which two royal great societies were founded and endowed, which notwithstanding all the depredations they have undergone, do yet subsist in fair and honourable manner, and are if not the envy yet at least part of the praise and glory of their neighbours, for making a King, a young and mighty King, the instrument of so much good, for inspiring into his soul such christian and such generous purposes, instead of all those vain, ambitious, towering imaginations, those wicked, wanton, and luxurious thoughts, that fill the heads and hearts of common Princes; for giving us a founder, whose bounty makes us not more happy men than his example would, if followed, happy Christians: for the advantage of all those excellent graces and illustrious virtues that adorned his life, and shone so eminently in him: for his early zeal and piety, his ardent and unparallel'd devotion towards God, for his innocent and uncorrupted youth, for his sanctity, sobriety, and temperance, in every kind, for his great love to learning, and greater yet to good morality and true religion, for the firm and steady virtues of his manhood, for his care of all his life, and that incredible watchfulness over all his thoughts, and words, and works, in so much, that in twelve years time, his confessor found no occasion to enjoin him any sort of penance, for his ready resignation to the will of God in all conditions, for his admirable patience under all the sorrows and distresses, the dangers and the difficulties, the exiles and imprisonments, with which his life was exercised for one and fifty years, and lastly, for his holy end and sufferings, being found at his devotions, by that inhuman Prince Richard the Third, that stabbed him to the heart, and left expiring out his soul amidst his prayers. These are the virtues, I can thank God for without a blush or secret check for flattering or enlarging, rare and unseen in Kings, and read by private men with wonder and confusion; so that I doubt, if most of us were left to judge of them, by the faint pursuits and feeble imitations we have made, there would be great temptations to conclude against their truth and possibility. These are the virtues better far best the same and memory of christian Kings, than those of glorious heroes and triumphant Conquerors, enlargers of their Empires, and terrors of their Generations. For the true English of those pompous titles is, that they have been the plagues of the earth, and mighty murderers of mankind, that they have made millions of wretched

widows, orphans, and relations, have turned fair kingdoms into fields of blood and horror, and overrun the world with barbarous waste and desolation. And tho' these bears and tygers, wolves and foxes, are in some manner necessary and useful in the world, and make a glorious bustle whilst they live, and we are pleased with the relations of their acts when dead (better when dead); yet no man in his wits that can consider and might chuse his state himself, but would prefer the palms of innocent and suffering Kings to all the laurels, and ensanguined wreaths of those renowned Nimrods. These are the virtues we can thank God for, because they are so useful and so edifying to the world, so safe to recommend to all mankind, but especially so proper for our private imitation, so suited to our way of living, that one would think the godly King had lived on purpose for our use and service, and that our statutes had been copied from his practice, with some design to shame us into duty, or make us inexcusable if we could otherwise abuse such bounty, neglect such virtue, and refuse to write after so fair and goodly an original.

[B] And very justly admired.] There is nothing more natural than for a man of letters, to exert his utmost as well as his earliest endeavours, to recommend and promote his favourite branch of science, which as it was our author's intention in the following work, so he made no difficulty of owning it in his two dedications, one to the Students in the University of Cambridge, and more especially in King's College, and the other to Dr Henry Godolphin, Fellow of Eton, and Residentiary of St Paul's. The title of this work at large runs thus.

II. *Inscriptionum antiquarum Sylloge in duas Partes Distributa. Quarum prior inscriptiones Ethnicas singulares & rariores penè omnes continet quæ vel Gruteri, Corpore, Reynesii Syntagmate, Sponii Miscellaneis; aliisque ejusdem argumenti Libris reperiuntur. Altera Christianiana Monumenta antiqua quæ hæcenus innotuerunt omnia complectitur. In usum Juventutis Rerum Antiquarum studiosè Edita & notis Quibusdam illustrata: a Guil. Fleetwood Coll. Regal. apud Cantab. Socio. Londini Impensis Guil. Graves, Bibliopolæ Cantabrigiænsis 1691. 8vo. It consists of two parts. The first contains remarkable Pagan inscriptions, collected from Gruter, Reinesius, Spon, and other writers, which is digested into five classes, the first, of Gods; the second, of Publick Works; the third, of Emperors; the fourth, of Priests, Magistrates, Soldiers, &c. and the last, of various persons, as parents, children, husbands, wives, brothers, sisters, &c. The second part contains the antient christian monuments. The notes are very concise, and partly formed from the observations of others, and partly our author's own. If there should ever be published another edition of this book, it would be of great advantage to the reader to give accurate indexes, especially of the proper names, for there is at present only one which may be stiled a Glossary of the Antiquities, that occur in the monuments (2). It would likewise be very proper to add to the titles of the inscriptions, the letter G. or R. or S. A. B. P. F. or W. in order to shew whether they were taken from Gruter, or Reinesius, or Spon, Auringhus, Baronius, Papebroch, Ferretius, Wheeler, &c. For by this means we might have recourse to the sources themselves, if there should be any suspicion of a typographical mistake, or we should be desirous of a more particular account of them.*

(2) Acta Emendatorum Monumentorum Menis Junii 1691, p. 370.

[C] As

(b) See this point fully explained in the note.

rendered thereby as successful here as it had been abroad (b) [C]. But after all he was chiefly distinguished by his great talents for the pulpit, which rendered him so much and so generally admired, that he was frequently called upon to preach in the most publick places, and upon the most solemn occasions; such as, before the King, the Queen, the House of Commons, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and elsewhere, as the reader will see at the bottom of the page [D]. He was desired to undertake the defence of the Christian religion according to the pious and noble design of the Honourable Mr Boyle, but it pleased God, that, at this time, he found himself not in a condition to discharge that duty in a manner satisfactory to himself, but to shew that he meant not to spare his pains, or to decline hazarding that credit which he had already attained, he digested and published his thoughts upon miracles, which was the subject he intended to have handled in case his health had permitted him to have preached those *Lectures*; which work of his might have drawn him into a controversy, if that had not been a thing which he studiously declined [E]. Such were the labours of this great man during that reign, in which many were surprized that he did not obtain higher preferment; for, notwithstanding

[C] *As if it had been abroad.* This note relates to one of the best known and most admired pieces that fell from our author's pen, tho' it is not inserted in the folio collection of his works, or so much as mentioned in the discourse that is prefixed to them, tho' for what reason it is not easy to imagine; the title is this:

III. *A plain Method of Christian Devotion, laid down in Discourses, Meditations, and Prayers, fitted to the various occasions of a religious life, in three parts, translated and revised from the French of Monsieur Jurieu, by William Fleetwood, D. D. Lond. 1692. 8vo.*

The licence for printing it is dated April the 22d 1692, the author of the book was a Minister much admired in Holland, tho' his reputation sunk afterwards, partly from his entertaining enthusiastick opinions, and partly through the arts and credit of some whom he had provoked to be his enemies. This book however kept up its credit, as the translation has likewise done, there having been a large impression printed this very year (1750) and in the title of the book, this is said to be the *twenty seventh* edition. It is impossible to read it with any degree of care without being affected by it. The design is perfectly good, the language plain and precise, there is not an expression in it, that is not worthy of the pure light of the Gospel; and upon the whole, there is nothing in it that hinders us from exercising our reason to heighten our devotion; and very probably it was the consideration of these intrinsic excellencies in the book, rather than the great run which it had abroad, that induced our author to give it an English dress, and withal to prefix a most admirable preface, in which he shews the true use, and cautions the pious reader against the too frequent abuses to which works of this kind are liable. Amongst these, with great judgment and integrity, he shews the sincere Christian how to distinguish between the effects of a true christian faith, and the accidental elevation or depression of the natural spirits, which he has so skilfully described, and touched the general sources of enthusiasm with so delicate a hand, that it is impossible for any candid writer to peruse what he says, without owning him to have an equal discernment in Divinity and Philosophy.

[D] *At the bottom of the page* ] The pieces of which we are to speak in this note, are those Sermons preached by Mr Fleetwood within the compass of the period assigned in the text, upon particular or solemn occasions, which he afterwards thought fit to publish, and which might in a great measure contribute to procure him the reputation of being one of the completest orators in the pulpit in his time, when able and eloquent preachers were very far from being scarce.

IV. A Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, November the fifth 1691. Lond. 1691. 4to.

V. A Sermon preached at Christ-Church, before the Governors of that Hospital on St Stephen's day, 1691. Lond. 1691. 4to.

VI. A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at St Mary le Bow, April the 11th, 1692. Lond. 1692. 4to.

VII. A Sermon preached at Guild-hall Chapel, December the 11th, 1692. Lond. 1692. 4to.

VIII. A Sermon preached before the Queen at White-hall, February the 12th, 1692-3. Lond. 1692-3. 4to.

IX. A Sermon against Clipping. Preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Guild-hall Chapel, December the 16th, 1694. Lond. 1694. 4to.

X. A Sermon of the Education of Children. Preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Guild-hall Chapel, November 1. 1696. Lond. 1696. 4to.

XI. A Sermon preached at St Paul's Cathedral before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, January the 30th, 1698-99. Lond. 1698-99. 4to.

XII. A Sermon preached before the King at White-hall, November the 5th, 1700. Lond. 1700. 4to.

XIII. A Sermon preached before the Gentlemen educated at Eton-College, December the 16th, 1701. Lond. 1701. 4to.

[E] *Which he studiously declined.* ] The title of this famous work of our author is very short and plain, viz.

XIV. *An Essay upon Miracles in two Discourses.* Lond. 1701. 8vo.

In the first discourse he shews what a miracle is, viz. an extraordinary operation of God against the known course of the laws of nature appealing to the sense; then he proceeds to prove, that the power of working miracles is in God alone, and delegated by him to whom he pleases, the character of Moses in this respect is afterwards examined, as also the case of the Egyptian Diviners who opposed him before Pharaoh; lastly, the Law in Deutronomy against false Prophets, for pretending to work miracles, is very fully sifted; so that in the close this position is laid down as fully proved, that the doctrine in general which is to be established, must be fully and fairly stated before the miracles are wrought in support of it. The second discourse relates to the miracles of Jesus Christ; he shews therein, that it was foretold that Christ should work miracles, and that it was expected, that Jesus answered this expectation and fulfilled those predictions; he examines some of the miracles at large, explains the end for which those miracles were wrought, he discusses the great question, whether we must judge of miracles by doctrine, or of doctrine by miracles, proves that signs and wonders are not true miracles, that strange events are no miracles, answers all the objections that are usually made, and sets the evidence drawn from miracles in favour of the Christian religion in a proper point of light.

The then reverend Mr Benjamin Hoadly now Lord Bishop of Winchester, soon after published a letter to Mr Fleetwood occasioned by a late Essay on Miracles. This letter is reprinted in Mr Hoadley's Tracts. The author of the account of the life and writings of Bishop Fleetwood observes, that it has been often affirmed, and passes with some for a certain truth, that the Bishop in a letter to the Reverend Mr Hoadley had given up his scheme. But this the reader may be assured is a report altogether false. Nor is the Bishop's not replying any just ground for such a surmise, for it was almost a principle with him never to enter into controversy, to which he had an extream aversion, the acrimony with which disputes were too often carried on, being not at all agreeable to the calmness and meekness of his temper, for which reason he would not be drawn to defend what he had written. *I write my*

withstanding his being so early made a Chaplain to his Majesty, and his constant attendance in that capacity, yet he never received any thing in the way of favour from the Crown, till, just before King William's death, he bestowed upon him a canonry of Windsor at the request of the Lord Godolphin (i). But it so fell out, that the grant for this canonry did not pass the Seals before the King's demise, upon which the House of Commons addressed Queen Anne to bestow it upon their Chaplain. Her Majesty however being acquainted by the Lord Godolphin with the true state of the case, immediately assured him, that if the King intended to have given Mr Fleetwood this preferment he should certainly have it, and she was as good as her word (k). He continued Chaplain to the Queen as he had been to her predecessor, was much esteemed at Court, greatly beloved in the city, and universally esteemed one of the best preachers in the kingdom. In this situation it is not easy to conceive what the motives were which induced him to take a resolution of resigning his rectory and lectureship, and retiring into the country; but, whatever his motives were, he adhered steadily to that resolution, and this, notwithstanding his parishioners offered to keep a curate at their own expence, and to do whatever else he should desire to make him easy. He executed therefore what he had resolved, and retired to the small rectory of Wexham, which was of no greater value than sixty pounds a year, where he enjoyed a neat house and pleasant gardens, within a small distance of his beloved college of Eton, living there in that privacy and retirement which he so strongly affected. He withdrew himself from the world, but he could not withdraw that esteem which all good men had conceived for his person, or extinguish that high reputation which resulted from his writings. Indeed he sometimes used his endeavours with respect to the latter, and being contented with the pleasure of doing good, took pains to avoid being commended for the good he had done [F]. But other cases there were which would not admit of this kind of management, what he publicly preached he could not avoid owning in print, and if never any thing of his had appeared but his sermons on *relative duties*, those alone had given sufficient cause to look upon the retreat of such a man as a loss to the publick; and it was impossible that this should slip out of the minds of serious and attentive people, while his duty, as the Queen's Chaplain, obliged him to attend upon particular occasions, and to give, though less frequently, as strong marks as ever of his singular abilities [G]. As for himself, he fully enjoyed the

(i) Account of the Life and Writings of Bishop Fleetwood, p. 2.

(k) Ashmole's Antiquities of Berkshire, Vol. III. p. 281.

benefits

*my own sense as well as I can, was his saying upon such occasions: If it be right it will support itself, if it be not it is fit it should sink.*

In 1706, there was printed at London in 8vo. *Reflections upon Mr Fleetwood's Essay on Miracles, showing the absurdity, falshood, and danger of his notions, with a supplement where in is represented the extent and strength of the evidence which Miracles give to Revealed Religion.* By John Gilbert, a Presbyter of the Church of England.

Mr Jenkins likewise, in his *observations on the life of Apollonius Tyanæus*, makes some animadversions upon the principles which Mr Fleetwood's *Essay* proceeds upon, but without naming the author or the book.

[F] *For the good he hath done.* The title at large of this work, than which some very good judges have thought, there is not a better among the many that have been written upon this subject, runs at length in the following words.

XV. *The Reasonable Communicant or an Explanation of the Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in all its parts, from the Communion Service. In a discourse between a Minister and one of his Parishioners.* Lond. 1704. 8vo.

There have been several editions of it. It was ascribed to another hand, and is expressly given to Mr Theophilus Dorrington, Rector of Wittresham in Kent, in the Catalogue of the Tracts distributed by the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge. But notwithstanding this there is not the least doubt of its being our author's, who in his preface assigns this cause for his writing it, viz. 'that he might not be obliged to repeat continually the contents of it to such of his Parishioners, as from time to time came to be instructed how to become worthy partakers of the Sacrament.'

[G] *Of his singular abilities* ] In this note we are to take notice of those sermons that were published by this great Divine before he became a Bishop, and the first of these was,

XVI. *A Sermon preached on September the 7th 1704, being the day for the Thanksgiving.* Lond. 1704. 4to.

As this sermon was preached on a solemn occasion, so the author's publishing it arose from a very particu-

lar circumstance, which as it was a strong tho' disagreeable proof to him of the great respect paid to his performance, it is necessary the reader should have an account of it, which cannot be better given than in his own preface, more especially as it is very short.

'It is somewhat strange, that I who have been forward enough to submit to the orders of my superiors, and comply with the requests of my friends, in publishing many sermons, should now be constrained to publish one against my will, without command, and without request. But so it is, that a certain person unknown to me, who took this sermon from my mouth in characters, must needs think himself obliged to print it without my consent, and was resolved it seems to do so, if I would not take care of it myself. He had indeed honestly enough to give me notice by another hand of his intentions, but not enough to keep him from invading his neighbour's right, which I must needs blame in him, tho' I have reason to think his purpose proceeded from no ill principle or disrespect to me. It is to this secret violence I give this sermon up, and rather chuse to publish it from the original, than let it come from a copy which cannot possibly be perfect, thinking it much better to prevent mistakes, than to be at the pains to correct them afterwards, tho' I very much dislike the being under a necessity of doing either.'

XVII. *The Relative Duties of Parents and Children, Husbands and Wives, Masters and Servants, considered in sixteen practical Discourses; with three Sermons upon the case of self-murder.* Lond. 1705. in 2 vol. 8vo.

This was certainly in its kind one of the most satisfactory and practical systems of Christian morals, that was ever published by any Divine, in our own or in any other language. It was dedicated to the inhabitants of the united Parishes of St Austin and St Faith, to whom, as the author observed, these sermons did in some measure peculiarly belong, as having been composed for their service, preached in their hearing, and sent abroad at their request. All these circumstances are highly honourable for this great man, inasmuch as they plainly shew, that while he had the care of a parish, he applied all his time to the just discharge of his duty, made choice of subjects proper for their knowledge and practice, and treated those subjects in

such

benefits he proposed to himself in his retirement, and indulged, in those vacancies which that kind of life procured him, his natural inclination to the study of British History and Antiquities, which as no man understood better, so none knew how to apply that kind of knowledge to useful and beneficial purposes in a clearer or more satisfactory method than he did, as appeared from a work of his, which, though published without his name, was immediately known to be his from its excellence (l) [H]. We need not wonder, when all these particulars are considered, that this great man was not suffered to remain long in that privacy, which, though it was his own choice and very agreeable to his inclinations, was by no means so either to the welfare of the Church or the inclination of his friends, amongst the most sincere of which we may say, without flattering her memory, was the Princess then upon the throne. On the death of Dr William Beveridge Bishop of St Asaph, March 5, 1707 (m), her Majesty of her own motive determined that Dr Fleetwood should be his successor, and this not only without the least application on his behalf, but absolutely without his knowledge, so that it was no secret to the publick when the first news of it was brought to him. The manner in which this preferment came appeared to him a sufficient reason not to decline it, since it seemed to be the appointment of Providence, and as such he embraced it, and was consecrated June 6, 1708 (n). He soon found that Ecclesiastical as well as Civil government is a very difficult task. There was a spirit then abroad which he utterly disapproved, and this spirit appeared more in that part of the kingdom where his diocese lay than in most others; yet his great and clear reputation, his uncommon abilities, and unblemished life, which set off the episcopal character with much lustre; his obliging and easy deportment, free from the least tincture of pride or shew of superiority, did not only place him above all indecent treatment, which was a great point gained in those unequal times, but procured much reverence and affection to his person, from a clergy, that, almost to a man, differed from him in principle. He preached often before the Queen, and several of those sermons were printed [I]. He attended the House of Lords constantly, and acted there with

(l) The author of this article is in possession of several of the old English Histories that formerly belonged to this Prelate, in which are many learned remarks under his own hand.

(m) Godwin. de Præful. Angl. Cantab. 1743, fol. p. 277.

(n) Account of his Life and Writings, p. 4.

such a manner as suited best with their occasions. Another excellence in this work is, that it is a most clear and convincing demonstration of the truth of the Christian religion, since it exhibits so full, so rational, and so inviting a plan of moral duties, as must persuade whoever considers them attentively, that the principles from whence they are deduced are incontestably the true principles of social happiness.

XVIII. A Fast Sermon preached before the Queen at *St James's*, April the 4th, 1705. Lond. 1705. 4to.

XIX. A Sermon preached before the Queen at *Windfor*, June the 17th, 1705. Lond. 1705. 4to.

[H] From its excellence.] In order to make the design of this curious work clearly understood, we will insert the title at large as it stands in the later editions.

XX. *Chronicon Preciosum; or, An account of English Gold and Silver Money, the price of Corn and other Commodities, and of Stipends, Salaries, Wages, Jointures, Portions, Day-labours, &c. in England for six hundred years last past; shewing from the decrease of the value of money, and from the increase of the value of Corn and other Commodities, &c. that a Fellow who has an Estate in Land of inheritance or a perpetual pension of five pounds per annum, may conscientiously keep his Fellowship, and ought not to be compelled to leave the same, tho' the Statutes of his College (founded between the years 1440, and 1460) did then vacate his Fellowship on such condition.* Lond. 1707. 8vo.

The reader sees from this large title the nature of this treatise; but it may not be amiss to observe, that the great learning and labour necessary for composing it, does not so readily appear, and therefore our dwelling upon it a little, cannot be disagreeable to those who are desirous of knowing on what foundation the high and universal character of this Prelate stands. The great point to be determined was, what annual income in the reign of Queen Anne was equivalent to five pounds a year in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, and this with a view to a case of conscience of very considerable extent, for the old statutes remaining in force, there was nothing plainer than that the Fellows of Colleges to whom they related, and their superiors, were equally concerned to know what five pounds in an equitable sense might be extended to, on account of the changes that had happened to money, and to every thing purchased with money, the rather, because if this could be done, it would afford an easy and invariable rule for determining the like cases for the future, a thing that might also be highly serviceable

another way, or rather many other ways. Now the method he took in resolving this question, was, without dispute, the fairest and the most satisfactory that could be devised. First, he undertook to settle the value of money in the two different periods, and then by enquiring into the price of necessary commodities, and into the corresponding alterations of salaries and wages, he gave a clear account of all the variations incident to that sum, which through this series of time the statute supposed sufficient to purchase a single man in a collegiate state the necessaries of life; in consequence of which deduction it appears, that the true equivalent of five pounds in King Henry the Sixth's reign, was thirty pounds in the reign of Queen Anne; that is to say, a man in the latter reign might live just as well, and no better, upon a clear annuity or rent charge of thirty pounds per annum, than he could have done, if he had been to live in the reign of Henry the Sixth upon five pounds.

[I] And several of those Sermons were printed.] The pieces that are referred to in the text are those that follow.

XXI. A Thanksgiving Sermon preached before the Queen at *St Paul's*, August the 19th, 1708. Lond. 1708. 4to.

XXII. A Sermon preached before the Queen at *St James's*, April the 17th, 1709. Lond. 1709. 4to.

XXIII. A Sermon preached before the Lords, January the 30th, 1709-10. Lond. 1709-10. 4to.

It was thought very extraordinary in this learned Prelate, that in a Sermon preached upon a State Fast, which called for universal observation, he should equally defeat the expectation of all parties; for the whole tenor of it was directly opposite to the sentiments of those who were stiled high churchmen, and the following picture at the close was as little calculated to please some other people; nay, there are a few strokes in it which he knew could not be pleasing even to the royal ear; but in all his conversation with Courts, Bishop Fleetwood had never picked up so much knowledge of this world, as to conceive his interest in it, comparable to the obligation he was under of speaking in that place only what was just and right; and perhaps, it was this noble zeal for truth, which gave that spirit that glows in the following periods.

As for the praises that are bestowed upon King Charles the First, I know not who should envy them, nor how a Church of England Minister can honestly decline them: he must know nothing of that Prince's history; he must have little sense of justice, gratitude, or honour, by whom his memory is not held most precious. It were a small thing to say, no Prince (altho'

with that dignity and spirit which might have been expected from his private character, and which was perfectly agreeable to his function. He visited his diocese, and his charge upon that occasion shews, that he was a zealous, though not a furious, churchman (o). It has been thought one of the most perfect things in it's kind, and contains with much plainness and perspicuity various instances of his great learning, not introduced with any view of shewing it, but perfectly adapted and absolutely necessary to the subject [K]. The dislike he had to the prevailing spirit in those days, of magnifying the regal power in such an indiscreet manner as to represent tyranny in the light of the ordinance of God, and the most abject slavery as founded in the principles of religion, induced him to write upon that subject in such a manner, as he thought most suitable to the temper of the times, and to which therefore he did not think proper to fix his name, but chose rather that it should go abroad into the world under an assumed character. On other occasions he preached and published his sermons as usual, and their peculiar merit always procured them that reception they deserved [L]. His Lordship, who was a man of much wisdom and penetration, had not only an earnest concern for the peace and prosperity of his own country, but a tender and Christian-like sense of the miseries that might be felt in other nations, from that arbitrary scheme of extending her dominions through a great part, and her influence to the very extremities of Europe, which had been the characteristick of the policy of France, during the space of a century at least (p). It was this that made him dissatisfied with the measures taken at the latter end of the Queen's reign, which dissatisfaction, as it proceeded entirely from principle, so he never studied to conceal it on one side, or ever shewed the least inclination to vary from it on the other. A friend of his has set his conduct in this respect in a very true light [M]. He maintained his credit, notwithstanding

(o) See what is said upon this subject in the note.

(p) See his several Sermons preached before both Houses of Parliament during the War.

(o) (altho' his father was a learned one) but I will say no private gentleman, did ever understand the constitution of our Church better, defend it with stronger arguments, adhere to it with more judgment, adorn it with better manners, live up to its good principles with more virtue, nor in performance of its offices shew more devout and exemplary good behaviour. I will not in these things, except the Queen upon the throne, nor that blessed Saint in heaven her sister, than did King Charles the First. No Prince did ever shew more personal favour to its ministers, nor give more countenance and credit to its discipline and orders. And must I say, no Prince but he did ever die in its defence to justify the high esteem we have him in? I may; because it is so true, that they who envy him the glory of that title upon all accounts besides, will yet allow he fell a Martyr for the Church of England. Would not that Church be most deservedly the hatred and reproach of all the world, that should be sparing of her praises and best incense, but let it ever be unhallowed incense to his memory? Let them to make an end take heed, lest some degree of guilt be thought to make those people over tender, who are soon offended with the praises of King Charles the First. And let even us ourselves take heed, that such our praises may appear so well designed, and be managed with that good temper, sobriety, and modest truth, that they provoke those men to nothing but compunction, and relentings, and repentance, where these things are wanting, and both ourselves and them to the imitation of all those excellent good qualities, those civil virtues, and those religious Christian graces that made him appear so highly exemplary both in life and death.

[K] *And absolutely necessary to the subject.*] The title of this celebrated charge runs thus.

XXIV. *The Bishop of St Asaph's charge to the Clergy of that Diocese in 1710, and now made publick by his Lordship's permission.* Lond. 1710. 4to.

A Bishop's charge at his visitation seems to be, and indeed is, a thing so much of course, that the bare mention of it amongst our Prelate's works might appear sufficient upon the subject, but the case is far otherwise. Our Bishop considered every thing not in the way of its being easiest or soonest, but of its being best done. Certain it is, that as he carried many things in the opinions of the best judges as high as they could go, so he aimed at perfection in all. He had observed that a Bishop's charge was often so much a piece of oratory, that there was little in it of reason or conviction; that for the sake of brevity, even the most important points were seldom dwelt upon, and yet that the shortest charge seemed tedious, by being repeated over and over again, at different places during

the same visitation. Against these inconveniencies our Prelate resolved to guard; therefore his charge is as serious a thing as the subject, to which it chiefly relates, the care of men's souls. It is very methodical, and every point of it is illustrated at large, in which there is much learning, more good sense, but above all a true spirit of sincere piety. It was, contrary to the usual method, printed before the visitations, and sent to the Clergy of his Diocese a considerable time before the Bishop made his visitation, that they might have leisure not only to read, but to weigh, to consider, and to comply with it. It has been said, that his discourses on relative duties formed an excellent system of the doctrines; it may with equal truth be affirmed, that this charge is an admirable epitome of the discipline of the Church of England. In short, like the rest of Bishop Fleetwood's writings, it is a true model of what such a thing should be, it is full of those sentiments, it is delivered in that language, it breaths the spirit, and carries in it the authority of a Christian Bishop. This I am sensible is saying a great deal, but I am at the same time as sensible, that it is saying no more than it deserves, or than must be said by any man who peruses it with tolerable attention.

[L] *That reception they deserved.*] The title of the first of these pieces, which is indeed written in a very peculiar stile taken at large runs thus.

XXV. *The thirteenth chapter to the Romans vindicated from the abusive senses put upon it, written by a Curate of Salop, and directed to the Clergy of that County, and the neighbouring ones of North-Wales; to whom the author wisheth patience, moderation, and a good understanding for half an hour.* Lond. 1710. 8vo.

XXVI. A Sermon preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, February the 16th, 1710-11. Lond. 1710-11. 4to.

[M] *In a very true light.*] Our Bishop says he, 'Who was a steady friend to the old Ministry, because he saw they had served their country well and faithfully, could not be drawn to give any countenance to the measures of the new one, though endeavours had been used, and intimations given by the Queen herself who had a great value for him, how pleasing his frequent coming to Court would be to her. But his sentiments will best appear from his own words, in a letter to a friend to whom he used to speak and write his mind freely: "When my duty to the Queen, and the good of my country, will permit it, my gratitude will never let me vote against my friends. When I have saved my conscience, I give myself up to what I call my honour, and therefore under all the discouragements I can be, I shall always be on the side of the late Ministry, because I know they served the Queen and nation so well, that I am

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(q) Account of  
his Life and  
Writings, p. 7.

withstanding his difference with the Ministry, so entire, that when a fast was appointed while the peace was in agitation, he was made choice of by the House of Lords to preach before them upon that occasion (q); but, by some means or other, the contents of his sermon were either guessed at or known, and such as thought they should hear nothing from him that would please them, contrived to get the House of Peers adjourned beyond the day, which indeed put it out of our Prelate's power to deliver what he had collected before the House of Peers in a body, but notwithstanding this he printed and put his sentiments into the hands of the people [N]. This gave much offence to some great Ministers of State, who very easily knew, from the spirit and language of the sermon, from whom it came, and resolved not to let slip any future opportunity of shewing their resentment, for, how much soever it provoked, this, could give them none. It was not long, however, before the warmth of our Prelate's temper furnished them with the occasion they wished for, nor did they neglect it. Before this, however, the Bishop of St Asaph sent abroad another tract of his without his name, in reference to Lay Baptism, about which a controversy had been raised that made a great deal of noise. Our Prelate very well knew on how sandy a foundation

“morally assured they never will be served better, and  
“whenever they are I shall certainly be on their side  
“who do that service; I think I may be allowed to  
“act as clear and disinterested a part as any man of  
“our order, for sure, if I could shift my side I might  
“be well accepted, considering what relation I have  
“had to one (the Earl of Rochester) who governs all,  
“and who is very civil to me upon all occasions; but  
“the measures we are in are by no means pleasing to  
“me, as what will never do the nation's business; and  
“I foresee that all our millions and our blood spent  
“for these twenty years past, will end in a despicable  
“peace, which yet we must pitifully sue for too.”

When he was asked about two years after this, his opinion of the situation of our publick affairs, his answer was. ‘I have been, and am still in so ill humour  
‘with relation to them, that I hardly can endure to  
‘think of them. We were in the greatest honour  
‘abroad of any nation in the earth; we are now the  
‘scorn of all people: our friends hate us, and our  
‘enemies laugh at us. We shall neither have a good  
‘peace nor a good war, France will not give us the  
‘first, and we ourselves have cut off the means of the  
‘last. The disgrace of the Duke of Malborough was  
‘worth a million at least, and yet I do not hear we  
‘got a farthing by it, which I impute not to our honesty  
‘and virtue, but to our folly, malice, infatuation,  
‘and the great haste we are in to be undone.  
‘The Parliament has passed such a censure upon the  
‘Duke, that I dare aver no equal number of men in  
‘all the world, of what nation or religion soever,  
‘would have done. But the laying him aside is so  
‘strange a thing, that people are put to all their shifts  
‘to account for it, and to make it go down with the  
‘world, must invent, exaggerate, and say, and do  
‘any thing to make him appear worthy of such usage;  
‘but I expect it will turn to his enemies mischief, as  
‘it certainly does to his honour, that after so keen  
‘and malicious an inquisition into his conduct, their  
‘great master should be able to accuse him of nothing,  
‘but of doing what all Generals have done before  
‘him, and what King William always did.’

[N] *Into the hands of the people.*] The title of this extraordinary discourse, which, as we have observed in the text, was printed, tho' never preached, ran in the following words.

XXVII. A Sermon on the *Fast-day*, January the sixteenth, 1711-12. against such as *delight in war*. By a Divine of the Church of England. Lond. 1712, 8vo. The text is, Psalm lxxviii. 30. Towards the end he has the following passage. ‘The war we are  
‘engaged in is acknowledged to be just, and the successes  
‘God has crowned it with have been astonishingly  
‘great. And therefore they who now tell us  
‘that we entered wrong into it, are those I doubt  
‘who would have us go wrong out of it; or if they  
‘mean that we have been at too great charge, it is  
‘manifest they know not how to value those successes.  
‘But I would speak to Englishmen. These great  
‘successes it is plain have not been overbought, because  
‘we are told it is by them that the enemies have been  
‘so far reduced, as to make proposals for treating of  
‘a general peace. Would they have done it then  
‘without these great successes? Or could we have  
‘obtained these great successes at a less expence? I

‘am as glad to confront so senseless a slander with so  
‘great an authority, as I am to say, that our enemies  
‘have been at as great expence at least to lose their  
‘country, cities, and their armies, as we have been  
‘to win them, take them, and overcome them; and  
‘that their children, and their childrens children,  
‘will be paying debts (if arbitrary governments pay  
‘debts) contracted by disgraces, losses, and defeats,  
‘which left them fighting still in chains and slavery;  
‘while our posterity shall be discharging debts, contracted  
‘by their fathers to leave them the Protestant  
‘Religion, a Protestant Succession, and which must  
‘keep them both their liberties. Our enemies themselves  
‘will hardly have the malice or the confidence  
‘to say this nation is an enemy to peace, or that  
‘whatever could be done has not been done, in order  
‘to the obtaining it. But we shall also give them  
‘cause I hope to say, that all that can be done, in  
‘order to the carrying on the war, is also done. The  
‘first without the last would only give them a pleasure  
‘that we owe them not, and make us their scorn  
‘who have been hitherto their terror. But let us not  
‘so much as presage the least evil. I know very  
‘well in whose hands, under God, we are. This is a  
‘peace or war, that is not like any other peace or  
‘war, that we or our fathers have seen. It is one of  
‘the greatest misfortunes that could befall a nation at  
‘this time, if peoples consideration can be so short  
‘and slight as to think this treaty will determine  
‘only, whether they shall save a little money by  
‘peace, or spend a little more by carrying on the  
‘war. Whereas, it will determine, in all likelihood,  
‘whether they shall ever have abilities and power  
‘again of giving or refusing. I do not mean, that  
‘we shall article for or against a new Religion, a  
‘new Government, and a new King; but I mean,  
‘that unless the peace be good, those things will certainly  
‘follow in their time, without and against all  
‘articles. And therefore no man can be too solicitous  
‘about this great event, that will determine the  
‘fortune of Europe for many years, and it may be  
‘for many ages, and, for our own particular, determine  
‘in its consequence of all we have. And therefore  
‘they who are in earnest, zealous for the glory  
‘and the safety of the Queen, the preservation of  
‘the Protestant Religion, and the Protestant Succession,  
‘and for the English laws and liberties, will certainly  
‘beg of God so to direct, guide, and assist  
‘those whom the Queen employs in this most nice  
‘and perilous affair of treating, that such a peace  
‘may be obtained as will secure them all to us and  
‘our posterity, or should the war be still found necessary,  
‘that he would go forth with our armies in the  
‘most glorious and surprising manner he hath hitherto  
‘done, and raised us up (he only can) a General  
‘wise, and brave, and fortunate, as was our  
‘last.’ This was indeed exceeding strong, but it appears  
‘to have flowed from a true spirit of patriotism, and not  
‘from any private prejudice or personal dislike to those  
‘who were intrusted with power, tho' it is so far from being  
‘impossible, that, to speak the truth, it is not at all  
‘improbable, they took it in quite another light, and  
‘believed that they were by this very sermon denounced  
‘to the British nation, as the betrayers and enemies of  
‘their country.

foundation that superstructure stood which he judged it expedient to demolish, and he did his business very effectually, but in so masterly a manner that his hand was known, and many people concluded from the method and manner of the piece that it could be none but his, which perhaps added somewhat to the reputation it obtained [O]. In the month of May 1712, his Lordship sent abroad four sermons that he had preached upon particular occasions, the latest of them in the year 1710, and the earliest above twenty years before; to which he prefixed a preface, shewing the occasion of their being committed to the press at this time, in which there was nothing very extraordinary, at least in comparison of what befel it, and the noise it made (r). There was no taking advantage of the sermons, for they were received with applause when they were preached, and therefore there could be nothing criminal in printing them either at this or any other time; but for the preface it was a new thing, it had the Bishop of St Asaph's name, and in that was distinguished from the sermons which had excited their dislike. Of this preface therefore they took hold, and, upon a motion made for that purpose in the House of Commons, an order was made to burn it. What end this answered is not easily understood, for it made both preface (s) and sermons more generally read, and consequently more generally admired [P]. It

(r) See the Spectator, Vol. V. No. 384.

(s) Pointer's Chronological History of England, Vol. II. p. 717.

[O] *To the reputation it obtained.*] This dispute took rise from a person's publishing a book against Lay-Baptism, who had been himself baptized by a person not episcopally ordained, and who therefore judged it expedient to be rebaptized; so that his book was calculated to defend his own practice which was likewise justified and recommended, by the Reverend Dr Hicke a very learned man, but very rigid in his principles, and a very warm writer. The title of our author's book, was as follows.

XXVIII. *The Judgment of the Church of England in the case of Lay-Baptism, and of Dissenters Baptism. By which it appears, that she hath not by any public Act of her's, made or declared Lay-Baptism to be invalid. The second edition. With an additional letter from Dr John Cofin, afterwards Bishop of Durham, to Mr Cordel, who scrupled to communicate with the French Protestants upon some of the modern pretences.* Lond. 1712. 8vo. The second part of the Judgment of the Church of England in the case of Lay-Baptism, and Dissenters Baptism. Lond. 1712. 8vo.

To what has been said of this treatise in the text we shall add very little here, and that from the writings of another Prelate, in order to shew the consequences of this extraordinary controversy. 'A conceit was taken up, says Bishop Burnet (3), of the invalidity of Lay-Baptism, on which several books have been writ; nor was the dispute a trifling one, since by this notion the teachers among the Dissenters passing for Laymen, this went to the rebaptizing them and their congregations. Dodwell gave the rise to this conceit, he was a very learned man, and led a strict life, he seemed to hunt after paradoxes in all his writings, and broached not a few; he thought none could be saved but those who by the sacraments had a federal right to it, and that these were the seals of the covenant: so that he left all who died without the sacraments, to the uncovenanted mercies of God; and to this he added, that none had a right to give the sacraments, but those who were commissioned to it, and these were the Apostles, and after them Bishops and Priests ordained by them: it followed upon this, that sacraments administered by others were of no value. He pursued these notions so far, that he asserted that the souls of men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue was conveyed by Baptism given by persons episcopally ordained.———This strange and precarious system was in great credit amongst us, and the necessity of the sacrament, and the invalidity of ecclesiastical functions, when performed by persons who were not episcopally ordained, were entertained by many with great applause: this made the Dissenters pass for no Christians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view: and several little books were spread about the nation to prove the necessity of rebaptizing them, and that they were in a state of damnation till that was done, but few were by these arguments prevailed upon to be baptized: this struck even at the Baptism by midwives in the Church of Rome, which was practised and connived at here in England, till it was objected in the conference held at Hampton-Court, soon after King James the First's accession to the Crown, and Baptism was not till then limited

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' to persons in Orders. Nothing of this kind was so much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great part of the nation had been baptized by Dissenters, but it was now promoted with much heat. The Bishops thought it necessary to put a stop to this new and extravagant doctrine; so a declaration was agreed to, first against the irregularity of all Baptism by persons who were not in Holy Orders, but that yet according to the practice of the Primitive Church, and the constant usage of the Church of England, no Baptism in or with water, (In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) ought to be reiterated. The Archbishop of York at first agreed to this, so it was resolved to publish it in the name of all the Bishops of England; but he was prevailed on to change his mind and refused to sign it, pretending that this would encourage irregular Baptism: so the Archbishop of Canterbury with most of the Bishops of his Province resolved to offer it to the Convocation. It was agreed to in the Upper-House, the Bishop of Rochester only dissenting: but when it was sent to the Lower-House, they would not so much as take it into consideration but laid it aside, thinking that it would encourage those who struck at the dignity of the Priesthood. This was all that passed in Convocation.'

[P] *And consequently more generally admired.*] The title of this small collection of Sermons ran thus.

XXIX. Four Sermons. I. *On the Death of Queen Mary, 1694.* II. *On the Death of the Duke of Gloucester, 1700.* III. *On the Death of King William, 1701.* IV. *On the Queen's Accession to the Throne in 1702. With a Preface.* Lond. 1712. 8vo.

It must be allowed, that the whole of his Lordship's Preface bore very hard upon those that were then intrusted with the conduct of publick affairs. It is by much too long for us to transcribe, but the paragraph that was thought to have drawn the censure of the House of Commons, concludes that piece and runs thus. 'Never did seven such years together pass over the head of any English Monarch, nor cover it with so much honour: the Crown and Sceptre seemed to be the Queen's least ornaments. Those other Princes were in common with her, and her great personal virtues were the same before and since. But such was the fame of her administration of affairs at home, such was the reputation of her wisdom and felicity in choosing Ministers, and such was then esteemed their faithfulness and zeal, their diligence and great abilities in executing her commands: to such a height of military glory, did her great General and her Armies carry the British name abroad: such was the harmony and concord betwixt her and her allies: and such was the blessing of God upon all her counsels and undertakings, that I am as sure, as history can make me, no Prince of ours, was ever yet so prosperous and successful, so loved, esteemed, and honoured by their subjects and their friends, nor near so formidable to their enemies. We were, as all the world imagined then, just entering on the ways that promised to lead to such a peace, as would have answered all the prayers of our religious Queen, the care and vigilance of a most able ministry, the payments of a willing and obedient people, as well as all the glorious toils and hazards of the soldiery.

22 L

(3) Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 603, 604.

It was far from affecting the Bishop, who knew very well that this was the pure effects of party rage, and that it would be disapproved even by the wiser and better part of those who differed from him in sentiments. He could not therefore be at all troubled about a thing that discredited his adversaries as much as they meant to discredit him. On the contrary, he looked upon it as a complement made him by mistake, for whatever faction has power may burn what they please, or rather what displeases them, and those writings will ever displease a faction most, that they are least able to disprove. The fire is a conclusive but not a convincing argument, it will certainly destroy any book but it refutes none. How far these were his Lordship's sentiments, and how little he felt from the usage which his preface had met with, the reader will learn from a letter of his to the Bishop of Salisbury (*t*), which is inserted in the notes [Q]. As times of publick disturbance, or those of animosity and confusion which generally precede them, afford the emissaries of the Church of Rome the fairest opportunity of practising upon weak and unwary minds, our Prelate could not help seeing, with much regret, that these practices were carried on very openly and successfully in his diocese, where the pious gratitude due to Almighty God for the cures wrought by a mineral water, was diverted, by the boldness with which a certain Legend (*u*) was propagated; he thought it highly worthy of his notice, and for that reason composed and published a treatise, in which he examined this matter to the bottom, demonstrating fully how very useful the knowledge of History and Antiquities may be to a Protestant Divine; and in doing this he acted with so much candour, as left even those whom he opposed no room to object [R]. He gave, not long

(*t*) This Letter is dated June 17, 1712; and the Order for burning his preface was made the 10th of the same month.

(*u*) That of St Winefride.

' when God for our sins permitted the spirit of discord to go forth, and by troubling fore the camp, the city, and the country, (and oh that it had altogether spared the places sacred to his worship!) to spoil for a time this beautiful and pleasing prospect, and give us in its stead I know not what—Our enemies will tell the rest with pleasure. It will become me better to pray to God to restore us to the power of obtaining such a peace, as will be to his glory, the safety, honour, and the welfare of the Queen and her dominions, and the general satisfaction of all her high and mighty allies.'

[Q] Which is inserted in the notes.] This letter was communicated to the author of the account of Bishop Fleetwood's life and writings prefixed to his works by Sir Thomas Burnet, Knight, one of the Justices of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas.

My LORD,

I Received the favour of your Lordship's letter, and I took it, as I know it was intended, very kindly. The manner of my receiving the indignity put upon my Preface, was neither like a Christian nor Philosopher, but like a very worldly man. I knew the whole process, and knew it to be a piece of revenge taken by a wicked party, that found themselves sorely stung, and it affected me accordingly, i. e. very little. I am not one that love to be the talk of the town, and in this part I confess I was uneasy, although I think the talk was very much in my favour. The complaint was made by Hungerford, and seconded by Manley, people that should indeed have been ordered to have burnt it, and thirdered by what we call the Court, and carried by numbers without a wise word said against it; Sir Peter King, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr Lechmere, and others of the Robe, were very strenuous advocates in its behalf; and so were other gentlemen, but to no purpose, for the Court divided one hundred and nineteen, and my friends but fifty four. If their design was to intimidate me, they have lost it utterly; or if to suppress the book, it happens much otherwise; for every body's curiosity is awakened by this usage, and the Bookseller finds his account in it above any one else. The Spectator has conveyed above fourteen thousand of them into other people's hands, that would otherwise have never seen or heard of it. In a word, my Lord, when I consider that these gentlemen have used me no worse, than I think they have used their own country, the Emperor, the States, the House of Hanover, and all our allies abroad, as well as all the bravest, wisest, and honestest men we have at home, I am more inclined to become vain, than any ways depressed at what has befallen me; and intend to set up for a man of merit upon this very stock. But pleasantry apart my heart is wounded within me, when I consider seriously whereabouts we are, and

whither we are tending. The Court party do now own publickly, that except the allies accept of the conditions that are offered them, King Philip is not to make any renunciation, and certainly the allies cannot accept of those conditions, unless they are distressed to the last degree; we must and shall have a separate peace in spite of all that can be said, and that must be without a renunciation on the part of France, and without a guaranty from the allies, and what a peace is that like to be? It is now said, that England is to constrain the King of France, to content the States with a Barrier to their liking, and that the rest will come in or stand out without any danger; but I am afraid England has lost all her constraining power, and that France thinks she has us in her hands, and may use us as she pleases, which I dare say will be as scurvily as we deserve. What a change has two years made? Your Lordship may now imagine you are growing young again, for we are fallen methinks into the very dregs of Charles the Second's politicks, saving that then they were more reasonable, because our enemy was then in so full power and lustre, as might both terrify and dazzle a poor luxurious Prince that would not be disturbed, nor seem to care much what became of England after he was gone. The present times may put you in mind of those with this bad difference still, that now the ruinous effects of those advices seem to be taking place, after an interval of five or six and twenty years, and after such an interruption as one would have thought, should have quite baffled and destroyed them. I find, my Lord, upon reading my letter, that I have entered upon deep matters, which, considering the times and the Spaw waters I have taken, I ought not to have done. You will I hope excuse me, for methought I was talking with you who I believe favour me. I have, I thank God, an entire trust in his goodness, and know he has hitherto preserved us beyond all reasonable hopes, without and against all our deservings; but will he still go on to save us against our will, and in the midst of our endeavours to destroy ourselves? I hope he will, for else I think we are a lost people. I pray God to preserve your Lordship and all your family.'

I am,

June the 17th,  
1712.

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP'S most

humble servant,

W. ASAPH.

[R] No room to object.] The title of this work of our author's runs thus.

long after, a very singular specimen of pious benevolence in a new and very extraordinary way, which was by sending abroad, though without his name, a sermon on the execution of a Gentleman for the murder of another Gentleman, with whose wife he had lived in a criminal conversation; which affair, though it made then a great noise, our Prelate apprehended might not make that impression which the laws of God and man required, and for which publick executions are chiefly calculated. This sermon had a very great sale, and it may be presumed from thence had a very good effect [S]. Upon the demise of the Queen, and the Hanover succession taking place, our Prelate had as much reason to expect that his zeal and services should be considered as any of his rank or function; but he was very far from making any display of his merit, or using even the lawful means of making it known to the King or his Ministers. But as his services were not of a nature to be concealed, so it was not long before they were rewarded. Upon the death of Dr John Moore Bishop of Ely, July 31, 1714 (w), Dr Tension, then Archbishop of Canterbury, strenuously recommended the choice of Bishop Fleetwood for the vacant See, and he was accordingly, without the least application directly or indirectly, nominated thereto, and actually translated December the 18th in the same year (x). His new preferment had no other effect, than to quicken his diligence in the discharge of his duty in all its branches, and in this way he continued to distinguish himself as far, and as long, as his strength would permit, with indefatigable industry (y), of which the publick is in possession of incontestible evidence, arising from a variety of excellent writings upon different subjects, of which some notice will be taken at the bottom of the page [T].

(w) Godwin, de Praesul. Anglor. Cantab. 1743, fol. 645.

(x) Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Angl. p. 72.

(y) Account of the Life and Writings, p. 89.

In

XXX. *The Life and Miracles of St Wenefrede together with her Litanies, with some historical observations made thereon.* London printed for Sam. Buckley, at the Dolphin in Little Britain, 1713. 8vo.

Our Prelate shews us in his Preface what the motives were, which induced him to bestow so much pains upon the life of St Wenefrede, that the concourse of people to the well which carries her name was very great; that the Papists made use of this to influence weak minds, that they had lately reprinted a large life of this Saint in English; that these considerations might justly affect any Protestant Divine; and that for certain reasons, which he did not think fit to explain, they affected him in particular. He farther observes, that Bollandus the Jesuit, and other Popish writers, had taken the freedom of observing, that the inhabitants of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Bretagne in France, were remarkable for swallowing any kind of legend, and that such as were laught at and despised elsewhere, met with very ready credit in any of these countries, which he thought a little provoking. In reference to the story of St Wenefrede, he compares it with the rules laid down by the great critics of that communion, for determining the credit and authenticity of all such relations, and he shews that if those laws have any foundation it deserves no credit at all. He farther maintains, that concerning this St Wenefrede there was nothing at all written within upwards of five hundred years, after the time in which she is said to have flourished, that within this period there flourished many celebrated writers, who composed works upon such subjects, as must have induced them to have taken notice of Wenefrede, if her story had been at all known; and that it is impossible the legend now insisted upon should contain facts worthy of belief, since if those facts had ever happened they could never be liable to these objections.

But let us hear what he himself says to the Popish votaries. 'In the case of pilgrimage, the business is to thank God for his gifts and graces bestowed upon the Saint, or to pray to that Saint for something that we want, or to pray to God to hear us for that Saint's sake, or to that Saint to intercede with God for us. In all which cases a Pilgrim ought to have the fullest assurance, and the greatest certainty that is possible to be had. First, That Wenefrede did once live as surely as he himself now lives. Secondly, That she was a Saint upon earth as surely as he is a sinner. Thirdly, That she had her head struck off at Holy-well, and miraculously set on again, as surely as he is now at Holy-well himself, and has his head upon his shoulders. Fourthly, That she is now glorified in Heaven, as surely as he is now praying on Earth. I would desire the Pilgrims to this Holy Spring to consider with themselves, whether they can or ought to want any of these points of certainty, of the life and death, and sanctity, and glorification of St Wenefrede, in case they are required to

' thank God for her, or to pray to her, and then to give me the patience of reading the following observations, in which I have endeavoured to shew that they neither have, nor can have, that certainty and assurance of her life, and death, and sanctity, which ought to be the bottom of praise to God for her.' The text of this life is the English Popish life of St Wenefrede, published by I. F. for we know nothing of him more than those initials of his name, or of the name which he assumed; upon which, and upon the Preface, our Bishop wrote his observations; he likewise added the Litanies, Prayers, and some other Legends relative to the same story, which hitherto had lain hid in Libraries, and which might probably have perished there if they had not been sought for upon this occasion.

[S] *Had a very good effect.*] This Sermon of our excellent Bishop was published, under the following title

XXXI. *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of Mr Noble; who was executed at Kingston, for the Murder of a Gentleman, with whose wife he had criminal conversation.*

The name of the gentleman who was murdered was Mr Sayer, whose wife, after running him in debt, had separated from him, and lived in a dissolute manner. He had obtained a search-warrant, and upon information given him, that Mrs Sayer, her mother, and Mr Noble, who was an Attorney, were at an house in Lambeth, Mr Sayer went thither with a peace officer in order to apprehend them, and in a fray which ensued, Mr Sayer was killed by Mr Noble, who was tried for this fact together with the two women, when they were acquitted and he was found guilty. He was a young man of good parts and had much business, there was, as is usual in such cases, a prodigious outcry against him till he was found guilty, and then he was in a manner universally pitied. Great applications were made to the crown for mercy, but without the least success, it was a case of so singular, as well as so foul, a nature, that for a long time it was the common topic of discourse; and our charitable Prelate endeavoured to turn this kind of useless attention to better purpose, by representing, in the strongest and most pathetic terms, the danger of entering into those courses which lead to such unhappy acts; the wisdom of embracing such warnings, by recurring to an immediate and sincere repentance; and finally, the usefulness of such dreadful examples, in order to give a check to the lawless vices of men, to protect the innocent from the rage of the guilty, and to execute by the sword of civil justice the sentence pronounced by the Law of God.

[T] *At the bottom of the page*] We are in this note to render the reader a short account of such other treatises upon different subjects as fell from this learned Prelate's pen, and they were these.

In this course of life he persisted with unwearied spirit, notwithstanding the great infirmities

XXXII. *The Counsellor's Plea for the Divorce of Sir G. D. and Mrs F.*

The case upon which this plea was formed was as follows. 'I. G. D. without the knowledge and consent of his father, then alive, but accounted not of sound judgment, was, at the age of fifteen, by the procurement and persuasion of those in whose keeping he was, married according to the Church form to M. F. of the age of fifteen. II. This young couple was put to bed in the day time, according to custom, and continued there a little while, but in the presence of the company, who all testify they touched not one the other, and after that they came together no more, the young gentleman going immediately abroad, the young woman continuing with her parents. III. G. D. after three or four years travel returned home to England, and being solicited to live with his lawful wife, refused it, and frequently and publickly declared he never would compleat the marriage. IV. Fourteen years have passed since this marriage ceremony was performed, and each party having, as is natural to think, contracted an incurable aversion to each the other, is very desirous to be set at liberty; and accordingly application is made to the legislative power to dissolve this marriage, and to give each party leave, if they think fit, to marry elsewhere.' The reasons urged against such dissolution were first, that each party was consenting to the marriage, and was old enough to give such consent, according to the known laws of the kingdom; the male being fifteen years old, the female thirteen; whereas the years of consent are by law fourteen and twelve. Secondly, they were actually married according to the form prescribed by the Church of England, the Minister pronouncing those solemn words used by our Saviour. *Those whom God has joined, let no man put asunder.* They are therefore man and wife, both by the laws of God, and of the land; and since nothing but adultery can dissolve a marriage, and no adultery is here pretended, the marriage continues indissoluble. Our author proposes a variety of arguments in favour of the divorce, and observes, that what makes the marriage contract valid and obliging, is, that a male and female should be at age to consent, and at liberty to consent, and should actually consent to give to each other the use and dominion of each other's body, exclusively to all the world besides, as long as they both shall live. This is properly the marriage contract, and common to all nations and religions, and all beyond this is matter of ceremony, decency, and prudence, and ordered by the legislative powers of different countries as they see convenient. He afterwards shews that this was not a compleat marriage, because it never was consummated. But notwithstanding all the learned arguments contained in this plea, which were offered at the bar or insisted upon in the debate of the House of Lords, the bill was lost, which was an irreparable misfortune to the parties.

XXXIII. A Thanksgiving Sermon preached at *Ely-house Chapel*, June the 7th, 1716.

XXXIV. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of *Ely* at *Cambridge*, August the 7th, 1716. Lond. 1716. 4to.

In this charge our learned Bishop takes notice of the Dignity of the Priesthood, and the envy which has ever attended it, which having traced to its source, and proved to be altogether incapable of prejudicing religion, or the ministers of religion, unless they concur with their own acls to depreciate themselves. His Lordship then proceeds to the talents and abilities which are requisite to qualify a man for the due execution of the holy function. 'In order to this, says he, if we consult the writings of some very famous Christian Bishops and others of old, and be obliged to believe them without departing from them in the least, we should find them so great, so many, and so hard to be obtained, that as I am sure for my own part, so I may reasonably fear that many of this assembly, despairing of such attainments, must have betaken ourselves to other callings, who, yet I hope shall give a good account to God each of our Stewardship. . . . . According to the flights and ex-

aggerations of those devout and overfervid spirits, a very few people were they serious would ever go in to holy Orders, which should it ever happen would be very prejudicial to religion, tho' overstocking the Church is also not without its mischief. There was something like this happened in the matter of the blessed Sacrament, which may partly account for it. For the two or three first Centuries the generality of Christians did frequently, even every Lord's Day, partake of the Lord's Supper; but this their frequency did naturally abate much of their devotion in the performance of that holy service, which godly zealous men perceiving, set themselves to write and preach upon that subject, and to raise the people's devout affections, and revive their antient fervours, said so many fine exalted things, used so many strong and bold allusions, and lively figurative representations, both of the Priest and Sacrifice, and Presence, that they quickly made the duty of preparation so difficult, and the danger of coming to that table so great and dreadful, that even good people were afraid to venture, and rather chose to stay away, altho' invited to that supper, than come without what was then made to be the wedding-garment. Thus good well meaning men do often cure one mischief by another, and till they have tried they know not which is greater. The Bishop remarks, that it is very well for us, that these great men's examples relieve us against the rigour of their rules and instructions; for after all they have said, they were themselves Bishops and Presbyters, and tho' very learned, and very good, yet not so superlatively so, but that others might and did equal them.—In the Postscript to this charge dated at Ely, August the 30th, 1716. he observes, that before these sheets were quite finished at the press, he received a letter from the Deputies of the Episcopal Reformed Churches in Great Poland, and Polish Prussia, and of the Episcopal Betlenian College in Transylvania, wherein they earnestly entreated him, after the example of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, to recommend the most deplorable estate those Churches and that College were then in, to the charitable consideration of the Clergy of his Diocese. The request says he was so reasonable, and the examples so good, that I complied with it and followed it immediately. . . . . The Brief will come amongst you about a month hence, but I hope and desire you will in some of the interim, use your endeavours to dispose your people to a more than ordinary liberality, in contributing to the necessities of these our Christian Brethren of the same household of faith with us.' This charge of the Bishop's was attacked in a bold assuming and insolent Pamphlet, entitled, *A letter to the Bishop of Ely, upon the occasion of his supposed late Charge said to be delivered at Cambridge, August the 7th, 1716. as far as relates to what is therein urged against frequent Communion, and for the pretended Episcopal Reformed Churches of Transylvania, Great Poland and Prussia.* By *Philalethes*. Lond. 1717. 8vo. This letter is said to have been written by Mr Matthias Earberry, a Nonjuring Clergyman.

XXXV. Papists not excluded from the *Throne* upon the account of Religion. Being a vindication of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of *Bangor's* (Dr Hoadly) Preservative, &c. in that particular.

XXXVI. A Sermon preached before the King in the Chapel Royal at *St James's* on March the second, the first Sunday in Lent, 1717.

XXXVII. A Letter from Mr *T. Burdett* who was executed at *Tyburn*, for the murder of Captain *Falkner* to some Attornies Clerks of his acquaintance, written six days before his execution.

XXXVIII. A Letter to an Inhabitant of the Parish of *St Andrew's* Holborn about new Ceremonies in the Church.

XXXIX. The Justice of paying Debts.

XL. A Defence of Praying before Sermon as directed by the LV Canon.

XLI. A Sermon upon Swearing.

XLII. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of *Ely* in August 1722.

mities brought upon him by his indefatigable labours (z), till at length he found his strength so much declined, that he had reason to expect a speedy remove from this life to a better, which happened at Tottenham in Middlesex, whither he had retired for the benefit of the air, August 4, 1723, in the sixty-seventh year of his age (a), and was interred in the cathedral church of Ely, where a monument is erected to his memory by his Lady, who did not long survive him, with an inscription, which, having often been published, it is not necessary that we should insert (b). As to his character, it has been drawn by a very able pen, and one who had the honour and happiness of being intimately acquainted with him (c), to the following effect: ‘ He lived an useful, studious, and exemplary life; so constantly employed in the good way of his profession, that no man had fewer idle hours to answer for. He had a just sense of the duty of his office, and lived up to the dignity of it. He was constant in preaching, which duty he discharged for many years three times a week: it may be truly said, he was the most celebrated preacher of his time: I need not say how usefully he employed his talent, or with how much eloquence; his sermons fully speak it, which he set off with such a sweetness of voice, and such a graceful delivery, that he charmed his hearers into the warmest attention, and left a lasting impression on their minds; and that which made his sermons more useful, was the fine vein of casuistry that ran through most of them, wherein he displayed a peculiar talent, in making things plain and easy which seemed to many difficult, and gave disturbance to weak and honest minds: he informed the judgment, and then set the mind at rest. To which may be added, what many of his auditors have often said, that they seldom heard him preach but they learnt something from him, that they had never observed or heard before. He was a diligent visiter of the sick, and a skillful healer of the wounds of conscience, for the cure of which sad malady he was often applied to by many who were not properly under his care, to whom he was a willing and a wise instructor. And these good offices he discharged in so affectionate and tender a manner, that besides the inward satisfaction he had of doing much good, many of those who had applied to him expressed the grateful sense they had of this his labour of love, which he bestowed upon them, by kind legacies bequeathed to him, some of which came to his hands after he was a Bishop. In this station he did not cease to be a preacher; he was a constant one at St Asaph, where the choir was well suited to his voice; not so at Ely, where the church was much too large for it; but in his own chapel at Ely-house, so frequent in the discharge of that good part of his office, though in the cold season of the year, that he has sometimes preached four and twenty sermons in the space of six months. He was a great lover of Antiquities, especially of those of his own country; but that did not cast a rust upon his parts, or spoil his stile, an effect it often has upon those whose genius leads them early into that kind of study. He was a useful Antiquarian, and at the same time a fine Preacher. The filling of the churches in the diocese of St Asaph, where he was almost the general patron, with virtuous and worthy men, was what lay near his heart: he often expressed the great satisfaction he had in bestowing preferments on worthy Clergymen, and was extremely pleased when, upon experience and observation, he found that the care of their people was matter of conscience to them. *So may it always be,* he used to say, *and with increase, for without that there was no living, but he was sure no dying, with comfort.* He paid little or no regard to the importunate solicitations of the great men of that diocese, if the person recommended was not found, upon due enquiry, to be of an unblemished life; and though he could not have the satisfaction he wished, of filling his churches with men he thoroughly approved in other respects, yet he took much pains to fill them with men of virtue; and if ever he was moved beyond his usual temper, it was when he found he had been deceived by testimonials that had little or no truth in them. He had a generous heart; his hands were always open to those in want, especially to the poorer clergy, to whom he often gave money or books, besides the remission of their fees. He was a liberal encourager of every charitable design that came in his way, never shewing any desire to be rich, except in good works; and he was much pleased when he heard that any rich man had left something to good uses, saying sometimes upon that occasion, *It were almost reasonable there should be a moderate Purgatory, for such as live and die so wealthy without doing any good to any body but their children, when there was so much want and misery in the world.* He was much concerned to see so much passion and uncharitableness raised by difference in opinion in matters of religion, and thought that mere mistakes, and such differences as did not influence practice, were to be borne with. He was modest and humble almost to a fault, qualities rarely to be found in a breast so replete with knowledge as his was; and as he fled from his just praises, and was always uneasy under them, so he was backward to censure others. His temper was sweet and even calm and meek, so that hardly any thing could discompose him, no passion, no resentment, no partial mixtures, could find a place in his breast. To this happy temper of mind was joined a good degree of cool and sedate courage, which he did not fail to shew whenever a proper occasion called for it. And, to crown all his other good qualities, so much innocence of life, integrity of heart, and sanctity of manners, hardly ever met in any one man in a fuller measure than they did in him. In a word, this good

(z) His Lordship had very ill health for several years before his death.

(a) Account of his Life and Writings, p. 10.

(b) Willis's Hist. of Cathedrals Vol. III. p. 367.

(c) Account of his Life and Writings, p. 8.

‘ Bishop excelled in every virtue that constitutes a wise man, and in every grace that distinguishes a Christian.’ To so ample, as well as so eloquent a character as this, it would be altogether improper for us to add any thing; but inasmuch as in a work of this nature it may be justly expected, that the testimonies to so eminent a Prelate’s merits should be collected, the reader will find at the bottom of the page some instances of this kind, from a variety of writers of very different tempers and sentiments, which may be regarded as an incontestible proof of his virtues and abilities; since, though it does not always happen, that great and good men are universally esteemed, yet, when the praises of different parties are bestowed upon an eminent person, it cannot but be presumed that his worth must be very conspicuous, to attract the suffrages of men of all opinions, in spite of those little prejudices and prepossessions which are so apt to warp even the best minds, and to hinder them from publickly testifying their respect for those, whom, in their hearts perhaps, they may secretly admire [U]. He left behind him an only son, Dr Charles Fleetwood, who inherited his paternal estate in Lancashire, and had been presented a few years before by his father, as Bishop of Ely, to the rectory of Cottenham in Cambridge, which he did not enjoy long.

Of this family and name there have been several other remarkable persons, not in this only, but in other nations also, particularly in Sweden, where, as we have before observed, there is a Baron of that name, descended in a direct line from the Fleetwoods of Lancashire; and the person who now enjoys that honour, is highly esteemed for his abilities, both civil and military, which have lately procured him considerable preferments. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the Swedes look upon the title of Baron as that alone which confers true Nobility, as having annexed to it all the ranks and privileges derived to Nobility by their constitution. The crown does indeed bestow other titles of honour, such as Counts, but they are not much regarded; and the case is the same in Poland, where titles are assumed rather to procure respect when travelling through foreign countries, than to draw regard in their own.

[U] *They may secretly admire.*] We find this short character given of our author and his writings, as well as of another English Prelate, by one whose reputation as a critick, will not fail to justify what he has advanced in the opinion of all good judges (4). *Bishop Fleetwood’s softness, and Bishop Blackhall’s plainness, are their characters; excellent writers both!* The Reverend Dr Hickes (5) acknowledges him for an encourager of his great work, and indeed no wonder it was, that he should lend his assistance for promoting endeavours so advantageous to that sort of literature, which as it was his earliest, so it continued to be his latest study. The indefatigable Mr Hearne (6) confesses himself much obliged to Bishop Fleetwood, for many singular instances of his friendship, and particularly mentions the present he received from him of an antient almanack, which he esteemed to be, as indeed it was, a very great curiosity; and this shews how ready our Prelate was to entertain a free correspondence with men of real merit, how different soever their political principles might be from his own, as in both these cases it is well enough known they were. That candid writer, and eminent Antiquary, Brown Willis, Esq; speaks according to his manner briefly of our Bishop (7), of whom he says, that *he was a general scholar, well skilled in Antiquities, and very communicative in imparting to him several collections.* It has created some wonder, that Bishop Burnet is silent as to our author, in his History; but whatever his motives might be, other writers within that period of time have pursued a different conduct; one of these, after transcribing those paragraphs that gave offence to the House of Commons, when his Lordship published his four Sermons, proceeds thus (8). ‘ These words of eternal truth, pronounced in so awful and moving a manner, did the majority of this House of Commons vote to be malicious and factious, and

condemned his Lordship’s Preface to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The good Bishop, imitating the apostolical resignation, as his persecutors imitated the Pagan barbarism and insolence, said only when he was told of it, I esteem myself happy to suffer with the Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Godolphin, and so many other illustrious Patriots, whose reputation their enemies endeavour to blast; on the other hand, says our historian, this treatment of a Prelate of such signal merit, so unblameable a life, and so universally esteemed, particularly by the Queen herself, who before was used to call him her Bishop, was highly repented by many true sons of the Church.’ The Reverend Mr William Whiston, a man of great probity and a free speaker, admired our Prelate as a preacher when he was a young man at the University, and admired him too as a Bishop, which appears from the following story that he tells us (9); after having mentioned several instances of the danger that the best men run of being corrupted in courts, he proceeds thus. It puts me in mind of what that excellent preacher and liver Bishop Fleetwood, as I have been informed, said upon the like occasion. ‘ This good Bishop once came to the House of Lords a little too early, and overheard certain persons debating this question, Whether a Courtier could be a Christian or not? And when at length the company perceived he was there, they would needs have his opinion. He replied he was no Courtier, nor would determine that question: but he acknowledged that he had learned so much by their discourse, that it was not very fit for a good Christian to go to Court.’ In the additions that have been made to an eminent Prelate’s history of English Bishops, we are told with regard to this worthy person, that his works being in all hands and his character universally esteemed made it unnecessary to be insisted upon there. E

FLEMMING or FLEMMYNGE (RICHARD) Bishop of Lincoln in the XVth century, and founder of Lincoln-college in Oxford, was descended from a good and ancient family (a), and born at Croston in the county of York (b). After having been educated in grammar learning in his native county, he was sent to University-college in Oxford; where he so improved himself in Logic and Philosophy, that he met with no difficulty in obtaining his degrees; an honour which was then conferred only upon a few (c) [A]. On the 22d of August 1406, he was presented, or collated, to the prebend

[A] *Which was then conferred only upon a few.* *Temporis paucis cum illo studiosis communes;* as

Mr Wood’s own words are (1). Degrees were not so common then, as they have been since the beginning of

(4) Dr Felton’s Essay on the Classics.

(5) He contributed to the publishing his *Linguarum Vetus Septentrionalium Thesaurus.*

(6) *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, p. 351. See also his Preface to Fordun’s *Scotichronicon*, p. 47.

(7) *Hist. of Cathedrals*, Vol. III. p. 367.

(8) *Osamizon’s Hist. of the Sturges*, Vol. II. p. 501, 502.

(a) *Illustris genere J. Balei, Scriptorium Brytannice Centuria VII.* No. 90.

(9) *Memoirs of his own Life*, p. 305.

(b) A. Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib.* II. p. 159.

(c) *Ibid.* See also p. 402.

(1) *Lib. II.* p. 159.

bend of South-Newbald in the church of York, vacant by the resignation of Tho. Langley Bishop of Durham (*d*); and, the next year had the honour of being one of the Proctors of the university of Oxford (*e*) [*B*]: but never was Chancellor of the same, as the famous Mr Leland hath asserted (*f*). Soon after taking his Master of Arts degree, he warmly espoused J. Wiclef's cause; and so strenuously asserted his opinions, that great numbers (and of those some of the first quality) drawn in by his example, or convinced by his arguments, loudly declaimed against the corruptions of the Church of Rome. But, persons whose interest it was to maintain those corruptions, found means either to awe, or to bribe, him into silence. And, which is not much to his credit, he became as violent an opposer of Wiclef's doctrines, as he had heretofore been a patron of them [*C*]. So that the college he founded at Oxford (of which we shall presently give an account) was designed as a seminary for writers and disputers against that learned man's opinions (*g*). In the year 1415, he exchanged his prebend of South Newbald for that of Langford, in the cathedral church of York (*h*): and, some time before, was also made Rector of Boston in Lincolnshire (*i*). His learning, and perhaps withal his zeal against Wiclef, having recommended him to the esteem of King Henry V, he was promoted by him to the bishopric of Lincoln (*k*), having been first appointed by the Pope (*l*). He was then Professor, or Doctor, in Divinity (*m*). The temporalities of his See were restored to him May 23, 1420 (*n*). In the year 1424, he was sent to the Council of Constance, or Sienna; where, in the presence of Pope Martin V, he made a very elegant speech in vindication of his country against the calumnies and aspersions of the Spanish, French, and Scottish Deputies [*D*]; which procured him great applause (*o*). And then, I suppose it was, he was made Chamberlain to Pope Martin aforesaid (*p*). Upon his return from the Council, he caused Wiclef's bones to be taken up and burnt, as had been decreed in that assembly (*q*). The See of York being then vacant by the death of Dr Henry Bowett, the Pope by his own absolute authority translated Dr Flemming to that Archbishoprick; and he had restitution of the temporalities Decemb. 1, 1424 (*r*) [*E*]. But King Henry V, who by his late conquest of France was grown so powerful as to have no cause to dread the Pope's indignation or censures, so vehemently opposed this translation, jointly with the Chapter [*F*], that the Bishop was content to go back to Lincoln again (*s*). But though he met with this great disappointment, he pursued his design, of founding a college in Oxford, to be a seminary for Divines, to write, preach, and dispute against Wiclef's opinions. For that purpose, he obtained a licence from King Henry VI, dated Octob. 12, 1427, wherein he was impowered to found a college [*G*], which

(*d*) Survey of the Cathedral of York, &c. Vol. 1. p. 163.

(*e*) Wood, ubi supra, p. 402.

(*f*) Comment. de Scriptoribus Britannicis, Edit. Oxon. 1709. p. 460. Vide Wood, ubi supra, p. 402.

(*g*) Wood, ubi supra, p. 159.

(*h*) Willis, ubi supra, Vol. 1. p. 149.

(*i*) Wood, ibid.

(*k*) Wood, ibid.

(*l*) Catalog. of the Bishops of England, &c. by Fr. Godwin, Bishop of Landaff Edit. 1615. 4to. p. 306.

(*m*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*n*) Willis, as above, Vol. II. p. 54.

(*o*) Wood, ubi supra, p. 159. J. Bale Scriptor. Britannicæ Centuria Septima, No. 90.—and J. Pitts de Illust. Angliæ Scriptorib. ad ann. 1430. No. 794.

(*p*) Wood, ibid.

(*q*) Ubi supra.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 203.

(*s*) Vol. II. p. 54.

(\*) Catalogue of the Bishops, &c. as above, p. 603.

(*p*) See his Epitaph, below.

(*g*) Godwin, ubi supra. Wood, ubi supra. Lib. 1. p. 153.

(*r*) Ibid. and Willis, Vol. I. p. 40.

(*s*) Godwin, ubi supra, and Latin Translation, Edit. 1616. 4to. p. 337. and Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 40.

(*2*) Ibid. p. 202.

(*3*) Wood, ubi supra, p. 402.

(*4*) Wood, ubi supra, Lib. 1. p. 206.

of the sixteenth century. For Thomas Arundell, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from the year 1396 to the year 1413, had no other degree but that of Bachelor of Arts (*2*); tho' he was a very considerable and eminent person in his time. It is well known, how universal and extreme was the ignorance that reign'd in the sixteenth century!

[*B*] *And the next year, had the honour of being one of the Proctors of the University of Oxford*] Whilst he was in that office, he caused the ancient book of statutes, belonging to the junior or northern Proctor, to be transcribed for the use of his successors. And that copy is now preserved among the University Archives, being mark'd on the back with the letter C (*3*).

[*C*] *He became as violent an opposer of Wiclef's doctrines, as he had heretofore been a patron of them.*] As an instance of which, he suffered himself to be nominated one of the committee, that was chosen by the University of Oxford, for examining heretical books, and particularly Wiclef's, in the year 1411 (*4*). Mr Wood questions, whether our R. Flemmyng was one of that committee. His reasons are, that, after the nomination of it, he finds, our author had maintained opinions in the schools, which in those times were accounted downright heresy: That they were condemned by those commissioners, and opposed with so much sharpness by Nicolas Ponce of Merton-college, that Flemmyng appealed to a general congregation. But the Archbishop of Canterbury ordered, his appeal not to be admitted; and enjoined, that Flemmyng, and his adherents, whom he called hard-lets boys, and not fit to appear in the schools, should be punished according to their deserts. Mr Flemmyng thinking himself ill used, carried his complaints to the King, who having examined the whole affair, writ to the University in his favour. But the University making unnecessary delays in raking off the censures they had passed on him, the King sent other pressing letters: which, it is probable, were duly obeyed. — On these accounts, A. Wood is inclined to believe, either that there were two Richard Flemmyngs then in the

University; or that this our Richard was not one of those commissioners; unless perhaps some time after (*5*). But, since he was one of the Proctors of the University in the year 1407; into which office he would undoubtedly never have been chosen, if he had continued publicly to maintain Wiclef's opinions: And, since J. Bale assures us (*6*), that his disputes with Ponce were before he was chosen one of the committee; we may therefore conclude, that he had renounced those opinions before the year 1411, or even perhaps before the year 1407.

[*D*] *Against the calumnies and aspersions of the Spanish, French, and Scottish Deputies.*] For there arose a great dispute between the Deputies of those nations, about precedence, and the right of voting first (*7*).

[*E*] *Had the temporalities restored to him Decemb. 1. 1424.*] Mr Willis says, by mistake, that he was translated to York, Anno 1429 (*8*).

[*F*] *So vehemently opposed this translation, jointly with the Chapter.*] Bishop Godwin gives us this account of it. 'The Pope of his own absolute authority, placed then in Yorke Richard Fleming Bishop of Lincoln. Many statutes and laws had been made to repress this tyrannicall dealing of the Pope. But his excommunications were such terrible bug, as men durst rather offend the laws of their country, than come within the compass of his censure. Yet the Deane and Chapter of Yorke taking stomacke unto them, used such advantage as the Law would afford them, and by force kept out the new Archbishop from entering his Church. Much ado there was between them. The event was, that the Pope unable to make good his gift, was faine to returne Fleming to Lincoln again. — (\*)

[*G*] *Wherein he was impowered to found a college*] He was impowered to found this college in the Church of All-Saints in Oxford, of which he was patron; and to unite and annex it to the same, together with the Churches of St Mildred and St Michael near Northgate, which were also in the patronage of his See. And the said Churches so united, annexed, and incorporated, to name the Church of All-Saints; and to erect

erect

which should consist of one Warden, or Rector, and seven Scholars; and bear the name of The College of St Mary and All-Saints of Lincoln in the University of Oxford. Having thus obtained the royal licence, he set about his foundation; but before he had made any considerable progress in it, death snatched him away. However, he left money and effects in the hands of some persons, which he appointed Overseers of his new foundation; and they carried it on, and settled it, with all imaginable care and expedition (*t*). He died at his palace at Sleaford, January 25, 1430-31; and was buried in Lincoln cathedral, under a raised tomb, with a long rhyming Epitaph [*H*], fashionable in the times of ignorance he lived in (*u*). Bale, and Pits, mention two pieces written by him; and the latter says, his Works were long preserved in the library of Lincoln-college: but they seem to have been no more than the speeches he made at the Council of Sienna (*w*). After his decease, his college met with several benefactors, but none so considerable as Thomas Rotherham, *alias* Scot, then Bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbishop of York [*I*], who deserves the name of a second founder. Its revenues have been also considerably augmented, by the munificence of several other generous and charitable persons [*K*].

(*t*) Wood, ubi supra.

(*u*) Wood, ubi supra, p. 159. and Willis, as above, Vol. II. p. 54, 55.

(*w*) Vide Bale and Pits, ubi supra.

Our

erect and convert it into a collegiate church, or a college; and to annex to the same a chantry in the Church aforesaid, of which the Mayor of Oxford for the time being was patron. Ordaining, that there should be in this new foundation two Chaplains, to be placed or removed at the Rector's pleasure: that the Rector and Scholars should be perpetual patrons of this Church; and capable of purchasing lands, rents, and tenements, not exceeding the yearly value of ten pounds.— This point obtained, the Founder employed some persons to buy tenements, on the site whereof he intended to erect his new college. Accordingly they bought Deep-hall, belonging to St John Baptist's Hospital without East-gate, and a few other buildings. The Bishop's death stop'd their further proceedings, when the first stone was hardly laid. However, certain trustees appointed by him on his death-bed, placed a Rector, seven Scholars, and two Chaplains in his new foundation; which were to be maintained out of the revenues of the Churches abovementioned. And in the room of Deep-hall; and of two others, call'd Brend-hall, and Wynchester-hall, purchased about the year 1438; and of St Mildred's Church, taken down in the year 1436, was the college built, partly in the manner in which it now stands.

[*H*] *With a long rhyming Epitaph.*] Which was hung on a tablet, and ran in this manner (9).

(9) Willis, ubi supra, Vol. II. p. 54.

(†) Quid. Wood, ubi supra.

(||) Divinæ. Ibid.

Isthuc qui graderis paulisper perlege quæso;  
 Sta, speculans (†) quod eris, in me nunc vermibus esco:  
 Qui fueram pridie juvenis, forma speciosus;  
 Artes Oxoniæ discens, puer ingeniosus;  
 Juris (||) divini crescens exinde magister:  
 Pape Martini, Camerarii honore, Minister;  
 Hic cum Presulibus in Lyncolne fede locavit,  
 Et propriis manibus mira pietate sacra vit.  
 Post Eboracensis tituli fulgore ferenus,  
 Sub glebis densis jacco, quamvis vir amenus.  
 Mundi pompa, decor, applausus, culmina queque,  
 Quid sunt ista, precor, nisi fomnia stultitieque?  
 Vultu blanda favent, quorum caro nil nisi fenum.  
 Quid labor in Logicis? quid Doctorale cacumen?  
 Quid dant deliciae? quid laus? quid opes operantur?  
 Omnia sevitie mortis, velut umbra, fugantur.  
 O mors dira nimis, non parcens rebus opimis!  
 Antea sublimis, per te jam ponor in imis.  
 Vita brevis vana est; habet hunc hec gloria finem;  
 Fossa cubile manet, quo mortua membra reclinem.  
 Hinc recolas, qui laude volas, & corpore flores;  
 Hoc sapias: quo (†) divinas pro me, precor, ores.  
 Ecce sub hoc lapide Flemmyng Richardus humatur.  
 Pensa, plange, vide, sic omnis honor superatur.  
 Doctor clarus erat; prestans & Episcopus (\*) iste:  
 In quem crediderat, nunc esto falus sua Chrifte.

(†) Divinies pro me prius ores, ibid.

(\*) Ipse, ibid.

There is nothing remarkable in this long Epitaph; except, that Pope Martin consecrated him Bishop of Lincoln with his own hands. The rest is a doleful descant upon the frailty of human nature; which

might have been comprised in much fewer words. — His arms on his tomb are, barry of six argent and azure; in chief three fustils; in base a mullet, gules.

[*I*] *After his decease, his college met with several benefactors, but none so considerable as Thomas Rotherham, alias Scot, then Bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbishop of York*] This great man was born at Rotherham in Yorkshire, and successively became Fellow of King's College Cambridge, Master of Pembroke-Hall, Chancellor of that University, Prebendary of Sarum, Chaplain to King Edward IV. Provost of Beverley, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Secretary to four Kings, Bishop of Rochester, then of Lincoln, and at length Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor from the year 1475, to 1483, tho' with some interruption (10). What induced him to this munificent benefaction, is thus related. In the year 1474, coming to Oxford, on his episcopal visitation, John Trilroppe Rector of this college preached before him, out of Psalm lxxx. 14, and 15. ver; and from thence took occasion, so pathetically to invite him to commiserate their tender vine, their poor half-built college, that the Bishop immediately promised he would do what the Rector had so earnestly pleaded for. Accordingly, the year following, he completed the edifice; increased the number of Fellows from seven to twelve, appropriating for their maintenance the Churches of Twyford in Buckinghamshire, and Combe longa in Oxfordshire; and gave the Society a Body of Statutes (they having none before) subscribed with his own hand, Feb. 11, 1479. wherein he ordained, among other things, that the Fellows should be chosen out of the Dioceses of Lincoln, York, particularly Rotherham if any fit, and Bath and Wells (11).

(10) See the Article ROTHERHAM (THOMAS).

[*K*] *Its revenues have been also considerably augmented, by the munificence of several other generous and charitable persons*] The chief benefactors have been, John Forest, Dean of Wells; John Southam, Archdeacon of Oxford; William Finderne, Esq; Cardinal Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester; John Buke-tot, and Walter Bate, Priests; John Crosby, Treasurer of Lincoln; William Dagvyle, Gent. Edmund Audley, Bishop of Salisbury; William Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln; Sir William Findern, Knt. John Denham, Rector of Barnake in Northamptonshire; Mrs Johanna Trapps; John Smith, Rector of Wykeham-Breux; Mr Thomas Hayne; John Randall, Rector of St Andrew Hubbard, London; Thomas Beckyngton, Bishop of Bath and Wells; and John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who built the chapel (12). Finally, the last, and one of their most considerable benefactors, hath been Nathanael Lord Crew, late Bishop of Durham, and formerly Fellow and Rector of this House. For his Lordship added twenty pounds a year to the Rectorship; and ten pounds a year to each of the twelve Fellowships, for ever: made up the Bible-Clerk's place, and the eight Scholarships, which before were very mean, worth ten pounds a year a piece: founded twelve exhibitions, of twenty pounds a year each: and made an augmentation of ten pounds a year a-piece for ever to the Curates of four Churches belonging to this college; viz. All-Saints, and St Michael in Oxford; Twyford in Buckinghamshire; and

(11) Wood, ubi supra, p. 161.

(12) Ibid. p. 160, 161, 162, 169, 170, 171.

Comb

Our author's nephew, or kinsman, ROBERT FLEMMING, deserves also to be mentioned here, on account of his learning, and particularly of his skill in poetry and polite literature. He was educated at Oxford (x), and probably in Lincoln-college, then newly founded by his uncle, or kinsman. On the 21st of January 1451, he was admitted Dean of Lincoln (y), being famous for his knowledge and ingenuity. But, for his further improvement, he went to Italy, and visited the Learned, and the universities; particularly, he attended the lectures of the celebrated Orator and Poet Baptista Guarini, who was Professor of the Greek and Latin languages at Ferrara: And who had the honour of having for his hearers, several English gentlemen [L], eminent for their birth, and other distinguishing qualifications (z). From Ferrara our author went to Rome, where he stayed a year or two (a); and contracted an acquaintance with several learned men, especially with Bartholomew [M] Platina, Librarian of the Vatican (b). He became also known to Pope Sixtus IV, in whose praise, during a summer's recess at Tibur or Tivoli, he composed a poem in two books [N], inscribed to his Holiness: who was so pleased with it, that he made the author his Protonotary (c). At his return from Italy, he brought over with him several books curiously illuminated, and some of them of his own composition [O], which he bequeathed to Lincoln-college-library (d). On the 27th of September 1467, he was installed into the prebend of Leighton-Manor, in the cathedral church of Lincoln (e); which he exchanged, December 3, 1478, for that of Leighton-Bosard (f). He founded in the cathedral abovementioned, namely in Trinity-chapel, a chantry for two Chaplains, which was valued at 14*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* (g). And dying August 12, 1483 (h), was buried near Bishop Fleming his relation (i). His name is mentioned with honour by some of his contemporaries [P].

(x) Leland, ubi supra, p. 460.

(y) Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. II. p. 77.

(z) Leland, ubi supra.

(a) Pits, de illustribus Angliæ Scriptorib. Ætas XV. ad An. 1470. No. 865.

(b) Leland and Pits, ibid.

(c) Leland, ibid.

(d) Ibid. and Wood Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. II. p. 170.

(e) Willis, ubi supra, p. 209.

(13) See the Article CREW (NATHANIEL)

(14) Leland, ubi supra.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Leland, ibid. p. 461.

(a) The Worthies of England, by T. Fuller, D. D. in Kent. p. 72.

(b) Catalogue of the Bishops of England, &c. by Fr. Godwin, Bishop of Landaff. Lond. 1615. p. 502.

(c) Wood, Fasti. Edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 107.

(d) Newcourt Repertorium, &c. Vol. I. p. 163.

(e) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; 4to. Vol. II. edit. 1730. p. 511.

(f) Ubi supra.

(g) Willis, Vol. II. p. 244.

(h) Idem. Vol. I. p. 844.

(i) Annals of the Reformation, &c. by J. Strype, Vol. III. Edit. 1728. p. 38c, &c. Camden Ann. Ells.

Comb in Oxfordshire (13). It is also said, that his Lordship intended to have rebuilt the college; but being disoblged by some of the members, he altered his design.

[L] And who had the honour of having for his hearers, several English gentlemen.] Namely, John Tipot, Earl of Worcester, a most learned man; William Gray, John Phrea, John Gundorp, &c. (14).

[M] Bartholomew.] And not Baptist, as Mr Leland calls him (15). See the article PLATINA, in Mr Bayle's Dictionary. Our author celebrates that learned man in the following verse,

Platina magna suæ lux & decus ille Cremonæ (16).  
i. e. Platina the great light and ornament of his country Cremona.

[N] In whose praise, during a summer's recess at Tibur or Tivoli, he composed a poem in two books.] Which he entitled, *Lucubrationes Tiburtinæ*, i. e. Tiburtine Lucubrations. Mr Leland quotes three verses out of the first book; which, in his opinion, are most elegant. *Hi versus, ex primo libro selecti, & Sixto applaudentes, mihi quidem videntur esse plane elegantissimi.*

FLETCHER (RICHARD) Bishop of Bristol, and afterwards translated to Worcester, and London, in the XVIth century, was born in Kent (a). He received his university-education in Bennet, or Corpus-Christi, college, in Cambridge, of which he was Fellow (b). It doth not appear from the Register-books of that university, when he took his degrees: but, in 1572, he was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford, being four years standing in that degree at Cambridge (c); and if so, must have been admitted about the year 1561. On the 30th of September 1572, he was instituted to the prebend of Illington in St Paul's cathedral, London, which he resigned in October 1589 (d). The 15th of November 1583 he was made Dean of Peterborough (e), but never Bishop of that See, as Dr Fuller hath asserted (f). He was installed into the prebend of Sutton longa in the church of Lincoln, January 23, 1585, and resigned it in 1592 (g). He was also Rector of Alderkirke in Lincolnshire (h). On the 8th of February 1586, he attended Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay, at the time of her execution; and exhorted her, among other things, 'to apply Christ's meritorious obedience to her soul ' with the hand of true Faith, ——— and to make Christ her only sacrifice for her sins, ' and a ransom for her redemption.' But she desired him, three or four times, not to trouble himself, nor her. For she was settled in the ancient Catholick Romish Religion; and in defence thereof resolved to spend her blood (i) [A]. In the year 1589 he was promoted

Sane quisquis in hunc oculos defixerit acreis,  
In vultu facieque viri coeleste videbit  
Elucere aliquid, majestatemque verendam.

i. e. Whosoever fixes his eyes on him, will see in his face and countenance something heavenly shine, and a venerable Majesty.

[O] And some of his own composition.] Leland, Bale, and Pits (17), mention the following. *Diæionarium Græcolatinum*; A Greek and Latin Dictionary. *Carmina diversæ generis, librum unum*; A book of verses on various subjects. *Epistolarum ad diversos, librum unum*; Letters to several persons, &c.

[P] His name is mentioned with honour by some of his contemporaries.] Particularly by Lewis Carbo of Ferrara, who, in his funeral oration on the death of Guarini, thus speaks. *Robertus Flemingæ, Decanus Lincolnienfis ecclesiæ, qui ob singularem in studiis humanitatis præstantiam, atque exercitationem, inclyti Anglorum regis procurator Romæ factus est.* i. e. Robert Flemingæ, Dean of Lincoln, who for his singular excellency and practice in polite studies, was made the King of England's Procurator at Rome.

C

[A] And in defence thereof resolved to spend her blood.] Then Dean Fletcher said to her, 'Madam, ' change your opinion, and repent of your former ' sins and wickedness, and settle yourself upon this

' ground, that only in Christ Jesu you hope to be ' saved.' Then she answered again and again with great earnestness, ' Good Master Dean, trouble no ' more yourself about this matter. For I was born

(k) Willis, ubi supra, Vol. I. p. 779. Life of Archbishop Whitgift, by J. Strype, Lond. 1718. p. 322.

(l) Willis, Vol. II. p. 779.

(m) Willis, ubi supra, p. 648. Strype, ubi supra, p. 399.

(n) Wood, ubi supra.

(o) The Life and Acts of Archbishop Whitgift, as above, p. 428, &c.

(p) Feller, ubi supra, p. 73.

(q) Brief View of the State of the Church, &c. by Sir John Harrington. Lond. 1653. p. 27.

moted to the bishopric of Bristol; being elected November 13, confirmed Decemb. 12, consecrated Decemb. 14, and enthronized January the 3d following (k). We are told, that he took this See on condition to lease out the revenues to Courtiers [B], which he did in so extravagant a manner, that he left little to his successors; insomuch, that after his removal from thence, it lay vacant ten years (l). He was about the end of the year 1592 translated to Worcester; elected January 24, 1592-3, and confirmed February 10, following (m): having, some years before, been made Bishop Almoner (n). Upon the death of Dr Aylmer Bishop of London, in the beginning of June 1594, he made interest with the Lord Treasurer Burghley to be translated to that See: alledging, that he liked London better than any other town in the realm, as being the place of his education, and of his most common residence; where he had many agreeable friends, and a considerable share in the love and esteem of the citizens, who desired that he might be their Bishop; and amongst whom his influence might be of great service to the Court. But his request seems not to have met with immediate success. For, not till above six months after, namely December 30, 1594, was he elected Bishop of London: he was confirmed the 10th of January following (o). A few days after, he being a widower, took to his second wife a very handsome woman, the Lady Baker of Kent (p), sister to Sir George Gifford, one of the Gentlemen Pensioners (q). And, perhaps, one of the secret reasons of the Bishop's earnest endeavours for being translated to London, was to gratify that Lady's desire to live near the Court. Queen Elizabeth, who had an extreme aversion and antipathy to the Clergy's marrying, was highly offended at the Bishop. She thought this marriage so very undecent in an elderly Clergyman, and a Bishop, who also had been married before; that she either reprimanded him with her own mouth, or sent him a message, not to appear in her presence any more, nor to come to Court. The Bishop finding himself in this bad condition, applied by letter to the Lord Treasurer, to represent his case to the Queen, and to do him good offices. Upon the receipt of his letter, the Lord Treasurer used some kind and honourable words concerning him. But,

' in this Religion; I have lived in this Religion; and  
' I am resolved to die in this Religion.' Then said the Earls [of Kent, and Shrewsbury,] who were commissioned to attend at her execution, when they saw how she disliked the Dean's exhortation, ' Madam, we will pray for your Grace with Master Dean, if it stands with God's good will, you may have your heart lightened with the true knowledge of God's good will, and his word; and so die therein.' Then answered the Queen, ' If you will pray for me, I will even from my heart thank you, and think myself greatly favoured by you. But to join in prayer with you, my Lords, after your manner, who are not of one and the self same religion with me, it were a sin: I will not. (1)' It seems to have been a very odd undertaking, (and to all appearance unsuccessful,) to endeavour to persuade one so bigotted to Popery as Mary Queen of Scots was, to renounce, in her last moments, that religion whence she expected salvation. However, so the Queen understood it, and such was the drift of the Dean's long and intricate speech, as far as can be collected from the passage cited from it above in the text, and also from these other words out of the same. . . . ' Repent you truly of your former sins and wickedness. Justify the justice now to be executed, and justify her Majesty's faithfulness towards you at all times. Have a lively Faith in Christ our Saviour and Lord: and so shall you be rightly prepared unto death. . . . The special means to attain to forgiveness of sin, is neither in man, nor by man, but by Faith only in Jesus Christ crucified. . . . O, Madam, trust not the devices which God's word doth not warrant, which is the true touchstone, and the clear lanthorn to guide our feet into the way of peace, Jesus Christ yesterday, and to day, and the same for ever. ——— On him all the Saints call in the day of trouble; and have been heard and delivered, in him have they all trusted, and were never confounded. All other cisterns are broken; and cannot hold the water of everlasting life. ——— Therefore, Madam, that you may so glorify the Lord in your last passage, that you may be glorified of him for ever, I most humbly beseech your Grace in the tender mercy of God, to join with us present, in prayer to the throne of Grace; that we may rejoice, and you be converted; and God may turn his loving countenance toward you, and grant you his peace.' ——— This speech, which is preserved by the industrious Mr Strype (2), doth not give a high idea of the author's capacity. And he hath been fe-

verely censured for it by the admirers of the Queen of Scots; particularly by A. Wood, who observes, that he ' being the person appointed to pray with, and for, her, did persuade her to renounce her religion, contrary to all Christianity and Humanity (as it was by many then present so taken) to her great disturbance (3).' Mr Camden calls it, *Verbosam orationem* (4), a long-winded speech.

[B] We are told, that he took this See on condition to lease out the revenues to Courtiers.] This we learn from Sir John Harrington, whose account be pleased to take in his own words (5). ' I fortun'd to be one day at the Savoy with Mr Secretary Walsingham, where Mr Fletcher was then upon his dispatch for Bristol. A familiar friend of his meeting him there, bad God give him joy, my Lord elect of Bristol: which he taking kindly and courtly upon him, answered, " that it had pleased indeed the higher powers so to dispose of him. But, said his friend " in his eare, do you not lease out *tot & tot* (6) to such and such." He, clapping his hand on his heart, in a good gracefull fashion, replied with the words of Naman the Syrian, *Herein the Lord be merciful to me*; but there was not an Elizeus to bid him go in peace.' What shall I say for him? *Non erat hoc hominis vitium sed temporis*. [This was not the fault of the man, but of the time.] I cannot say so, for I have written otherwise in a book of mine, *Libro* 3. no. 80.

' Alas a fault confest were half amended,  
' But sin is doubled, that is thus defended,  
' I know a right wife man faves and believes  
' Where no receivers are, would be no theeves.

' Wherefore at the most I can but say, *Dividatur*, [let it be divided] He was a well spoken man, and one that the Queen gave good countenance to, and discovered her favour to him even in her reprehensions, as Horace saith of Mecænas.

—————*Rerum tutela mearum*

*Cum sis, & prave sectum stomacheris ob unguem;*

' for the found fault with him once for cutting his beard too short; whereas good lady (if she had known that) she would have found fault with him for cutting his Bishoprick so short.'

[C]

(1) Strype, ubi supra, p. 388. Annals, Vol. III.

(2) Ubi supra, p. 385.

(3) Fasti, ubi supra.

(4) Annales, ubi supra.

(5) Briefe View &c. as above, p. 25, 26.

(6) i. e. So much and so much.

But, notwithstanding, the Queen soon dispatched an order to Archbishop Whitgift, to suspend the Bishop from the exercise of his episcopal function: which was accordingly executed, on the 23d of February, by the Archbishop himself in person. The severity of this sentence filled Bishop Fletcher with the utmost grief and uneasiness, as appears by the copy of a letter of his inserted in the note [C]. He lay some months under the weight of this ignominious censure, before he was restored. For it was not till July 1595 that the Lord Treasurer signified to him, the Queen was in a good measure reconciled to him, and would give instructions and order to the Archbishop, to take off his suspension: for which he was extremely thankful [D]. But tho' he was restored to the discharge of his function, yet, notwithstanding all the entreaties of his friends, and those some of the highest quality, the Queen would not permit him to come into her presence for a twelve-month; tho' for twenty years before he had waited in his place upon her person. This long absence from Court the Bishop laid much to heart; which induced him, in January following, to solicit the Lord Treasurer, his former friend and mediator, to prevail upon the Queen that he might be admitted into her presence. Whether the Bishop ever recovered the place he once had in her Majesty's favour, we cannot certainly learn (r); tho' we are told, that she promised and gave him a visit at Chelsea (s) [E]. However, his disgrace sat so heavy upon his mind, that it is thought to have hastened his end. He died suddenly in his chair, at his house in London; being to all appearance well, sick, and dead, in one quarter of an hour, June 15, 1596 (t). Mr Camden says, that he died by immoderate taking of tobacco (u) [F]. And others, that he died of discontent, thro' the Queen's displeasure at him for his marriage; having had little enjoyment since he was made Bishop of London (w). It is certain that he died suddenly, whilst taking tobacco, which was not usually taken in those days, unless physically, or as a melancholy companion (x). He was buried in St Paul's cathedral, without any monument (y) [G]. As to his person, and character: He was courtly, and well spoken (z); of a comely person, and goodly presence (a) [H]. He loved to ride the great horse, and had much skill in managing thereof: he was condemned for very proud (such his natural stately garb) by such as knew him not, and commended for humility by those that were acquainted with him (b). We do not find that he ever published any thing. One of his sons, *John Fletcher*, of whom you have an account above, was a very ingenious Poet.

(r) Strype's Life of Whitgift, as above, p. 428, 429, 430.  
 (s) Sir John Harrington, ubi supra, p. 27.  
 (t) Ibid. p. 430. And Godwin, ubi supra, p. 205.  
 (u) Camdeni, Annales, ut supra, ad ann. 1596. See also Wood, ubi supra.  
 (w) Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 773.

(x) Strype, ubi supra, p. 430.  
 (y) Godwin and Willis, ibid.  
 (z) Strype, ubi supra, p. 428.  
 (a) Praeful Splendidus. Camden, ubi supra. See Harrington, as above, p. 23.  
 (b) The Church-Hist. of Britain, by T. Fuller, &c. Lond. 1655. Book IX. p. 233.

[C] As appears by the copy of a letter of his.] Wherein, among other things, he said—— ' He confessed it was the more grievous and bitter unto him, by the remembrance both of her Highness former favour towards him; as also, for that he was now become unprofitable for the Church, and her Highness service; to both which he had so wholly vowed himself, and all his possibility. Professing [to the Lord Treasurer, to whom his letter was written] that he could have wished, when he heard it, he had also heard (if justice would so have permitted) to have been sequestered from his life itself. He added, that he knew how much his Lordship's approbation and grave mediation might in such cases avail with her Majesty. Which if it might please him to vouchsafe him, he should, he was persuaded, with the whole Ecclesiastical State, be honoured for it; and give to himself matter of bond to his Lordship in all christian devotion and dutifull observance.'

(7) Strype, Life, &c. ubi supra, p. 429.

This letter was dated from Chelsea, Feb. 24 (7). [D] For which he was extremely thankful.] He expressed his great acknowledgment for it in this other letter to the Lord Treasurer Burghley,—— ' That to hear of the least her Highness gracious inclination towards him, in her princely clemency, he could not sufficiently express to his good Lordship, how greatly it had recomforted him, having these six months thought himself (as the Prophet spake) free among the dead, and like unto him that is in the grave; made unprofitable unto God's and her Majesty's service. That to hear of it also, as drawn on and wrought by his Lordship's honourable interest, and so kind mediation, it had greatly added to his joy and alacrity. I do therefore, (as he proceeded) give your Lordship my intirest thanks, beseeching your Lordship to be persuaded, that among so many to whom your Lordship hath been *Magnus Benefactor* [a great benefactor] there shall be none sound, whose duty and devotion shall henceforth exceed his, who with his hand and heart giveth your Lordship this testimony of love and observance (8).'

(8) Ibid. p. 430.

[E] She promised and gave him a visit at Chelsea.] ' There was, as Sir John Harrington informs us (9), a stayre, and a dore, made of purpose for her, in a bay-window: of which pleasant wits descanted diversly; some said, that was for joy, to shew he

(9) Ubi supra, p. 27, 28.

would (as the Proverb is) cast the house out at window for her welcome: some, more bitingly, called it the impresse or emblem of his entry into his first Bishoprick, viz. not at the doore, but at the window.'

[F] Mr Camden says, that he died by immoderate taking of Tobacco.] His words are—— *qui, dum curas è nuptiis insaufis & Reginae improbatas (quae Praefules conjugatos minus probavit) Nicotia immodice hausta obruit, vitam efflavit.*—— Fuller says (10), that he ' died more of grief than any other disease.'——Tobacco (like all other fashions) when it first came into use, was much decried; it being looked upon not only as nauseous, but even poisonous. So that many writers, and, amongst the rest, that Royal Pedant King James I (11), drew their pens against it. However, tho' some are confident that it is of the poisonous sort (12), common experience now shows, that it may be constantly used without danger, or even any visible inconvenience. Peruse, if you please, Dr Raphael Thory's excellent poem in its praise: intituled, *Hymnus Tabaci, Autore Raphaelis Thorio* (13).

(10) Church-Hist. ubi supra.

(11) See A Counterblaste to Tobacco; among King James's Works. Lond. 1616. fol.

(12) See Harleian Miscellany, Vol. I. p. 521.

(13) Lond. 1651. 12mo.

(14) See Harrington, ubi supra, p. 28.

[G] He was buried in St Paul's cathedral, without any monument.] But the following verses were, in Sir John Harrington's time (14), handed about as his most vulgar Epitaph; being some of the many sarcasms passed upon him on account of his second marriage.

Here lies the first Prelate made Christendom See,  
 A Bishop, a husband unto a Ladec.  
 The cause of his death was secret and hid,  
 He cry'd out, I die; and ev'n so he did.

[H] Of a comely person, and goodly presence.] ' Qualities, as Dr Fuller observes (15), not to be cast away in a Bishop, though a Bishop not to be chosen for them.' Handsom and comely persons were in general most acceptable to Queen Elizabeth: which made her always, on an equality of desert, to reflect favourably on such who were of graceful countenance and stature (16). Our Bishop could preach well, and would speak boldly, and yet keep *decorum*. He knew what would please the Queen, and would adventure on that, though it offended others (17).

(15) Church-Hist. ubi supra.

(16) Mem. Worthies, in Kent, p. 72.

(17) Harrington, ubi supra, p. 26.

FLETCHER (GILES) author of *the Russe Common Wealth*, and brother to Richard Fletcher Bishop of London, of whom you have an account in the last article, was also born in Kent. He received his education in Eaton school (a); and, in the year 1565, was elected Scholar of King's-college in Cambridge (b), where he took the degrees, of Bachelor of Arts in 1569; of Master of Arts in 1573; and of Doctor of Laws in 1581 (c): and became an excellent Poet (d). His abilities recommending him to that great judge of merit, Queen Elizabeth, he was employed by her as Commissioner into Scotland, Germany, and the Low-Countries (e). In the year 1588, he was sent Embassador to Muscovy; not only to conclude a league with Theodore Juanowich Emperor of that country, but also to re-establish and put into good order the decayed trade of our Russia Company. He met at first with a cold reception, and even with rough usage. For the Dutch, it seems, envying the exclusive privilege which the Company just now mentioned enjoyed of trading thither, had done them ill offices at that barbarous and arbitrary Court. And a false rumour then spread, of our fleet's being totally destroyed by the Spanish Armada, had created in the Czar a contempt and dislike for the English nation, thinking he might safely injure those who were not in a capacity of being revenged. But the Embassador soon effaced those ill impressions, and having obtained good and advantagious conditions [A], returned to England with safety and honour (f) [B]. Shortly after his return, he was made Secretary to the city of London, and one of the Masters of the Court of Requests (g). Also, on the 20th of June 1597, he was constituted Treasurer of St Paul's London (h). From the observations he had made during his embassy he drew up a curious account 'of the Russe Commonwealth: or Manner of Government by the Russe Emperor (commonly called the Emperor of Moskovia) with the Manners and Fashions of the People of that Countrey [C].' Printed at London in 1591, 8vo. But it was quickly suppressed,

(a) The Worthies of England, by T. Fuller, D. D. in Kent, p. 78.

(b) Wood, Fasti, Edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 107.

(c) From the Registers of the University.

(d) Fuller and Wood, *ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) *Ibid.* See The principal Navigations, Voyages, &c. of the English Nation, &c. by R. Hakluyt. Edit. 1600. Vol. I. p. 473.

(g) Fuller and Wood, *ubi supra.*

(h) Newcourt, Repertor. Eccles. Vol. I. p. 107.

[A] And having obtained good and advantagious conditions.] They were to this effect. 1. A continuation of league and amity between the Queen and the Emperor Theodore Juanowich, in like manner as was with his father Juan Basilowich. 2. A confirmation and re-establishment of the former privileges of the company of our English merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with divers necessary additions, for the better ordering of their trade in those countreys hereafter; viz. that the state of the privilege granted before in the names of some private and particular men, be altered in that point, and the same granted by the name and stile of their incorporation, viz. to the fellowship of English merchants for the discovery of new trades. 3. That upon every surmise and light quarrel, the said privilege be not revoked and annulled, as before time it hath been. 4. That justice shall be administered to the said company and their agent without delay, upon such as shall offer them any despite or injury, or shall exact or impose upon them any payment, taxation, or imposition whatsoever, contrary to the freedom of the said grant. 5. That the goods and commodities of the said company be not forcibly taken as before time they have been by the Emperor's officers or people of authority, either for the use of the said Emperor or of his officers. But in case they have need of the said commodities, the same to be taken at reasonable prices, and for ready money. 6. That the said company be not charged hereafter with the answering of such debts as are made by any Englishman not being of the society. 7. That the Emperor's authorized people shall not hereafter repute any Englishman resident in that countrey, to be factor, servant, or dealer in the said company's affairs, but such as the agent shall register by name, within the offices where custom is entered in all such places of the land where the said company have residencies to traffick. 8. That the names of such as shall be so registered be no longer continued in record, nor themselves reputed as factors or dealers for the said company, than the agent shall think good. But in case the said agent shall think meet to strike out of the register any name of such as have been employed in the company's service, the said person to be held as private, and whose act in bargaining or otherwise, shall not charge the said company. 9. That if any Englishman within the countrey of Russia be suspected for any notorious crime, as felony, treason, &c. the same be not straightways set upon the Pudkey (\*), nor otherwise tormented, till such time as he shall be convicted by plain and evident proofs: which being done, the whole proceeding to be sent over to the Queen of England. 10. That the said privilege with the additions, shall be published in all towns and parts of the Emperor's dominions, where

the said company have traffick. 11. That the said company shall be permitted to use a sole trade through the Emperor's countries, by the river Wolga into Media, Persia, Bulgaria, and the other east countries. 12. Whereas there was claimed of the said company the sum of 23,553 marks of debt, made by certain of the factors of the said company, for payment whereof their whole stock was in danger of arrest by publick authority; and also 2140 rubles for customs and house-rent, he obtained an abatement of eighteen thousand one hundred and fifty three marks of the said debt (1). —The Russia company to which these privileges were granted, was first incorporated by Charter, in the 1st and 2d of Philip and Mary; afterwards confirmed by Act of Parliament in the 8th of Queen Elizabeth (2).

[B] Returned to England with safety.] We are told, 'that after his safe return to London, he sent for an intimate friend, with whom he heartily expressed his thankfulness to God for his safe return from so great a danger. For the Poets cannot fancy Ulysses more glad to be come out of the den of Polyphemus, than he was to be rid of the power of such a barbarous Prince; who counting himself, by a proud and voluntary mistake, Emperor of all Nations, cared not for the Law of all Nations; and who was so habited in blood, that had he cut off this Embassador's head, he and his friends might have fought their own amends, but the question is, where he would have found it?' (3) Dr Fuller is mistaken, when he affirms (4), that our author was agent in Muscovy in 1583. For the words of Mr Camden, which he refers to, imply no such thing (5).

[C] Of the Russe Commonwealth.] This curious and scarce little book, is divided into these three general parts. I. Cosmography of the Country. II. Policy. III. Oeconomy or private behaviour. And the second part is subdivided into these four. The ordering of their State. Their judicial proceeding. Their warlike provisions. Their Ecclesiastical State. The whole is comprised into 28 chapters, of which the titles follow. 1. The breadth and length of the country, with the names of the Shires. 2. The soil and climate. 3. The native commodities of the country. 4. The chief cities of Russia. 5. The house or stocke of the Russe Emperor. 6. The manner of inauguration of the Russe Emperors. 7. The form or manner of their publick government. 8. Their Parliaments and manner of holding them. 9. The Russe Nobility, and means whereby it is kept in an under proportion agreeable to that State. 10. The manner of governing their Provinces or Shires. 11. The Emperor's Privy-Council. 12. The Emperor's customs and other revenues, and what they amount unto, with the Sophismes practised for the encrease of them. 13. The Russe communalty, and their condition. 14. Their public

(1) Hakluyt, *ubi supra.*

(2) See Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, Edit. 1720. Vol. I. Book II. p. 204. And Hakluyt, *ubi supra*, p. 267, &c.

(3) Fuller, *ubi supra.*

(4) *Ibid.* in the Margin.

(5) Annales reg. Elizab. ad ann. 1583.

(\*) i. e. roasted to death.

(1) Camdeni Annales Elizabethæ, ad an. 1583.

(4) Not of St Katharine in Coleman-street, as Mr Wood says by mistake; for there is no such Church: But of St Katharine Coleman, in Fen-church-street.

suppressed lest it might give offence to a Prince in amity with England (i). Dr Fletcher died in the parish of St Catherine Coleman (k) in London, in the month of February 1610, and was probably buried in that church (l). He left two sons, both learned men. The eldest, Giles, Bachelor of Divinity of Trinity-college in Cambridge, was equally beloved of the Muses and Graces; and died at Alderton in Suffolk in 1623. Phineas, the younger, of King's-college in the same university, was accounted an excellent Poet; and became afterwards Rector of Hilgay in Norfolk. He wrote several books (m); particularly, *De literatis antiquæ Britannię, præsertim qui doctrina claruerunt, quique Collegia Cantabrigiæ fundarunt*. Cantabr. 1633, 12mo. i. e. Of the learned in Britain, who have founded Colleges at Cambridge.

(7) Wood, ubi supra.

(m) Ibid.

public justice and manner of proceeding therein. 15. The Emperor's forces for his wars, with the officers and their salaries. 16. Their manner of mustering, armour, provision for victual, encamping, &c. 17. Their order in marching, charging, and their martial discipline. 18. Their colonies and policy in maintaining their purchases by conquest. 19, 20. Their borderers, with whom they have most to do in war and peace. 21. Their Church offices, and degrees. 22. Their Leiturgy or form of Church service, with their manner of administering the Sacraments. 23. The doctrine of the Russe Church. 24. Their manner of solemnizing marriages. 25. The other ceremonies of the Russe Church. 26. The Emperor's domestic or private behaviour. 27. The Emperor's household, and officers of his house. 28. The private behaviour, and manners of the Russe people. — There are several particulars in this book, no less wonderful than true. As, for instance, what he says of the intense cold of that climate (6). — 'The rivers and other waters are all frozen up a yard or more thick, how swift or broad soever they be. And this continueth commonly five months, viz. from the beginning of November till towards the end of March, what time the snow beginneth to melt. So that it would breed a frost in a man to look abroad at that time, and see the winter face of that country. The sharpness of the air you may judge of by this: for that water dropped down or cast up into the air, congealeth into ice before it come to the ground. In the extremity of winter, if you hold a pewter-dish or pot in your hand, or any other metal, (except in some chamber where their warm stoves be) your fingers will freeze fast unto it, and draw off the skins at the parting. When you pass out of a warm room into a cold, you shall sensibly feel your breath to wax stark, and even stifling with the cold, as you draw it in and out. Divers not only that travel abroad, but in the very markets and streets of their towns, are mortally pinched, and killed withall: so that you shall see many drop down dead in the streets, many travellers brought into the towns fitting dead and stiff in their sleds. Divers lose their noses, the tips of their ears, and the balls of their cheeks, their toes, feet, &c. — And yet in the summer time you shall see such a new hue and face of a country; the woods (for the most part which are all of fir and birch) so fresh and so sweet, the pastures and meadows so green and well-grown (and that upon the sudden) such variety of flowers, such noise of birds (specially of Nightingales, that seem to be more loud and of a more variable note than in other countries) that a man shall not lightly travel in a more

pleasant country. — As the winter exceedeth in cold, so the summer inclineth to over-much heat; specially in the months of June, July, and August, being much warmer than the summer air in England. (7). In winter-time, when all is covered with snow, and the ground so hard frozen, as that no spade, nor pickax can enter, their manner is not to bury their dead, but to keep the bodies (so many as die all the winter-time) in an house, in the suburbs, or out parts of the town, which they call Bohsedom, that is God's house: where the dead bodies are piled up together, like billets on a wood-stack, as hard with the frost as a very stone, till the spring tide come, and resolvethe the frost: what time every man taketh his dead friend, and committeth him to the ground. — The account he gives of the arbitrariness of the government there, is surprizing, but well known (8). To shew his sovereignty over the lives of his subjects, the late Emperor Juan Valowich in his walks or progresses, if he had disliked the face or person of any man whom he met by the way, or that looked upon him, would command his head to be struck off. Which was presently done, and the head cast before him. — He enlarges more fully upon that point, in the dedication of his book to Queen Elizabeth. — 'My meaning, says he, was to note things for mine own experience, of more importaunce than delight, and rather true than strange. In their manner of government, your Highness may see both: a true and strange face of a tyrannical State, (most unlike to your own) without true knowledge of God, without written law, without common justice: save that which proceedeth from their speaking law, to wit, the Magistrate who hath most need of a law, to restrain his own injustice (\*). The practise hercof as it is heavy, and grievous to the poor oppressed people that live within those countries: so it may give just cause to myself, and other your Majesty's faithful subjects, to acknowledge our happiness on this behalf, and to give God thanks for your Majesty's most Prince-like, and gracious Government: as also to your Highness more joy and contentment in your Royal Estate, in that you are a Prince of subjects, not of slaves, that are kept within duty by love, not by fear.' — It was, undoubtedly, for these passages that the book was suppressed, as is said above: but it was reprinted at London in 1643. 12mo. and is inserted in R. Hakluyt's Navigations, Voyages, &c. Vol. 1. p. 474, &c. only a little contracted. Mr Camden, speaking of this book, styles it *libellum, in quo plurima observanda* (9), i. e. a book wherein are many things worthy of observation.

(7) p. 106.

(8) Fol. 21. 6.

(\*) They are much civilized, since that book was written.

(9) Ubi supra, ad ann. 1583.

(6) Fol. 4, &c.

FORTESCUE, FORTESKEWE, or FOSKEWE (Sir JOHN), an able Statesman, an excellent Lawyer, a general Scholar, Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, and, as is commonly admitted, Lord High Chancellor of England, in the reign of King Henry the Sixth (a). A person so remarkable every way for abilities, dignities, and misfortunes, that it is, in reality, not a little strange we should not hitherto have had a better account of him; more especially since several attempts have been already made to this purpose, and that too by persons equally capable, and one would have thought willing, to have given the world all the light possible into the personal history of so worthy, so learned, and so great a man [A]. He was indisputably descended from the ancient family of Fortescue,

(a) Bale de Script. major. Brytan. cent. viii. 36. p. 613.

[A] So worthy, so learned, and so great a man ] It seems a little strange, that Leland, in his history of English authors, has not so much as mentioned Sir John Fortescue, and tho' this defect might seem to be in some measure supplied by the accounts given of

him, by Bale and Pits, yet what they say of him is rather by way of character, and even in that they are not much to be depended upon, since Bale tells us, that, step by step, he rose to the office of High Chancellor of England, which great office in the state he executed

rescue, in the county of Devon; but some diversity there is as to his immediate parentage. The Reverend Mr Prince, who had the inspection, as he informs us, of pedigrees extracted from the Herald's-Office by Sir William Pole, is very positive that he was the second son of Sir John Fortescue of Norreis (b) [B]. But notwithstanding this, the late Lord Fortescue, one

(b) Worthies of Devon, p. 304.

(1) De Script. major. Brytan. cent. viii. 36. p. 613.

executed long with much authority and dignity, and more to the same purpose (1), tho' it is very certain, that he never executed that office in this kingdom at all. He farther informs us, that he was a long time in exile, but upon what account he confesses himself ignorant, which is a pretty clear proof, that he was very far from being well acquainted with his personal history. As for Pits, in this, as in most other-articles, he copies Bale, and whenever he ventures to depart from him is very seldom in the right. He is so cautious as to say, that it was reported Sir John Fortescue passed part of his life in banishment, which, considering the confusion of the times in which he lived, he thinks might probably be true enough; and then he proceeds to give us a catalogue of his works, of which, according to his manner, he gives us the title of four pieces, and adds, that he wrote several more, but, without doubt, he was a very indifferent judge of them, since the first and the last that he mentions, is the very same book (2) under different titles, an error which he very faithfully copied from Bale, except that in his performance the titles follow each other. They both profess to transcribe Robert Record, an author who deserved a better fate than he met with, for he died a prisoner in the King's Bench in the last year of Queen Mary's reign (3), but they neither of them mention from what work of his they copied what they wrote, and perhaps, without breach of charity, we may suspect that Pits never saw any of our author's books, or perhaps Record's account of him. We cannot doubt that the famous Mr Selden was much better acquainted with the history of Sir John Fortescue, than can be collected either from his preface, or the notes he has written upon his book; and it was certainly a little unkind, not to give the world some farther lights as to so eminent a person, when they lay so much within his power. Doctor Fuller mentions him in several of his works (4), and that I think is the most that can be said, for he has preserved nothing worth reading about him in any of them. We might naturally have expected in the very copious preface, addressed to Sir John Holland, by the late Lord Fortescue (5), a larger or at least a more exact account of this reverend Judge; but it falls out quite otherwise, for he is very short, tells us nothing which we did not know before, except, that he was possessed of a manuscript which he believes Mr Selden never saw, and which, sometime or other, perhaps, might see the light, tho' it never did, nor is he so kind as to tell us so much as its title. One thing he asserts which might have been as well omitted, that the remains of this great man are interred in Campden Church, in which there is a handsome monument to his memory, which induced Bishop Tanner (6) to doubt whether it might not be so, whereas the fact is certain, that he was buried at Ebrington (7) Ebburton, or Ebberton.

(2) De illustrib. Angl. Script. Æ. xv. 850. p. 649.

(3) Tanneri Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernia, p. 619.

(4) Worthies, Devonshire, p. 256. Holy State, p. 236.

(5) Prefixed to our author's Book *The Difference between an absolute and limited Monarchy.*

(6) Bibliothec. Britannico-Hibernia, p. 293.

(7) Atkins's Hist. of Gloucestershire, p. 425.

(8) Worthies of Devon, p. 304.

[B]. That he was the second son of Sir John Fortescue of Norreis.] The Reverend Mr Prince begins his account of the learned person, who is the subject of this article in these words (8). 'Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Lord Chief Justice, and Lord High Chancellor of England, was born most likely at Norreis, in the Parish of North Huish, near South Brent in this county, he was second son of Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Captain of Meaux in France, by his wife . . . daughter and heir of Norreis, of Norreis, who was second son of William Fortescue of Wimston, antiently Wimondeston, in the Parish of Modbiry, the most antient seat of this honourable name and family in this county or the kingdom, in whose possession it remained from the days of John King of England, to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, about four hundred years, so runs the antient deed, *Rex Johannes, per Literas suas Patentes, Datas anno 10. Regni sui, concessit Johanni Fortescue, Wymondeston in Com. Devon.*' Yet in the space of a few lines, he gives us such an account of this matter as is not very consistent herewith, his words are these. 'Here, ere I proceed farther in regard of the great variety

of the families of this name which flourish in this county, and several other parts of England in high degree, it may not prove unacceptable to the curious herein, to lay down a brief account of the pedigree thereof as an industrious Antiquary of our own hath collected it from the Heralds Office. William Fortescue of Wimpston, seventh in descent from the first possessor, by Elizabeth, sister and coheir of Thomas Beauchamp of Ryme, had issue, William, and Sir John Fortescue, Captain of Meaux, William by Mabilia, daughter and heir of John Falwel, had issue, John, who by Joan, daughter and heir of John Pruteston de Pruteston, in the parish of Newton Ferrers, had three sons, John of Wimpston, William of Pruteston, now Preston, and John of Spridleston, commonly Spurleston. Sir John Fortescue, second son of William, Captain of Meaux, by the daughter and heir of Norreis as aforesaid, had issue three sons; Henry, who by his first wife had issue, Fortescue of Wood, whose issue male failing, his daughter and heir was married unto Fortescue of Preston, by his second wife, only daughter and heir of Fallapit, of Fallapit, in East Allington had issue, Richard Fortescue of Fallapit, whose heir male failing in the third descent, his daughter Elizabeth was married unto Lewis, third son of Fortescue of Spridleston, who hath continued the name there unto this day. The second son of Sir John Fortescue of Norreis, was Sir John Fortescue our present subject, his third son was Richard, from whom issued the several families of this name in the east parts of England, as at Polesborn in Hartfordshire, Fulborn in Essex, Souldon in Bucks, &c. all which sprang originally from Wimpston aforesaid.' It is needless to trouble the reader here with the corrections of this genealogy, since it will be set in a proper light in the next note; it is sufficient to observe that it cannot be right, because that in more instances than one it is inconsistent with itself, which in all probability arose from want of duly considering the collections made by Sir William Pole, which are on all hands allowed to have been very authentick. We have a very different account of this matter from Mr Waterhouse (9), who assures us, that he had it from Sir John Fortescue of Salden in Buckinghamshire, which is conceived in these words. 'He was, says he, third son to Henry Fortescue, son of Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Captain of Meaux, and Governor of Bry in France under Henry the Fifth, which Sir John was second son of William Fortescue of Wimpston, in the county of Devon, Esq; so that our Chancellor being immediate heir in the eighth descent of Sir Richard Fortescue, Knight, who came out of Normandy in the Conqueror's time, was generously descended by his father, and no less by his mother, who was a daughter and heir of Beauchamp, his eldest brother was Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, and died issueless.' The last part of this paragraph is directly contradicted by Prince, and indeed by all the accounts of the family of Fortescue that can be relied upon. It is very true, that the male line in the eldest branch failed, but not as is here represented. There is yet another account which occurs in the labours of so careful and so judicious a writer, that it deserves to be particularly examined, it runs thus (10). 'A gentleman of good sense, who is very conversant in the affairs of the family, informs me, that Sir John Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice, and afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, was the third son of John Fortescue, Knight, Captain of Meaux, &c. and not of Henry Fortescue, Chief Justice of Ireland, who, according to a pedigree of the family in his custody, was the Chancellor's eldest brother. He thinks it pretty plain, for that, the fourteenth of Henry the Sixth, Henry Fortescue, by deed indented, did grant and confirm unto John Fortescue his brother, and Isabella, who was wife of the said John, all the messuages, lands, and tenements, of John Fortescue, father of the said Henry, in

(9) In his Introduction to his Commentary on Fortescue de laudibus legum.

(10) In the Notes to the Preface to the second Edition of the Translation of Fortescue de laudibus legum, fol. 174. p. 50.

one of the Justices of his Majesty's Court of King's-Bench, and afterwards of the Common-Pleas, is very clear that he was the third son of Sir Henry Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland (c); and when the matter comes to be fairly examined, it will be found that he is certainly in the right [C]. We have no account where this learned person was born (tho' it is very highly probable it was in the West of England), or in what year; we are likewise in the dark as to the University (d) in which he studied, or indeed whether he studied in either; but most probable it is that he did, and that he applied himself particularly to the Civil Law, in which, we have not only testimony to prove, but his writings likewise shew, that he was very learned (e). It is true that the Reverend Mr Prince (f) thought it probable that he studied at Oxford; and a very learned Prelate (g) says, that he was educated in Exeter College, in that University; but as he cites no authority for this, in respect to which no man was more accurate, it is reasonable to believe that he speaks from conjecture also, though certainly, in a point of this nature, any conjecture of his ought to have great weight. When he turned his thoughts to the municipal laws of England, and resolved, according to the example of his father, to betake himself to that profession, he settled in Lincoln's-Inn, where he quickly distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner (h), and where it is asserted that his lectures were crowded, on account of the high reputation he had acquired in the Civil as well as the Common Law; which is so much the more probable, as we have his own authority to prove that the Inns of Court were never in a more flourishing condition, or the profession of the Law in greater reverence and esteem, than at this time (i) [D]. The first date that occurs with respect to his preferments,

(c) See his Preface to Chancellor Fortescue's Discourse on a limited Monarchy.

(d) Bale and Pits are both silent upon this head.

(e) Pits de illustr. Angliæ Script. ÆE. xv. n. 350. p. 649.

(f) Worthies of Devon, p. 305.

(g) Tanner's Biblioth. Britan. Hibern. p. 293.

(h) Bale de Script. Major. Britan. cent. viii. 36. p. 613.

(i) De laudibus Legum Angliæ, cap. 49.

in Overcomb, Efford, and Alton, in the parish of Holboughton, Devon.' Against this account there seem to lie two objections, the first is, that there was a long descent of Fortescues, the male line of which ended in Sir Francis Fortescue, who died at the Bath, November the eleventh, 1729. all claiming a descent from Sir Henry Fortescue, Chief Justice of Ireland, which does not at all agree with this account, the other objection is, that this Henry Fortescue mentioned in the deed, might possibly be Henry Fortescue of Wood, eldest son to Sir Henry Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice, which will agree very well with the descent mentioned in the next note.

[C] *That he is certainly in the right.* There is no doubt, that the house of Fortescue was settled in the county of Devon in the reign of King John, if not before, and that their antient mansion was Winston in Armington hundred, long since passed into other hands. It appears from Sir William Pole's manuscript of Charters, the great Antiquary of that county, that in the thirtieth year of the reign of King Edward the First, Adam Fortescue, eldest son and heir of Adam Fortescue, granted to Henry Lopperigges (11), an annual rent of seven shillings, which Richard the son of Philip used to pay him for his tenement in Wimonston, to which his seal is affixed, being an oval shield charged with a star, circumscribed Ade Fortescue. After him was William Fortescue of the same place, a witness to the charter of John and William Ferrers, in the thirty fifth of Edward the Third, as the aforesaid manuscript shews. And in the second of Richard the Second, being wrote William Fortescue, Senior, he had a grant with Sir Philip and Sir Peter Courtney, Knights, from Richard Mauldif, called Somaister, of lands in Smytheston, Crencomb, Wypnell, and Thurverton. This William married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of John Beauchamp of Kyme, in the county of Lincoln, and had issue two sons, William Fortescue of Winston, which branch ended in an only daughter and heir of Thomas Fortescue, named Jane, married to Edmund Babington of Wyke, in the county of Worcester, Esquire. John, the second son of the first William Fortescue, was one of those brave Englishmen, who signalized themselves under the standard of that victorious Monarch, Henry the Fifth. Which John Fortescue had the honour of Knighthood conferred on him for his valour in those French wars, and was made Governor of Meaux in Berry. He took to wife . . . . . daughter and heir of William Norris, by whom he had issue, Sir Henry Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland (12), who had three sons, first Henry Fortescue of Wood, in the county of Devon, Sir Richard Fortescue, from whom descended the Fortescues of Painsborn, and the third son, was Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, and by his appointment Chancellor. This account is clear, consistent, and well supported, so that there seems to

(11) E. Collect. T. Mellert.

(12) Selden, in his Preface to Fortescue, de laudibus legum, Sec.

be no reason why it should not be willingly received, instead of those vague, contradictory, unattested stories, that are to be met with in some books.

[D] *Than at this time.* The most learned Antiquaries in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, whose sentiments we have upon the subject of the Inns of Court and Chancery, agree fully in this, that they never were in so flourishing condition, as in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, and that this is a point wholly known from the account given of them by our author, who describes those establishments as they stood about three hundred years ago, or more, referring that description, not to the time when he wrote his book, but when he studied in them. That very curious relation which cannot but be very acceptable to the intelligent reader, runs thus (13). 'To the intent, *most excellent Prince*, you may conceive the form and image of this study, as I am able I will describe it unto you. For there are for these studies ten lesser houses or Inns, and sometimes more, which are called Inns of Chancery, and to every one of them belongeth an hundred students at least, and to some of them a much greater number, tho' at one time they be not ever all together in the same. Those students for the most part are young men, studying the originals and the elements of the Law, who profiting therein as they grow to ripeness, so are they admitted into the greater Inns, called the Inns of Court, of which greater Inns there are four in number. And to the least of them belongeth in form abovementioned, two hundred students or thereabouts, for in these greater Inns, no student can be maintained for less expences by the year, than twenty marks. And if he have a servant to wait upon him, as most of them have, then so much the greater will his charges be. Now by reason of this, the children only of Noblemen study the Laws in those Inns, for the poorer and common sort of people, are not able to bear so great charges for the exhibition of their children. And Merchants can seldom find in their hearts, to burthen their trade with so great yearly expences. And thus it falleth out, that there is hardly any man found within the realm skilful in the Laws, except he be a gentleman born, and one descended of a noble stock. Wherefore, they more than any other kind of men have a special regard to their nobility, and to the preservation of their honour and fame; and to speak with the strict regard to truth, there is in these greater Inns, and even in the lesser too, beside the study of the Laws, as it were an university or school for the acquisition of all commendable qualities requisite for Noblemen. There they learn to sing, and to exercise themselves in all kind of harmony. There also they practise dancing and other genteel accomplishments, as they are accustomed to do, which are brought up in the King's house. On working days most of them apply themselves to the study of the Law, and on holy days

(13) De laudibus legum, cap. 49.

preferments, is the fourth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, when, as Sir William Dugdale informs us, he was made one of the Governors of Lincoln's-Inn; and was honoured again with the same employment three years after (*k*). In Michaelmas term 1430, he was promoted to the degree of a Serjeant at Law, and kept his feast upon that occasion, as he himself informs us, with very great splendour (*l*) [*E*]. In 1441, he was in Easter term made one of the King's Serjeants at Law (*m*); and on the twenty-fifth of January 1442, he was constituted Chief Justice of the King's-Bench at Westminster (*n*). He is highly commended, by some of our most eminent writers, for that wisdom, gravity, and uprightnes, with which he presided in that Court for so many years (*o*); but certainly they are somewhat mistaken, or have not considered the history of the times in which he lived, who suggest that he was one of the King's principal Counsellors, and that the Court was in a great measure governed by his advice, the direct contrary of which is most likely to be true. For we cannot conceive, that so mild and good a man, as Sir John Fortescue was, could act otherwise than ministerially in the trial of many of the friends and servants of Humphry Duke of Gloucester, called by the people the *good* Duke of Gloucester, for high-treason, who were convicted upon slender evidence, and afterwards treated in a manner of which we find no other instance in our own, or in foreign records [*F*]. It is thought that he opposed the

(*k*) Origines Juridiciales, p. 142.

(*l*) De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, cap. 50.

(*m*) Chron. Series, p. 62, 63.

(*n*) Chron. Juridic. p. 127.

(*o*) Bale, Pits, &c.

days to study Holy Scripture, and out of the time of divine service to the reading of Chronicles. For there indeed are virtues studied, and from them are vices exiled. So that for the acquisition of virtue, and eradicating of vice, Knights and Barons, with other States, and Noblemen of the realm, place their children in those Inns, even, tho' they desire not to have them learned in the Laws, nor to live by the practice thereof, but only upon their fathers allowance. Seldom, if at any time, is there heard amongst them any sedition or grudging; and yet the offenders are no otherwise punished, than only by being removed from the company of their fellowship, which punishment they more fear than other offenders, imprisonment and irons: for he that is once expelled is never received to be a fellow in any of the other fellowships, and by this means there is continual peace, and their demeanour is like the behaviour of such as dwell together in perfect amity. — But there is one thing more which I would have you know, that neither at Orleans, where both the Canon and the Civil Laws are taught, and to which, for that reason, scholars resort from all the adjacent countries; nor at Anjou, nor at Caen, or any University in France, Paris only excepted, are there so many youths grown up, employed in study, as in these Inns of Court and Chancery, tho' there are none that study there but what are English born. This reflects great honour on that age, tho' possibly somewhat at the expence of this.

[*E*] *With very great splendour.*] It is in the same book, and in prosecution of the same discourse, that our very learned author gives Prince Edward an account of the state and degree of a Serjeant at Law (14), wherein, perhaps, the reader may at first imagine there was somewhat of vanity, or at least, of an inclination natural enough to old men, that of speaking of himself. But whoever considers attentively the scheme of that book, will see quite the contrary. The design of its wise and worthy author, was to convince the young Prince, his pupil, that England was the country in the world, in which Laws were in the highest estimation, where they were equally the rule of the King's government, and the measure of the subjects obedience, and where consequently neither could despise them without becoming a tyrant or a rebel. It was natural from hence for him to observe, that a Serjeant is a rank or dignity in the Law, unknown in any nation but this, and consequently the strongest mark of the high and universal respect paid to the profession; to prove this the more fully, he mentions the expence with which the taking this state or dignity was attended, and in doing this he is very brief, he observes, that according to the custom then in use, they gave a great dinner like the feast at a King's Coronation, and continued their entertainments for seven days, which when there were eight Serjeants made at a time, amounted to three thousand two hundred marks, or four hundred marks a piece; he is very particular in marking the number and price of the gold rings, of which, he says, not so much as a clerk in the Common Pleas, but received one, and that when himself was called, those rings cost him fifty

pounds. He takes notice likewise, that none could be raised to the office of a Judge, either in the King's-Bench, or Common Pleas, but must be of the degree of a Serjeant, to which degree men could not be then raised till they had been at least sixteen years at the bar, which I the rather mention, because it will enable us to form some notion of his own age, since, if we consider, that he was called to the degree of Serjeant in 1430 (15), we may very well conclude, that he was born in or about the year 1395, which remark, tho' in itself a matter of no great consequence, will have its use hereafter, when we come to mention his transactions in the last part of his life, where we have great need of conjecture and reflection to conduct us.

[*F*] *In our own or in foreign records.*] If this was a convenient place, and the nature of the work would allow us room, what is advanced in the text might be proved beyond all contradiction; that is to say, it might be shewn that such things were done by the Court, or, to speak strictly, by the Queen and her favourites, as no good man could behold but with great concern. The single instance hinted at in the text will be more than sufficient, considering the narrow bounds within which we are circumscribed, to justify what has been said. We take this instance however a little higher, for the sake of connection and perspicuity, than the fact pointed at in the text absolutely required (16). Humphry, the renowned Duke of Gloucester, Lord Protector, felt the first stroke of the evil angel, which was sent to punish England and to root out her nobles. This Duke was much hated by the Queen, and her faction, as the only man who by his prudence, as also by the honour and authority of his birth and place, seemed to impeach that sovereign command, which they pretended to settle in the King's own person, but meant indeed, as the manner is under soft Princes, to reign themselves in another's name. Many great Lords were drawn on at the time of a Parliament then in February 1477, holden at Saint Edmund's Bury, to concur for his ruin, not perceiving that thereby they plucked up the floodgate at which the Duke of York entered, overwhelming all of them in a deluge of blood. Whether they had any true or just fear of Gloucester himself, least, perhaps, he should take revenge upon some particular persons among them, is doubtful, tho' it be probable enough that they had. Here are some things that forewent this Parliament. About five or six years before the Duchess of Gloucester, Eleanor, was convented for witchcraft and forcery, and afterward indicted of treason in the Guild-hall, in London, before the Earls of Huntington, Stafford, Suffolk, and Northumberland, and certain Lords, as Stanhope and Hungerford, with others, and Judges of both Benches, of which crimes she was appealed by one Bolingbrook an Astronomer, and Thomas Southwell a Canon, which Southwell was charged to have said Masses over certain instruments, by which the Astronomer should practise Necromancy against the life of the King. These being taken, accused her as accessory, she having desired the help of their art to know what would befall her. Some part hereof she confessed, for which

(15) Chron. Juridic. p. 123.

(16) Speed's Chronicle, p. 661.

(14) Ibid. cap. 50.

the Duke of Suffolk (p), who, tho' a man of singular abilities, but very ambitious, became at last sole Minister, and directed all things at his pleasure. Yet, notwithstanding the credit that nobleman had with the Queen, Sir John Fortescue remained in great favour with the King, of which, in the twentieth year of his reign, he received a signal proof, by an unusual augmentation of his salary (\*), concerning which there seems to be something obscure, or mistaken, in the writings of a celebrated author [G]. He held his high office throughout the whole reign of his gracious master King Henry the Sixth, to whom he steadily adhered, and served him faithfully in all his troubles; and for this, in the first Parliament under King Edward the Fourth, which began at Westminster on the fourth of November 1461, he was attainted of high treason (q), by the same Act of Parliament in which King Henry the Sixth, Queen Margaret, Edward their son, Henry Duke of Exeter, Henry Duke of Somerset, Thomas Earl of Devonshire, Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and, in the whole, one hundred and fifty-three persons of distinction were likewise attainted (r). On the thirteenth of May following, Sir John Markham was made Chief Justice of the King's-Bench (s). After this misfortune, King Henry the Sixth flying into Scotland, it is generally believed that he constituted Sir John Fortescue Chancellor of England (t), George Nevile then Bishop of Exeter, to whom the Great-Seal had been delivered July the twenty-sixth 1460, remaining in the Service of King Edward the Fourth; and this is the reason that the name of our great Lawyer does not occur in the records as Chancellor of Eng-

(p) Coke's Institutes, p. 111. cap. 99. p. 208.

(\*) P. 1. rot. pat. 20. Hen. VI. m. 10.

(q) Wilhelmi Wyrcestre Annales Rerum Angl. A. D. 1461.

(r) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 670.

(s) Chron. Juridic. p. 133.

(t) Selden's Preface to Fortescue De Laudibus Legum Angliæ.

land

which she was put to publick and solemn penance in London, upon three several days with wonderful shame to her person; and after she was committed to perpetual prison under the ward of Sir Thomas Stanley in the castle of Chester, but from thence removed to Kenelworth. Her pride, avarice, and lechery, were causes of her confusion, faith Stowe, who hath set forth that business very diligently, tho' not seeming to attribute much credit to that accusation of treason. The Duke of Gloucester, her unhappy Lord and Husband, whom she by love cups and enchantments, was said to have inveigled, using therein one Margaret Gurdmain, a witch of Eye in Suffolk, who was burnt in Smithfield, stung with this reproach, might reasonably be thought not unwilling to do somewhat. Howsoever that was, his destruction borrowed countenance from that opinion. The Duke therefore being come to attend in this Parliament at Bury, was arrested of High-Treason, by John Lord Beaumont, High-Constable of England, the Dukes of Buckingham and Somerset, with others. Certain of the King's Household were appointed to guard him. Not long after he was found dead. His body was shewed to the Lords and Commons, as if he had died of a palsy, or an apoplexy. Of thirty and two of his servants which were attached, Sir Roger Chamberlain, Knight, Richard Middleton, Thomas Herbert, Arthur Tursey, Esquires, and Richard Needham, Gentleman, were condemned of High-Treason, and had this unexampled punishment: they were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, hanged, let down quick, stript naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and then a charter of pardon shewed for their lives, by the Marquess of Suffolk. But the Yeoman of the Crown had their livelihood, the Executioner their cloaths. Their pardons were thus obtained, by the earnest diligence of Doctor Gilbert Worthington, a famous preacher, Parson of St Andrew's in Holborn. Thomas Wilde, Esq; the Duke's servant, also being condemned, and pardoned among others, had for a preamble in his letters patents words importing, that he had been one among many other traitors against the King, with Humphry, Duke of Gloucester; who went about and practised to deliver Eleanor, late wife to the Duke, from out of prison; for which purpose he had gathered a great power and number of men to come to the Parliament at Bury, there to have contrived the King's destruction. This which is drawn wholly from Speed, who had the best helps, and wrote under the wisest directions of any of our old Historians, must be distinguished and explained to prevent mistakes. Eleanor Cobham was proceeded against in 1440, but her enemies being able to make nothing of the charge of treason, brought her before Ecclesiastical Judges, who put her to that severe and extraordinary penance (17). But upon mature deliberation, this was considered as so dangerous a precedent, that it produced an Act of Parliament, for allowing women of quality, a trial by their Peers (18). As for her confederates, they were tried before

Commissioners in the Guild-hall, London, and convicted of High-Treason, tho' none but Bolingbrook suffered; and there was in this, so much of hardship, and the publick clamour pursued the Lord Chief Justice Hody, who condemned them, so strongly, that he broke his heart (19). It was in his room, that Sir John Fortescue succeeded. In 1444, King Henry married Margaret, the Daughter of the titular King of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, at the monastery of Tichfield in Hampshire (20); and on May the thirtieth, 1445, she was crowned at Westminster (21); within two years after which, followed the Tragedy of Humphry, Duke of Gloucester and his followers, whose sentences were afterwards reversed by that Duke's being declared to die the King's good subject, by Act of Parliament (22). When the reader duly considers these facts, he will certainly esteem it no compliment to be represented, as having a large share in such an administration.

(19) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 382.

(20) Cowper's Chronicle, fol. 262.

(21) Hist. Croylandensis Contin. p. 504, 505.

(22) Stowe's Annals, p. 400.

[G] In the writings of a celebrated author.] We are told by the late Judge Fortescue, in reference to this venerable person, that he had extraordinary favours shewn him from his Prince; for besides the usual salary of a Chief Justice, he had granted him an augmentation of it two several times, by two several annuities (23). The last of which, was an annuity of one hundred eighty marks out of the Hanaper, a great sum in those days, that he might *Statum suum decentius manutenere*, as the record says; and with that, was granted the sum of one hundred sixteen shillings, eleven pence half penny, *percipiendum singulis annis, ad festum natalis Domini, pro una Roba & Furrara pro eadem, erga idem Festum, and sixty six shillings and six pence, singulis annis, ad Festum Pentecostes, pro una Roba, & Linura pro eadem erga idem Festum*; the like favour, as Mr Selden observes, 'having never been granted to any Judge before.' We are not told by this learned person, where Mr Selden says, that this was a favour, the like of which was never granted to any Judge before; but certain it is, that where he mentions this Grant from the King, and gives us the date of it, there is no such thing said. Sir John Hody, his predecessor, had a grant of the very same nature, of a hundred and forty marks (24) &c. and whereas it is asserted, that Sir John Fortescue had his salary twice augmented, and that this large augmentation, was the last; there is great reason to believe otherwise, and that it was in reality the first; after which, he had a grant for a hoghead of wine annually during his life, to be received from the head Butler in the Port of Bristol; and after that, another grant of the like kind, which last vessel of wine was to be received from the same Port on the feast of St Michael the Archangel (25); the second augmentation of his salary, was by Letters Patents, dated May the twenty eighth, 1447. by which forty pounds *per annum* were granted to him over and above what had been given him before, and this was in the twenty fifth year of that reign (26); neither were favours of this kind at all uncommon, tho' not altogether in such high proportions to other Judges, which, however,

(23) In his Preface to the Difference between a limited and absolute Government.

(24) Chron. Juridic. p. 127.

(25) Pat. 21. H. VI. p. 2. m. 9.

(26) Chron. Juridic. p. 129.

(17) Wilhelmi Wyrcestre Annales Rerum Angl. A. D. 1440.  
(18) Stat. 20. E. VI. c. 9.

land [H]. In the month of April 1463, he embarked with Queen Margaret, Prince Edward, the Duke of Exeter, Dr John Morton, Dr Robert Mackerell, and other persons of distinction, who followed the fortunes of the House of Lancaster, to the number in the whole of two hundred, at Bamburg, and landed safely at Sluys in Flanders, from whence they were conducted to Bruges, and thence to Lisle, where the Queen had an audience of the Duke of Burgundy, to whom, with tears, she related the long series of her misfortunes, and the extreme misery to which she was reduced; with which the Duke being exceedingly moved, comforted her in the best manner that he could, made her a present of a considerable sum of money, and sent her, with most of the English attending her Majesty, into Lorraine, where her father then was, who gave them a castle to reside in, till he should be able to make further provision for them (u). In this exile he remained for many years, retiring from place to place as the necessities of the Royal Family required; for though, during that space, the Queen and Prince were often in motion, and great efforts were made to restore King Henry, yet, considering the age of the Chancellor Sir John Fortescue, it is by no means probable that he was suffered to expose himself to such hazards, more especially as he might be capable of rendering great services, by soliciting their interest at different Courts; and could not at that time of life, being near fourscore, be in any condition to sustain the fatigues of war (w). It does not indeed appear, from any of the histories that are extant, that our Chancellor had any hand in that negotiation, by which Queen Margaret, and the potent Earl of Warwick, were reconciled; but it is, notwithstanding, extremely probable that he had. We know very well, that the Queen was a high spirited woman, and that she was not, without reason, highly provoked against that ambitious nobleman; and therefore we may well presume, that it must have been some person of distinguished character, and who stood very high in her favour, who could so far pacify her resentment, as to engage her in a treaty first, and prevail upon her afterwards, to think of marrying the Prince of Wales, her only child, to the Lady Anne Nevile, younger daughter to the Earl of Warwick; the elder, Isabel, being before married to George Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the Fourth, whom the Queen considered as the usurper of her husband's throne (x). We may the more easily yield credit to this, when we are told that our Chancellor, in a certain book of his, still preserved though not published, represents himself as a Chief Counsellor of State at that time (y); which, if he was, he must undoubtedly have had a large share in a transaction which was by far the most important of any that happened after the Queen and Prince retired out of England, which gave so great a turn to their affairs, and which was very near retrieving their desperate game, and restoring the Line of Lancaster, at that time, to the possession of the imperial diadem of England. But whatever weight there may be in these conjectures, most certain it is, that the Chancellor observing the quick parts, and excellent understanding of his young master, who applied himself wholly to military exercises, and seemed to think of nothing beside qualifying

(u) *Wilhelmi Wyrcestre Annales Rerum Angliæ, A. D. 1463.*

(w) See his own introduction to his book *De Laudibus, &c.*

(x) See Grafton, Stowe, Speed.

(y) Selden's Preface before cited.

does not at all lessen the argument which is drawn from thence of Sir John Fortescue's standing highly in the King's favour, but on the contrary, strengthens and confirms it.

[H] *In the records as Chancellor of England.*] We have in an old Chronicle, the following account of some transactions at this time, which may possibly shew the reason, why Sir John Fortescue was attainted by King Edward, and also point out with more certainty than has been hitherto done, the time after which he must have been made Lord Chancellor (27): 'Edwarde Erle of March, by cause King Henry had broken covenantes, was made King at Westminster, Anno Domini, 1459. and straye King Edward rode northward, and at Towton not far from York on Palmes Sunday, advengid his fathers death and wan the field, where were slain XXM people on both parties. The Erle of Northumberland, the Lord Clifford, Sir John Nevil, the Erle of Westmordes brother, and Andrew Trollop, were killed at this time, King Henry, the Prince, the Queen, the Duke of Somerfet, Henry Duke of Excestre, the Lord Roos, Syr John Fortescue, Chief Juge of England, and Tailboys Erle of Kyme, beyng at York, and hering of this fled first to Newcastle, and then to Berwick, delivering it to the Scots.' This plainly shews, that he was only Chief Justice when he attended his master, King Henry, into Scotland; and as from the time he left him there he never saw him any more, there seems to be no room to doubt, that he received the Great-Seal from that King there, as soon as it was known that George Bishop of Excter, afterwards Archbishop of York, continued to bear the title, and execute the Office of Lord Chancellor, by the authority of King Edward. It is true, that some have doubted whether he was ever Chancellor at all; as for instance, Mr Thynne, a very learned Antiquary in the reign of

Queen Elizabeth, who expresses himself thus (28). 'Sir John Fortescue was only Chief Justice of the Bench, and not Chancellor of England, as he is untruly called by Molcafter, in translating his book of the Laws of England, since he was only Chancellor to the youngest Prince Edward, and his mother, after he fled with them into France.' This, however is false, for Sir John Fortescue, in the preface to his own book, does positively stile himself *the King of England's Chancellor*. So, as Mr Selden proves, he did in another work of his (29). Mr Whitlocke, who was perfectly well read in the Laws and History of this nation, made no scruple of differing in this respect from Mr Thynne, his words are these (30): 'Fortescue, that lived in Henry Sixth, and Edward the Fourth's time, and was Chancellor of England; and being of the faction of Lancaster, lived an exile in France, when that family was depressed writ a small pamphlet of the Law of England, in that his banishment, wherein he reporteth, &c.' It was probably upon these motives, that Sir Henry Spelman, who was so perfectly versed in every thing relating to our History and Antiquities, has added the name of Sir John Fortescue to the Chancellors in the reign of King Henry the Sixth (31), upon a supposition that he must have been so appointed by that Monarch while in Scotland, which, as he truly says, is a sufficient reason why nothing of this kind appears in our records at all; indeed it is impossible it should, since from the time he was Chancellor, King Henry was never acknowledged, or at least, not for above six months, during which space those who set him at liberty, and restored him to the title of King, obliged him to acknowledge the Archbishop of York for his Chancellor, that prelate being brother to the potent Earl of Warwick, who valued himself on making and unmaking Monarchs at his pleasure.

(28) Hearne's Collection of Discourses of famous Antiquaries, p. 113.

(29) The MS. of which Mr Selden had.

(30) Hearne's Collection of Discourses, p. 130v.

(31) Glossographia, p. 111.

(27) Leland's Collectanea, Vol. II. p. 499. Cotton's Abridgement, p. 671.

qualifying himself for an expert commander (z); he thought it high time to give him some other impressions, and to infuse into his mind just notions of the constitution of his country, as well as due respect to it's laws, that, if Providence should favour his designs, he might govern as a king, and not as a tyrant or a conqueror (a). That these impressions might not easily wear out of his mind, but that by frequently reviewing what had passed in these conversations, he might the better fix them in his memory, and strengthen them by his own meditations, the Chancellor digested them into a little treatise, written in the Latin tongue (b); which, how short soever it fell of it's primary intention, that hopeful Prince being not long after cruelly murdered, yet will remain an everlasting monument of this great and good man's respect for his country, and affection to his countrymen, which could not be better testified than it was by this short treatise [I]. There may possibly some doubts arise about the precise time in which this valuable work was composed, and indeed something of this kind has been already intimated, by writers of great authority (c). However, such as will look carefully into the work itself, and compare it with the history of these times, will very plainly see that it was written within a year or two of Prince Edward's death; for the establishing of which opinion, the proofs requisite will be found at the bottom of the page [K]. This very curious and concise vindication, as well as elogium,

(z) This appears from his own introduction.

(a) De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, cap. 37.

(b) So it appears from his own introduction.

(c) Nicholson's English Hist. Library, p. 232.

of

[I] *Than it was by this short treatise.*] This discourse of Sir John Fortescue's, has, in the most eminent degree, those two great properties, from which works of learning are justly stiled excellent, solidity in point of matter, and elegance in reference to its form. It is written in the way of dialogue, in which the characters are sustained with great dignity and spirit; he shews the Prince, that it is absolutely necessary for one of his condition to have a good understanding in the Laws, and a just regard for them too, in order to make himself easy, and to keep up the reverence due to them amongst the people; he demonstrates the advantage of a constitution governed by stated Laws, in making of which the subject has an interest; beyond that of a government, depending on the absolute pleasure of a Prince. He puts proper objections into the mouth of his pupil, and proposes them with a great air of freedom, and then he resolves them briefly, decently, and with much perspicuity; he observes, that what was requisite for a Prince to know in these matters lay within a narrow compass, and that there is no reason he should apprehend any thing, either tedious or difficult in acquiring such knowledge. Our author then proceeds to prove, that the Common Law is the most rational, as well as the most antient, in Europe. That the conviction of criminals by juries, and without racking, is more just and humane than the methods of neighbouring nations, our challenging of panels, writs of attain upon corrupt verdicts, and the usual wealth of our juries, such securities to the lives and property of the subject, as other countries are incapable of affording; that our Kings are greater and more potent in the liberties and properties of their people, than arbitrary tyrants in the vassalage of their slaves; that the Civil Law is more unreasonable than ours in the legitimation of children born before marriage, as also in its axiom *partus sequitur ventrem*, tuition of orphans, &c. that our Inns of Court are more convenient for the study of the English Law than their Universities, and that the degree of Serjeant at Law is as honourable, as that of Doctor in the Universities; and, in the last place, that the proceedings in our Courts of Justice are less dilatory than in those of other nations. These important and some of them too perplexed points, are handled with such clearness and strength of reason as may be truly said to carry with them conviction; with great reason therefore, did a wise and worthy author, upon nearly the same subject, deliver his opinion of this work in these terms (32). 'If the Noblemen of this realm would see their children brought up in such manner, that they should have learning and knowledge more than they commonly have, especially of the grounds and principles of the Law of the Realm, tho' they had not the cunning of the whole body of the Law, but after such manner as Mr Fortescue, in his book *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, advertiseth the Prince to have, I suppose it would be a great help hereafter to the ministration of justice, and a right great gladness to all people.' Sir Edward Coke, who often mentions our author, and this work of his, mentions him always with applause; in one place he tells us, that besides his profound knowledge in the Law, he was also an excellent Antiquary (33); and in another,

he points out some particular chapters in this work, which he assures us are so excellent (34), that they deserve to be written in letters of gold.

[K] *At the bottom of the page.*] In the course of the conversation the Prince proposes it as an objection, that notwithstanding the excellency of the English Laws, yet some of the Kings, his predecessors, had been desirous of introducing the Civil Laws, of which therefore he desires to know the reason. The Chancellor tells his Highness that he need not be at a loss, for that since Princes might be easily conceived willing enough to change the Laws of England, because of their binding alike upon them and their subjects, for the Civil Law built upon a principle directly opposite, *quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*, that the will of the Prince shall have the force of a Law. Upon this it has been demanded, what authority the Prince had to affirm, that any Monarch of England should form a design of changing the Common for the Civil Laws? The very learned Mr Selden discourses thereupon thus (35). 'I confess, I here understand him not. What Kings of England ever desired the Civil Laws of Rome? I have read of a protestation against them in Parliament, by the King and Lords, which you may see in Rot. process. & jud. of the appeal of Thomas Duke of Gloucester, and others, against Alexander Archbishop of York, Robert de Veer Duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, and Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice, in Rich. 2. Parlamento Westm. 3 Febr. Anno 11. where upon default of the appellees, the appellants desire that the Court would proceed to judgment. I remember also King Stephen, his publick edict against the Laws of Italy, but remember not any story or authority teaching that any of our Kings would have had them here used. That of Stephen is related by that noble and most learned Friar, Roger Bacon, in his *Compendium Theologiæ*, or his *Opus minus* (both those names are of one Ms book) where he is speaking of the Civil Laws of Italy, and that they are abused and too much affected by Clergymen, leaving their profession to study those Laws.' What he quotes from Bacon is to this effect, he says, that the several countries of Europe, such as England, France, Spain, Germany, were governed by Laws and constitutions of their own respectively, and so were the people of Italy, therefore no reason that the English Clergy should endeavour to bring in the Italian Laws, but rather that they should live as their ancestors had done under the Laws of their own country. King Stephen, says he, by a publick edict prohibited so much as the keeping the Italian Laws in a man's custody, and if a Lay King took such a method to prevent Laymen from being subjected to them, much more ought the Clergy to disdain these Laws that were made by and belonged to Laymen. Mr Selden afterwards observes, that tho' Bacon is so clear about the Civil Law, yet another author, of full as great authority in things of this nature, suggests, that it was a book of the Canon Law, which Archbishop Theobald brought with him from Rome. All this, however, is very little to the purpose, and if it proves any thing, proves directly the contrary of what our author has put into the mouth of Prince Edward. Let us hear now, what another great

(34) In the Preface to the eighth part of his Reports, fol. 14.

(35) In his Notes on Fortescue de *laudibus legum Angliæ*.

(32) D. 2. c. 46.

(33) In the Preface to the sixth part of his Reports, fol. 1. a.

of our laws, was received with that esteem and credit which it deserved, immediately after  
it's

(26) Coke's Institutes, P. iii. cap. 99.

great oracle of the Law takes to be the meaning of this passage (36). 'H. 6. had William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, &c. who endeavoured to have brought in the Civil Laws, which was the occasion that the Chief Justice Fortescue wrote in the commendation of the Laws of England, preferring them for the government of this Land before the Civil Laws. This Duke, with others, plotted the death and destruction of Humfry the good Duke of Gloucester who ever stood in his way.' It is highly probable, that Sir John Fortescue might differ with the Duke of Suffolk, and it is not at all impossible, that the Duke of Suffolk might have a high opinion of the Civil Law, tho' it would be no easy matter to produce any proof of either. But what then? The Duke of Suffolk had been dead many years, and the whole scope of this treatise plainly proves, that it was writ upon a sudden occasion, and all at a time. The last commentator, whose name I am sorry it is not in my power to mention, gives quite another and a better turn to this (37). 'King Henry the Sixth's Queen was niece to the Queen of France, and came out of a country where an arbitrary Government prevails: in order to raise her own power, she insisted and infused into her favourites, that the Duke of Gloucester's administration according to the strictness of the national Laws was mean, and below the dignity of that sovereign power and dominion which the Civil Law conferr'd on the King's person, and therefore she countenanced such proceedings as looked imperious and absolved from all restriction. Why may not our author have respect to this particular character and case?' This is very sensible and very clear, and, to say the truth, the Chancellor's whole book is very plainly built upon his apprehensions, that a foreign education, and living so long in the earlier part of his life in a foreign country, might have had effects upon the young Prince's mind, and bring him to have a dislike, or at least an indifference for the Laws and constitution of his native country. Sir John Fortescue was a man of probity, a man of loyalty, and a man of letters, which his whole book and his whole conduct shows, for they are indeed reciprocal comments upon each other. His probity appears in his making the constitution of England his first and greatest temporal concern; his loyalty was without reproach, he adhered to King Henry and Prince Edward so long as they lived; if he afterwards embraced the part of King Edward, it was when Providence and the Laws of the land had declared in his favour; his knowledge and learning are placed beyond dispute, by this and by his other treatise, both which are short, plain, and convincing. It remains, that in this note, according to the promise made in the text, we establish the juncture at which his treatise *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ* was written, and if this cannot be done in few words yet no more shall be used than are necessary. The passage that I rely upon to fix within a year or so at the farthest, is that which follows, and I insist upon it the rather, because there is not a word said of it by any of the learned commentators, upon this excellent work; it is in these words (38). 'Now what man is there so stout or resolute, who has once gone through this horrid trial by torture, be he never so innocent, who will not rather confess himself guilty of all kinds of wickedness, than undergo the like tortures a second time, who would not rather die once, since death would put an end to all his fears, than to be killed so many times, and suffer so many hellish tortures, more terrible than death itself? Don't you remember, my Prince, a criminal, who when upon the rack impeached of treason a certain noble Knight, a man of worth and loyalty, and declared that they were both concerned together in the same conspiracy: and being taken down from the rack he still persisted in the accusation, lest he should again be put to the question. Nevertheless, being so much hurt and reduced by the severity of the punishment, that he was brought almost to the point of death, after he had the Viaticum and Sacraments administered to him, he then confessed and took a very solemn oath upon it, by the Body of Christ, and as he was now as he imagined just going to expire;

(37) De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, p. 74.

he affirmed that the said worthy Knight was innocent, and clear of every thing he had laid to his charge; he added, that the tortures he was put to were so intolerable, that rather than suffer over again, he would accuse the same person of the same crimes, nay, his own father, tho' when he said this, he was in the bitterness of death, when all hopes of recovery were over. Neither did he at last escape that ignominious death, for he was hanged, and at the time and place of his execution, he acquitted the said Knight of the crimes wherewith he had not long before charged him. Such confessions as these, alas! a great many others of those poor wretches make, not led by a regard to truth, but compelled to it by the exquisiteness of their torments.' It is very evident, that this story was at that time of so great notoriety, as not to lay the Chancellor under any necessity of mentioning the person's name; in the next place, it is very apparent, that it was a very recent thing with which the Prince was well acquainted, and therefore likely to move him the more. Lastly, the circumstances mentioned in the story are such as distinguished it sufficiently. The informer was a mean man, the person accused a Knight, and otherways of distinguished reputation; this accusation brought him into great trouble and danger, out of which, however, he was at length extricated, and as for the informer, his infidelity turned upon himself, and he was executed upon his own evidence. Let us hear then what a certain Historian says, who lived in these times, and was himself Sheriff of London, consequently well acquainted with what he relates, and whose authority therefore ought not to be doubted. The story he tells us, is in the year 1468, and, in his own words, runs thus (39). 'Sir Thomas Cooke late Mayor of London, was by one, named Hawkins, appeached of treason, for the which he was sent to the Tower, and his place within London seized by the Lord Rivers, and his wife and servants clearly put out thereof. The cause was this. The forenamed Hawkins came upon a treason unto the said Sir Thomas, requesting him to lend a thousand marks upon good surety, whereunto he answered, that first he would know for whom it should be, and for what intent. At length understanding it should be for the use of Queen Margaret, he answered he had no current wares, whereof any shifts might be made without too much loss, and therefore required Hawkins to move him no further in that matter, for he intended not to deal withal, yet the said Hawkins exhorted him to remember what benefits he had received by her, when she was in prosperity, as by making him her wardrober and customer of Hampton, &c. But by no means the said Cooke would grant goods nor money, altho' at last the said Hawkins required but an hundred pounds, he was fain to depart without the value of a penny, and never came again to move him, which so rested two or three years after, till the said Hawkins was cast into the Tower, and at length brought to the brake called the Duke of Excester's daughter, by means of which pain he shewed many things, amongst the which, the motion was one that he had made to Sir Thomas Cooke, and accused himself so far that he was put to death. By means of which confession, the said Sir Thomas was troubled, as before is shewed, when the said Sir Thomas had lain in the Tower from Whitsuntide till about Michaelmas, in the which season many enquiries were made to find him guilty, and ever quit, till one jury, by means of Sir John Fog, indicted him of treason, after which an Oyer and Terminer was kept at the Guild-hall, in which sat with the Mayor the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Rivers, Sir John Fog, with other of the King's Council. To the which place the said Thomas was brought, and there arraigned upon life and death, where he was acquitted of the said indictment, and had to the Counter in Bread-Street, and from thence to the King's Bench. After a certain time that he was thus acquitted, his wife got again the possession of her house, the which she found in an evil plight, for such servants of the Lord Rivers, and Sir John Fog, as were assigned to keep it, made havock of what they listed.

(39) Fabian's Chron. p. 497.

(38) Ibid. p. 44.

it's being communicated to the learned men of the profession (d), then flourishing in this kingdom; and yet, notwithstanding the reputation both of the piece and it's author, it continued long as a kind of jewel in private libraries; and, when it was at last published, came abroad in a manner little suitable either to the value of the performance, or the respect due to the memory of this reverend Sage in the law (e); but, by degrees, all these inconveniencies have been removed, and, in consequence of several new editions, we have it now in that state in which so useful a book, and so honourable for our constitution, deserved justly to appear [L]. But to return to our famous Chancellor. He had, without doubt, a very good opinion of the state of King Henry's affairs, when he had intelligence that the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick, had released him out of the Tower, placed him again upon the throne, and forced his competitor King Edward to leave England. These successes determined him not only to consent to the proposition made for Queen Margaret's going over with her only son Prince Edward, but made him also resolve to accompany her himself (f). Great preparations were made for this expedition, in which they were favoured by the French King (g); but before they were in a condition to put to sea, there happened a new change of affairs in England. For King Edward landing in the North, advanced with a very small body of forces to York, where, upon his solemn declaration that he did not aim at the crown, but sought only restitution to his duchy of York, and the estates belonging to his family (h), he quickly gained a superior force, with which, passing by Marquis Montacute, he entered London, and made King Henry the Sixth once more a prisoner (i). Then marching to Barnet, with his brother the Duke of Clarence, now reconciled to him, he fought the Earl of Warwick, who stiled himself King Henry's Lieutenant, upon Gladmore-Heath, on Easter-Sunday, April the fourteenth 1471, and there gained a compleat victory (k). This, without doubt, was very unwelcome news to Queen Margaret,

(d) Bale and Pitts, ubi supra.

(e) See the Preface to the folio Edit. A. D. 1741.

(f) Leland's Collectanea, Vol. II. p. 503.

(g) Histoire de France, par P. Daniel, Vol. VI. p. 433.

(h) See Fabian, Grafton, Stowe, and Speed's Chronicles.

(i) Contin. Hist. Croylandensis, ap. Gale Scriptor. veter. rerum Anglican. Tom. 1. p. 554.

(k) Leland's Collectanea, Vol. II. p. 534, 535.

listed. Also at his place in Essex, named Giddihall, were set another fort to keep that place, the which destroyed his deer in his park, his conies, and his fish, without reason; and spared not brass, pewter, bedding, and all that they might carry, for the which might never one penny be gotten in recompence; yet could not Sir Thomas Cooke be delivered till he had paid eight thousand pounds to the King, and eight hundred pounds to the Queen. We are farther told by Stowe, that Sir John Markham, Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, having directed the Jury that Sir Thomas Cooke's offence was but misprision of treason, the Lord Rivers, and the Duchesse of Bedford, his wife, informed the King thereof, and prevailed upon him afterwards to dismiss him from his office (40). If therefore this be the story to which our learned author alludes, as methinks there is no great reason to doubt that it must be; then, it follows plainly the discourse could not be written before the year 1469, and indeed there are some other circumstances in that treatise, which might be urged to the same purpose, but this being remarkably clear, and so well attested by our antient Historians, there does not seem to be any necessity of alledging farther evidence, when nothing can possibly be opposed to it, but bare conjectures without proof, or even probability to support them.

[L] *Deserved justly to appear* ] The history of the several editions of this celebrated work, is not a bare matter of curiosity, but also of use, because (except very briefly, by Bishop Tanner) (41) we have not hitherto had so distinct a catalogue of them, as might be wished. It first appeared in Latin only, under the following title, which seems to have been that of the manuscript from whence it was printed.

*Prænobilis militis cognomento Fortescue, De politica administratione & legibus civilibus Florentissimi regni Angliæ Commentarius.* Lond. per Ed. Whitchurch, temp. Henr. VIII. 12mo.

It was again printed in Latin and English, by the care of Robert Mulcaster, Lond. 1567, 12mo. it was also published in English alone, under the following title,

*A learned Commentary of the Politic Laws of England: Wherein, by most pithy reasons and demonstrations, they are plainly proved to excel, as well the Civil Laws of the Empire, as also all other Laws of the World; with a large discourse of the difference between the two Governments of Kingdoms, whereof the one is only regal; and the other consisteth of regal and politic administration conjoined.* Lond. 1599. 8vo.

It was again published both in Latin and English, with the following title.

*De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, written by Sir John Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice, and after Lord Chancellor.* VOL. III. No. 167.

*cellor to King Henry the Sixth. Hereto are added the two sums of Sir Ralph de Hengham, Lord Chief Justice to King Edward the First, commonly called Hengham Magna, & Hengham Parva, with notes, both on Fortescue and Hengham. By that famous and learned Antiquary, John Selden, Esq; Lond. 1616, 1640. 8vo. 1672. 12mo.*

Some of these, and more especially the last edition, were very faulty; the Stationers, as a certain author justly observes, regarding no body's profit but their own. In the mean time it came out again, soon after the Restoration, in a very flourishing dress; and tho' I cannot say with, yet involved in the following pompous title.

*FORTESCUTUS ILLUSTRATUS; or a Commentary on that nervous treatise, De Laudibus Legum Angliæ; written by Sir John Fortescue, Knight, first Lord Chief Justice, after Lord Chancellor to King Henry the Sixth, which treatise dedicated to Prince Edward, that King's son and heir whom he attended in his retirement into France, and to whom he loyally and affectionately imparted himself in the virtue and variety of his excellent discourse, he purposely wrote to consolidate his princely mind in the love and approbation of the good Laws of England, and of the laudable customs of this his native country. The heroick design of whose excellent judgment and loyal addition to his Prince, is humbly endeavoured to be revived, admired, and advanced by Edward Waterhouse, Esquire.* Lond. 1663. folio.

The very language of this title is a sufficient sample of the book, where the reader will find a profusion of learning, and yet meet with very little satisfaction. A short chapter, a line, nay, a word, furnishes occasion, I cannot prevail upon myself to say, matter, for a folio page, diversified with variety of languages, and embroidered with numerous quotations from Schoolmen and Divines, as well as Lawyers. This Commentary however was licensed by the Judges, and dedicated to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and perhaps with a view to this dedication, the book was in some measure written, as the reader may perceive, from the following parallel, which our commentator has drawn between his author and his patron (42).

'My noble text, Master, and your noble self, says he, to the Earl of Clarendon were—Both Gentlemen by birth, both Lawyers by breeding, both Knights by degree, both wise men by experience, both loyal attendants on your Sovereigns recesses abroad, and both honoured by your Sovereigns with the trust and state of Chancellors.' The last edition we shall mention, is that printed at London in folio, in 1732, again in 1741, with a copious preface, and with large, learned, and useful annotations, an accurate index, and whatever else is necessary to satisfy a curious and inquisitive reader.

(42) Fortescutus illustratus, Lond. 1663. fol.

(40) Annals, p. 420. Fuller's Holy State, p. 262. Burton's Leicestershire, p. 577.

(41) Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 493.

Margaret, who, with Prince Edward, Sir John Fortescue, styled Lord Chancellor of England, the Prior of St John's, who had the title of Lord High-Treasurer, Lord Wenlock, and several others, landed the very same day at Weymouth, in Dorsetshire (l). However, being joined by the Duke of Exeter and the Earl of Devonshire, she resolved to prosecute her design, and to make head against the conqueror, relying upon a great reinforcement which was expected from Jasper Earl of Pembroke, who was raising men in Wales for the service of King Henry (m). But this was prevented by the vigilance of King Edward, who, having recruited his army as soon as possible, marched Westward, and reduced his enemies to the necessity of fighting near Tewksbury, in Gloucestershire. This battle was fought on Saturday the fourth of May 1471, and was very bloody; but at length ended in the total defeat of the Queen's army, the Queen herself, the Prince, and most of the great persons in her army, being either killed or taken prisoners (n). There is said to be a tradition, that, after this decisive stroke, Sir John Fortescue retired to his seat at Ebberton or Ebbrighton, three miles from Camden in Gloucestershire, where he passed the remainder of his days in privacy (o). But History speaks another language; for by that we are informed, that Prince Edward, being delivered by the gentleman who took him, upon promise of preserving his life, was, for a haughty answer given to King Edward, basely murdered by the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the Lord Hastings, and others (p). The Duke of Somerset, the Lord St John, Sir Humphry Audley, and Sir Gervase Clifton, having retired into a church in Tewksbury, continued there upon the King's promise of pardon, though they might have escaped from Saturday to Monday, when they were taken out and beheaded (q); at the same time Queen Margaret, the Lady Anne, Widow to Prince Edward, the Countess of Devonshire, the Lady Catherine Vaus, Sir John Fortescue, Sir John Saintlowe, Sir Henry Rous, Thomas Ormond, Dr Mackerell, and five others, were spared (r). It is very certain, that in a short time King Edward was prevailed upon to pardon and release Sir John Fortescue (s); nor is it at all impossible that he likewise restored him to this estate, which was of the value of four hundred pounds a year. This, I say, is not at all improbable, since Sir John Burg, to whom the manor of Ebbrighton had been given, died the very same year (t). There is no manner of doubt that our Chancellor, seeing the affairs of the House of Lancaster entirely overturned, endeavoured to reconcile himself to the victorious Edward the Fourth, and that in this he succeeded; and it was in order to facilitate this reconciliation, that he wrote a kind of apology for his own conduct, which treatise the learned Selden had seen (u), and of which some manuscript copies are still preserved, tho' it has never yet been published [M]. After all these extraordinary changes, as well of his masters as of his fortunes, Sir John Fortescue preserved his old principles, in regard to the constitution, as appears from another learned and valuable work of his, written in the English

[M] Tho' it has never yet been published.] The title of the piece hinted at in the text at large, runs thus.

Sir John Fortescue's *Declaracioun upon certayn writings sent out of Scotteland, agens the Kyngis title of his Roialme of Englonde* (43). *By way of Dialogue.*

There is no doubt at all with me, that if we had this treatise published, we should see that he made a very grateful return to the King for his mercy, which, more than one writer intimates, he freely obtained; but having formerly written in direct terms against the title of the House of York, as well as in defence of that of Lancaster, he judged it highly expedient for him now to give a fair account of his changing his sentiments, for this may be well deduced from what Selden says in his preface, where speaking of our author's taking the title of Chancellor, he delivers himself thus. 'In his *Declaration*, or rather *Retraction*, of that he had written against the title of the House of York, himself, puts in the mouth of a friend of his expostulating with him these words, *considering that ye were the chief Chancellor to the said late King.*' But tho' we mention this, to shew the sense he had of the royal mercy extended to him, yet we have in the text refuted from authority, the groundless insinuation of a certain writer a little too apt to advance things at random, contained in these words (44). 'I suppose he grew weary of banishment, and the interrests of the House of Lancaster, some time before the unhappy return of the Queen and her son, upon the Earl of Warwick's revolt, since we do not hear of him in their retinue.' It is shewn in the text, that he was in their retinue, if that expression must be used towards a man of his rank, and that he shared in the dismal consequences of the decisive defeat at Tewksbury; so that to say, as the same writer does, that he changed his side and his principles is extremely harsh, and was certainly the effects of that writer's not knowing the true state of his case. But a captious reader may possibly have it at his tongue's end to say; since

you acknowledge that you have not seen this treatise, how, with any certainty, can you know it? To this it is very fit that an answer should be given; for to be angry with a man's conjecture, without offering any thing towards the disproof of it, is not only acting rudely, but ridiculously. But mark what is the true state of the question. I very readily acknowledge that he changed his political opinions, but I deny that he either changed his side or his principles. Not his side, for he adhered to King Henry and Prince Edward as long as they lived, so that he did not pass from side to side, but very wisely submitted when he saw that resistance was both vain and unjust. Not his principles either, for we shall see that he steadily maintained them after he acknowledged the right as well as the power to be in the House of York. Now to prove all this, notwithstanding that remarkable dialogue of his still shut up in a library, let us hear what Sir Edward Coke says (45), who had perused this treatise, and who will not only give us a general view of its contents, but his opinion likewise of his predecessor's practice, and a better opinion than his in a point of this nature, all things considered, cannot be easily had; take it then in his own words. 'Fortescue *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*: this book was written in the reign of King Henry the Sixth, in commendation of the Laws of England, containing withal much excellent matter worthy the reading: he wrote also a book in defence of the title of King Henry the Sixth, his Sovereign Lord and Master, to the Crown of England, but after, out of truth and conscience, retracted the same, both which I have: where in he deserved singular commendation, in that he was not amongst the number of those, *qui suos amasent errores*, but yielded to truth when he found it. This Sir John Fortescue was Lord Chief Justice of England, and his posterity remain in great and good account to this day.' This certainly is decisive, and comes up fully to all that I have said.

[N] Which

(l) Hist. Croyland. Continuat. p. 555.

(m) See Fabian, Grafton, Stowe, Holinshed, Speed.

(n) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 267.

(o) Nicholson's Engl. Histor. Library, p. 233.

(p) Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 688.

(q) See Stowe, Grafton, Speed.

(r) Leland Collectanea, Vol II. p. 506.

(s) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 693.

(t) Sir Robt. Atkins's Hist. Gloucestershire, p. 425.

(u) As appears from his Preface to Fortescue's *Book de laudibus.*

(43) MS. Digby in Biblioth. Bodleian. 198.

(44) Nicholson's English Histor. Library, p. 233.

(45) In the Preface to the tenth Part of his Reports.

lish language (*tw*), and published in the reign of Queen Anne; which, tho' it has not been hitherto observed, appears, from some passages contained therein, to have been written not only after his being pardoned, but for the service of Edward IV. my reasons for asserting which will appear in the notes [*N*]. As to his other writings, as we know nothing more

(*tw*) See a large Account of this Book in the Notes.

[*N*] Which will appear in the notes.] The title of this work, as it stood in it's original edition, runs thus:

*The Difference between an absolute and limited Monarchy, as it more particularly regards the English Constitution; being a Treatise, written by Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Lord Chief Justice, and Lord High-Chancellor of England, under King Henry VI. Faithfully transcribed from the Manuscript Copy in the Bodleian Library, and collated with three other Manuscripts. Published with some Remarks, by John Fortescue Aland, of the Inner-Temple, Esq; F. R. S. Lond. 1714, 8vo.*

In reference to the genuineness of the peice, and to the certainty of it's being our author's, hear what the right honourable editor thereof, John, Baron Fortescue of Credans, in the County of Waterford, (for so Mr Fortescue Aland was afterwards created) says in his Preface. 'The first copy of this piece, I saw at Oxford some years ago, in the Bodleian Library, among the manuscripts of Mr Selden, and being taken with the excellency of the subject, I procured a transcript of it, which I carefully examined myself in Oxford, and collated the same with three other manuscript copies, two of which I found in the same library, among the manuscripts of Archbishop Laud, and Sir Kenelm Digby; and the third, I found in the Cotton Library. But this copy is the fairest, most perfect, and compleat of them all, and was transcribed by Sir Adrian Fortescue's own hand, who was a descendant from our author, and lived in the reign of King Henry VIII; for I find written upon this copy, these words: *Isse Liber pertinet Adriano Fortescue, Militi, manu propria scriptus, Anno Domini 1532, & Anno Regis H. VIII. 24* (46). But Archbishop Laud's copy seems to be the most ancient, for therein are to be found several Saxon characters in several places, and some very old words different from those in this copy; but all the various readings which are material, for the curious Antiquary, I have noted in the margin of this book. As to the language, it is the English of those times, participating very much of the nature of the Saxon tongue; for it has in it many words, and terminations of words, as also many phrases, purely Saxon: And I chose to publish it in it's own native dress, not only as it is a curious piece of antiquity, but that every man may be judge for himself of the true sense and meaning of our author; and lay no imputation on the publisher of altering the sense, in attempting to give it a more modern dress.'

It is not easy to apprehend what the cause might be, which hindered the noble editor from speaking clearly of the occasion and design for, or time in, which it was written; but certain it is, that none of these are particularly marked, neither is the least word said, that this treatise was penned in favour of King Edward the Fourth, which, notwithstanding, may be proved from several passages in the book itself, though it cannot be denied, that in the title of the manuscript in the Cotton Library, it is said to be addressed to King Henry the Sixth (47); this treatise is divided into twenty chapters, we will briefly run over the contents of them all. In the first, he shews the difference between an absolute and a limited monarchy, which he very plainly and sensibly places in a King's ruling by laws of his own making, which he calls *Dominium Regale*; and in a Prince's governing by laws made with the consent of his subjects, which he calls *Dominium Politicum & Regale*. In the second chapter, he points out the means by which these differences in government grew, and that with equal perspicuity and sagacity. He supposes, that in rougher and more barbarous times, such as had followers, and power, made use of them to settle principalities, and so ruled their people when settled, as they did before, that is, by their mere will and pleasure. But when men were become milder and more civilized, he thinks they chose their own governors, and prescribed the terms upon which they would be governed; hence he takes occasion to observe, that when Brute first settled this island, he brought with him a colony, and conse-

quently must have previously agreed with them how public affairs should be administered. Let no hasty critic, or forward politician, blame our reverend author for giving credit to what others stile a fable; but let them observe the good use he has made of this piece of vulgar history, whether true or false, viz. to shew that there never was such a thing as absolute government established in this island, and before they reject his reasons for it, let them be sure they can assign better. The business of his third chapter, is to shew the fruits of an absolute and of a limited government; he instances, as to the former in France; and shews that the government there became absolute by our invasions, when their Kings, pleading necessity for raising supplies, and the impossibility of calling their Estates, took thence occasion to tax the common people at their pleasure, whence had arisen their poverty and distressed condition, which he largely and pathetically describes; and he deduces the power and strength of the English nation, from their living under the other form of rule, which enabled them not only to defend themselves, but to conquer their neighbours; and thus, says he, we may judge of the nature of governments by our Saviour's rule, *by their fruits shall ye know them*. These three chapters fall in so exactly with the beginning of his book, *de Laudibus Legum Angliæ*; that, as the last and best commentator upon that piece observes, it is impossible he should not have referred to it, as he does to another treatise, if that work had not been composed before this. In his fourth chapter, he shews how the French King's revenues come to be double to that of the King of England; because, says he, the French King takes what he pleases, and the King of England what his people will please to give him. In the fifth chapter, he shews the mischiefs that arise from a King's being poor, and more especially from his being in debt; and this he does very fully, though very concisely, arguing, that as he must always pay more in such circumstances, than he would need to pay if in better; so what he pays, coming in the end out of his peoples pockets, the nation must be impoverished that suffers their King to be distressed. In the sixth chapter, he shews the ordinary charges of the realm, in which he observes, that tonnage and poundage ought not to be considered as a part of the King's general revenue, since it is given for a particular use, and should only be applied to the maintaining his dominion of the seas. His seventh chapter, treats of the extraordinary expence of the crown. In the eighth, he shews, that if the King's settled revenue be not sufficient, it is the duty of his subjects to supply him, and in this kingdom more especially, where both the King's ordinary and extraordinary expences, are employ'd for the benefit of his people. He insists in his ninth chapter, on the danger of subjects becoming too potent; and he observes, that in France, the government was never subverted but by such potent subjects; here I must crave the liberty of citing his own words. 'In our days, says he, we have seen a subgett of the Frenche Kyng gyvyn battel to the same Kyng, and put him to flight, and afterward begid him in Parise, his grettest Cyte, and so kepte hym ther, unto the time his said Kyng had made such end with him, his adherents, and fautours, as he desired. We have also seen in our Realme, sum of the Kyng's subgetts gevyn hym batell, by occasion that their lyvelood and offices were the grettest of the lond, and els they would nor could have done so. The Erllys of Lyncestre, and of Gloucestre, which then war the grettest Lords of England, rose ageyn theyr Kyng, Herry the thirde, and toke hym and his son prisoners in the feld. Whiche maner of demeanyng the Kyng of Scotts, that last dydd, dredyng to be practysyd in his lond, put out of the same lond, the Erls Dowglas, whose lyvelood and myght was nere hand equivalent to his owne, movyd therto by non other cause, save only drede of his rebellion.' The reason of citing this passage, is, on account of it's helping us to several dates. The French subject, who defeated

(46) See an Account of this Sir Adrian Fortescue in the next Article; from whence will appear he was not the Chancellor's descendant.

(47) Claudius, A. viii. 21.

more of them than the titles, and the commendations that have been bestowed upon them by such as have perused them, we cannot pretend to say when they were written, one only excepted,

defeated his Sovereign, and shut him up in the city of Paris, till he made a treaty to his satisfaction, was Charles Count de Charolois, eldest son to the Duke of Burgundy, who formed a league of the great French Lords, against Lewis XI, which produced the civil war, covered with the specious title of *the Publick Good*; he gained the battle of Montlehery, on Tuesday, July 16, 1465, and forced the King to grant him and his associates what they pleased (48). The King of Scots spoken of, as long before deceased, was James the Second, who died in 1460 (49). In the tenth chapter, he enquires how the Crown may be best endowed; and therein he determines, that, all things considered, the best method for increasing the King's Revenue, was to augment his Crown Lands. In the eleventh chapter, he shews how this may be done by a resumption, but with due care, and under proper restrictions; and therein he seems to exempt the King's brethren, to whom, for their services, as well as their being nigh in blood to his Highness, he says, the King had given lands, and that it did not become his magnificence to act otherwise. This plainly shews, that the King he means, was Edward the Fourth; for considering the dates formerly fixed, he could mean no other; at the close of the chapter, he proposes that a large subsidy should be given the King by his people, that he may be able to give ample rewards to those from whom the lands which he had inconsiderately bestowed upon them, should be taken, and this to prevent the King's falling into poverty again. The dismal consequences that must necessarily follow the bringing the Commons of this Realm into poverty, is the subject of the twelfth chapter, which, though at first sight it may seem, in a great measure, antiquated; yet, if strictly and soberly considered, the grounds of his observations will yet be found true; for he says, that on one hand, these needy Commons will be most ready to rise up against the government; and, on the other, such as are not inclined to rise, will not have wherewithal to help the government; whence he infers, that if a people be rich, the King ought to be rich; but, if the people be not rich, the King must be poor: It appears from the particular mention of taxes in this chapter, that this treatise must have been written after the year 1474. In the thirteenth chapter, he labours to prove, that the only reason why the French do not rebel, is their want of courage; and upon this, he advances a very odd fact, that there were more men hanged in a year in England, for robbery and manslaughter, than in seven years in France for the same crimes; he says, that in Scotland, there was hardly a man hanged for robbery once in seven years; but, in England, says he, if a man be very poor, and see another very rich, whom he may despoil by force, he will not fail to do so. In France, therefore, says he, it is not their poverty, but their want of heart, that keeps men from rising. In the fourteenth chapter, he proposes an act of Resumption, and a large subsidy, as the only means by which the grandeur of the Crown could be restored; and the Commons freed from the necessity of giving continual supplies. The title of his fifteenth chapter is, how the King's Council may be best chosen and established; this seems to have been a favourite design of his, and to have cost him much more pains than any in his book; and therefore, as well as because it is short, we will give it the reader precisely in his own words. 'The Kings Councile was wont to be chosyn of grete Princis, and of the grettest Lords, both Spirituallis and Temporallis, of the Realm; and also of other men that wer in grete auctorite and offices. Which Lords and Officers, had nerehand as many matters of their own to be treatid in the Councile, as had the Kyng. Wher thorow whan they came togeders, thay was so occupyd with their own maters, and with the maters of their kynne, servants, and tenants, that they intendyd but lityll, and other while, nothyng to the Kyng's maters: and also, ther war but fewe maters of the Kyng's, but if the same maters, towchid also the said Counceylors, their cofyns, their servaunts, tenants, or such other as thay owy'd favor unto. And what lowar man was than sytting in that Councile,

(48) Du Tillet Chronique abbrege du Roys de France, p. 135, 136.

(49) Drummond's Hist. of Scotland, p. 108.

that durst, say, ageyn the opynyoun of any of the grete Lords? And might not than men make, by meyns of corrupcion, sum of the servaunts and Counceillours, of some of the Lords, to move the Lords to parcyalite, and to make them favourable and parcyal, as wer the same servaunts, or the parties that so movyd them. Than could no mater treatid in the Councile, be kepte privy and secrete. For the Lords of tyn tymes tould to their Counceylours and servaunts, that had sewyd to them for the maters, hou thay had sped in them, and who was ageyn them. Hou may the Kyng be counselid to restrayne gevyng away of his loud; of gevyng of offices corodyes, or pencions of abbeyes, by such gret Lords, to other menys servants, sythen they most desyer such gyfts for themselves and their servants. Which thyngs confydery'd, and also many other, which schal be schewy'd hereafter, hyt is thought good, that the Kyng had a Councile chosyn and establischid, in the fourme that followith, or in some other fourme like thereunto. First, that ther were chosyn xii temporal men, and xii spirituall men, of the wisest and best disposyd men that can be found in al the parties of the lande; and that they be sworne to councile the Kyng, after a fourme to be devysyd for their othe. And in especially, that thay schal take no fee, nor clothyng, nor reward, of any man, excepte only of the Kyng, like as the Justices of the Kyng's Benche, and of the Common Place, be sworne, whan thay take their offices. And that thees xxiv be always Councelors; but, if ther be any defawte fownd in them, or that yt lyst the Kyng, by the advyse of the more partie of them, to chaunge any of them. And that every year, be chosyn by the Kyng, iv<sup>er</sup> Lords Spiritual, and iv<sup>er</sup> Lords Temporal, to be for that yere of the same Councile, in like fourme as the said xxiv schal be. And that they al have an heede, or a cheffe ruler, one of the said xxiv, and chosyn and appointyd by the Kyng, havynge his office at the Kyng's pleasure, which may then be callid *Capitalis Conciliarius*. Hyt schal not be necessarye, that the xij spirituall men of this Councile, have so grete wages as the xij temporal, because they schal not nede to kepe an household in their countrey, while thay be absent, as the temporal men must needs do, for their wives and children. By which confyderation, the Spiritual Judges, in the Court of Parlement of Paris, takyn but CC franks by the yere; whereas, the Temporal Judges thereof, takyn by the year CCC frankes. The said vij Lords also, which, by reason of their Baronies and astats, ben to the Kyng always, *Consiliarii nati*, and therfor oughtyn to councile him at al tymys, whan he woll nedyn not to have grete wags for their attendaunce to this Councile, which shall last but for a yere. For temporal men, which, by reason of their enheritance and lyvelood, been made Scheriffs for a yere, takyn of the Kyng lityl and almost no thyng, for their service of that yere. And though that wages of the said xxiv Councelors, seme a new and a grete charge to the Kyng, yet, whan it is considered hou grete wages the grete Lords, and other men, which wer of the Kyng's Councile, in tymes passed, toke for their attendaunce therunto, which maner of Councile was nothyng so behovefull to the Kyng, and to his Realme, as this wol be, which wags schal than forwith cease; the wages of the xxiv Counceillors schal appere no grete charge to the Kyng. And I can suppose, that summe Kyngs before this tyme, have gevyn to sum one man that hath servyd him, as mych lyvelood yerely, as the said wages woll come unto. And if the same wages be thought so grete charge unto the Kyng, the foresaid Counceillours may be in less nombre, as to be xv<sup>en</sup> Counceillours of private personys, with ij Lords Spiritual, and ij Lords Temporal, so as than they be in all xx<sup>ii</sup> Persons. Thees Counceillours may continually, at such houres as schal be assigned to them, comeune and deliber upon the maters of difficultie, that fallen to the Kyng; and than upon the maters of the polycie of the Realme: as how the going out of the money may be restraynyd; how bullion may be brought into this land; how also plate, jewels,

excepted, to which he refers in a treatise already mentioned; but, however, we have taken all the care possible to represent those titles distinctly, and to give the reader the best lights we can, where they may yet be found and consulted by such as have the curiosity to enquire after the labours of this excellent person, which, from what we have seen of his compositions, cannot but be esteemed every way worthy of perusal [O]. We know nothing

‘ jewels, and money, late borne oute, may be getyn yn ageyn, of which, right wise men may soon find the meyns. And also, hou the pryces of merchaundises, growyn in this lond, may be holden up and encrealyd, and the pryces of merchaundise, brought into this lond, abatyd. How our Navey may be maynteny'd and augmentyd; and upon such other pointz of polycie, to the grettest profit and encreate that ever came to this lond. Hou also the Lawy's may be amendyd in such thyngs as thay nede reformation in, w'her thorough the Parlements schall or may do more good in a moneth, to the amendment of the Lawe, than thay may do in a yere, if the amendment thereof be not debatid, and by such counceile rypynd to their hands. Ther may be of this Counceile, when they like to come thereunto, or that they be desyryd by the said Counceilors, the grettest officers of the land, as Chauncelor, Tresorar, and Pryvye Seale, of which the Chancelor, whan he is present, may be Hye President, and have the supreme rule of al the Counceile. Also, the Juges and Barons of th' Eschequer, and the Clerk of the Rollis, and such Lords as the said forsaide Counceilors woll desyer to be with them, for matters of grete diffyculty may be of this Counceile, whan they be desyryd, and els not. All other maters which schal conserne this Counceile, as whan a Counceilordyyth, hou a new Counceylor schal be chosyn, how many howrs of the day this Counceil schal syt, whan they schal have any vacation, how long any of them may be absent, hou he schal have his leve and lycense, with al other articles necessary for the demeanyng and rule of this counceile may be conceyvd by leyfure and put in a boke, and that boke kept in this counceile as a registre, or an ordynal hou thay schal do and be orderyd in every thyng.' The sixteenth chapter shews how the Romans prospered while their senate was maintained in its full authority, and how it declined when the credit and freedom of that venerable assembly decay'd. In the seventeenth chapter, instructions are given as to the manner in which places ought to be bestowed, and it is therein observed, that the King had above a thousand offices in his gift. In the eighteenth are advertisements concerning the bestowing of pensions. In the nineteenth, the advantages which might arise from these regulations are fully stated, and in Archbishop Laud's manuscript this chapter ends abruptly, part of it being lost, but in Sjr Adrian Fortescue's manuscript this is supplied, and therein is a prayer in direct terms for King Edward the Fourth, for whose use, as from many other circumstances, we have proved this treatise was undoubtedly written. The twentieth, that is the last chapter, demonstrates the expediency of the King's bestowing no gifts but by letters patent under his great seal, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, which, as this able statesman very judiciously observes, would not only prevent improper and excessive gifts, but also save the King the trouble of denying, or, at least, his being exposed to unseemly and importunate solicitations. Take it altogether, and it will appear to be a work which affords as full evidence of the learning, wisdom, uprightness, publick spirit, and loyal gratitude of its author, as any that is extant, either in ours or in any modern language; and which as it is illustrated with the learned Judge Fortescue's notes, may certainly be of very great use to all who are inclined to study the original and true foundation of our laws and civil constitutions.

[O] Every way worthy of perusal.] The care with which this great man's works have been so long preserved, the variety of copies, in different libraries, as well as numerous editions of his little treatise, in praise of the Laws of England, are more than sufficient to refute that ill grounded, as well as ill bred, censure, of one, whose rank and function, should have restrained from such indecent language, more especially of to great a man, and one so long since in his grave (50; VOL. III. No. CLXVIII.

‘ he wrote, says he, other two books of the distinction, betwixt *Dominium Regale & Politicum*, and a retraction of his errors, about the title of the House of York, both which are still pretty common in manuscript, but have not yet been thought worthy of the press. A third, he compiled likewise, as himself tells us, for the use of Prince Edward, which treated, *de natura legis naturæ*; and, in the opinion of its author, was a notably shrewd piece: but whether 'tis now lost, or was destroyed, and recanted upon the forementioned change of his side and principles, I cannot tell.' We may believe him, since we shall shew that his intelligence, at least in this point, was of no greater extent than his good manners. All the pieces that he ever was acquainted with, have been already mentioned, one only excepted, that, and the rest, are as follows.

*Opusculum de Natura legis Naturæ, &c.* (51). A pretty fair book for the time when it was written. 'A curious MS. on paper, small folio, with large margins, especially at the bottom, writ on both sides, without introduction, dedication, or preface.' Each chapter hath its contents. The whole title is,

*Opusculum de Natura legis Naturæ, & de ejus censura in Successione Regnorum Supremorum.* i. e. 'A short treatise of the Nature of the Law of Nature, and its influence in the Succession of independent Sovereignties.' It is distinguished as a first part (*pars prima*). The conclusion of this piece (cap XLV111) seems to intimate, an argument upon the rules of Succession to Kingdoms in general. It is in the following words; *Scriptor progreditur, alium superinde, quod de jure succedendi in regnis, supremis intitulabitur, exordians sic libellum.* This second part is now lost, or probably destroy'd by its author. Mr Waterhouse, in his commentary on Fortescue, mentions the *Opusculum* (52), under the character of an excellent treatise; a book of worth and weight, purposely penned to set forth to the Prince the just measure of government, according to the law of nature and nations. Tho' the language be a little incorrect, the sense, considering the time when the author wrote, is very extraordinary; and he must be allowed to have been a person of general and useful learning. This is also in the Worsley Library, under the title of *Traëtatus de Naturâ legis Naturæ, per D. Joannem Fortescue* (53). The book *de Vigore legis Naturalis*, mentioned by both Bale and Pits, probably is the *Opusculum*.

*Defensio Juris Domus Lancastriæ* (54).  
A Defence of the House of Lancaster one leaf (55).  
Genealogy of the House of Lancaster (56).  
Of the title of the House of York (57).

*Genealogia Regum Scotiæ.* In the same hand (58).  
Defence of the House of York. 4to (59). In Coll. MS. *Jamesi Quædam excerpta ex Fortescue, contra Titulum Edwardi* (60), in which you will find remarkable. *Ad quæ dicit miles prædictus, quod nulla mulier, obstantibus lege & consuetudine Angliæ, in Jure Coronæ & Regni illius succedere potest. Sed, &c.*

A Dialogue between Understanding and Faith (61), six leaves fol. written by Sir John Fortescue, in the time of King Henry the Sixth, in quo, ostendit, quibus modis & rationibus, Deus sæpe castigat & punit Reges per eos, qui magis contra illum deliquerunt.

A Prayer Book which savoureth much of the times we live in (62).

A List of the Commodities of ENGLAND, as rivers, havens, with their description, ground, sheep, cloth, tin, lead, gold, silver, &c. Then, where in the Honour of this land consist, and what commodities our merchants bring out of several other countries (63).

But it may be doubted, whether this was written by our author or not. Dugdale ascribes to him an abridgement of the book of assizes (64), in which he seems to be mistaken; yet it is very far from being impossible, that there may be other works of our author still preserved in manuscript, with which the learned world is not yet acquainted, and it may be, that some of his

(51) Cat. lib. MS. 66. a. 72. a. 83. b.

(52) Fortescutus illustratus, p. 215, 423.

(53) Catt. lib. MS. ii. 213. a.

(54) Biblioth. Cott. Otho. A. 3. fol. 93.

(55) Ibid. 4. F. 110.

(56) Ibid. A. 5. 91. misplaced by the Book-binder, F. 111.

(57) Ibid. 6. F. 92.

(58) Ibid. 7. F. 96.

(59) Ibid. 8. F. 67.

(60) Catt. lib. MS. p. 262. b. Wood's Ath'n. Vol. I. col. 616.

(61) Biblioth. Cott. Vitell. F. X. 25. F. 190.

(62) Riddon, Dron. II. 244. 354.

(63) Cott. Lib. an. 1. 47.

(64) Orig. Juridic. p. 38.

(50) Eng. Hist. Library, p. 233.

thing of the remaining part of his life; which was very probably spent in an honourable retirement in the country, free from the cares, and remote from the dangers, that necessarily attend those who pass their time in Courts. Neither is there any distinct account preserved of his death; we are only told in general, that he was near ninety-years of age (x) when he breathed his last, which the circumstances of his life render very probable. His remains were interred in the Parish-Church of Ebburton, where one of his descendants, in the year 1677, caused a monument to be repaired, upon which was the effigies of this venerable person in his robes, and added an inscription to his memory (y) [P]. It has been very truly reported, that all good men, and lovers of the English constitution, speak of him with honour (z); and that he still lives in the opinion of all true Englishmen, in as high esteem and reputation as any Judge that ever sat in Westminster-Hall. He was a man acquainted with all sorts of learning, besides his knowledge in the Law, in which he was exceeded by none, as will appear by the many learned judgments he gave when on the Bench, in the year-book of Henry the Sixth. His character in History, is that of pious, loyal, and learned; and he had the honour to be called the Chief Councillor of the King. He was a great courtier, and yet a great lover of his country. It would carry this article into too great a length, if we should insert here all that is even necessary to be said of his learning and virtues; and therefore some points relative to these, and serving to set his character in a true light, are placed at the bottom of the page [Q]. His son and heir, Martin Fortescue, Esq; espoused

(x) Prince's Wor-  
thies of Devon,  
p. 307.

(y) See the in-  
scription in the  
notes.

(z) Lord Fortes-  
cue, in his Pre-  
face to the Diffe-  
rence between an  
absolute and a li-  
mited Monarchy.

(65) Chronicle,  
p. 68r.

writings are lost. John Speed (65) quotes him in his history, in a place where nothing occurs, at least, in his published works, that has any relation to that passage; and yet Speed was too honest and too correct a writer, either to mislead others, or to be misled himself. It would be certainly a great benefit to the learned world, if all his manuscripts were printed, for he was a man of general knowledge, great observation, and one who has given many useful notices, in relation to the dark parts of our History and Antiquities.

[P] *And added an inscription to his memory.* He lies buried in the Parish Church belonging to Ebburton, now written more frequently Ebrighton, where, in the chancel, there is a monument erected for him; probably, soon after his interment, by the appearance of its antiquity and workmanship: on this old tomb, lies his effigies at full length, in freestone, in his robes of Lord Chief Justice, which doubtless was done at the time that the said monument was first erected; on the sides and ends, are the Fortescue's arms: over this tomb, a table of marble was fastened, at the charges of the late Colonel Robert Fortescue, of Weare and Filleigh, his direct heir (66), with the following inscription engraven thereon.

(66) Copied from  
the Monument,  
by Anthony à  
Wood.

In  
Fœlicem & immortalem Memoriam  
Clarissimi viri Domini,  
Johannis Fortescuti  
Militis Grandævi, Angliæ Judicis Primarii  
Et Processu temporis sub Hen. 6. Rege &  
Edwardo Principe, summi Cancellarii,  
Regis, Consiliarii prudentissimi  
Legum Angliæ, peritissimi  
Nec non earundem  
Hyperaspistis  
Fortissimi  
Qui  
Corporis exuvias lætam Refur-  
rectionem expectantes  
Hic deposuit  
Marmoreum hoc Monumentum  
positum est A. D.  
MDC LXXVII.  
Voto & expensis Roberti Fortescuti  
Armigeri ejusdem Familiæ Hæ-  
redis nuper Defuncti.  
Angligenas intra Cancellos juris & æqui  
Qui tenuit, cineres jam tenet urna viri  
Lex viva ille fuit patriæ, lux splendida legis,  
Forte bonis scutum, fontibus & scutica.  
Clarus erat Titulis, clarus majoribus, arte  
Clarus, Virtute est! clarior emicuit!  
Jam micat in tenebris, veluti Carbunculus, orbi  
Nam virtus radios non dare tanta nequit.  
Vivit adhuc Fortescutus laudatus in ævum;  
Vivit & in legum laudibus ille fuis.

In English thus.

To

*The happy and immortal Memory,  
Of that most famous man,  
SIR JOHN FORTESCUE;  
An ancient Knight, Chief Justice of England,  
And in process of time under Henry VI.  
And Prince Edward, High Chancellor;  
Of the King, the most prudent Councillor;  
In the Laws of England, profoundly learned;  
And of those Laws also  
A Champion,  
Invincible;  
Whose earthly remains in expectation of  
a joyful Resurrection  
are here deposited;  
This Marble Monument  
Is erected,  
MDC LXXVII.*

*By the direction, and at the expence of  
ROBERT FORTESCUE, Esq;  
The direct heir of this family lately deceased.  
Of him, who justice could the best explain,  
This little URN doth all that's left contain.  
His country's living Law, that Law's great light,  
The scourge of wrong, and the defence of right.  
His birth distinguished, merit gave him state,  
Learning, applause, but virtue made him great.  
Through darkness now a carbuncle he shines,  
Nor wisdom's rays the gloomy grave confines;  
To latest times shall FORTESCUE be known,  
And in the LAWS just PRAISE be read his own.*

[Q] *Are placed at the bottom of the page* ] We are told by Bale (67), upon the credit of Robert Record, a very sensible and learned man, and one well acquainted with the personal History of English Scholars and Statesmen, as well as with the civil History of the English Nation; that this reverend person, through the whole course of his life, was a great lover of polite literature, and that he obtained great reputation for his learned lectures on the Civil-Law (the Common he probably means) while he was yet resident in the Inns of Court. There is something remarkable in the author's Latin Diction, and therefore I beg leave to cite his own words, *Excoluit tum juvenis, tum etiam senex, virtutem: literasque politas, ut qui maximè, semper amavit. Inter forenses Londini clarissimus juris civilis interpres admittebatur: ac nobiliores in schola juvenes, peculiare à regibus conditas leges perdocuit.* This commendation of him is very just and well founded, since his writings plainly shew that he was a man of general learning, and of great reading for those times; for we find him quoting Aristotle, Tully, Quintilian, Boetius, St Au-

(67) De Scripto-  
major. Brytan.  
cent. viii. 36. p.  
613.

espoused the daughter of Richard Denfell, of Filleigh; and in her right was seated at Filleigh in Devonshire (a), and had issue two sons, John and William; the first married Jaquet, eldest daughter of Ralph St Leger, and had issue a son Bartholomew, who dying without issue, the estate at Filleigh devolved on William Fortescue, Esq; his uncle, which William was before seated at Buckland Filleigh, and by Maud his wife, daughter and heir of John Atkyns, of Milton, in the county of Devon, had issue three sons, John, Edward, and James; as also a daughter Jaquet, married to William Dennis, of Southcomb in Devonshire, Esq; (b). The eldest son John Fortescue, of Filleigh, Esq; married Christian, daughter of John Arscott, of Hollesworth in the same county, Esq; and had issue two sons, William and John, and a daughter Alice, married to John Farry, Esq; (c). William Fortescue, Esq; the eldest son, took to wife Anne, daughter of Sir Roger Gifford, of Brightley in Devonshire, and had issue five sons and eight daughters (d). Of his sons, two of the youngest of them, Faithful and Nicholas, had the honour of knighthood conferred on them, and were distinguished for their eminent abilities [R]. His eldest son was

(a) Riden, Devonsh.

(b) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 30.

(c) From the Pedigree.

(d) Notes on Philpot's Catalogue of Knights.

John

St Austin, Aquinas, Ægidius, Romanus, Parisiensis, and many other good authors; but he was far from drawing all his knowledge from books, he gathered much from his own experience, and was very communicative with respect to the fruits of it, of which it may not be amiss to give here an instance or two, as in reality they make a part of his history, and are besides, curious in themselves, and not to be met with any where else. In answering an objection made by the Prince, that causes were often very tedious in England; he observes two things, first, that this was not an inconvenience to which the English laws only were liable; and next, that too much haste, was a greater inconvenience than too little (68). Upon this subject, he adds: 'There are in France, in the Supreme Court of Parliament, some causes which have been depending upwards of thirty years. I myself know a case of appeal prosecuted in the said court, which has been depending now these ten years, and it is likely will be so for ten years more, before it can be decided. While lately at Paris, my host shewed me his process in writing, which had been before the Court of Parliament for eight years, for four French Sols rent, which of our money, makes but eight-pence, and he had no prospect of obtaining judgment in less than eight years more. I have known other cases of the same nature: And for what appears to me, the laws of England do not admit of so great delays, as the laws of France. But it is really necessary there should be delays in legal proceedings, provided they be not too dilatory and tedious. By these means the parties, in particular the party prosecuted, is better provided with his proper defence and advice of counsel, which otherwise neither of them could be either to prosecute or defend, judgment is never so safe when the process is hurried on. I remember once at an Assizes and Goal Delivery at Salisbury, that I saw a woman indicted for the death of her husband within the year: she was found guilty and burnt for the same. In this case the Judge of Assize, after the whole proceedings before him were over, might have respited the execution of the woman even after the expiration of the year. At a subsequent Assizes I saw a servant of the man who was so killed, tried and convicted before the same Judge for the same murder, who made an ample public confession, that he was the only person who was guilty of the said fact, and that his mistress who had been executed was entirely innocent of it: wherefore he was drawn and hanged, and at the time and place of his execution, he lamented the case of his poor mistress upon account of her innocence, and her being in no wise privy to her husband's death. The fact being thus, how may we suppose the Judge to be affected with a sense of conscience and remorse, for being so hasty in awarding judgment of execution, when it was in his power to have stay'd for some time further process against her: he often owned to me with concern, that he should never be able to satisfy it to his conscience, for such his precipitate behaviour. Deliberation often brings judgment to maturity, which seldom or never happens where the proceedings are too much hurried on. Wherefore the Laws of England admit *Effoins*, a sort of practice not known in the Laws of other countries.' There is a case still more remarkable than this to the same purpose, in the

works of Sir Edward Coke (69), whose high opinion of our author we have already mentioned, and with respect to this very chapter, he commends it particularly, and advises that the rule which Sir John Fortescue lays down, should be always kept in mind by such as are desirous of rendering rather true than quick justice. That true Patriot, and most judicious Historian, Sir Walter Raleigh, speaking of our reverend author, styles him, *that notable bulwark of our Laws* (70). He had reason so to do, for never any author, either antient or modern, took more pains than he did to secure them against the ambition of Princes, as well as the passions and vices of private men. It is a very shrewd insinuation of his, that how absolute soever some constitutions might be upon the Continent, yet it was impossible an island should be planted upon those terms (71). The followers of Brute, says he, before they embarked, resolved to unite themselves into a society, hence sprung their policy, and to facilitate the execution of this design, they consented to be governed by a single person, hence arose our Monarchy. The remark of the late Judge Fortescue upon this, is extremely sensible. 'It may be observed here, that our author does not affirm the story of Brute to be true, but only produces it as an instance, which upon the supposition of its truth is very apposite: tho' whether it be really true or no, is not material in this place, and is left to every man's own opinion.' We may from hence gather the reason why our learned author, and after him Sir Edward Coke, and many others, maintained that the Laws of the Britons were never cancelled, but subsisted always; which, tho' opposed by the ingenious Mr Hakewill, and other learned Antiquaries, is a very good position; because in matters of great obscurity, that supposition ought to be held for truth, whence the best consequences may be drawn, and as there cannot be a better reason for our remaining free than that we were always so, it is right to say, that the Laws of the antient Britons which were certainly favourable to liberty, never were or can be cancelled. Agreeable to this notion it was laid down for Law in the reign of Edward the Fourth, *that the Common Law has been from the Creation of the World, for it is common reason* (72). To conclude, there is hardly any writer of note, who has mentioned this great and good man, but has at the same time applauded his notions, and afforded a just tribute of praise to his great abilities and inflexible virtue. This character indeed may be well given him, for as adversity could not break, so prosperity could not corrupt him, for when King Henry the Sixth, in the thirty fourth year of his reign, made another Sheriff for the county of Lincoln, than the Statute warranted, the two Chief Justices, Sir John Fortescue, and Sir John Prisot, declared publicly for themselves and their brethren, *that the King therein did an error* (73), and with this notable and noble instance of his integrity let us conclude this note.

(69) Institut. P. iii. cap. 104. p. 232. Preface to the eighth Part of his Reports, p. 29.

(70) Hist. of the World, Lond. 1614. P. i. B. ii. ch. iv. §. 16. p. 247.

(71) The Difference between a limited and absolute Government, p. 12.

(72) See the Maxims prefix'd to Jenkins's Centuries.

(73) Coke's Institutes, P. ii. p. 559.

(74) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 252.

[R] *And were distinguished for their eminent abilities.* The Noble Historian gives us a good account of the service performed by Sir Faithful Fortescue, at the battle of Edge-hill, in which he quitted the Parliament army, and threw himself at the beginning of the action into that of the King. It is indeed so good an account, that the reader ought to see it in his own words, which are these (74). 'As the right wing of

' the

(68) *De laudibus legum Angliæ.*

John Fortescue, of Filleigh, Esq; who married Anne, daughter of Walter Porter, of Thetford in the county of Norfolk, Esq; his eldest son, I presume, was Robert Fortescue, of Filleigh, Esq; who married Grace, daughter of Sir Bevil Grenville, of Stowe, and sister to John Earl of Bath; by whom having no issue male (e), the estate descended to Hugh Fortescue, of Filleigh, Esq; who married Bridget, sole daughter and heir of Hugh Boscawen, of Tregothnan, in the county of Cornwall, by Margaret his wife, fifth daughter, and at length co-heir, of Theophilus Earl of Lincoln, and Baron Clinton; whose sisters having no surviving issue, the barony of Clinton devolved on Hugh Fortescue, of Filley, Esq; son and heir of the beforementioned Hugh and Bridget; which Hugh having demanded a writ of summons to Parliament, pursuant to his claim, was, on the 16th of March 1721, called up to the House of Peers, and took his seat according to the rank of the antient Barons Clinton, who, by several summons, had enjoyed it from the sixth of February 1298, the twenty-sixth of Edward the First (f). In 1721, his Lordship was constituted Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Devonshire, and, on the twenty-seventh of May 1725, was elected a Knight of the most honourable order of the Bath: On his present Majesty's accession to the throne, he was again constituted Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Devonshire, and one of the Lords of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber; but in 1733 resigned his places (g). On a succeeding alteration of affairs, his Lordship came again into employment; and, as a testimony of respect paid to his services, he was, by letters patents bearing date July the fifth 1746, created Baron Fortescue, of Castle-Hill in the county of Devon, and Earl Clinton (h). Of this family likewise was the late William Fortescue, Esq; first Attorney-General to the Prince, and afterwards Master of the Rolls; and indeed there have been so many eminent persons of this surname, and of these not a few bearing the same christian-name, that it is a thing of very great difficulty to distinguish and state their descents truly, more especially as the heiresses of the elder branches commonly married some gentleman of their own name; so that their descendants seem, from the lands which they inherit in right of their mothers, to be of elder families than they really were, a case not at all common in other numerous families.

(e) Barcettage, Vol. III. p. 555.

(f) From the Case upon the Claim.

(g) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 31.

(h) Ibid.

the King's horse advanced to charge the left wing, which was the gros of the enemy's horse, Sir Faithful Fortescue, who having his fortune and interest in Ireland, was come out of that Kingdom to hasten supplies thither, and had a troop of horse raised for him for that service; but as many other of those forces were, so his troop was likewise disposed into that army, and he was now Major to Sir William Waller; he with his whole troop advanced from the gros of their horse, and discharging all their pistols on the ground within little more than carbine shot of his own body, presented himself and his troop to Prince Rupert, and immediately with his Highness charged the enemy. Whether this sudden accident as it might very well, and the not knowing how many more were of the same mind, each man looking upon his companion with the same apprehensions as upon the enemy, or whether the terror of Prince Rupert and the King's horse, or altogether with their own evil consciences wrought upon them, I know not, but that whole wing having unskilfully discharged their carbines and pistols into the air, wheel'd about, the King's horse charging in the flank and rear, and having thus absolutely routed them, pursued them flying, and had the execution of them above two miles. We may be satisfied, that this matter is not represented in too strong a light in this relation, since it is placed rather in a stronger by the Historian of the Parliament, who ascribes the great disorder of their cavalry, which might, and indeed must, have been fatal to the Earl of Essex and his army, if Prince Rupert had shewn as much conduct as courage, to the going over of Sir Faithful Fortescue with his troop (75). But how advantageous soever this might be to his Majesty's cause, it was in some measure fatal to that corp, for in the confusion that afterwards happened as they forgot to pull off their orange coloured scarfs, some of the royalists fired upon them, by which seventeen or eighteen were killed (76). It may be easily conceived, that this gentleman's behaviour drew upon him a very heavy load of reproach from those whom he left. His justification however was very short and explicit, his troop was raised for the Irish service, and therefore when the

(75) May's Hist. of the Parliament, lb. iii. ch. i.

(76) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 253.

Parliament obliged him to act against the King, it was taking such an advantage of him, as left him no other means of recovering his freedom, and doing what he took to be his duty, than that of quitting their forces the first opportunity that offered. Their own proceeding was a lesson to him, and by whatever arguments they could hope to justify their compelling him to take service under the Earl of Essex, his leaving that service must be likewise justified (77). His Brother, Sir Nicholas Fortescue was a Knight of Malta, and was also Knighted by King James the First at Whitehall (78), on the second of February 1617. He was, as one characterises him, a person of so dexterous an address, that when he came into notice, he came into favour, when he entered the court he had the chamber, yea, the closet of a Prince, open. A gentleman that did much in his person, and, as he would say, *let reputation do the rest* (79). He and Sir Edmund Fortescue were always observed so wary as to have all their enemies before them. He lost his life in the service of King Charles the First in Lancashire (80). Of Sir Edmond Fortescue of Vallowpit, or Fallowpit, before mention'd, and who also suffered deeply in the same cause, there are likewise some few particulars preserved. After having served Charles the First with great courage and fidelity, as a brave Commander in the wars, and made as honourable articles for the surrender of Charles Fort at Salcombe, Devon, whereof he was Governor, as could be demanded. Upon the fall of the King, and his cause, he fled beyond sea, and died in Holland, he was interred at Delft, where is a monument erected to his memory (81). He was forced to compound for his estate at six hundred and sixty pounds and upwards in the same troubles. There was one John Fortescue of Cookill in Worcestershire, Esq; who paid two hundred thirty four pounds for his loyalty, and John Fortescue of Bridlest, Devon, perhaps, it should be Spridlestow, who paid two hundred and two pounds (82). In the next article some farther account will be given of the eminent persons of this family, and whoever is desirous of being still better informed, may find abundant proofs of our not having exhausted this copious subject (83).

(77) Dr Ryves's Remark.

(78) Lloyd's Loyal Martyrs, p. 668.

(79) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV: p. 31.

(80) List of Loyal Sufferers in the late dismal times.

(81) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 312.

(82) Lloyd's Loyal Martyrs, p. 668.

(83) In the Preface to Fortescue *de laudibus legum Angliæ*, 1741. folio.

FORTESCUE (Sir JOHN), a very learned gentleman, a true patriot, an able statesman, Privy-Councillor, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the First. He was descended in a direct Line from the elder brother, or rather one of the elder brothers, of Chancellor Fortescue, before-mentioned, who was his father's great uncle (a), as the reader will see by the account of his family in the notes [A]. He was but very young at the time the first misfortune befel his family, in the person of Sir Adrian Fortescue, Knight of the Bath, his father (b), who having unfortunately entered into a close alliance with a family under the extreme displeasure of King Henry the Eighth, had the ill luck, notwithstanding he had stood for many years very high in that monarch's favour, to be involved in one of those prosecutions which he thought necessary for his safety (c); and being attainted for high-treason, of which we have but a very dark account in our histories, lost his head (d); but died very much pitied, as being esteemed a person of great learning and wisdom, as well as a gallant man and a great officer, and one who fell rather to gratify the royal suspicions, than from his being guilty of any formed design to the prejudice of the crown (e) [B]. To whom the care of his children devolved, we have not, at this

(d) Hollinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 946, 947.

(e) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 264.

[A] *In the notes.*] As there are few families in England so numerous, or divided into so many branches, settled in different parts of the kingdom as this of Fortescue (1); so the confusion and mistakes which this has occasioned, has thrown some obscurity on very material passages in our history, which, as far as we are able, we have, in these two articles, endeavoured to rectify and set in a true light. It has been shewn, that Sir Henry Fortescue, Chief Justice of Ireland, had three sons, the second of which was Sir Richard Fortescue (2), who was the father of Sir John Fortescue of Punburn, in the county of Hertford (3), who married Alice youngest daughter of Sir Jeffery Bullen, Lord Mayor of London, by Anne his wife, daughter, and one of the heirs of Thomas Lord Hoo and Hastings, Knight of the Garter, and was grandfather to Thomas Bullen, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, the father of Queen Anne Bullen, the mother of Queen Elizabeth (4). From which match proceeded Sir John Fortescue of Punburn, porter of the town of Calais (5), who in the third year of King Richard the Third, having set at liberty John Vere Earl of Oxford, imprisoned by that King, went with him into France, and came over with Henry, Earl of Richmond, when he attained the Crown of England by his victory at Bosworth field, that Earl, upon his landing at Milford-Haven, knighted this Sir John Fortescue (6), who in the second of Henry the Seventh, for his valour at the battle of Newark on Trent, when John, Earl of Lincoln, and Lambert Simnel were defeated, was made Knight Banneret (7), and his brother Sir Adrian Fortescue was made one of the Knights, at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, on the eighteenth of February, in the nineteenth year of Henry the Seventh (8), during whose reign both brothers were in high favour. This Sir Adrian Fortescue was a valiant soldier, and served King Henry the Eighth in his wars (9). In the fifth of Henry the Eighth, he and John Fortescue, Esq; had the King's letters of protection (10) going with Sir Charles Herbert, Knight, in that expedition, when Teroven and Tournay were taken, and a memorable battle fought, called, by our Historians, *the battle of Spurs* (11); we also find this Sir Adrian Fortescue attended on the Queen at that famous interview, *Anno 1520*, between King Henry the Eighth, and the French King (12). Also in the fifteenth of the same King, he was one of the principal commanders of those forces that took Bray and Montdidier, and ravaged those parts of France (13). But notwithstanding all these services he fell into disgrace, and, as will be shewn in the next note, was executed for high-treason (14). He married first, Anne, daughter of Sir William Stoner, of Stoner in Oxfordshire, by whom he had issue, Margaret, married to Thomas Lord Wentworth, and Frances, to Thomas Lord Fitzgerald, eldest son to the Earl of Kildare (15). But this Sir Adrian by his second wife, Anne, daughter of Sir William Rede of Roekingham Castle in Northamptonshire, had issue three sons, John, the subject of this article, Thomas, and Anthony; as also two daughters, Mary, married to William, son and heir of John Norris of Fyfield in Berkshire, and Elizabeth, married to Thomas Bromley of the county of Salop, Esquire, lineally descended from the famous Sir John Bromley, who in the fourth year of the reign of King Henry the

Fifth, recovered the Standard of Guyen, in that memorable battle of Corby (16) then gained by the French, for which eminent service, he had not only the dignity of Knighthood conferred on him, but offices of special power and trust, with lands of great value in the Duchy of Normandy, as also the same Standard of Guyen for his crest. In which reign was also Henry Bromley, and Richard Bromley, who distinguished themselves in those wars, the first being a principal officer in the town of Caen (17), and in the seventh of Henry the Fifth, had in consideration of his services, a grant of all the lands and tenements, rents and services, of Ralph Ruet: and the other being styled of Harfleur, had a grant of all the lands, &c. of Sir Lionel de Recheburgh, Knight, and Jane his wife. From which Sir John Bromley, descended William Bromley, Esq; Principal Secretary of State in the reign of Queen Anne. It appears from hence, our Statesman Fortescue was on all sides honourably descended.

[B] *To the prejudice of the Crown.*] In order to understand this matter perfectly, we must take things a little higher. In the year 1536, there was a Rebellion against King Henry the Eighth, in Lincolnshire, and in the northern counties; the former gave the King some apprehension, and therefore the Duke of Suffolk, who was sent to suppress it, had instructions and authority to make use of fair means as well as foul, and it was by the former that he chiefly prevailed (18). Against the northern Rebels the Duke of Norfolk was sent, who was assisted by the Marquis of Exeter, and Bishop Burnet says, it was owing to the Duke's great prudence, and by his timely applying for and publishing a general pardon, that all things were pacified and the King kept upon his throne; one Aske, who had been at the head of the northern rebels, was invited to Court, kindly received by the King, who it was thought drew out of him some informations (19). Upon his return into the country it was said that some new meetings were held, upon which the King was released from the promises he had made in his pardon, many of the rebels were executed by martial law, many more tried, convicted, and put to death in different parts of the country, and the Lords Darcy and Hussey being tried by their Peers, the Marquis of Exeter sitting as High-Steward, found guilty, and beheaded, the former on Tower-hill, and the latter at Lincoln (20). The next year Sir Jeffery Pole gave some informations, upon which Henry, Marquis of Exeter, Henry Lord Montacute, elder brother to Cardinal Pole, and Sir Jeffery, and several other persons, were apprehended, tried and executed, in the month of January following at Tower-hill and Tyburn (21). Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse and Knight of the Garter, having presumed to say that these proceedings were something harsh, considering the Marquis was the King's cousin-german, and the grandson of Edward the Fourth (22), he was tried, convicted, and executed on the third of March following; and now we come to the case of Sir Adrian Fortescue, in which we shall use the best authorities we can find, and particularly that of a learned prelate, than whom there was no body better versed in this period of our history (23). 'After these executions

(16) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 153.

(17) Pat. Norman. 7. H. V. p. 1. n. 219.

(18) Herbert's Hist. of the reign of Henry VIII.

(19) Hollinshed's Chronicle, II. p. 943, 944. There is an excellent account of this Rebellion in Speed.

(20) Catalogue of those put to death for Religion or Treason, in the reign of Henry VIII.

(21) Bishop of Durham's Sermon on this Plot, makes Sir Jeffery Pole the Discoverer.

(22) See the old History, Hollinshed, Stowe, Speed.

(23) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 360.

(a) According to the Pedigree set forth in the former Article.

(b) Who received that honour when Henry the Eighth was created Prince of Wales.

(c) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 360.

(1) Preface to Fortescue de laudibus legum Anglie, Lond. 1741. p. xlx.

(2) From the Collections of T. Meller.

(3) Chauncy's Hertfordshire, p. 310.

(4) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 799.

(5) Hall's Chronicle, f. 47. a.

(6) Jekyl's Cat. of Knights.

(7) Collections to the reign of Henry VIII.

(8) From the MS. Collections of T. M.

(9) Hall, Stowe, Hollinshed, Speed, Herbert.

(10) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XIII. p. 372.

(11) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 5.

(12) Rymer's Fœdera, XLII. 712.

(13) Hall's Chronicle, f. 114. a.

(14) A Catalogue of those put to death for Religion or Treason, in the reign of Henry VIII.

(15) Baronag. Anglie, MS. ol. 23.

this distance of time, been able to discover; but most certain it is, that due care was taken of them; so that the eldest, Mr John Fortescue, became distinguished for his extensive knowledge, for his singular sagacity, and for his perfect acquaintance with the best Latin and Greek authors (f). These qualifications, joined perhaps to some distant affinity in blood, which there was between him and her Majesty on the mother's side (g), brought him very early to the knowledge and esteem of Queen Elizabeth, who made use of his learning in the direction of her studies; to which she was constant during her whole life, and rewarded the pains he took, in that respect, with the place of Master of the Wardrobe (b). We cannot doubt but the Queen had a great esteem for, and a very high confidence in, him, since the second great misfortune in his family, which was the conviction of his brother Sir Anthony Fortescue, Knt. for high-treason (i), did not in the least affect him; but, on the contrary, it may be presumed his interest had a considerable share in obtaining, from the clemency of the Queen, the pardon of that offence; which, tho' the criminals endeavoured to extenuate, they never attempted to deny, but were convicted upon their own confessions [C]. It does not appear, that, in the course of this reign, our

(f) Camden. Annual regn. Eliz. p. 1.

(g) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 799.

(b) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 444.

(i) Camden. Annual. p. 89.

were confirmed, but new ones of a strange and unheard-of nature were enacted. It is a blemish never to be washed off, and which cannot be enough condemned, and was a breach of the most sacred and unalterable rules of justice which is capable of no excuse, it was the attainting of some persons whom they held in custody without bringing them to a trial. Concerning which I shall add, what the great Lord Chief Justice Coke writes (24). 'Altho' I question not the power of the Parliament, for without question the attainder stands of force in Law, yet this I say of the manner of proceeding, *Auferat obli-  
vio si potest, si non utrumque silentium tegat.* For the more high and absolute the jurisdiction of the Court is, the more just and honourable it ought to be in the proceedings, and to give example of justice to inferior Courts.' 'The chief of these were the Marchioness of Exeter, and the Countess of Sarum, the special matter charged on the former, is her confederating herself to Sir Nicholas Carew in his treasons; to which is added, that she had committed divers other abominable treasons. The latter is said to have confederated herself with her son the Cardinal, with other aggravating words. It does not appear by the journal that any witnesses were examined, only that day that the bills were read the third time in the House of Lords, Cromwell shewed them a coat of white silk, which the Lord Admiral had found among the Countess of Sarum's cloaths, in which the arms of England were wrought on the one side, and the standard that was carried before the rebels was on the other side. This was brought as an evidence, that she approved of the rebellion. Three Irish Priests were also attainted for carrying letters out of Ireland to the Pope and Cardinal Pole, as also Sir Adrian Fortescue for endeavouring to raise Rebellion, Thomas Dingley, a Knight of St John of Jerusalem, and Robert Gran- ceter, Merchant, for going to several foreign Princes and persuading them to make war upon the King, and assist the Lords Darcy and Hussey in the Rebellion they had raised. Two gentlemen, a Dominican Frier and a Yeoman, were by the same Act attainted for saying, that that venomous serpent the Bishop of Rome was supreme Head of the Church of England. Another gentleman, two Priests, and a Yeoman, were attainted for treason in general, no particular crime being specified. Thus sixteen persons were in this manner attainted, and if there was any examination of witnesses for convicting them, it was either in the Star-chamber or before the Privy-Council, for there is no mention of any evidence that was brought in the Journals: there was also much haste made in the passing this bill, it being brought in the tenth of May, was read that day for the first and second time, and the eleventh of May for the third time. The Commons kept it five days before they sent it back, and added some more to those that were in the bill at first, but how many were named in the bill originally, and how many were afterwards added cannot be known. Fortescue and Dingley, suffered the tenth of July. As for the Countess of Sarum, the Lord Herbert saw in a record, that *Bulls from the Pope were found in her house; that she kept correspondence with her son; and that she forbade her tenants to have the New Testament in English, or any other of the books that had been published by the King's authority.* She was then

(24) IV. Inst. 37, 38.

about seventy years of age, but shewed by the answers she made, that she had a vigorous and masculine mind. She was kept two years prisoner in the Tower after the Act had passed; the King, by that reprieve, designing to oblige her son to a better behaviour; but upon a fresh provocation by a new rebellion in the north, she was beheaded, and in her the name and line of Plantagenet determined. The Marchioness of Exeter died a natural death." Tho' there is a most commendable spirit of justice, and an honest zeal for truth in what Bishop Burnet says, yet having this opportunity it may not be amiss to add some other historical lights in respect to these dark passages, which in the opinion of the best judges is the great use of works of this nature, in which such points are frequently canvassed as are hardly discussed in any other place. Whoever considers the foregoing narration, will perceive, that here was a great number of persons of high rank, or of much experience, or of great influence, taken out of the world, upon strange surmises, and very forced constructions, even upon the face of the proceedings against them, for which no competent reason appears; for if the Marquis of Exeter had been truly guilty of rash expressions, he might have pleaded real services which far outwent them; or if he denied the words, his marching against the northern rebels, and his sitting as Lord High-Steward at the trial of the Lords Darcy and Hussey, were facts very much in his favour. But these could be of little use, if only a colour was sought to sweep off at once the Marquis and the friends of his family. A certain Historian, who, as we have more than once observed, had very extraordinary assistances, has suggested one cause why the King was so desirous of having the Marquis of Exeter out of his way. They were sisters children, and the King in the earlier part of his reign had such an affection for him, as to declare him his successor, but now having a son of his own, he entertained apprehensions that were not to be quieted by any milder methods (25). It might be objected to this, that the extraordinary instances the Marquis had given of his zeal for the King's person and government, might have over balanced these suspicions. To this another Historian supplies us with an answer, which is, that the King took notice with how much ease he raised many thousand men to suppress the rebellion (26), and the thoughts of his having so great an influence, instead of diminishing, augmented his fears, and added weight to his suspicions. The same maxim extended itself to all the rest who were involved partly by their connections with families allied to the Crown, and partly by the knowledge the King had of the courage of some, and the abilities of others. The same spirit is thought to have ruled in subsequent councils, for Edward Courtney, the son of the Marquis of Exeter, remained a prisoner all the reign of Edward the Sixth, tho' but a child, released indeed by Queen Mary when a man, but sent to the Tower again upon Wyatt's insurrection, set at liberty once more and suffered to travel, but at length, as was commonly reported, poisoned at Padua, either on account of his descent from Edward the Fourth, or which, perhaps, was a greater crime, preferring in his affections the Lady Elizabeth to her royal sister (27). [C] But were convicted upon their own confessions.] The death of his father could not divert his youngest son from his attachment to the family of Pole, of which

(25) Speed's Chronicle, p. 779.

(26) Godwin's Annals, p. 123.

(27) Dugdale's Baronage, Tot. I. p. 643.



a treaty of equal benefit to the Crown and to the States [D]. In the troubles of the Earl of Essex, he conducted himself with such prudence as to give no offence, either to the Queen or to those who were that unfortunate nobleman's enemies; and was, notwithstanding, understood throughout the whole to be his friend (a). In the proceedings in the Star-Chamber, at the close of Michaelmas-term 1599, when all the great officers of State were called upon in publick, to speak their sentiments on that nice subject, with a view probably of obliging them to take either one part or the other; Sir John Fortescue had the address to speak to the satisfaction of the audience, without falling into any of the heats with which others were transported. He first gave a clear account of the Queen's care and concern for the reduction of Ireland, and the measures pursued for that purpose, so far as they fell within the cognizance of his own office. He observed, that he was not called to Council when these matters were first in debate; he said, that since he came rarely thither, most of his time being taken up in the management of the revenue, that, notwithstanding this, he had a general knowledge of what passed in Council, from which general knowledge, however, he could collect nothing more than that notwithstanding all the Queen's pains and providence, things were then in a worse state in Ireland than when the army first landed. After this, raising his voice, he complained, with tears in his eyes, of libels scattered abroad, to inflame the minds of the people; of the fatal consequences of these factious intrigues amongst great men; and closed his speech with a pathetic recommendation of affection to the Queen's Majesty, and a sincere regard to the peace and welfare of the nation. He was one of the Commissioners, March the fifth 1600, present at the trial of Sir Christopher Blount, Sir Charles Davers, Sir John Davis, Sir Gelly Merrick, and Henry Cuffe, for high-treason; but it does not appear that he took any share therein, except that of being present on the Bench (b). At the time of the death of the Queen his mistress, he was possessed of the offices of Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, and Master of the Great Wardrobe; and was likewise a member of the Privy-Council (c). It is also very remarkable, that one of the last publick acts of her government, was a commission directed to him, and others of the Privy-Council, for dealing with, and seeing banished and transported out of her dominions, all seminary priests and jesuits, as well those then in prison as out of prison, or that at any time after should come into or be found in her dominions; and directing, that a certificate of their proceedings should be transmitted, under the hand of the Principal Secretary of State, to the Clerk of the Crown in the King's-Bench, in order to their being enrolled in the Crown-Office. Some writers affirm, that he opposed the admission of King James to the vacant throne, but upon certain terms; for which that monarch is said to have borne him ever afterwards a grudge (d). Yet there does not appear to be any evidence of either of these facts; but, on the contrary, many circumstances which seem to be incompatible with either. It is not easy to conceive, by such as are acquainted with our constitution, who could have taken upon them, with any hopes of success or safety, to frame or prescribe such articles. An overture of this sort, looks not very consistent with the cautious and circumspect conduct of Sir John Fortescue, in the preceding part of his life. Besides, upon the demise of the Queen, there appeared to be no doubt at all about the succession, since the Privy-Council directed King James to be proclaimed before noon, at the Cross in Cheapside, the very day that the Queen died (e); and the only struggle seems to have been, who should assume the merit of communicating this acceptable news first to the King of Scots (f) [E]. We may add to these conjectures

(a) See the Proceedings annexed to the Earl of Essex's Apology.

(b) State Trials, Vol. I. p. 209.

(c) As appears from comparing our Historians. Rymer's Fœdera, XVI. p. 489.

(d) Osborn's Traditional Memoirs of the Reign of King James, § iii. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 22. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 307.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 817.

(f) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 12.

have cost the actors in it very dear. Sir Anthony Fortescue survived this many years, and by his Lady Catherine Pole, left a son John behind him.

[D] *Of equal benefit to the Crown and to the States.* In order to this negotiation, the States-General sent over John Duenvoord, Admiral of Holland; John Oldenbarnevelt, Keeper of the Seals; John Verke, John Hooting, and Andrew Hessel, and joined in the same commission, Sir Nowel Carron, their Agent in England, who being mightily for promoting the war did in the month of August hold a conference with Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal, the Earl of Essex, the Admiral, George Lord Hunfdon, the Lord Buckhurst, Sir William Knolles, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir John Fortescue, commissioners appointed by the Queen (33), and subscribed to the following articles: that the treaty made Anno 1585, should be ratified and confirmed, excepting some articles relating to the civil administration: that the Confederate States should pay to the Queen eight hundred thousand pounds of English money, viz. thirty thousand pounds yearly during the continuance of the war, to be employed against the common enemy, until four hundred thousand pounds were paid: and if a peace were agreed on between the King of Spain and the Queen, there should be paid of the remaining sum twenty thousand pounds yearly, till the eight hundred thousand pounds were fully discharged. That eleven

hundred and fifty English soldiers, who were in the garisons of Flushing, Briel, and the adjacent ports, should be paid by the States. That they might have the liberty to levy men in England under English officers, who should serve under their pay: that if the Spaniard should make a descent on the Isles of Wight, Guernsey, Jersey, or Scily, the States should be obliged to assist the Queen with five thousand foot, and five hundred horse: that if it 'twas necessary to equip a fleet in England to serve against Spain, they should provide an equal number of ships: that if any English forces were sent over into Flanders or Brabant, they should provide and furnish out the same number of men: as for the money due to Pallavicini, the Queen should reimburse herself from Brabant and Flanders, and the rest of the Provinces which were not within the union (34). By this treaty all the ends of true policy were answered, a just provision made for the continuance of the war against Spain, and the Queen's expence reduced one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year. In this negotiation, Sir John Fortescue was understood to speak the sense, and to have the secret of the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, who at that time laid dangerously ill and died very soon after.

[E] *To the King of Scots.* We have this matter very clearly set down in Stowe, where it is asserted, that the Lords caused King James to be proclaimed at the Palace Gate, by eight of the clock in the morning; by

(33) Rymer's Fœdera, XVI. p. 340.

(34) Camden. Annal. regn. Eliz. p. 776.

conjectures and probabilities, a matter of fact relating to this gentleman, and his sense of the point in question; for within four days after the death of the Queen, he subscribed, with other persons of the first quality, a letter to the Lord Eure, and the rest of the Commissioners then engaged in a negotiation at Bremen (\*), signifying that King James was proclaimed with such universal acclamation of all persons, as declared the undoubted assurance, in every man's conscience, of his rightful succession; and betokened, as they hoped, the

(\*) Bbl. Cotton. G. 1. 1. 40.

by eleven, he was likewise proclaimed in Cheapside (35), Mr Secretary Cecil reading the proclamation in person, with a loud voice, being attended there, by most of the Nobility and the Privy Council. But the most distinct, perfect, and authentic account that can be had of this matter, and which fully proves the truth of what is asserted in the text, is that contained in the relation of Sir Robert Carey, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, who was nearly related to Queen Elizabeth, a great favourite with King James, and who, was the very person that carried him the news of her decease (36). We will give it in his own words. 'I went to my lodging, and left word with one in the Cofferer's Chamber, to call me, if that night (Wednesday, March the twenty-third) it was thought she would die, and gave the Porter an angel, to let me in at any time when I called. Between one and two of the clock on Thursday morning, he that I left in the Cofferer's chamber, brought me word, the Queen was dead. I rose and made all haste to the gate to get in. There I was answered, I could not enter; the Lords of the Council having been with him, and commanded him, that none should go in and out, but by warrant from them. At the very instant, one of the Council, the Comptroller (37), asked whether I was at the gate? I said *yes*. He said to me; if I pleased, he would let me in; I desired to know how the Queen did? He answered, pretty well. I bade him good night. He replied and said, Sir, if you will come in, I will give you my word and credit you shall go out again at your own pleasure. Upon his word I entered the gate, came up to the Cofferer's chamber, where I found all the ladies weeping bitterly. He led me from thence into the Privy-Chamber, where all the Council was assembled. There I was caught hold of, and assured I should not go for Scotland, till their pleasure was farther known. I told them I came on purpose to that end. From thence they all went to the Secretary's Chamber; and as they went, they gave especial command to the porters, that none should go out of the gate, but such servants as they should send to prepare their coaches and horses for London. There was I left in the midst of the court to think my own thoughts, till they had done Council. I went to my brother's chamber, who was in bed, having been over watched many nights before. I got him up with all speed, and when the Council's men were going out of the gate, my brother thrust to the gate. The porter knowing him to be a great officer, let him out. I pressed after him, and was staid by the porter. My brother angrily said to the porter: *Let him out, I will answer for him*. Whereupon I was suffered to pass, which I was not a little glad of. I got to horse, and rode to the Knight-Marshal's lodging by Charing-Cross, and there staid till the Lords came to Whitehall Garden (38). I staid there till it was nine o'clock in the morning; and hearing that all the Lords were in the old orchard at Whitehall, I sent the Marshal to tell them, that I had staid all that while to know their pleasures, and that I would attend them, if they would command me any service. They were very glad, when they heard I was not gone, and desired the Marshal to send for me, and I should with all speed be dispatched for Scotland. The Marshal believed them, and sent Sir Arthur Savage for me. I made haste to them, one of the Council, my Lord of Banbury that now is, whispered the Marshal in the ear, and told him, if I came they would stay me, and send some other in my stead. The Marshal got from them, and met me coming to them between the two gates. He bade me be gone, for he had learned for certain, that if I came to them they would betray me. I returned, and took horse between nine and ten a clock, and that night I rode to Doncaster. The Friday night I came to my own house to Wetherington, and pre-

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sently took order with my deputies to see the borders kept in quiet, which they had much to do, and gave order that the next morning the King of Scotland should be proclaimed King of England, &c. at Morpeth and Alnewick. Very early on Saturday I took horse for Edinburgh, and came to Norham about twelve at noon, so that I might well have been with the King by supper time, but I got a great fall by the way, and my horse with one of his heels gave me a great blow on the head, that made me shed much blood. It made me so weak that I was forced to ride a soft pace after, so that the King was newly gone to bed by that time I knocked at the gate. I was quickly let in and carried up to the King's chamber. I kneeled by him, and saluted him by his title of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. He gave me his hand to kiss, and bade me welcome. After he had long discoursed of the manner of the Queen's sickness, and of her death, he asked what letters I had from the Council, I told him, none, and acquainted him, how narrowly I escaped from them, and yet I had brought him a blue ring from a fair lady (39), that I hoped would give him assurance of the truth that I had reported. He took it and looked upon it, and said it is enough, I know by this you are a true messenger. Then he committed me to the charge of my Lord Hume, gave strict command that I should want nothing. He sent for his Chirurgeons to attend me, and when I kissed his hand at my departure, he said to me these gracious words, *I know you have lost a near kinswoman and a loving mistress, but take here my hand I will be as good a master to you, and will requite this service with honour and reward.* The first author who suggested any thing in relation to Sir John Fortescue was Francis Osborn, Esq; and the very title of his treatise shews, that it is not to be put into the balance with what we are told, by those who were eye and ear witnesses of what they relate; his account however is worth reading, and runs thus (40). 'The news of the Queen's death was brought him first, as I have heard, by Carey after Lord Lepington, and since Earl of Monmouth, who not able to satisfy such a course of doubts and questions, as far more resolute natures than his do generally muster upon less occasions, the King stood as in a maze, being more affected thro' the fear of opposition, than pleased with the present report, till by a later post he was advertised of his being joyfully proclaimed in London by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and of the unquestioned reception, his title in all places met with, no less than that the hopes of the prudent carriage of the Treasurer, and ranting protestations of the Earl of Northumberland, that in all places vapoured he would bring him in by the sword, had stop'd their mouths that desired, in regard of the known feud between the nations, he might be obliged to articles: and amongst these noble and publick spirits, was Sir John Fortescue, Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Cobham, &c. all frowned upon after by the King.' In direct contradiction to this Mr Winwood, after Sir Ralph Winwood and Secretary of State, in a private letter written to his intimate friend the Duke de Tremouille, immediately upon the death of the Queen, has these words (41). *The same day the late Queen died, the King of Scots was proclaimed King in the city of London, between the hours of ten and eleven, with inexpressible applause, as he has been since through the whole kingdom, without the least opposition being given by any person of what quality soever either by word or deed.* It is not easy to suppose, that Mr Winwood was not as well informed as Mr Osborn, and it cannot be imagined that he would have written a direct falsehood to a person of such quality, when he might have so easily avoided it by saying nothing.

(39) The Lady Scroop, who was deep in the King's secret, and had promised this token.

(40) Traditional Memoirs of the Reign of King James, by Frao. Osborn, §. 3.

(41) Literal Translation from Winwood's French letter, which is the last of his first Volume.

(35) Stowe's Annals, p. 818.

(36) Taken from Memoirs of Elizabeth's Life, a MS. which was in the hands of the late Lady Eliz. Spelman.

(37) Sir Henry Cock.

(38) King James was proclaimed before this at the Court Gates at Richmond.

the future happiness of his reign. Now how much sooner of ceremony and compliment there might be in this, one cannot well believe that Sir John Fortescue would have set his name to it, if he had ever raised any objections against King James's coming in except upon terms. On the second of May 1603, when King James came to Brockesborne in the county of Hertford, the Seat of Sir Henry Cock, Comptroller of the Household to Queen Elizabeth, the members of the Privy-Council were presented to his Majesty, and were continued in that high station (g). When his consort Queen Anne came from Scotland, the King went to meet her, and on the twenty-seventh of June dined with her, Prince Henry, and the Lady Elizabeth, at the house of Sir George Fermor, in Northamptonshire, from whence he proceeded the same night to Sir John Fortescue's, at Salden in Buckinghamshire, where they lay (h); and certainly this could not pass for any instance of distaste or resentment, but rather the contrary. On the twenty-fourth of July following, Sir Francis Fortescue, son to Sir John, was made a Knight of the Bath, previous to the Coronation, which was another mark of royal favour (i). It is indeed true, that, instead of Chancellor of the Exchequer, the King made Sir John Fortescue Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (k), which is the single matter of fact that has been ever urged to shew the probability of his declining in the King's esteem; and yet it is very possible, that this might be done without the least disrespect to Sir John, and upon terms with which he might be well satisfied. We may the rather esteem this to have been the case from a subsequent fact, one of the most remarkable in our statesman's life, and none of the least memorable in that Monarch's reign (l). The King having summoned the first Parliament in his reign, to meet at Westminster March the nineteenth 1603-4, a writ was issued to the Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, Sir Francis Cheyne, to return two Knights for that county (m). The Sheriff accordingly brought on the election January the twenty-fifth, at Brickhill, and not at Aylesbury, because the plague was there. It was intended, that Sir John Fortescue, and Sir Francis Goodwin, should be elected; but upon the Sheriff's proposing them, the freeholders cried out, *a Goodwin, a Goodwin*, notwithstanding that the most considerable gentry, and the Justices of Peace, were in the interest of Sir John Fortescue. Upon this, Sir Francis Goodwin himself came, and laboured all that was in his power, to induce the freeholders to consent that Sir John Fortescue's name should stand first in the return; but they adhered to their former opinion, and, upon receiving the poll, Sir Francis Goodwin, and Sir William Fleetwood, were returned, by the Sheriff, Knights of the Shire for the county of Bucks (n). This was represented to the King, as a great insult upon Sir John Fortescue, an old Privy-Counsellor, and, as such, worthy of honour and respect. It was discovered, that Sir Francis Goodwin was outlawed, which was supposed to be a sufficient bar to his sitting in Parliament; of which the Sheriff being informed, he made such a return to the writ, viz. that Sir Francis Goodwin was chosen, but disabled by being outlawed; which return was drawn for him by Sir Edward Coke, then the King's Attorney-General (o). The Lord Chancellor Egerton, upon this, issued a second writ, which was delivered to the Sheriff by Sir John Fortescue, and upon this Sir John was returned (p). On Thursday the twenty-second of March, when the House met, Sir William Fleetwood moved, that Sir Francis Goodwin might take his seat as Knight with him for Buckinghamshire; which the House ordered the next day, and Sir Francis did take his seat accordingly (q). This occasioned a long dispute between the House and the King, the true point in debate being this, Whether the House was the proper judge of the return, or the Chancellor? For if the latter was not, then the second writ was void in its own nature; this dispute lasted to the eleventh of April, when the King proposed it to the House as an expedient, that both these gentlemen should be set aside, and a new writ issued for the choice of a member (r). Upon this difference between the King and the House of Commons, so many and such strange reports went abroad, that it was judged expedient, by the Lord Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, who was then at the head of the administration, to give the King's Ministers at foreign Courts an account of it, which he did (s) [F]. Upon mature deliberation

(g) Stowe's Annals, p. 822. Rymer's Federa, XVI. p. 491.

(h) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 356.

(i) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Sturarts, Vol. I. p. 57. Stowe's Annals, p. 827.

(k) So he is stiled in the Proceedings on the Election for Buckinghamshire, in 1603-4.

(l) Coke's Detection of the four last Reigns, p. 22. Hist. of the High Court of Parliament, Vol. II. p. 414.

(m) Proceedings in the Case of Sir F. Goodwin, and Sir John Fortescue, in State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 76.

(n) So in the Sheriff's Examination before the House of Commons.

(o) Affirmed by Sir Francis Cheyne.

(p) So in his Examination.

(q) On Wednesday March 23, but forbore coming afterwards.

(r) See the Speaker's Warrant in Note [G].

(s) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 18.

(42) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 18.

[F] Which he did.] The following passage is extracted from a letter to Mr afterwards Sir Ralph Winwood by the Lord Cecil, dated April the twelfth 1604, the very day that the last writ was issued (42), ' If you have heard any thing of any question between the King and the Lower House of Parliament, you may satisfy yourself whatsoever you may hear, that the cause was only by lack of understanding of what was intended by his Majesty, and not any other point of importance. So as if I did not conceive that idle discoursers are apt to make comments upon all things according to the levity of their own brain, I should not have touched it at all, for to be short, it was no more but this. That Sir Francis Goodwyn having laboured to be Knight of Buckinghamshire, to the exclusion of an antient Counsellor Sir John Fortescue, it was advised by the King's learned Counsel and Judges, whether there were not some means by the Laws to avoid it. Whereupon it be-

ing found that he was outlawed, and so certified by the Sheriff, consequently a new writ was sent forth by virtue whereof Sir John Fortescue was chosen. Notwithstanding the Lower House having had notice that he was once chosen, and having found that the outlawry was pardoned, in effect, by his Majesty's general pardon upon his Inauguration, altho' in true construction of Law, he is not *Reclus in Curia*, until he hath sued out his *scire facias*, they somewhat suddenly fearing some opposition which was never intended, allowed of him and rejected the other, which form of proceeding appeared harsh to the King, rather in form than matter. And therefore being then desirous that the Higher House might have some conference with the Lower House (which we as of ourselves did intimate unto them) they grew jealous of that proposition as a matter which they misliked to yield to after a judgment, and therefore did rather choose to send to the King, that they would

deliberation the House of Commons thought fit to accept the proposition the King had made, provided Sir Francis Goodwin, whom they had admitted to his seat, gave his consent, which he very readily did; upon which a new writ issued, and Christopher Pigott, Esq; was chosen (t). It may be fairly presumed, tho' the King did not carry his point in this matter, that Sir John Fortescue thought himself much obliged; nor is it in any degree credible, that he would himself have meddled in this affair, as indeed he transacted many things in it personally, if he had been but slightly attached to the King, or in his principles an enemy to the Prerogative. We do not meddle with the merits of the case, but with the conduct of Sir John Fortescue, who, being generally reputed a very wise man, as well as a man of honour, would have been ashamed to have changed sides in a few months, in so glaring a manner as to claim the assistance of that Prince's power which he had publicly advised should be curtailed. Some authors have represented this as an act of great violence and injustice in King James, and that, as such, it gave very high distaste to his first Parliament (u). In order to countenance these notions, a very imperfect case upon this subject has been printed (w); but forty years after it happened, the House of Commons ordered all that was entered upon that head in their journals to be printed (x), and from thence it appears in the light in which it is here placed; and to leave the reader without any doubt of this, Sir Francis Goodwin's letter, the Speaker's report of the thanks of the House given to the King, together with his answer, and the warrant for the new writ, are inserted in the notes (y) [G]. A little attention will shew, that this indisputable matter of fact, is very hardly, if at all, reconcilable to what is suggested of Sir John Fortescue's opposing

(w) As an Appendix to the second Edition of Lex Parliamentaria.

(x) This Order of the House of Commons, is dated March 14, 1704.

(y) These are not in the Case at the End of Lex Parliamentaria.

(t) Willis's Notitia Parliament. Vol. I. p. 79.

(u) Coke's Detection of the four last Reigns, p. 22. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 22.

(43) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 22.

(44) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 75.

(45) D'Ewes's Journal of Parliaments in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 396, 397, 398, 399.

' would be glad to shew himself the reasons, to whom they owed all duty as their Sovereign, rather than to any other, taking it somewhat derogative from their House, to attribute any superiority to the Higher House, seeing both Houses make but one body, whereof the King is the Head. This being done, after two conferences, in the presence of the King, the Council, and Judges, the matter was compounded to all men's likings, wherein that which is due is only due to Cæsar, for, but for his wisdom and dexterity, it could not have had any conclusion with so general an applause. This being found by debate to be most certain, namely, that neither of them both were duly returned, and therefore resolved of all parties, that a new writ should go forth by warrant from the Speaker, wherein none of them should stand to be elected, and so much for the truth of that cause.' This and the following papers might have been consulted by an author who states this matter thus (43). 'He (i. e. the King) let them know in the case of the contested election, between Sir Francis Goodwin, and Sir John Fortescue to be Knight of the Shire, for the county of Bucks, that he would have differences determined by his absolute power; and tho' the Commons voted Sir Francis duly elected, yet the King commanded them to let the matter be heard before the House of Lords, and the Judges: but Sir Francis Goodwyn fearing it might cause a rupture between the King and the House of Commons, petitioned that a new writ might be issued to elect a Knight for that county in his stead.' It appears from the proceedings, that the King desired the House to confer with the Judges, not as Umpires, but as his Counsellors, that he might receive satisfaction

(44). It also appears from the paper which the House sent the King, that this was no new dispute, since they alledged that in the twenty third year of the preceding reign a Burgess was returned dead, and another chosen, and returned by a new writ, but the party returned dead appearing, the House of Commons admitted him to his seat, and notwithstanding the Sheriff's return rejected the other. The very same year a Burgess for Hull was returned a lunatick, and a new one chosen upon a second writ. The person first returned, appeared and claimed his place, the House examined the matter, and found the first return to be true, and therefore they refused him, which they would not have done if the return had been false. In the twenty ninth year of the same reign, a writ was awarded into Norfolk for the choice of Knights, and election made and returned, but before the Parliament met, the Chancellor awarded a second writ, and upon that also return was made, the Commons being attended with both writs and returns by the clerk of the Crown, examined the cause, allowed the first, and rejected the second (45). The fault therefore in this case, lay in those who advised the King to insist so much upon this matter. But after all, the final resolution was not taken

upon Sir Francis Goodwin's petition, but upon the King's proposal and Sir Francis Goodwin acquiesced under that resolution of the House, as the reader will see in the next note.

[G] Are inserted in the notes.] The reader will doubtless observe, that the Lord Chancellor Egerton, and Sir Edward Coke then Attorney-General, had at this time a good understanding, and through them it is plain this advice with respect to the second writ was both given and executed (46). The King therefore had reason to tell the House of Commons as he did, that both the gentlemen were his good subjects, and that in one sense it was indifferent to him, whether Sir John or Sir Francis was chosen; but in another, he was unwilling that any disgrace should be thrown upon an old Privy-Counsellor, since it was a thing himself had carefully avoided, and indeed it appears to have been from the accident of the plague's being at Aylesbury, which frightened many of the better sort from attending the county Court that Sir John Fortescue lost his election. But it is time to come to the papers, as we find them entered in the Journal Book of the House of Commons (47).

(46) See Sir Francis Cheyne's Examination.

(47) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 76, 77.

SIR FRANCIS GOODWYN'S Letter.

S I R,

I AM heartily sorry to have been the least occasion, either of question between his Majesty and that honourable House, or of interruption to those worthy and weighty causes, which by this time in all likelihood had been in very good furtherance; wherefore understanding very credibly, that it pleased his Majesty when the committees last attended him, to take course with them for a third writ and election for the Knightship of the county of Buckingham, I am so far from giving any impediment thereunto, that, contrarywise, I humbly desire his Majesty's direction in that behalf to be accomplished and performed. So praying you, according to such opportunity as will be ministred, to give furtherance thereunto, I take my leave, and rest

Your's

FRA. GOODWIN.

Westm. this 11th of April 1604.

Directed to the Right Worshipful Sir Edward Phelips, Knight, Speaker of the Honourable Court of Parliament.

Die Veneris, viz. 13<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis 1604.

My Speaker returneth to the House, the effect of his message of thanks delivered the last day in the name of

(z) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 556.

(a) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 198.

(\*) Rymer's Fœdera, XVI. p. 641.

(b) Fuller's Worthies, Buckinghamshire, p. 140.

(c) Willis, Notitia Parliament. Vol. I. p. 79.

(d) In his Diary, commonly called his Annals of King James.

(e) So entered in the Visitation Book.

(f) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVI. p.

(g) Reliq. Bodleian, p. 108, 123.

(h) Annal Regn. Eliz. p. 613.

(i) Amongst his short Latin Notes relative to his own Life, at the close of his Diary.

opposing King James, and of the King's resentment ever after (z). For if this had been a thing generally known, the affront put upon him by his county, would have been a compliment to the King; as, on the other hand, one cannot easily conceive how the King could have been prevailed upon to interfere so far as he did, if he had not had a very high personal esteem for Sir John Fortescue. We may add, to shew that even this disappointment did not lessen this accomplished courtier's credit with his master, that there was a current report, the very next year, that he would have been created a Baron; the like honour being intended for the Chief Justice Sir John Popham, Sir Edward Coke, who was to succeed Sir Francis Gawdy as Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, and Sir Thomas Knivet, who was very active in detecting of the powder-treason (a). But the last only had that honour, which it is not at all improbable Sir John Fortescue, who was a very modest and disinterested person, might decline. He was also, which ought to be considered as a very remarkable act of confidence, one of those Privy-Counsellors to whom the King, in 1606, executed an indenture (\*), signifying what lands should be for ever annexed, and what jewels should be held and reputed jewels belonging to the Crown; which, tho' one part of the indenture was under the Great-Seal, was in reality a family transaction, till confirmed (as the King intended it should) by Act of Parliament. After this, we are able to meet with no farther particulars worthy of the reader's notice, which will not seem strange if we remember that he must have been now above fourscore, since he was a man, tho' a very young man, at the time of his father's death; he had, however, the satisfaction of seeing his son, Sir Francis Fortescue, Sheriff of the county (b), which he had also represented in the last Parliament of Queen Elizabeth (c). He died, as Mr Camden tells us, December the twenty-third 1607 (d), at which time he was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Master of the Great Wardrobe (e) and a Privy-Counsellor. His parts and learning first introduced him at Court, where, from the beginning to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he was in constant favour, and, in the latter part of it, employed in matters of the highest importance; so that if we had set down every commission in which he is named, and dwelt minutely upon all his services, it would have swelled this life to a much larger extent (f), tho' there is not twenty lines to be met with about him in all our Biographers. His lasting love to literature, was rendered evident by his contributions to the library, which, through the care and diligence of Sir Thomas Bodley, was erected at Oxford; and the nature of his studies, agreeable to what Camden reports, is no less evident from the titles of some of the books bestowed by him upon that library, amongst others, by a Sophocles, with manuscript Scholia in Greek; for which Sir Thomas held himself so much obliged, that he gave particular directions for Sir John's being received with all imaginable respect, when, going occasionally to Oxford, he went to visit the library (g). He was a particular friend and patron to the learned Camden, and, as he acknowledges, gave him great assistance in compiling his Annals of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (h); which passage indeed is not in the English translation, or in most of the Latin editions, but occurs in that of Mr Hearne's, printed from the author's own copy, which was in the possession of Dr Smith. It might be probably for this reason, as well as in virtue of his office as Clarenceux King at Arms, that he assisted at his funeral, which, if the memorandum he left be right, was solemnized on the fourth of July ensuing his death, that learned person being disabled, by a fall from his horse, from making such a journey sooner (i). His posterity for several generations remained possessed of his estate and fine seat at Salden, and became extinct in Sir Francis Fortescue, who died at Bath November the eleventh 1729, without issue.

of the House to his Majesty, as also of his Majesty's answer, viz.

‘ That he related to this House, the humble and dutiful acceptance of what his Majesty had done, together with the humble thanks of the House, for his zealous and paternal delivery of his grace unto us by his own mouth, what wonder they conceived in his judgment, what joy in his grace, what comfort they had in his justice, what approbation they made of his prudence, and what obedience they yielded to his power and pleasure. That his direction gave all men satisfaction, that they were determined to pursue the course he had prescribed. That now they were become suitors, he would be pleased to receive a representation of the humble thanks and service of the House.

‘ His Majesty answered that upon this second access, he was forced to reiterate what he said before. ‘ That this question was unhappily cast upon him, for he carried as great a respect to our privileges as ever any Prince did, he was no ground searcher, he was of the mind that our privileges were his strength, that he thought the ground of our proceeding, was our not understanding that he had intermeddled be-

fore we had decided, that he thought also we had no wilful purpose to derogate any thing from him, for our answer was a grave, dutiful, and obedient answer.

*The Warrant for a new Election of a Knight for Bucks, read and allowed in this form.*

‘ Whereas the Right Honourable Sir John Fortescue, Knight, Chancellor of his Majesty's Duchy of Lancaster, and Sir Francis Goodwyn, Knight, have been severally elected and returned Knights of the Shire for the county of Bucks, to serve in this present Parliament; upon deliberate consultation, and for some special causes moving the Commons House of Parliament. It is this day ordered and required by the said House, that a writ be forthwith awarded for a new Election of another Knight for the said Shire. And this shall be your Warrant.

Directed to my very loving friend Sir George Coppin, Knight, Clerk of the Crown in his Majesty's High-Court of Chancery.

E

FOSTER (SAMUEL), an eminent English Mathematician in the XVIIth century, and Astronomy Professor in Gresham College. As to this gentleman's family we are able to say nothing; all that is preserved of him, in that respect, being no more than this, that he was a native of Northamptonshire (a), and, in all probability, his parents were in competent, tho' not in affluent, circumstances; since himself, and his elder brother Walter, were both sent to Emanuel College in Cambridge (b). Samuel was admitted a Sizer there April the twenty-third 1616, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1619, and that of Master in 1623 (c); he applied himself early to the study of the Mathematicks, and attained to a great proficiency in that kind of knowledge, of which he gave the first specimen in the year 1624, as the reader will see at the bottom of the page [A]. He never had a Fellowship, and is therefore placed, by Mr Fuller (d), among the learned writers of Emanuel College, who were not Fellows. Upon the death of Mr Henry Gellibrand, Astronomy Professor in Gresham College, February the ninth 1636 (e), our author, Mr Foster, made interest to succeed him, and was accordingly chosen (f) on the second of March following, but for what reason does not appear; he quitted it again on the twenty-fifth of November in the same year, and was succeeded therein by Mr Mungo Murray (g), a Scots gentleman. He continued, however, to pursue his mathematical studies with great diligence; and, in 1638, he gave another proof of this, in a work of his (h) that was then extremely well received, and is to this day very much esteemed [B]. In the mean time Mr Murray having been presented to the rectory of Welles in Norfolk, by the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Arundel, and marrying in 1641, his Professorship was thereby vacated (i); and, as Mr Foster had formerly made way for him, so, by this alteration in his condition, he made way for Mr Foster, who was accordingly chosen May the twenty-sixth the same year (k); the civil war breaking out very soon after his becoming a second time Astronomy Professor at Gresham College, he became one of that worthy and learned society of gentlemen who had stated meetings for cultivating the new Philosophy, to whose parts and industry this nation, and indeed the whole republick of letters, stand so much indebted (l). In 1646, Dr Wallis, another Member of that Society, received from Mr Foster a Mathematical Theorem, which he afterwards published (m). Neither was it only in this branch of science that he excelled, but he was likewise well versed in the ancient languages, as appears from his revising and correcting the LEMMA TA of Archimedes, which had been translated from an Arabick manuscript into Latin, but not published by the learned Mr John Greaves (n). Our author made also several curious observations of Eclipses, both of the sun and moon, as well at Gresham College as in his native county of Northamptonshire, at Coventry, and in other places (o); and was particularly famous for inventing, as well as improving, of Astronomical and other Mathematical instruments. We have mentioned all the treatises of his published in his life-time; but, besides these, he wrote many more, which his long and great infirmities, hindered him from fitting for the press in the manner he intended (p). These, however, have not been lost to the world, since the greatest part of them at least, have been printed by the care of several of his learned friends, particularly Dr John Twysden, and Edmund Wingate, Esq; as the reader will be informed at the bottom of the page [C]. Our author, who did not live to

(a) Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 85.

(b) Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, 147.

(c) As appears from the College Books.

(d) Hist. of Cambridge, p. 147.

(e) Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 147.

(f) Id. ibid.

(g) He was professor in Philosophy at St Andrews.

(h) See an account of this Work in note [A].

(i) Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 89.

(k) Id. ibid. p. 85.

(l) Wallis's remarkable passages in his own life.

(m) Mechanica, ch. v. prop. 24. p. 869.

(n) Foster's Mathematical Miscellanies, §. xi.

(o) See this explained in the notes.

(p) See Dr Twysden's Preface.

see

[A] At the bottom of the page.] It is necessary to inform the reader, that this treatise, divided into two parts, was originally published at the end of the ingenious Mr Edmund Gunter's description of the Cross Staffe in three books. The titles ran thus.

I. *The description and use of a small portable QUADRANT for the more easy finding of the hour of Azimuth.* 4to.

*The Description and uses of another Quadrant fitted for daily practice for finding the hour and Azimuth, and other things of the sun's course in reference to the Horizon, with new lines serving to the forementioned and other purpose more accurately. Invented by Mr Samuel Foster sometime Professor of Astronomy in Gresham-College. Lond. 1624. 4to. 1662. 4to. 1673. 4to. 1652. 8vo.*

The last mentioned edition of this book was published within a small time after the author's decease, by one Anthony Thomson mathematical instrument maker (1), who in his preface tells us, they were intended as appendices to Mr Gunter's treatises, and the reader is farther to know, that the quarto editions were actually printed as such, only some few copies that were printed separately of the first edition for the use of the author's friends. In this as in all our author's other works, there is a preciseness and a perspicuity which could not fail of recommending them extremely, more especially in those days when these sciences were not so well or so generally understood as at present. But how much soever the modern mathematicians may surpass those of the last age, yet there is certainly great respect due to the memories of those worthy men, by

whose diligence and industrious application the first steps were made towards those improvements, which have since followed, and which like scaffolds in building were absolutely necessary to the raising those stately piles that now attract every eye.

[B] And is to this day very much esteemed.] There might possibly be some particular reason for our author's resigning his Professorship, tho' we have no account of it; to which conjecture, I am led by the observation of the most judicious and accurate Historian of Gresham-College, that upon the resignation of our author, Mr Mungo Murray, was recommended by King Charles the First. The title of the latter work of our author, published after he resigned his employment, and before he was rechose is,

II. *The Art of Dialling.* Lond. 1638, 1675. 4to.

The edition in 1675, has several additions and variations taken from the author's own manuscript, as also a supplement by the editor William Leybourne, who was first a Printer, then an editor, and lastly an author of books, and who, as we shall hereafter have occasion more than once to remark, was particularly instrumental in the preserving and publishing several of Mr Foster's writings.

[C] At the bottom of the page.] We are now come to speak of such of this gentleman's treatises as were published after his decease, and which indeed make far the greater part of his works, the titles of them follow.

III. *Posthuma Fosteri: containing the description of a ruler, upon which are inscribed divers scales, &c.* Lond. 1652. 4to.

(1) As appears by the Preface to Foster's Miscellanies.

see the fruits of his own and his friends endeavours, by which a foundation was laid for the Royal Society that happily sprung from their meetings, after having been long in a declining

This was published soon after the author's death by Mr Wingate.

IV. Four Treatises of Dialling. *Elliptical or azimuthal horologigraphy. Circular horologigraphy. Rectilineal or diametrical horologigraphy. Elliptical horologigraphy by spherical and not projective work.* Lond. 1654. 4to.

V. MISCELLANIES or MATHEMATICAL LUCUBRATIONS of Mr Samuel Foster, sometime publick Professor of Astronomy in Gresham-College in London, published, and many of them translated into English, by the care and industry of John Twysden. C. L. M. D. whereunto he hath annexed some things of his own.

As the greatest part of this book is printed both in Latin and English, so there are prefixed to it two dedications, the first in Latin addressed to Sir Henry Yelverton, Baronet, who was nephew to the editor Dr Twysden by his mother, in which he tells him that he had collected these pieces of Mr Samuel Foster out of his loose papers, and had added to them some few pieces of his own, that Sir Henry might have ever at his hand what might put him in mind of the most learned author, and prevent himself also from slipping out of his memory when removed from this world. The other dedication is in English. To the Right Honourable Lady Susanna Longueville, Baroness Grey, Ruthin, Hastings, Washford and Valence. The epistle to the reader is also both in English and in Latin, beginning thus. 'Courteous reader, we have at last made publick these posthumous works of that learned, industrious, and most skilful Mathematician, Mr Samuel Foster. They would have come out more polished and with greater lustre, had himself lived to have added his last hand unto them. But since it hath pleased God to deny this unto us, we have rather made choice to bring them to their birth with our hands, such as they are, than suffer those things to perish which we judged worthy of the press, or that the learned world should be longer deprived of the genuine offspring of so worthy a person. The treatises themselves are of different kinds, some of them written by the author in Latin, some in English, others promiscuously in both languages. The Astroscope, Planetary instruments, and some others we have translated into Latin, and caused them to be printed in a double column, to the end that those of our own nation who are not much skilled in the Latin tongue, may read them in their mother language. But strangers not remain deprived of the knowledge of new and profitable inventions. Some others of them are put out without any version, because in truth being employed in other things, I could not get leisure enough to do them; peradventure, if they shall bear a second impression, and no body else prevent me, I may labour in that also.' In this volume there are no less than twelve small treatises of Mr Samuel Foster's, the titles of which are very exactly set down, as indeed every thing is, by the judicious and industrious Mr Ward, in that lasting monument which he has raised to the honour of the Professors of Gresham-College. We shall however set down these titles somewhat more at large, and with a short account of each.

1. *Stellæ fixæ, quas Tycho ad mille, in catalogum congescit, & Keplerus tabb. Rudolphinarum operi adnexuit ad annum incarnationis 1671. adservatis eisdem Latitudinibus, quoad Longitudines, ex additione nimirum gradus unius integri correctæ; & à polo Eclipticæ ad polum mundi, quorum distantia est 23 grad. 31 min. reducæ: hoc est in ascensiones rectas & declinationes, eidem anno debitas correctæ.* A Samuele Fostero, olim Astronomiæ Professore in Collegio Greshami, Londini. That is, *A catalogue of the fixed stars which may serve for the year 1671.* In Latin, but with a table of the sun's right ascension for every degree of the ecliptic, at the end in English; being a necessary introduction to the next treatise.

2. *ASTROSCOPIUM, pro facillimâ stellarum dignotione, that is, Astroscopium, an instrument for the ready finding of the stars in the Heavens.* Written by Mr Foster in English, with the Latin prefixed by Dr Twys-

den. At the time the author invented this instrument it was equally curious and useful, being calculated for the service of young Astronomers, with a view to encourage their progress in the science.

3. *De instrumentis Planetariis. Cui usui inserviunt, & quomodo sunt tractanda.* That is, *Of the Planetary instruments; to what end they serve, and how they are to be used.* In two columns, the Latin by Dr Twysden, and the English by Mr Foster.

4. *Eclipsium tam Solarium quam Lunarium observationes.* That is, *Some observations of Eclipses of the Sun and Moon.* In several of these observations our author was assisted by Dr Twysden, who has also added to them his own observations, as to the motion of a comet at Easton in Northamptonshire from December the 14th, 1652. to the 24th of the same month, as also an account of a spot seen in the sun at the same place, July the 2d, 1651.

5. *Ratio facillima computandi altitudinem Solis horarium ad quamlibet latitudinem, struendis Tabulis altitudinem commodissima: quam à D. Fostero olim acceptam, communicavit mihi D. Palmerus, Ectonenfis.* That is, *An easy way to calculate tables of the sun's horarie altitude for any latitude, which being communicated to Dr Twysden, by Mr John Palmer of Ecton, who received it long since from Mr Foster, I thought worthy to be here inserted.* In two columns Latin and English.

6. *Problemata Geometrica varia.* That is, *Geometrical Propositions of divers kinds.* In Latin and English.

7. *De Constructione Canonis Sin. Tang. & Secantium.* That is, *Of the Construction of the Canon of Sines, Tangents, and Secants.* In Latin only.

8. *Quadrantis Horometrici olim editi demonstratio.* That is, *A demonstration of an horometrical Quadrant formerly published,* in Latin only.

9. *Epitome Aristarchi Samii de magnitudine Solis & Lunæ.* That is, *An Epitome of Aristarchus Samius, concerning the magnitude of the Sun and Moon,* in Latin only. This great Philosopher Aristarchus Samius flourished long after Pythagoras, and a little before Archimedes; our author supposes, that he flourished two hundred and eighty years before Christ. He held that which is now stiled the new system, that the earth moved and the sun remained at rest; there is nothing extant of his, except his treatise of the magnitudes and distances of the sun and moon, which, together with the learned commentary of Pappus of Alexandria, was published in Latin by the famous Ferdinand Commandine at Pisa in 1572.

10. *Lemmata Archimedis, apud Græcos & Latinos jam pridem desiderata, e vetusto codice M.S. Arabico; à Johanne Gravio traducta; et nunc primum cum Arabum scholiis publicata. Revisa & pluribus mendis repurgata a Samuele Fostero.* That is, *The Lemma's of Archimedes not extant either in Greek or Latin, translated from an old Arabick manuscript by John Greaves, and now first published with the Scholia of a learned Arabian. Revised, and in many places corrected, by Samuel Foster.* In Latin only.

11. *The Geometrical Square with the use thereof in plain and spherical Trigonometrie, chiefly intended for the more easy finding of the hour and Azimuth.* In English only.

12. *The construction and use of the horizontal planisphere in projective Dialling refractive Dials.* In English only.

To these are added two pieces of Dr Twysden's, one of dialling, and the other of fortification, to which is annexed, an Appendix published by Mr William Leybourne consisting of three pieces, two written by Mr Halton, and the third entituled, *Equations arising from a quantity divided into two unequal parts: and the second book of Euclid's elements demonstrated by species* by John Leeke.

VI. *The Sector altered, and other scales added, with the description and use thereof, invented and written by Mr Samuel Foster, sometime publick Professor of Astronomy in Gresham-College in London, and now published by W. L. London 1661, 1673. 4to.*

This

clining state of health, departed this life in the month of July 1652, in his own apartment at Gresham College, and was buried in the church of St Peter le Poor in Broadstreet (q). There have been two other persons of his name, who have published some mathematical pieces, and therefore it may not be amiss to give some little account of them; indeed all the account we are able to give, is very far from being considerable, but it may nevertheless be of use to prevent mistakes, and to avoid confusion. The first of these was William Foster, who, in his youth, was a disciple of the famous Mr Oughtred's, and afterwards a teacher of the Mathematicks in London (r). He distinguished himself by a book he published; and dedicated to the celebrated Sir Kenelm Digby, of which the reader may find somewhat more in the notes [D]. The other was one Mark Foster,

(q) Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham College, p. 85.

(r) See the note [D].

This was an improvement of Mr Gunter's Sector, and therefore publish'd amongst his works, the fourth edition of which was printed in the former of these two years, and the fifth in the latter. In this last edition, Mr Leybourne corrected some oversights and mistakes which were in the fourth edition from Mr Foster's own manuscript. Besides these printed pieces, there was in the hands of the late William Jones, Esq; a manuscript treatise in folio, composed by Mr Foster with this title,

VII. *The uses of a general Quadrant invented by Mr Samuel Foster, late Professor of Astronomy in Gresham-College.*

We have before mentioned our author's plain and perspicuous manner of treating abstruse subjects, a short instance will best support what we have advanced, and this shall be taken from his description of those planetary instruments he called *Theoricks* (2). His words are these.

'The finding out of the places of the five planets, in respect of Longitude and Latitude, is the thing principally intended in these Theoricks. Now this having been already declared, it shall not be amiss to add somewhat of the principal passions belonging unto them, of which there are these three chief heads.

'First, at sometimes these five planets, in respect of that motion which they make according to the Longitude of the Ecliptic, do appear to go forward, agreeably to the order and succession of the signs, that is, they appear to be direct in motion. Sometimes again they seem to go backward in motion, or to be retrograde, and in their changes from the one of these motions to the other, they must necessarily appear to be standing still or to be stationary.

'Secondly, their places being compared in respect of distance from the sun, or one from the other, the planets may have several aspects; as conjunction, when they are (any two of them) in one place of Longitude; opposition, when they are in opposite Longitude; Trine, when they are  $\frac{1}{3}$  part of a circle, or four signs, distant from each other; Quartile, when they are three signs or a Quadrant of a circle distant; Sextile, when they are  $\frac{1}{6}$  part of a circle or two signs distant. Venus and Mercury cannot make any of these aspects with the Sun. And one of them with the other can make none, but the sextile which often they do.

'Thirdly, their places being compared with the sun's place, they are either under the sun's beames, and are then said to be combustile, or else they rise after the sun rising when the sun is up, and are called oriental; or they set after the sun while the sun is down, and are called occidental; or are opposite to the sun, and are called acronychal. Venus and Mercury can never be acronychal, because they never go far enough from the sun: Venus only forty eight degrees, Mercurius only twenty nine degrees.

'These things will not be well discovered by these Theoricks, it being a difficult business to set the just times of these changes in their courses. If you desire to know in which of these motions any planet is, the best way will be, when you have found their places for any one day, to enquire their Longitudes about five or ten days after in Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, or about two or four days after, for Venus and Mercurius, because the motions of these are much swifter than of the other. And so having found their places of longitude at two several times, you shall perceive what course they hold in respect of progress, regress, or standing still. For it must

'always be noted, that if a planet pass from direct motion to station, then that standing is the first station. But if it pass from retrograde motion, then is the station following to be taken for the second station.'—How modest he was in his opinion of his own abilities, and how sensible that, what he published in this treatise was valuable only to the younger students in Astronomy, we may gather from hence. —The poetical kinds of rising and setting, are called cosmical, acronychal, and heliachal. These and some other passions of the planets, such as are the emersions and occultations are not to be expected from these Theoricks. They are difficult to be found, especially for the planets which are always in motion, not residing any long time in one Longitude and Latitude. Besides the same things have relation to the elevations of the pole above several horizons, which kind of conclusions are not proper for Theoricks, but must be referred to Astrolabes and other Spherical Instruments. The most exact practice this way is to be had in the astronomical tables, and trigonometrical spheric works to be conjoined therewith for such purposes. They therefore that would have more; must there seek help and ways to satisfy themselves. This that is here done may serve for an introduction to more exact workings: at least it may supply the wants of such whose skill and desires reach not so far for whose sakes it was principally intended—and that he was apprised of the superior merit of other Astronomers is plain from hence.—The way that I go is (in general) agreeable to Copernicus his frame of the world, and in particular to that which Kepler useth in his Rudolphin Tables. Only this difference there is: Kepler makes the orbits of the planets to be ellipses, which is the better way; and I here do make them perfect circles, which is the easier way. And tho' it be defective, yet it makes no great difference in these small instruments.

[D] *In the notes.*] The title of the book which he translated and published, runs at large thus.

*The Circles of Proportion and the Horizontal Instrument. The former shewing the manner how to work Proportions both simple and compound, and the ready and easy resolving of Questions, both in Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy, and is newly increased with an additament for navigation. All which rules may also be wrought with the pen by Arithmetic, and the Canon of Triangles. The latter teaching how to work most Questions, which may be performed by the Globe, and to delineate Dials upon any kind of Plain. Hereunto is annexed the excellent use of two Rulers for calculation, invented and written in Latin, by W. C. translated into English, and set out for the publick benefit, by William Foster. Lond. 1633. 4to. The dedication to Sir Kenelm Digby, is dated May 1. 1632. and in it, he writes thus.*

'Being in the time of the long vacation, 1630, in the country of the Reverend, and my most worthy friend and teacher, Mr William Oughtred, to whose instruction I owe, both my initiation and whole progress in these sciences. I, upon occasion of speech, told him of a ruler of Numbers, Sines, and Tangents, which one had bespoken to be made, such as is usually called Mr Gunter's rule, six feet long, to be used with a pair of beam compasses. He answered, that was a poor invention, and the performance very troublesome. But, said he, seeing you are taken with such mechanical ways of instruments, I will shew you what devices I have had by me these many years. And first he brought to me two rulers of that sort to be used, by applying one to the other with

(2) Miscellanies, §.iii. p.18, 24, 27.

(s) Ward's Lives &c.

(t) Archbishop Usher's Letters, p. 437.

(u) English Barometage, Vol. I. p. 214.

(w) As he affirms in his Preface, and in the Work.

Foster, who published a *treatise of Trigonometry* (s), but lived later in point of time than either of the other two. As for our author's eldest brother, Mr Walter Foster (t), who was himself likewise no mean proficient in the Mathematicks, he became Fellow of his College, and Rector of Allerton in Somersetsshire, as the reader will see, with some other circumstances relating to him, at the bottom of the page [E]. Dr John Twysden, above-mentioned, was a Physician, brother to Sir Roger Twysden, Baronet, a very learned man (u), a lover of the Mathematicks, and one who had been an intimate friend, and the companion of his studies, to our author (w), Mr Samuel Foster; and, in the careful publication of his posthumous works, may justly be stiled the executor of his fame.

'out any compasses. And after that, he shewed me those lines cast into a circle or ring, with another moveable circle upon it. I seeing the great expedite of both these ways, but especially of the latter, wherein it far excelleth any other instrument which hath been known, told him I wondered he could so many years conceal such useful inventions, not only from the world, but from myself, to whom in other parts and mysteries of art he had been so liberal. He answered, that the true way of art is not by instruments, but by demonstrations, and that it is a preposterous course of vulgar teachers to begin with instruments, and not with the sciences, and so instead of artists to make their scholars only doers of tricks, and as it were jugglers, to the despite of art, loss of precious time, and betraying of willing and industrious wits upon ignorance and idleness. That the use of instruments is indeed excellent, if a man be an artist, but contemptible being set and opposed to art. And lastly, that he meant to commend to me the skill of instruments, but first he would have me well instructed in the sciences. He also shewed me many notes and rules for the use of those circles, and of his Horizontal instrument which he had projected about thirty years before, the most part written in Latin. All which I obtained of him leave to translate into English, and make publick for the use and benefit of such as were studious and lovers of those excellent sciences. Which thing, while I with mature and diligent care, as my occasions would give me leave, went about to do, another, to whom the author in a long conference discovered his intent, using more haste than good speed, went about to pre-occupate, of which untimely birth and preventing, if not circumventing, forwardness, I say no more, but advise the studious reader only so far to trust as he shall be sure doth agree to truth and art.'

[E] At the bottom of the page.] All the proof we have, that the Reverend Mr Walter Foster, was elder brother to our author Samuel, is, that he took his degrees somewhat earlier, for he was admitted Bachelor of Arts, in 1617, Master in 1621, and Bachelor of Divinity, in 1628, at which time he was Fellow of his College, had an exceeding fair character there, and was well beloved, as fully appears from the following

passage in a letter written by Dr Samuel Ward to the Lord Primate Usher (3).

'As for Dr Walsfall's manuscript of Rathrammus, I know where it is. I think it were not amiss to print both those treatises of Rathram's, with that *De Corpore & Sanguine Domini*, which is already extant. If I do not print them, your Lordship shall have a copy. As for the Latin copy of Ignatius's Epistles in Caius College Library, I was in good hope it had been the same with an old printed translation which I have, but comparing them together, I find them differ much. I acquainted Mr Thomas Whalley, now Dr Whalley, with that you wrote in your letter. He seemed to me not unwilling to undertake, but now in this contagious time he is gone into the country. I spoke also with Mr Foster of Emanuel College, who it seemeth hath taken some pains already in it, but then he was to go into the country. I am informed by some Fellows in that College, that being shortly to depart from the College by his time there allotted, finding in himself some impediment in his utterance, he could wish to be employed by your Lordship in such like business. He is a good scholar, and an honest man. The worst is, the book cannot be lent out of the College. I will see (by God's grace) at the return of our students what can be done, if God send life.' But notwithstanding what is said of the impediment in his speech, he continued his studies in Divinity, entered into Holy Orders, and possessed the living in Somersetsshire, which is mentioned in the text. Dr Twysden in his epistle to the reader, prefixed to Mr Foster's Mathematical Lucubrations, speaks of Mr Walter Foster in the following terms. 'In the last place, says he, let me admonish thee (courteous reader) that I have here obtruded nothing upon thee, which was not first taken out of the author's adversaries written with his own hand, which were communicated to me by that learned Divine Mr Walter Foster, Bachelor in Divinity, skilful also in these studies, to whom of right it belonged, to have raised up this seed to his deceased brother, had not his infirm health and domestick affairs held him in the country a great many miles distant from this place.' E

(3) Archbishop Usher's Letters, p. 437.

FOWLER (EDWARD) Bishop of Gloucester in part of this and the last century, and a most rational and moderate Divine, was born, in the year 1632 (a), at Westerleigh in Gloucestershire, of which place his father William Fowler, was minister. His education in Grammar-learning was at the College-school in Gloucester, under William Russell who had married his sister. In the beginning of the year 1650. he became Clerk of Corpus-Christi-College in Oxford, and on the 14th of December 1653. one of the Chaplains thereof (b). The 23d of the same month, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (c). Afterwards retiring to Cambridge for a time, he took his Master of Arts degree, as a member of Trinity-college in that University; and soon after returning to Oxford, was incorporated in the same degree July 5. 1656 (d). About that time he became Chaplain to Amabella Countess-dowager of Kent [A], who presented him to the Rectory of North-hill in Bedfordshire (\*). Having been educated in the Presbyterian way [B] he scrupled embracing for a while the terms of Conformity, at the Restoration (e); but he conform'd afterwards, and became a great ornament to the Church. His excellent moral

(a) He was in the 32d year of his age at the time of his death in 1714. Epitaph.

(b) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1029.

(c) Ibid. & Fasti, col. 101.

(d) Idem, Fasti, col. 112.

(\*) Wood Ath. as above.

(e) Dr Calamy's Abridgment, Vol. II. p. 302.

[A] Amabella Countess-dowager of Kent.] She was daughter of Sir Antony Ben, Recorder of London, widow of Antony Fane, Esq; third son to Francis, Earl of Westmoreland, and second wife to Henry, Earl of Kent. He died in 1649, but she did not die till Aug. 17. 1698. aged 92 (1). Dr Fowler acknow-

ledges his relation to her, in the dedication to his *Libertas Evangelica*.

[B] Having been educated in the Presbyterian way.] His father was ejected from the Vicarage of Westerleigh, for Non-conformity, in 1662 (2).

(1) The Peerage of England by Ar. Collins, Esq; ed. 1735. Vol. I. p. 234.

(2) Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 1029.

[C] With

moral Writings rendered him so considerable, that Archbishop Sheldon, in order to introduce him into the metropolis of the kingdom, the city of London, collated him, August 25. 1673, to the Rectory of Allhallows-Breadstreet (f). The 29th of February 1675 6, he was install'd into the fourth Prebend in Gloucester-Cathedral (g): And the 31st of March 1681, had institution to the Vicarage of St Giles's Cripplegate, vacant by the death of Dr John Prichett Bishop of Gloucester, who had held it in commendam (h). The 10th of June following he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (i). During the struggle between the Protestant Religion and Popery in this Kingdom, our Author appear'd to great advantage in defence of the former (\*); being one of those illustrious Champions of the Reformation, which were an honour both to the Church and to the Age in which they lived (k). But this rendered him obnoxious, among the rest, to the Court, and its adherents: and, in all probability, caused an ill-natur'd prosecution against him, in 1685, by some of his parishioners; who alledged, That he was guilty of Whiggism; That he admitted to the Communion excommunicated persons before they were absolv'd &c. We are told, this matter was carried so far, that Decemb. 9. after a tryal at Doctors-Commons, our author was suspended, under pretence of his having acted several things contrary to the Canons of the Church, &c. (l). However, this affront did not intimidate or discourage him from performing what he thought his duty. For he was the Second who, in 1688, signed a Resolution, entered into by the principal of the London clergy, Not to read King James the Second's new Declaration for liberty of conscience (m). A person of so much learning and merit as Dr Fowler, was not left neglected or unrewarded at the Revolution. For April 23. 1691, he was nominated Bishop of Gloucester, (upon the deprivation of Dr Robert Frampton for refusing to take the oaths,) confirmed July 2. and consecrated the 5th of the same month (n). In this See he continued, without any translation, till his decease; which happened at Chelsea August 26. 1714. He lies buried in a vault on the north side of Hendon Church-yard in Middlesex; within the Chancel of which Church there is set up a handsome monument for him, with an inscription [C] containing his Character (o). This learned Author hath published, I. 'The Principles and Practices of certain Moderate Divines of the Church of England, abusively called Latitudinarians (greatly misunderstood) truly represented and defended; Wherein (by the way) some Controversies of no mean importance, are succinctly discussed: In a free Discourse between two intimate Friends [D]. II. 'The Design of Christianity; or, a plain Demonstration and Improvement of this Proposition, viz, That the enduing men with inward real Righteousness or true Holiness, was the *Ultimate End* of our Saviour's coming into the world, and is the *Great Intendment* of his blest'd gospel [E]. III. *Libertas Evangelica*: or, a Discourse of Christian Liberty. Being a further pursuance of the argument of *The Design of Christianity* [F].

(f) Newcourt Repertor. Vol. 1. p. 247.

(g) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Gloucester, &c. by Br. Willis, 164; Vol. 1. p. 742.

(h) Newcourt, ubi supra, p. 358.

(i) Wood, Fasti, ubi supra, col. 218.

(\*) See below note [C].

(k) Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Vol. 1. ed. 1724. p. 462.

(l) Wood, ubi supra.

(m) Complete List. of England, Vol. III. ed. 1719. p. 510. note [c].

(n) J. Le Neve's Fasti, edit. 1716. p. 102.

(o) Br. Willis, ubi supra, p. 727.

IV. He

[C] *With an inscription.*] Being as follows. 'To the pious memory of the Right Reverend Edward Fowler, late Lord Bishop of Gloucester; to which station he was advanced by King William, in the year 1691. for his known steadiness to the true interest of the Church of England, and of his country in times of danger. He approved himself worthy of that dignity, by a faithful and diligent discharge of his pastoral office; till disabled by age and bodily infirmities, he rested from his labours in the 82d year of his age, admitted to partake of his reward. He departed this life, Aug. 26. 1714. and was interred in the grave of his first wife, in this Church; leaving behind him, in the excellent treatises published by himself, lasting monuments of learning, judgment, piety, and christian temper of mind. He was twice married, first to Ann, daughter of Arthur Bernardston, of the Inner Temple, Esq; one of the Masters of Chancery; she departed this life, Dec. 19. 1696. He had by her three sons, Nathaniel, Edward, and Richard; and five daughters, Anne, Anne, Susannah, Elizabeth, and Mary; of whom Edward and Richard, Susannah, Elizabeth and Mary, survived him. His second wife, Elizabeth, who likewise survived him, was Elizabeth, widow of the Reverend Dr Ezekiah Burton, and daughter of Ralph Trevor of London, Merchant.'

At the bottom of this Epitaph, it is observed, that Richard, the younger son, 'did by his last will direct his executor, to cause a vault to be made, which for want of room in the Church, was made in the Church-yard, at the west corner of that wall; wherein were removed the Bishop's body, that of his first wife, and those of the said Richard, and his wife and daughter, in 1717 (3).

[D] *The principles and practices of certain moderate Divines, &c.*] The first edition of this book was printed at London, 1670. 8vo. and a second edition

came out in 1671.—Some of the rational principles of those moderate Divines, were as follow. They admitted the use of reason in matters of religion, and preached the reasonableness of the christian precepts; for which they were, in contempt, called the rational preachers (4). They maintained, that moral good and evil are so essentially in their own nature; and not because God commands the one, and forbids the other (5). They so handled the doctrine of imputative righteousness, as to shew the necessity of inherent righteousness, and did not build it upon a strong faith only (6). They asserted, that faith justifieth only as it implyeth obedience (7). And they condemned the barbarous doctrine of unconditional and absolute Predestination (8).

[E] *The design of Christianity, &c.*] This was first printed in 1671. and there was a second edition in 1676. 8vo. The substance of it is summed up in these two propositions, in the contents. 1. That true holiness is the design of Christianity. 2. Upon what accounts the business of making men holy, came to be preferred by our Saviour before any other thing, and to be principally designed by him.—John Bunyan, the Antinomian, having writ against this excellent book, the author vindicated it, in *Dirt wiped off: or, a manifest discovery of the gross ignorance, error, and most unchristian and wicked spirit of one John Bunyan, Lay-preacher in Bedford, which he hath shewed in a vile pamphlet published by him against the design of Christianity, &c.* Lond. 1672. 4to.

[F] *Libertas Evangelica, &c.*] Published at London, 1680. 8vo. The substance of this also, is summed up in these two propositions. 1. 'That the most excellent and most highly to be valued liberty doth consist in an entire compliance with the laws of righteousness and goodness: or in freedom from the dominion of corrupt and sinful affections. 2. That the freedom to holy obedience and true goodness, or

(4) See p. 40. &c. 70, 103.

(5) p. 12.

(6) p. 115. &c.

(7) p. 159.

(8) p. 192. &c.

(3) Br. Willis, ubi supra, p. 727.

‘ IV. He also published some pieces against Popery [G], as I have intimated above: ‘ V. And on the Doctrine of the Trinity [H].’ Likewise several Sermons [I]; and other Tracts [K].

‘ which consisteth in an entire compliance with the ‘ laws of righteousness, is our Christian liberty.’ — The value of these most excellent books hath been little understood, else they would have borne more impressions than they have.

[G] *He also published some pieces against Popery* ] Namely. 1. The Resolution of this case of conscience, whether the Church of England’s symbolizing so far as it doth with the Church of Rome, makes it lawful to hold Communion with the Church of England? Lond. 1683. 4to. 2. A defence of the Resolution, &c. in answer to a book intituled, *A modest Examination of the Resolution, &c.* Lond. 1684. 4to. 3. Examination of Cardinal Bellarmine’s 4th note of the Church, viz. Amplitude, or Multitude and Variety of Believers. 4. The Texts which Papists cite out of the Bible, for the proof of their Doctrine concerning the obscurity of the Holy Scriptures examined. Lond. 1687. 4to (9). Antony Wood ascribes also to him another tract in this controversy: viz. ‘ The Texts ‘ examined which Papists cite out of the Bible, for ‘ the proof of their Doctrine concerning the insufficiency of the Scriptures, and necessity of Tradition.’ But it was written by J. Williams, afterwards Bishop of Chichester (10).

(9) Both these are printed in the *Preservative against Popery*, fol.

(10) See *ibid.*

[H] *And on the Doctrine of the Trinity.*] viz. 1. Certain propositions, by which the Doctrine of the H. Trinity is so explain’d, according to the ancient Fathers, as to speak it not contradictory to natural reason. Together with a defence of them, in answer to the objections of a Socinian writer, in his newly-printed *Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, occasioned by these propositions, among other discourses. In a letter to that author. Lond. 1694. 4to. 2. A second defence of the propositions, by which the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity is so explained, according to the ancient Fathers, as to speak it not contradictory to natural reason. In answer to a Socinian manuscript, in a letter to a friend. Together with a third defence of those propositions, in answer to the newly-published reflexions, contained in a pamphlet, intituled, *A Letter to the Reverend Clergy of both Universities.* Lond. 1695. 4to.

[I] *Likewise several Sermons.*] 1. A Sermon preached before the Judges, in the time of the Assizes, in the Cathedral Church at Gloucester, Aug. 7. 1681. on 1 Tim. i. 19. Lond. 1681. 4to. published to put a stop to false and injurious representations. 2. A Discourse of Offences in two Sermons, Aug. 19. and Sept. 2d 1683. in the Cathedral Church of Gloucester, both

on Matth. xviii. 7. Lond. 1683. 4to. published by reason of the heinous offence that was taken at the former, by some of that city; particularly the Common-Council, who made a wonderful wise order thereupon; which is printed at the end. 3. A Sermon preached at the general meeting of Gloucestershire-men; for the most part inhabitants of the city of London: in the Church of St Mary le Bow, December the 9th 1684. on 1 Pet. ii. 17. Lond. 1685. 4to. 4. The great wickedness and mischievous effects of flandering, preached in the Parish Church of St Giles’s, Nov 15. 1685. on Psalm ci. 5. Lond. 1685. 4to. with a large preface of the author, and conclusion in his own vindication. 5. Sermon before the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen on Wednesday in Easter-week, in the Church of St Andrew in Holbourn, being one of the Anniversary Spital-Sermons on Luke xvi. 9. Lond. 1688. 4to. 6. Sermon before the Lord-Mayor, &c. in the Church of St Mary le Bow, Apr. 16. 1690. being the Fast day, on Hosea xi. 8. Lond. 1690. 8vo. 7. Sermon before the Queen at White-hall, March 22. 1690, on Jam. ii. 10. Lond. 1691. 4to. 8. Sermon before the Lord-Mayor, and the Court of Aldermen, on Easter-Monday 1692, being one of the Anniversary Spital-Sermons. Lond. 1692. 4to. 9. Sermon at the meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, in St Mary Le Bow Church. Dec. 6. 1692. on John xiii. 34. Lond. 1692. 4to.

[K] *And other Tracts.*] viz. 1. An answer to the paper delivered by Mr Ashton at his execution. Lond. 1690. 4to. 2. A discourse of the great disingenuity and unreasonableness of repining at afflicting Providences; and of the influence which they ought to have upon us, on Job ii. 10. published upon occasion of the death of Queen Mary; with a preface containing some observations touching her excellent endowments and exemplary life. Lond. 1695. 8vo (11). — The first of these he begins, with observing, that ‘ the paper which passed under the name of *Mr Ashton’s speech*, seemed to him to be composed with ‘ too much art and care, to be the work of one who ‘ professed, he thought it better to employ his last minutes in devotion — And, as the whole nation was ‘ therein charged with the guilt of *Perjury* and *Rebellion*, therefore, he rather believed it to be drawn ‘ up by some persons of more art and leisure; who ‘ thought it best to convey their own sentiments (as ‘ they called them) under the more popular name of ‘ one who suffered for their cause.’ C

(11) A. Wood, ubi supra; and from the books themselves.

FOX (EDWARD) an eminent Statesman in the XVIth Century, Almoner to Henry VIII. and bishop of Hereford, was born at Dursley in Gloucestershire, and educated at Eton School (a). Thence he was admitted Scholar of King’s College in Cambridge, March 27, 1512, and elected Provost of the same Decemb. 27, 1528 (b), which place he kept to the time of his death (c). He was in his youth a person of great vivacity, but having withal prudence to govern that spirit, it only served to raise him, and render him eminent. His relation to Richard Fox bishop of Winchester made him a Scholar, and his own inclination a politician (d). Being recommended as such to Cardinal Wolfey, he took him into his service; and, if our author is entirely to be credited (e), it was he that put the Cardinal upon aspiring to the Papacy. However, being noted for a man of great sense and address, he was, in the beginning of the year 1528 (f), sent ambassador to Rome, jointly with Stephen Gardiner afterwards bishop of Winchester, in order to obtain new Bulls from Pope Clement VII, for King Henry the Eighth’s divorce from his queen Catharine of Arragon (g). He was then Almoner to that King, and reputed one of the best Divines in England (h). Having soon obtained the desired Commission or Bull from the Pope to the Cardinals Wolfey and Campegio, to try the affair in England; ’tis probable that they return’d from their Embassy, along with Campegio, who came over the October following (i). After that, Mr Fox whose abilities were sufficiently known, had the honour of being employed in Embassies both in France and Germany (k). [A] It

(a) The Worthies of England, &c. by T. Fuller, D.D. in Gloucestershire, p. 355.

(b) Wood, *Athenæ*, edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 655.

(c) Fuller, *ibid.* and Godwin de *Præsulibus*, edit. 1646, 4to. p. 544.

(d) State-Worthies, &c. by D. Lloyd. 1679. p. 87.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 88.

(f) He and Gardiner were dispatched Feb. 10. Burnet’s *Hist.* of the Reformat. 2d. edit. part I. p. 52.

(g) Life and reign of King Henry VIII. by Edward Lord Herbert, in the Complete *Hist.* of Eng. &c. Vol. II. edit. 1706. p. 100.

(h) Burnet, *ibid.*

(i) *Ibid.* p. 54, 55, and Herbert, p. 103.

Gardiner was sent back again to Rome, the beginning of the year following. See Burnet, ubi supra, p. 62, 63.

(k) Wood, ubi supra.

Et J. Balei *Scriptorum Britannia, Centuria Mon.* No. 25. p. 711.

was

[A] *Had the honour of being employed in embassies both in France and Germany.*] During which, as he was discoursing one day of terms of peace, he said,

‘ Honourable ones last long, but the dishonourable no longer than till kings have power to break them: ‘ the surest way therefore, said he, to Peace, is a ‘ constant

was in conversation with him, in 1529, that Thomas Cranmer afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury discover'd a plainer and shorter way for the King's divorce, than a tedious application to Rome; namely, by taking the Opinions of the most learned persons and Universities of Christendom: and it was He that made it known to the King as Cranmer's advice, when Stephen Gardiner, who was present at that conversation, would have put it off as his own. To him therefore Cranmer owed his introduction to Court, and by natural consequence his advancement to the See of Canterbury (l). In 1530, he was employed with Stephen Gardiner at Cambridge, to obtain that University's determination about the King's marriage and divorce above mention'd (m) [B]. On the 27th of September 1531, he was install'd Archdeacon of Leicester, upon the resignation of Dr Stephen Gardiner (n); and in November 1533, was made Archdeacon of Dorset (o). It was he that appriz'd the Clergy of their being fallen into a Præmunire, and advis'd them to make their Submission to the King (p); which they did, by acknowledging him Supreme Head of the Church of England, and making him a present of a hundred thousand pounds (q). In the year 1535, he was promoted to the Bishopric of Hereford, having obtain'd the Royal assent to his election, September 2. and receiving consecration Septemb. 25, and the Temporalities Octob. 4 following (r). He was the principal pillar of the Reformation, as to the management of the politick and prudential part of it; being of more activity, and no less ability than Cranmer himself (s). But he took care not to bring himself in danger of suffering persecution on that account (t) [C]. A few months after his consecration, namely on the 6th of December 1535, he was sent Embassador to the Protestant Princes in Germany, then assembled at Smalcald; whom he exhorted to unite, in point of Doctrine, with the Church of England (u) [D]. He spent the winter at Wirtemberg, and held several Conferences with some of the German Divines, endeavouring to conclude a Treaty with them upon many articles of Religion, but nothing was effected (w) [E]. He return'd to England in the year 1536; and, after having enjoy'd his Episcopal dignity but two years and seven months, dy'd at London May 8. 1538 (x). According to his desire,

' constant preparedness for war. Two things he would say, must support a Government; Gold and Iron: Gold, to reward its friends; and Iron, to keep under its enemies.' The Emperor offering him once a sum of money, he did not accept of it: And, as his attendants scrupled to take what he had refused, ' Take it, says he to them, for you are not all the King of England's ambassadors.' This saying was frequently in his mouth, ' Time and I will challenge any two in the world (1).'

[B] In 1530 he was employed with Stephen Gardiner at Cambridge, to obtain that University's determination about the King's marriage and divorce.] When they came to Cambridge, they spake to Dr William Buckmaster the Vice-chancellor, whom they found very ready to serve the King; as was also Bonner, and several others, but there was a contrary party that met together and resolv'd to oppose them. So that, at length, it was (not without a considerable opposition,) determined, ' That the King's Marriage was against the Law of God.' And ' it is thought strange, as Bishop Burnet observes, that the King who was otherwise so absolute in England, should meet with more difficulty in this matter at home, than he did abroad.' This the Bishop resolves, into the University's aversion in general to Luther's Doctrine, which was professed by the chief promoters of the Divorce (2).

[C] But he took care not to bring himself in danger of suffering persecution on that account.] This Bishop Godwin hints at, when he says, that he was *Reformationis Ecclesiasticæ illius tempore coeptæ, clandestinæ fautor*: a secret Favourer of the Reformation. That is, to the length of the establishment, in the reign of King Henry VIII, as Mr Collier expresses it (3).

[D] Whom he exhorted to unite, in point of Doctrine, with the Church of England.] After having observed, how nearly related the Kings of England and the Electors of Saxony were; he assures them of the King's great favour and affection to them, on account of their endeavours to propagate the true knowledge of God. And though they had been much reviled for casting off the Pope, yet King Henry retain'd a very good opinion of them, and look'd upon them as honest persons, who would not do any thing unseemly, nor without sufficient reason, and whose only aim was to promote the glory of God by the true preaching of the Gospel. That the King his master's design was the same, as was manifest by the alterations he had made in England, having abolished many errors, and renounced, with his

Parliament's consent, the Pope and all his impostures. And since they concurred in the same laudable work, the King had conceived a singular regard for them, and desired them to go on so, that they might all profess the same doctrine, this being the most solid ground for a perpetual and lasting peace. That the King knew by experience, what confusions arose from diversity of opinions; and instanced in the Anabaptists amongst them. That the Pope pretended now to call a Council; but unless there was a perfect agreement between the King his master and them, they would find themselves under a great inconvenience, when they should repair to that Council. They ought therefore to think of such a peace, as should be grounded on the sure foundation of Scripture. The Pope would endeavour to the utmost to obstruct such an union, and therefore it could not be accomplished so long as his tyranny lasted. That the casting off his usurped authority in England, and restoring that kingdom to its original liberty, had put that idol and antichrist in such a rage; that what he could not do by force, (i. e. to reduce it again to slavery) he endeavoured to do, by stirring up underhand all the Princes in Europe against the King. But he was so well prepared, that he despised all his attempts: and he had informed them of it, not that he was afraid of the Pope, but that they might see, notwithstanding his pretended peaceable disposition in calling a Council, that he was far from thinking of peace. That a fair debate of the controverted points of religion, the King was sensible, would be very serviceable to the Church. But no Council ought to be suffered, which would only tend to establish the papal tyranny. Therefore he exhorted them not to approve of such a Council, till peace was restored to the Christian World. In conclusion, he desired a private conference upon those points with some persons appointed by them (4).

[E] Endeavouring to conclude a Treaty with them, &c.] The reader may see a particular account of this negotiation, in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation (5); by which it appears, that the Elector of Saxony thought King Henry had only a political design in all this negotiation; intending to bring the German Protestant Princes into a dependance on himself, without any sincere intentions with regard to religion. Bishop Fox pressed them also to approve of all that the King had done in the matter of his divorce, and of his second marriage; but they could never be prevailed upon (6).

[F] He

(l) Burnet, as above, p. 79, 80.

(m) Ibid. p. 55. and Herbert, ubi supra, p. 153.

(n) Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. II. p. 114. Wood, ubi supra.

(o) Wood, ibid.

(p) D. Lloyd, ubi supra, p. 89.

(q) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 112, 113.

(r) Br. Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 520.

(s) Fuller's Worthies, ubi supra.

(t) See Godwin, ubi supra.

(u) J. Sleidani Comment. de Statu Religionis, &c. lib. 9.

(v) Ibid. lib. 10. See Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. III. p. 111. &c.

(w) Godwin, ubi supra.

(1) D. Lloyd, ubi supra, p. 88, 89.

(2) See his Hist. of the Reformat. Part I p. 86, 87. And Collection of Records, Book II. No. 52. p. 37. And Part III. Collect. of Records, No. 16. p. 20.

(3) Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 153.

(4) Sleidan, ubi supra.

(5) Part of Vol. III. p. 111. &c.

(6) Ibid. And Sleidan, ubi supra, L. 10.

(y) Wood, ubi supra.

(z) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's additions, Vol. I. book 3. p. 211. 212.

desire, expressed in his will, he was buried in the Church of St Mary Monthaw in 'Thames-street' (y); in which parish the Bishops of Hereford had then a House, now divided into Tenements (z). But there was no monument erected to his memory (a). He was a very learned man [F], and author of some pieces, whereof we shall give an account in the Note [G].

(a) Br. Willis, ubi supra, Vol. I. p. 520.

(7) Ubi supra.

(8) Ubi supra.

[F] *He was a very learned man.* So we are assured by Bishop Godwin, who calls him, *Vir egregie doctus*, a man excellently learned (7). Wood also styles him 'an eminent scholar of his time (8).' And D. Lloyd represents him as a fine preacher; but adds, that 'his inclination to politics, brake through all 'the ignoble restraints of pedantique studies to an 'eminency (more by observation and travel, than by 'reading and study) that made him the wonder of 'the University, and the darling of the Court. When 'he was called to the pulpit or chair, he came off 'not ill, so prudential were his parts in Divinity; 'when advanced to any office of trust in the Univer- 'sity, he came off very well, so incomparable were 'his parts for government (9).'

(9) D. Lloyd, as above.

[G] *And author of some pieces.* He published a book, *De vera differentia Regiæ Potestatis & Ecclesiasticæ, & quæ sit ipsa veritas & virtus utriusque.* Lond. 1534, & 1538. i. e. Of the true difference between the Royal and Ecclesiastical Power, &c. Translated into English by Henry Lord Stafford (10).— He also wrote *Annotations upon Mantuan, the Poet.* There is likewise an *Oration* of his, extant in the story of the Lord Tho. Cromwell, in J. Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. II. And a letter from him and Gardiner, about their proceedings at Cambridge; in the collection of records, at the end of the 1st part of Bishop Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation* (11.)

(10) Bale, ubi supra. And Wood, Vol. I. col. 108, 655. Athenæ.

(11) Book II. No. 32. p. 85.

C

FOX E, or FOX, (RICHARD) a famous statesman and bishop in part of the XVth and XVIth centuries, and Founder of Corpus-Christi-College in Oxford, was born at Ropesley near Grantham in Lincolnshire [A] about the latter end of the reign of King Henry VI; being the Son of Thomas Fox and Helene his wife, persons in mean circumstances (a). His education in Grammar-learning was at Boston, or according to some at Winchester. When fit for the University, he was sent to Magdalen-college in Oxford, where he soon surpassed all his equals in knowledge and reputation. But the plague obliged him to retire from thence, and to go and finish his studies at Penbroke-hall in Cambridge (b). He is said to have taken the Degree of Doctor in law at Oxford (c); but it could not be till some years after. When he had stayed a competent time at Cambridge, he went, for his farther improvement, to Paris, where he studied Divinity and the Canon-law. In this place, he became acquainted with Dr John Morton Bishop of Ely, whom the cruelty of that wicked usurper Richard III. had forced to quit his native country, and to fly thither (d). By him probably, who knew his great learning and abilities, he was introduced to Henry Earl of Richmond; that was then meditating a descent upon England, in order to dethrone the usurper: and, with the rest of the Englishmen residing at Paris, He vowed and sware to take his part (e). The Earl immediately received Dr Fox into secret familiarity (f): And having applied to Charles VIII king of France for assistance in his designed expedition, but being called away by multiplicity of business before he could obtain his desire, he left the further prosecution of this matter to the Doctor, whom he thought the fittest man to manage so important an affair. Nor was he deceived in him; for he acted with that industry and prudence, that he soon procured men and money from the Court of France (g). Henry having gained the Crown of England, by his glorious victory at Bosworth on the 22d of August 1485, took care to reward those who had faithfully serv'd him. Among the rest, he made his trusty friend Dr Fox one of his Privy-counsellors, that he might continue to have the benefit of his good counsel and advice [B]. About the same time, the Doctor was collated to the Prebend of Bishopston in the Church of Sarum; and, in February 1485-6, to the Prebend of South-Grantham in the same Church (b). The February following he was nominated Bishop of Exeter (i), and had restitution of the Temporalities April 2. 1487 (k). On the 24th of February 1486-7, he was appointed Keeper of the Privy-seal; for the better discharge of which office his Majesty granted him, the 5th of July following, a pension of twenty shillings a day (l). He was also made Principal Secretary of State, and Master of St Crosse near Winchester (m). And the King employed him continually either in matters of counsel at home, or in Embassies of great importance abroad (n). In September 1487, he was sent Ambassador, with Sir Richard Edgecombe Comptroller of the Household, to James III. king of Scotland [C], and concluded

(a) A. Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* L. II. p. 227. And Mr Fulman's MSS. Collections.

(b) Wood, *ibid.* And Bishop Godwin's *Catal. of the Bishops of Eng.* edit. 1615. p. 246.

(c) Fulman's Collection.

(d) Wood, ubi supra, p. 228. M. Parker, *Antiq. Britan.* edit. Hanov. 1605. p. 300.

(e) Edw. Hall's *Chronicle*, in *Rich. III.* fol. 47. b.

(f) *Ibid.*

(g) Godwin's *Catal. of the Bishop*, edit. 1615. p. 245.

(h) Wood, *Athenæ*, Vol. I. edit. 1721. col. 665.

(i) *Ibid.*

(k) Rymer. *Fœd. &c.* Vol. XII. p. 322.

(l) Pat. 2 Hen. VII. p. 2. m. 5.

(m) Godwin, ubi supra. And Fulman's MSS.

(n) Godwin, *ibid.*

[A] *Was born at Ropesley near Grantham in Lincolnshire.* Mr William Fulman (who had made collections for writing the life of Bishop Fox (1), an extract of which has been communicated to me,) says, 'that the old house in which he was born is yet standing.' And Mr Wood adds, that the Fellows of Corpus-Christi College used to visit it, in their yearly audits (2).

(1) They are in Corpus-Christi-College Library.

(2) *Hist. & Antiq.* ubi supra.

[B] *Among the rest, he made his trusty friend Dr Fox one of his Privy-Counsellors, &c.* He was the person in whom his Majesty placed the most confidence, next to Dr John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury. They were both vigilant and secret, and such as kept watch with the King almost upon all men else. They

had been both versed in his affairs before he came to the Crown, and partakers of his adverse fortune; therefore he was resolved to promote them in the Church as much as he could (3).

[C] *In September 1487, he was sent Ambassador, with Sir Richard Edgecombe, to James III. King of Scotland, &c.* Bishop Godwin (4), and after him Antony Wood (5), are mistaken, when they affirm, that it was after his return from this embassy that Dr Fox was made Bishop of Exeter: for he was so before.—And Edward Hall (6), as well as most of our Historians, are not accurate in saying, that in this embassy a seven years truce was concluded between England and Scotland; for, it was only a prolongation of the

(3) Lord Verulam's *Life of Henry VII.* under the year 1485.

(4) Catalogue, ubi supra.

(5) *Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* L. II. p. 228.

(6) In *Henry VII.* fol. 11.

concluded a Treaty with him, on the 28th of November; wherein the Truce between England and Scotland was prolonged to the 1st of September 1489 (o). He also was employed in an embassy to the King of France, about the beginning of the year 1491, with Thomas Earl of Ormond, and the Prior of Christ's-Church in Canterbury; and returned to England in November following (p). February 8. 1491-2, he was translated from Exeter to the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells, vacant by the death of Robert Stillington, and had restitution of the Temporalities May 4. 1492 (q). From this See he was removed to that of Durham, of which the Temporalities were restored to him Dec. 8. 1494 (r). He made great improvements at his palace in this city; walled round his park near the same; and repaired Hertlepole-castle (s). In the year 1494, he was at the head of an embassy to James IV. King of Scotland; but could not, with all his address, end some differences subsisting between the two nations about the fishery of the river Esk (t). In 1497, the castle of Norham belonging to his See, being besieged by the king of Scotland [D], was relieved by the English under the command of Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey (u). And the Bishop being shortly after sent Ambassador to Scotland, signed a seven years truce between that kingdom and England on the 30th of Sept. 1497 (w): About which time, overtures were made for a marriage between James IV. king of Scotland, and Margaret King Henry's eldest daughter; which the latter had designed ever since the year 1495 (x). The proposal being well received, Bishop Fox was sent into Scotland to negotiate that affair, but it was not fully concluded till January 24. 1501-2 (y). In the mean time, the University of Cambridge, out of a due sense of the Bishop's great authority and interest, chose him their Chancellor in 1500, which honourable office he bore till 1502 (z). Upon the death of Dr Thomas Langton Bishop of Winchester, he was removed to that See, whereof the Temporalities were restored to him October 17. 1500 (a). Here he spent the rest of his life in great affluence and prosperity. For such was his favour with the King, that no one could ever do so much with him; and no man there was upon whose counsel he so much relied (b) [E]. Being not only a grave counsellor for war and peace, but also a good surveyor of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and any thing that was fit for the active part belonging to the service of the Court or State of a great King; he had, upon that account, the ordering of the nuptial-ceremony of Prince Arthur with the Lady Catherine, which was performed on the 14th of November 1501, with great and true magnificence (c). One of our Bishop's Chaplains, was the famous Thomas Wolfey, whom he afterwards introduced to Court; that he might be a check to the overgrown interest of the Earl of Surrey (d). About the beginning of August 1507, the Bishop was chosen Master of Penbroke-hall in Cambridge, which place he kept till May 1519 (e). In 1507, and part of 1508, he was employed at Calais, with other Commissioners, to negotiate a treaty of marriage between Mary the King's third daughter and Charles Archduke of Austria, afterwards the most renowned Emperor Charles V (f). Thus was Bishop Fox generally employed in matters of the greatest importance; and thus did he continue to the last in the highest degree of favour with King Henry VII, who appointed him in his Will one of his Executors, and particularly recommended him to his Son and successor King Henry VIII (g). But the Bishop's Credit greatly declined at Court, and his excellent abilities and talent for business were slighted by the young luxurious Prince, (who minded nothing but pleasures and diversions,) chiefly through the artifices of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and Lord Treasurer. This nobleman having been the Bishop's rival in the late King's favour, continued to be so still in his son's, endeavouring to win the affection of his new master by a blind compliance to his will. In order therefore to undermine and supplant so dangerous an adversary, the Bishop introduced Thomas Wolfey to Court, as hath been already observed, who soon engrossed the King's favour (h). When the affair of King Henry's marriage with the Princess Katherine, widow of his brother Prince Arthur, was debated in council, Bishop Fox advised the consummation of that marriage, contrary to the opinion of Archbishop Warham (i).  
Being

the truce, which was to expire July 3. 1488, till Sept. 1. 1489, as appears from Rymer's Fœdera.— Mr Rapin observes (7), after my Lord Verulam (8), that 'Henry loved to employ Ecclesiastics, because he had always Church-preferments ready for their reward. But he took care to promote them by degrees from smaller to more considerable Sees. Therein he found his own profit; for by translating Bishops from one See to another, he made the more vacancies, and consequently the first-fruits which accrued to the King, were greatly multiplied.'  
[D] In 1497, the castle of Norham belonging to his See, being besieged by the King of Scotland.] The Bishop, aware of this Scottish invasion, had caused that castle to be strongly fortified, and furnished with all kind of munition: and had mann'd it, likewise, with a very great number of tall soldiers, more than for the proportion of the castle; reckoning rather upon a sharp assault, than a long siege. And for the country likewise, he had caused the people to withdraw their cattle and goods into fast places, that were not of easy

approach; and sent post to the Earl of Surrey (who was not far off in Yorkshire) to come in diligence to his succour. Whereupon King James retired into Scotland; and the Earl pursuing him, took the castle of Aton, then reckoned one of the strongest places between Berwick and Edinburgh (9).  
[E] And no man there was upon whose counsel he so much relied.] But, what Bishop Godwin adds in the same place, seems to be a mistake. His words are these. 'Amongst other honors done unto him, it was not the least, that he [King Henry VII.] made him Godfather unto his second sonne, that was afterward King Henry the VIII (10).' For Fr. Sandford, Esq; (whose authority is the best upon this point, seeing he had his information from the College of Herald,.) relates (11), that the Prince's two godfathers, were John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Peter Courtney, Bishop of Winchester: but indeed he was baptized by Dr Richard Fox, then Bishop of Exeter, which might occasion the mistake.

(f) Lord Verulam, under the years 1507 and 1508. See Rymer's Fœd, Vol. XIII.

(g) Fulman's MISS.

(h) Rapin's Hist. Vol. 1. fol. p. 7c4.

(i) M. Parker, ubi supra, p. 307. And Lord Herbert in the reign of K. Hen. VIII. near the beginning.

(9) Lord Verulam, under the year 1497.

(10) Cotai. p. 246.

(11) General. II. of the Kings of Eng. ed. 1707. p. 479.

(a) Rymer, as above, Vol. XII. p. 319. Ed. Hall, in Hen. VII. fol. xi. 2.

(p) Rymer, Vol. XII. p. 435.

(q) Rymer, ibid. p. 476. And J. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 33.

(r) Rymer, ibid. p. 460. And J. Le Neve, p. 347.

(s) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. p. 228.

(t) Rymer, ubi supra, p. 551, 554.

(u) Lord Verulam, under the year 1497.

(w) Rymer, Vol. XII. p. 673.

(x) Ibid. p. 721.

(y) Ibid. p. 722, 765, 787. Wood, Hist. & Antiq. p. 228. And Rapin, ubi supra, p. 677, 585.

(z) J. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 390.

(a) Rymer, ubi supra, p. 767.

(b) Godwin, ubi supra, p. 245.

(c) Lord Verulam, under the year 1501. Or in Complete Hist. of Eng. edit. 1706. Vol. 1. p. 628.

(d) M. Parker, ubi supra, p. 309, 313.

(e) Godwin de Praesulibus, ex edit. clar. Gul. Richardson, fol. Cant. 1743. p. 35. Note (r).

Being appointed by Margaret Countess of Richmond one of the Executors of her Will, and also one of the Supervisors of the same [F], he fully perform'd his part, in founding and compleating the settlement of St John's-college in Cambridge (k). In March 1509-10, he was sent embassador to France, jointly with the Earl of Surrey, and the Bishop of Durham, and on the 23d of the same month concluded a new Treaty of alliance with King Lewis XII (l). About the same time, a sharp dispute arose between him and William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the extent of the jurisdiction of the Prerogative Court, and its claiming the probate of Wills when the Testators had *bona notabilia* in divers Dioces. The dispute at length grew so high, that an Appeal was made to the Pope. But it being referred back to the King, he determined it amicably in 1513 (m) [G]. This summer, he attended the King in his Expedition into France, with a large retinue, and was at the taking of Terouenne (n). Also the 15th of October following, jointly with Thomas Grey Marquis of Dorset, he concluded a new Treaty with the Emperor Maximilian against France (o). In 1515, being no longer able to bear the repeated mortifications he received from Cardinal Wolfey, a creature of his own making, he withdrew in discontent to his own Diocese (p) [H]: But it is not known when he resigned the Privy-seal. The rest of his days he spent wholly in works of Charity and Munificence. Particularly, about this time, he was employed in the noble and generous Foundation of Corpus-Christi-College in Oxford [I]. which hath produced several learned and eminent men in every profession. In 1522 he founded a free school at Taunton in Somersetshire, where he had a fine manor as Bishop of Winchester, and built a convenient house for the master. The like he also did at Grantham near his native place [K]. At Winchester, he covered the Choir of the Cathedral, the presbytery and isles adjoining, with a good vault; and new glazed all the windows of that part of the Church. He likewise built a handsome wall round the presbytery, on the top of which he placed, in leaden coffins, the bones of such Princes and Prelates, as had been buried in divers parts of the Church (q): but they were mostly destroyed during our unhappy civil wars. He had the misfortune of being blind for about ten years before his decease: However he attended the Parliament in 1523 (r). Cardinal Wolfey meanly taking advantage of his infirmities, would fain have persuaded him to resign his Bishoprick to him, and to be content with a pension; but the

(k) Fulman's MSS.

(l) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIII. p. 270, &c.

(m) M. Parker, ut supra, p. 307, 308, 309.

(n) Hall's Chr. in Hen. VIII. fol. 26. And Fulman's MSS.

(o) Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIII. p. 379. See Rapin's Hist. Vol. I. p. 723.

(p) Lord Herbert, in Complete Hist. of Eng. edit. 1706. Vol. II. p. 24.

(q) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. ubi supra. Godwin's Cat. p. 246.

(r) Godwin, *ibid.* And Fulman's MSS.

[F] Being appointed by Margaret Countess of Richmond one of the executors of her will, and also one of the supervisors of the same.] This lady made her will June 6. 1508 (12), and died June 29. 1509. The executors of her will, were, Richard [Fox] Bishop of Winchester, John [Fisher] Bishop of Rochester, Charles Somerset Lord Herbert, Thomas Lovel, Henry Marney, John St John, Knights; and Henry Hornby, and Hugh Ashton, clerks. And Bishop Fox, and Dr Hornby, were also supervisors of the same, with liberty to alter, add, and diminish such articles, 'as in their 'sadness and good discretions they thought most convenient and according to her will.' The Charter of this noble foundation was given April 9. 1511 (13).

[G] But it being referred back to the King, he determined it amicably in 1513.] Bishop Fox was seconded in this dispute by the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Exeter. And what they insisted upon, was, that no sum under ten pounds should be accounted *bona notabilia*: that desperate debts should not be taken in, to make up that sum: and, that the oaths of executors and administrators should be sufficient, without the Archbishop's appointing other persons to value the goods of the deceased. All which the King determined against the Archbishop, in favour of the appellant Bishops: tho' Warham pretended, that *bona notabilia* to the amount of forty shillings were sufficient to found his prerogative. The King also decreed against him, that none but chattels or moveables were within his jurisdiction; and that he had no authority to intermeddle with real estates (14).

[H] He withdrew in discontent to his own Diocese.] As did also Archbishop Warham to his, about the same time. Before their departure, they besought the King, that he would not suffer any servant to be greater than his master; alluding to John xiii. 16. Henry knowing that they meant this of the Cardinal, made answer, that he would diligently see, that every servant should obey, and not command (15).

[I] Particularly about this time, he was employed in the noble and generous Foundation of Corpus Christi-College in Oxford.] His design at first, was, to erect in Oxford a College or Seminary for eight Monks, members of St Swithin's Priory in Winchester, and professed of the same, with a few secular scholars: for which he obtained a licence in Mortmain, dated March

12. 1512-13. But he altered his design, chiefly, as 'tis said, through the persuasions of Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter; who thus represented to him, 'What, my Lord, shall we build houses, and provide 'livelihoods for a company of bustling Monks, whose 'end and fall we ourselves may live to see? No, no, 'it is more meet a great deal, that we should have 'care to provide for the increase of learning, and for 'such as by their learning shall do good in the Church 'and Commonwealth.' To this Bishop Fox readily yielded, accepting of Bishop Oldham's kind assistance, who contributed no less than 6000 marks towards the building of this college (16). Having therefore purchased three tenements, called Corner-hall, Nevills-inne, and Nunhall, with some parcels of land adjoining; and having obtained a new licence in Mortmain, dated November 26. 1516; he went on with his new foundation, the charter of which bore date the first of March following. He dedicated it to the honour of God Almighty, of the most sacred Body of Christ, [Corporis Christi] of the blessed Virgin Mary, of St Peter, and St Paul; and of St Andrew, St Birinus, St Cuthbert, and St Swithin, the tutelar patrons of the Cathedral Churches of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester: directing, that it should be named Corpus-Christi-College. In the Statutes, dated 1517, he ordained, that it should consist of a President, twenty Fellows, twenty Scholars, two Chaplains, two Clerks, and two Choristers. And he endowed it with possessions, lands, &c. to the yearly value of 401 l. 8 s. 11 d. Bishop Hugh Oldham above-mentioned enlarged its revenues, besides what he contributed towards the building. And its most considerable benefactors since have been, William Fross of Yavington in Hampshire, who gave the manor of Maplederwell; John Claymond, and Robert Morwent, the two first Presidents; Richard Pate, Esq; Sir George, St Paul, Bart. Dr Reynolds, Dr Thomas Turner, &c (17).

[K] The like he also did at Grantham near his native place.] He designed at first to have built this in a little grove, at Ropefley, near the house wherein he was born: but considering, that it would be much more useful in a town than in so obscure a village, he built it for that reason at Grantham (18).

(16) J. Hooker, alias Vowell, in Holinshed's Chr. edit. 1587. p. 839, 840. Wood, Hist. & Antiq. L. II. p. 231.

(17) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. ubi supra, &c. p. 229, 230.

(18) Wood, *ibid.* p. 229.

[L] But

(12) MS. note of the late Mr Strype.

(13) T. Baker's Preface to Bishop Fisher's funeral Sermon of the Lady Margaret, &c. Lond. 1708. p. 31, 32, 50.

(14) M. Parker, ubi supra, p. 307, 308.

(15) Holinshed's Chron. ed. 1587. p. 839.

(d) M. Parker, ubi supra, p. 313.

(e) Obitu. Cant.

(g) Will. de Chambré, in Anglia Sacra, Vol. 1. p. 779.

(w) M. Parker, ut supra, p. 314.

(x) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. p. 229.

the good old Bishop stoutly rejected his insinuations (s) [L]. He died Septemb. 14. 1528 (t), in a very advanced age; and was buried on the South side of the high Altar in Winchester-cathedral, in a Chapel of his own building (u). In his will he left several legacies to the Church and See of Winchester, and many others; which Wolsey, who seized upon his effects by his Legatine authority, refused to pay (w). Bishop Fox appears by his picture [M] to have been a man of a strong and robust constitution. His great wisdom and abilities were approved and esteemed by one of the wisest Princes of his age. And of his Charity he hath left lasting monuments. Besides which, he maintained several poor scholars at the University, before he founded his College; and is said to have been a generous Patron of learned men (x). Yet I do not find that he ever published any thing: But a letter of his is printed in Mr Strype's Memorials (y), and in the Collections, at the end of Dr Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolsey (z) [N].

(y) Vol. 1. p. 40, &c. And Appendix, No. N.

(z) P. 105, 106. from the Cotton Libr. Faustina, C. 7.

[L] *But the good old Bishop stoutly rejected his insinuations.*] He bid the messenger, that came from Wolsey with this proposal, tell his matter; 'That tho', by reason of his blindness, he was not able to distinguish white from black, yet he could discern between true and false, right and wrong: and plainly enough saw, without eyes, the malice of that ungrateful man, which he did not see before. That it behoved the Cardinal to take care, not to be so blinded with ambition, as not to foresee his own end. He needed not trouble himself with the Bishoprick of Winchester, but rather should mind the King's affairs (19).'

(19) M. Parker, ut supra, p. 315.

[M] *Bishop Fox appears by his picture, &c.*] Which is set up in the hall of Corpus-Christi-College, being painted on board. There is a very fine print, taken from it, in Dr Fiddes's life of Cardinal Wolsey.

[N] *A letter of his is printed in Mr Strype's Memorials, and in the Collections at the end of Dr Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolsey.*] The subject of that letter, is the Cardinal's intended general visitation and reformation of the English Clergy. Our author expresses great joy at it; and says, he wished as ardently to see

that day, as Symeon did the sight of the Messiah: that, for three years past, all his studies, labours, thoughts, and cares, had been almost bent that way within his own particular jurisdiction, &c. *Ingentem atque mirificam, Pater amplissime, ex proximis vestris ad me literis cepi consolationem atque voluptatem, quod ex eis intellexi D. V. R. universi cleri reformationem secum instituisse, & ad eam inchoandam atque aggrediendam, diem brevi futuram præsumisse & præscripsisse; eum namque profecto diem jam diu, non minus quam Symeon ille Evangelicus expectatum Messiam, vobis omnibus videre expetivi. Et ex quo illas D. V. R. literas legi, reformationem amplioem & multo exactiorem universæ Anglorum Ecclesiasticæ Hierarchiæ mihi videor tantum non sentire & palpere, quam ego hac boninum ætate vel faciendam vel inchoandam divinare potui, nedum sperare. Conatus sum enim facere, quod mearum erat partium, in ditione hac mea peculiari & exigua, quod V. Præst. Dominatio instituit in utraque hujus regni Provincia, & hæc fere perpetuum triennium illi uni negotio diligenter incubui; omniaque mea studia, labores, vigilias, sudores in ea fere una collocavi, &c.* C

FOX (JOHN), the famous Martyrologist, was born at Boston in the county of Lincoln, in the year 1517 (a). His father dying when he was very young, and his mother marrying again, he came under the tutelage of a father-in-law, with whom he dwelt till the age of sixteen, when he went to the University of Oxford, where he was entered of Brasen-Nose College, under the care of Mr John Hawarden, Fellow of that College, and was Chamber-fellow with the famous Dr Nowell, afterwards Dean of St Paul's. May the seventeenth 1538, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (b). His great parts and learning soon distinguished him, insomuch that he was chosen Fellow of Magdalen College, and proceeded Master of Arts in 1543, which was the highest degree he attained in the University (d). He discovered, in his younger years, a genius for poetry, and wrote several Latin comedies [A], but the subjects were chosen from the Scriptures; and in these, his first essays, he gave an earnest of his strong and natural bent to the study of Divinity, to which he soon betook himself with rather more fervency than circumspection, discovering himself in favour of the Reformation then in hand, before he was known to those who maintained and supported the cause, or had power to protect the maintainers of it; and hence began his troubles. In order to make himself a sufficient judge of the controversies which then divided the Church, his first care was to search diligently into the antient and modern history of the Church; to learn it's beginning, by what arts it flourished, and by what errors it began to decline; to consider the causes of those controversies and dissensions which had arisen in the Church, and to weigh attentively of what moment and consequence they were to Religion. To this end he applied himself with such zeal and industry, that before he attained to thirty years of age, he had read over all that either the Greek or Latin Fathers had left in their writings, the Schoolmen in their disputations, the Councils in their acts, or the Consistories in their decrees; and also acquir'd a competent skill in the Hebrew language (e). But from this strict and severe application, by night as well as by day, from

(a) Life of J. Fox, written by his son, and prefixed to the *Acts and Monuments*, edit. 1641. BALEUS. Script. illust. Cent. 9. cap. 92. p. 763. edit. Basil. 1557.

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. p. 230. edit. 1721.

(d) Wood, ubi supra.

(e) Vita J. Foxii, ut supra.

[A] *Wrote several Latin comedies*] Our author's son tells us, that these comedies, which were taken from subjects in sacred history, were then extant, and written in an elegant style. We have a comedy of his, intitled, *de Christo Triumpante*, printed at London 1551; and at Basil in 1556, in 8vo. Mr Wood asserts (1), that it was written at Basil in the house of Operinus the Printer, but this must be a mistake, because Mr Fox did not go to Basil till the reign of Queen Mary, who did not come to the Crown till 1553. This play was translated into English by Richard

(1) Athn. Ox. ut supra.

Day, son of John Day the famous Printer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and published with this title, *Christi Jesus triumphans, ubi describitur gloriose triumphus et conquestus Christi over sin, death, and the law, &c.* London. 1579; and in 1607, in 8vo. It was again published in 1672, at London in 8vo. and dedicated to all schoolmasters, in order that it might be admitted into their respective schools, for the peculiar elegance of its style, by T. C. M. A. of Sidney-College in Cambridge.

[E] Cor.

his forsaking his friends, for the most solitary retirement; the great and visible distractions of his mind; and, above all, his absenting himself from the public worship of the Church, of which before he had been a most constant frequenter, arose the first suspicions of his alienated affections from the Church, and in which his enemies were soon confirmed, upon a more narrow inspection into his conduct, which was too open not to expose him to the snares which were laid for his ruin; and having been accused of heresy, he was, by the judgment of the College, condemned as an heretick, and expelled the House; and was thought to have been favourably dealt with, that he escaped with his life [B]. This misfortune, however, was the heavier upon Mr Fox, as it lost him the favour and good offices of his friends, who were afraid to countenance or protect one condemned for a capital offence; and his father-in-law took a handle from hence, to withhold Mr Fox's own father's estate from him, thinking that he who stood in danger of the Law himself, would with difficulty find relief from it. Being thus forsaken by his friends, he was reduced to great distress, when he was taken into the house of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Warwickshire, to be tutor to his children. Here he married a citizen's daughter of Coventry, and continued in Sir Thomas's family till his pupils were grown up, after which, with some difficulty, he procured entertainment from his father-in-law, and his wife's father at Coventry; from whence he removed to London a few years before King Henry's death, where, having no employment nor preferment, he was again driven to great necessities and distress, from which he was seasonably relieved, in a remarkable manner, as we shall relate in the note [C], and was soon after taken into the Duchefs of Richmond's family, to be tutor to her nephew the Earl of Surrey's children, who, upon the commitment of the Earl and his father the Duke of Norfolk to the Tower, were committed to the care of the Duchefs of Richmond to be educated. In this family Mr Fox lived, at Ryegate in Surrey, during the latter part of King Henry's reign, the five years reign of King Edward the Sixth, and part of Queen Mary's reign, being at this time protected by one of his pupils then Duke of Norfolk, and is said to have been the first person who preached the Gospel at Ryegate (f). Anthony Wood also says, he was restored to his fellowship in Magdalen College, under Edward the Sixth (g). But Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who hated him, and fearing least the heir of one of the noblest families in the kingdom, should, as might naturally be expected, tread in the steps of his tutor, by him greatly respected and honoured, sought by many snares and stratagems to work his ruin; infomuch, that Mr Fox, very much against the Duke's inclination (b), was obliged to quit his native country, and seek shelter abroad. Accordingly, the Duke having caused every thing necessary to be prepared for his tutor's voyage, he set sail from Ipswich-haven, taking his wife along with him, who was then big with child, and some other persons who went abroad on the same account. But a storm arising, they were obliged the next day to put back to port, where, having with much difficulty arrived, Mr Fox found that Bishop Gardiner had issued out a warrant for apprehending him, and caused the most diligent search to be made after him; upon which, having prevailed upon the Master of the ship to put to sea again, to the great peril of their lives, they arrived safe in two days at Newport-haven, from whence Mr Fox and his company travelled to Antwerp and Franckfort, and thence to Basil in Germany, where great numbers of English subjects resorted in those times of persecution [D]. This city was

(f) Wood, ut supra.

(g) Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 195.

(b) Vita J. Foxii, ut supra.

(2) p. 231.

(3) Lib. 2. p. 195.

(4) In Vita Foxii.

[B] *Condemned as an Heretick, and expelled the House.*] Anthony Wood says (2), he resigned his fellowship in 1545, merely, as it was thought, to prevent expulsion; and the same writer in his History and Antiquities of Oxford (3), says that he was in a manner obliged to resign his fellowship. But Mr Fox's own son informs us (4), that our author being suspected of heresy, and upon examination, not concealing his sentiments, was condemned as an heretick, and actually expelled the College; and his enemies affirmed that he was favourably dealt with by that sentence, and that he might have been questioned for his life, if they had not designed to have used clemency towards him.

[C] *Was relieved in a remarkable manner.*] As he was sitting one day in St Paul's Church, almost spent with long fasting, his countenance wan and pale, and his eyes hollow, there came to him one whom he never remembered to have seen before, who sitting down by him, accosted him very familiarly, and put into his hands an untold sum of money, bidding him be of good cheer, and to be careful of himself, and use all means to prolong his life; and that within a few days, new hopes were at hand, and more certain means of subsistence. Mr Fox used all his endeavours to find out the person, by whose bounty he was so seasonably relieved from extreme necessity, but in vain; however the prediction was fulfilled, for within three days afterwards Mr Fox was taken into the service of the Duchefs of Richmond (5).

(5) Vita J. Foxii.

[D] *He travelled to Basil in Germany, &c.*] We

have followed his son, the Historian of his life, in this account, who must certainly be supposed to have been best informed in all particulars of his father's life. Anthony Wood however differs in his account of Mr Fox's travels; he says, that he went over to Basil in King Henry the Eighth's time, when he was about thirty years old, and became a laborious writer, at the house of one Operinus a Printer there. After King Henry's death, he returned to Magdalen-College, and after a short stay there went again to his charge at Rygate, and remained there till after Queen Mary came to the Crown, when he again left England, and as Dr Heylyn says, was at Franckfort, and appeared in the schism among the English there; for we find his name among those of the English Protestants who took refuge in that city, in the tract entitled, *The troubles of Franckfort*, printed in 1575; was against the Church of England as settled in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and took part with Knox and Whittingham (6). Afterwards he retired to his old landlord at Basil, where he continued a severe drudge at writing, till Queen Elizabeth was settled in the throne, when he again returned to England. The former part of this account however contradicts itself, for if Mr Fox was born in 1517, and first went abroad at thirty years of age, that must have been in 1547, which was in King Edward's reign; whereas Mr Wood says, he went abroad in King Henry's time. It seems much more probable, as we have before shewn, that he did not leave England till Queen Mary's reign, according to his son's account.

[E] *Tho'*

(6) See Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. 8. §. 3. p. 32.

was at that time one of the most famous in Europe for Printing, and most of those who retired thither got their subsistence by revising and correcting the press; and to this employment Mr Fox betook himself, and it was here he laid the first plan of his *Acts and Monuments of the Church*. Upon the death of Queen Mary, which (according to the testimony of Dr Elmare, afterwards Bishop of London) Mr Fox in a sermon foretold the day before it happened; and, as soon as he found the Protestant religion likely to be established, he ventured to return to his native country, where he still found a faithful and serviceable friend in his quondam pupil, the Duke of Norfolk, and was entertained by him at his Manor-place called *Cbrist-Church*, in London, as long as his Grace lived, and at his death he settled a pension upon him, which his son the Earl of Suffolk confirmed to him (i). Mr Secretary Cecil also obtained for him of the Queen, the rectory or prebendship of Shipton, in the church of Salisbury, tho' Mr Fox himself would have declined accepting it; and tho' he had many great and powerful friends, as Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Drue Drury, the Bishops Grindal, Pilkington, Elmare, &c. who would have raised him to very considerable preferments; yet he declined them, being, as *Anthony Wood* says, always averse to subscribe to the Canons, tho' tendered to him by Archbishop Parker, and to some part of the ceremonies of the Church [E]. But tho' he was a Nonconformist, he was a moderate one, and disapproved of the heats of the rigid Puritans [F]. In 1564, he sent a Latin panegyric to the Queen, upon her indulgence to some noncomplying Divines, and suffering them to hold dignities in the Church [G]. In July 1575, he wrote a Latin Letter to the Queen, to dissuade her Majesty from putting to death two Anabaptists who had been condemned to be burnt [H].

He

(i) Vita Foxii.

[E] *Tho' tender'd to him by Archbishop Parker*. Dr Fuller tells us (7), that the Archbishop summoned him to subscribe, 'that the general reputation of his piety might give the greater countenance to Conformity.' That the old man produced the New Testament in Greek, to this, says he, *will I subscribe*. And when a subscription to the Canons was required of him, he refused it, saying, *I have nothing in the Church save a Prebend at Salisbury, and much good may it do you, if you will take it away from me*. However he continued in his place till his death, such respect, as Dr Fuller observes, did the Bishops, most of them formerly his fellow-exiles, bear to his age, parts, and labours.

[F] *And disapproved of the heats of the rigid Puritans*. Dr Fuller observes (8), that tho' Mr Fox came not up in all particulars to cleave the pin of Conformity (as refusing to subscribe) yet he utterly distasted the factious people of that age. The Historian then gives us a Latin letter written by our author to a Bishop, upon occasion of his son Samuel's being expelled by the Puritan party from his fellowship of Magdalen-College in Oxford, after his return from his travels abroad, upon the groundless imputation of his having turned Papist. In this letter he says, 'I confess it has always been my great care, if I could not be serviceable to many persons, yet not knowingly to injure any one, at least of all those of Magdalen-College. I cannot therefore but the more wonder at the turbulent genius which inspires those factious Puritans, so that violating the laws of gratitude, despising my letters and prayers, disregarding the intercession of the President himself, without any previous admonition, or assigning any cause, they have exercised so great tyranny against me and my son; were I one, who, like them, would be violently outrageous against Bishops and Archbishops, or join myself with them, that is, would become mad, as they are, I had not met with this severe treatment; now because, quite different from them, I have chosen the side of modesty and publick tranquillity, hence the hatred they have a long time conceived against me, is at last grown to this degree of bitterness. As this is the case, I do not so much ask you what you will do on my account, as what is to be thought of for your sakes; you who are Prelates of the Church, again and again consider. As to myself, tho' the taking away the fellowship from my son, is a great affliction to me; yet because this is only a private concern, I bear it with more moderation; I am much more concerned upon the account of the Church, which is publick. I perceive a certain race of men rising up, who if they should increase and gather strength in this kingdom, I am sorry to say what disturbance I foresee must follow from it. Your prudence is not ignorant how much

' the Christian Religion suffered formerly by the dissimulation and hypocrisy of the Monks. At present in these men I know not what new sort of Monks seems to revive; so much more pernicious than the former, as with more subtle artifices of deceiving, under pretence of perfection, like Stage-players who only act a part, they conceal a more dangerous poison: who while they require every thing to be formed according to their own strict discipline, and conscience, will not desist till they have brought all things into Jewish bondage.' Upon this letter, Dr Fuller (9) bids us remark the violence of rigid Nonconformists. 'We may perceive, says he, by this letter how powerful the party of Nonconformists was grown at that time, and to what violences and extravagancies, some went in their practices, infomuch that Dr Humphreys, then President of Magdalen, and Mr Fox himself (both which scrupled subscription in some particulars) were deserted by them as lukewarm, and remiss in the cause.' Mr Fox's son however was at last restored to his fellowship by the Queen's mandate.

[G] *In 1564, he sent a Latin panegyric to the Queen, upon her indulgence of some Divines, &c.* In the beginning of this address, he mentions her Majesty's retrieving the kingdom from the last degree of misery and declension; that she had reformed religion and the statute book, corrected idleness, suppressed robberies, and made the country orthodox and quiet. That she had recovered the mint to its old standard; and that the manners of her subjects were no less refined and brightned than the coin. That these state regulations, tho' very valuable in their kind, came short of the blessings in religion. That now truth was no longer persecuted, conscience had its just liberty, and superstition gave way to the gospel. 'And of this, says he, we have a remarkable instance in your Majesty's answer to the petition of some divines concerning the ecclesiastical habit. What satisfaction this gracious indulgence gave the universal Church, what an advantage after-ages would receive by it; and what an immortal honour would descend upon her memory, is scarcely to be imagined.' From hence he proceeds to commend her for her encouragement of learning, and the expectations of favour which she had given to the University of Cambridge. In the close he acquaints her Majesty that he designed to write her history, and had prepared some materials for that purpose; but that these would be imperfect without further information from her Majesty; and after all, he thought her own genius nobly furnished to describe her reign, and that no body could do her justice better than herself (10).

[H] *He wrote a Latin letter to the Queen to dissuade her Majesty from putting to death two Anabaptists, who had been condemned to be burnt.* Fuller,

(10) Collier's Ch. Hist. Vol II. p. 501.

Fuller, loc. cit. MS.

who

7) Church Hist. Book ix. p. 76.

3) Book ix. p. 66.

He was remarkable for his piety and great zeal for Religion, his charity, humility, and intense application to the duties of his function. He died on the eighteenth of April 1587; in the seventieth year of his age, greatly lamented, and was buried in the chancel of the church of St Giles's Cripplegate, where a monument was erected to his memory on the fourth wall, and an inscription on it. It is said Mr Fox had the vicarage of St Giles's; but, as Mr Wood says (if he had it at all), he kept it but a little while in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. In the note is an account of our author's writings [I]. He left

two

(11) B. ix. p.  
104, 105.

(12) Eccles. Hist.  
Vol. II. p. 549.

who transcribed this letter from the original, has published it in his *Church History* (11); Mr Collier observes (12), that it is written in a *very handsome Christian strain*. In this letter, Mr Fox declares, that with regard to those fanatical sects, he does not think they ought to be countenanced in a state, but chastised in a proper manner. But that to punish with the flames, the bodies of those who err rather from blindness than obstinacy of will, is cruel, and more suitable to the example of the Romish Church; than the mildness of the gospel. He declares he does not write thus out of an indulgence to error, but as he is a man, out of regard to the lives of men, that they may have an opportunity of repenting of their errors; and entreats her Majesty therefore to spare the lives of these wretches, or at least to change the shocking manner of their punishment; to banish them, or commit them to perpetual imprisonment; or stigmatize, or even hang them; at least not to revive the Smithfield fires, which thro' her Majesty's care had been so long extinguished. If this could not be granted, at least to allow them a month or two, in order that endeavours might be used to reclaim them from their errors, and thereby to prevent the destruction of their souls as well as bodies. But Fuller tells us, that tho' the Queen constantly called Mr Fox her *father*, yet she gave him a flat denial as to the saving of their lives, if after a month's reprieve, and conference with Divines, they would not recant their errors; and they continuing still inflexible, were accordingly burnt in Smithfield.

[I] In the note is an account of our author's writings.] Besides those already mentioned, he wrote, *Syllogisticon admonitio ad Parliamentum. De lapsis per errorem in Ecclesiam restituendis. A Latin translation of the controversy between Archbishop Crammer, and Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, about the Eucharist*. This our author did at Basil, and there was only a part of it printed. *De censura, seu excommunicatione Ecclesiastica, interpellatio ad Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem*. London 1551. in 8vo. *A Sermon preached at St Paul's Cross, on Good-Friday, upon the subject of Christ's Crucifixion*, printed by John Day, at London, 1570, in 4to. It was dedicated, 'to all such as labour and be heavy laden in conscience, to be read for their spiritual comfort.' The text is, 2 Cor. v. 20, 21. and the Sermon is divided into two parts, to which are subjoined, *a prayer made for the Church, and all the States there*; and a *postscript to the Papiſts*. Mr Wood mentions (13) an edition of this Sermon at London, 1609. in 8vo. and a Latin translation of it intitled, *De Christo crucifixo: concio in Die Parasceve. in 2 Cor. cap. v. vers. 20, 21*. London 1571, in 4to. Mr Strype, who does not appear to have ever seen the edition of this Sermon in 1570, is mistaken in saying (14) that it was preached in 1578, and printed in 1585, unless reprinted in that year. His argument that it was preached about 1578, is drawn from a passage in the prayer, wherein Mr Fox says, that *the Queen had doubled the years of her sister and brother*; but these very words are also to be found in the prayer published in the edition of the Sermon in 1570. *Tables of Grammar*; London

(13) Col. 232.

(14) Annals of  
the Reformation,  
Vol. II. p. 550.

(15) Vol. I. Col.  
135.

1552. Wood tells us (15) that these *Tables* were subscribed in print by eight Lords of the Privy-Council; but that they were soon laid aside, as being far more too short, than King Henry VIIIth's Grammar was too long. *Articuli sive Aphorismi aliquot Joh. Wiclevi. Sparsim aut ex variis illius opusculis excerpti per adversarios papicolas, ac concilio Constantiensi exhibiti. Collectanea quedam ex Reginaldi Pecocki Episcopi Ciceſtrienſis opusculis exustis conservata, & ex antiquo pſegmate transcripta. Opistographia ad Oxonienses*. These three last are printed with his *Commentarii rerum in Ecclesia gestarum*; at Strasburgh, 1554,

in 8vo. *Locorum communium Logicalium tituli & Ordinationes 150, ad seriem prædicamentorum decem descripti, &c.* Basil 1557, in 4to. *Probationes & resolutiones de re & materia Sacramenti Eucharistici*. This was printed at London about the year 1563. *De Oliva Evangelica; concio in Baptismo Judæi habita, Londini 1. Apr. cum narratione capituli XI. D. Pauli ad Romanos*. London 1578. translated into English by James Bell. To this Latin Sermon is subjoined our author's comedy, *De Christo triumphante*, before mentioned. *Concerning man's election to salvation*. London 1581, in 8vo. *Certain notes of election, added to Beza his treatise of Predestination*. London 1581, in 8vo. *De Christo gratis justificante, contra Jesuitas*. London 1583, in 8vo. *Disputatio contra Jesuitas & eorum argumenta quibus inhærentem justitiam ex Aristotele confirmant*. Rupell. 1585, in 8vo. *Eicami seu meditationes in Apocal. S. Johannis Apostoli & Evangelistæ*. London 1587, fol. Genev. 1596. in 8vo. *Papa confutatus: vel sacra & apostolica ecclesia papam confutans*. This was translated into English by James Bell, and printed at London in 4to. *Brief exhortation, fruitful and meet to be read in the time of God's visitation, where ministers do lack, or otherwise cannot be present to comfort them*. London in 8vo. He also translated from Latin into English, 1. *A Sermon of John Oecolampadius to young men and maidens*. London in 12mo. 2. *An instruction of Christian Faith, how to lay upon the promise of God, and not to doubt of our salvation*. Or otherwise thus; *necessary instructions of faith and hope for Christians to hold fast, and not to doubt, &c.* London 1579, second edition in 8vo. written by Urbanus Regius. He also finished *An answer apologetical to Hierome Oforius his slanderous invective*; which had been begun in Latin by Walter Haddon, LL D. London 1577, and 1581, in 4to. and he published *the four Evangelists in the old Saxon Tongue, with the English thereunto adjoined*. London 1571, in 4to. Bale mentions several other writings of his, but Mr Wood says some of them were never printed; we shall therefore proceed to give some account of the principal and greatest of our author's works, his *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, commonly called, *Fox's Book of Martyrs*. We have before observed that the author first applied himself to write this History of the Church, whilst he was at Basil, but he reserved the greatest part of it against his return into his own country, that he might have the authority and testimony of more witnesses. It appears by the author's own notes, that this most laborious work was eleven years in hand; and in this, as well as in some others of his labours, Mr Fox was greatly assisted by that pious prelate Dr Grindal, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who besides his constant counsel and advice in the course of the work, supplied him with materials, which he digested and methodized himself; for whilst Dr Grindal was abroad, he had established a correspondence in England for this purpose, by which means accounts of most of the acts and sufferings of the persecuted in Queen Mary's reign, came to his hands (16); and it was owing to Dr Grindal's strict and tender regard to truth, that the Martyrology was so long in hand, for he rejected all common reports and relations that were brought over, till more satisfactory evidence could be procured; and hence he advised Mr Fox at first only to print separately the acts of some particular men, of whom any sure and authentic memoirs came to hand, till materials for a more compleat history of the Martyrs and their persecutions and sufferings could be procured. In pursuance of this advice Mr Fox published at Basil, diverse histories of the English Bishops and Divines, in single pieces, soon after their respective sufferings and martyrdoms. He had also published at Strasburgh, in 1554, in octavo, *Commentarii rerum in Ecclesia gestarum,*

(16) Strype's Life  
of Archbishop  
Grindal, p. 17,  
& seq.

two sons, Samuel and Thomas. Samuel the eldest son was born in the city of Norwich, December the thirty-first 1560 (k), and in 1576 became Demi of Magdalen College, and afterwards

(l) Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, Book iii. cap. 16. p. 458.

*tarum, maximarumque per totam Europam persecutio-  
num a Wiclevi temporibus ad hanc usque aetatem de-  
script.* in one book; to which he added five more  
books, all printed together at Basil, in 1559. in folio.  
It was also by the advice of Dr Grindal, that the *Martyrology* was printed both in Latin and English, for  
the more general use, the author having began it in  
Latin. It was published at London 1563, in one  
thick volume in folio, with this title, *Actes and Mo-  
numents of these latter perillous days touching matters  
of the Church, wherein are comprehended and de-  
scribed the great persecutions and horrible troubles that  
have been wrought and practised by the Romish Pre-  
lates, specially in this Realme of England and Scot-  
land, from the yeare of our Lorde a thousand unto the  
time now present, &c. gathered and collected accord-  
dyng to the true copies and vertynges certifiatorie,  
as well of the parties themselves that suffered, as also  
out of the Bishops registers, which were the doers  
thereof.* By John Fox. Imprinted at London by John  
Day, dwelling over Aldersgate beneath St Martin's,  
Anno 1563, the 20th of March. *Cum gratia & pri-  
vilegia regie Majestatis.* Mr Fox presented a copy  
of this edition to Magdalen-College, Oxford, and at  
the same time wrote a Latin letter to Dr Lawrence  
Humphreys, printed by Mr Thomas Hearne in his ap-  
pendix, No. 5. to his *Preface to Adami de Domersham  
Hist. de Rebus Gestis Glastonensibus*, Oxon. 1727, in  
8vo. 2 Vols. There was a fourth edition at London  
1583, in two volumes in folio, and it was reprinted in  
1632, in three volumes folio. The ninth edition was  
printed at London in three volumes in folio, with  
copper cuts, the former Editions having only wooden  
ones. Mr Wood observes (17), that the undertakers of  
this edition had in a manner obtained a promise from  
King Charles II to revive the order made in Queen  
Elizabeth's time, of placing it in the common halls of  
Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Heads of  
Colleges, &c. according to the Canons of Dr Matthew  
Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1571. Mr  
Strype tells us (18), that when this book was first pub-  
lished, our author was thought, 'to have done very  
' exquisite service to the Protestant cause, in shewing,  
' from abundance of antient books, registers, records,  
' and choice manuscripts, the encroachments of Popes,  
' Papalins, and the stout oppositions that were made  
' by learned and good men, in all ages and countries  
' against them; and especially under King Henry the  
' VIIIth, and Queen Mary here in England; preserv-  
' ing to us the memories of those holy men and wo-  
' men, those Bishops and Divines, together with their  
' histories, acts, sufferings, and their constant deaths,  
' willingly undergone for the sake of Christ and his  
' gospel, and for refusing to comply with Popish doc-  
' trines and superstitions.' Archbishop Whiggist (19)  
styles Mr Fox *that worthy man*, and tells Mr Cart-  
wright the Puritan, that he had read over his *Acts  
and Monuments* from the one end to the other; and  
declares that Mr Fox hath *very diligently and faith-  
fully laboured in this matter*, (of Archbishops and Me-  
tropolitans) *and searched out the truth of it as learn-  
edly as I knowe any man to have done.* Camden like-  
wise gives him and his work this character (20); *Ex  
eruditiorum numero obiit Johannes Foxus Oxoniensis, qui  
Ecclesiasticam Angliæ Historiam sive Martyrologiam  
indefesso veritatis studio, primum latine, postea anglice  
auctius, magna cum laude contexit.* The Papists were  
very angry at the publication of this history; in which  
their lyes and cruelty were so fully exposed; and ac-  
cordingly did all they could to blast the credit both  
of that and its author. They called it *Fox's golden  
Legend*, and represented it an huge sardel of notorious  
lyes and falsehoods (21). In 1673, above forty years  
after the publication of Mr Fox's book, father Robert  
Parsons published, under the name of N. D. that is,  
of Nicholas Doleman, *A Treatise of the three conver-  
sions from Paganism to the Christian Religion*, in three  
volumes in 8vo. the principal design of which is to  
expose Mr Fox's Church History. In this performance  
he charges Mr Fox with falsities and impostures, ma-  
rifest foolery and lying, with having a wicked spirit,

being guilty of tergiversation, using impertinent argu-  
ments, shewing a contempt of antiquity, &c. of wil-  
ful corruptions and falsifications of authors, particu-  
larly of Venerable Bede. He tells us Mr Fox endeav-  
oured to corrupt the acts of old Martyrs, nay, that  
he discredited his own Martyrs, and pretends to have  
found no less than 120 lyes in less than three leaves  
of his book (\*). Mr Collier, who takes all oppor-  
tunities of depreting Mr Fox's character, and un-  
dervaluing his work, accuses him of disingenuity and  
ill nature, and says he ought to be read with caution.  
'That a vein of satire and coarse language runs thro'  
his Martyrology (22), and instances in his calling  
(23) the Bishop of Winchester an insensible ass, and  
saying he had no feeling of God's Spirit, in the mat-  
ter of Justification. Mr Fox does certainly sometimes  
fail in decency and temper; but this was no more  
than was common to the zealous promoters of the Re-  
formation, who it must be confessed were sometimes  
hurried on by their zeal to lengths by no means de-  
fensible. Mr Wood says Mr Fox was a severe Calvin-  
ist, and shewed himself a very bitter enemy in his  
writings, against the Roman Catholicks, exceeding as  
some conceive the rules of charity. He observes (24),  
that as our author ' hath taken a great deal of pains  
' in his work, and shewed sometimes much judgment  
' in it; so hath he committed many errors therein, by  
' trusting to the relations of poor simple people, and  
' in making such Martyrs as were living after the first  
' edition of his book came forth, tho' afterwards by  
' him excused and omitted.' He charges Mr Fox  
likewise (25) with committing a most egregious falsity  
in reporting, that one Grimwood of Higham in Suf-  
folk, died in a miserable manner for swearing and  
bearing false witness against one John Cooper a Car-  
penter of Watfam in the same county, for which he  
lost his life. The account which Fox gives of his  
death, is this. 'When he was in labour stacking up  
' a gosse of corn, having his health, and fearing no  
' peril, suddenly his bowels fell out of his body, and  
' immediately most miserably he died.' Now Wood  
relates, that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth one Prit  
became Parson of the parish where the said Grim-  
wood dwelt, and preaching against perjury, not being  
acquainted with his Parishioners, cited the said story  
of Fox; and it happening that Grimwood being then  
alive and in the church, he brought an action upon  
the case against the Parson. But Judge Anderson, who  
sat at the Assizes in the county of Suffolk, adjudged it  
not maintainable, because it was not spoken malici-  
ously. Mr Wood refers to the *abridgement of many  
cases and resolutions of the Common Law*, written by  
Judge Henry Rolles, p. 87. Sect. 7. tit. *action for  
case.* But Mr Strype has shewn (26), that Mr Fox  
has not had justice done him in this passage, since there  
was one Grimwood who died in the manner above  
mentioned, though Mr Fox was misled in inserting  
this story in his Martyrology, because the said John  
Cooper was not tried for his religion, but for speaking  
rebellious words against the Queen. But there are  
many other facts, in the relation of which, Mr Fox is  
not to be depended upon; particularly in his account  
of the death of the persecuting Bishop Gardiner. He  
tells us (27), as he says from credible intelligence,  
that the Bishop refused to go to dinner on the day  
Ridley and Latimer were burnt, till his servants who  
were posted on the road for that purpose had brought  
him word that the faggots were kindled about them;  
that this barbarous resolution occasioned the dinner to  
be kept back till four o' clock, and that the old Duke  
of Norfolk, who that day dined with the Bishop, was  
uneasy at staying so long. That when Gardiner heard  
the two Bishops were burning, he was transported with  
the news, and went immediately to dinner, but was  
seized at table, carried to his bed where he lay a fort-  
night, and died. To disprove this tragical story, it  
may be sufficient to observe that Gardiner appeared  
twice in the House of Lords, after he is reported to  
have been seized with this mortal distemper; and the  
old Duke of Norfolk had been dead above a year,  
when Fox makes him at dinner at the Bishop of Win-  
chester's

(\* See the Trea-  
tise of the Con-  
versions of Eng.  
by H. Parsons;  
also his Relation  
of a Trial held in  
France about Re-  
ligion, printed  
1604. p. 59. 60.

(22) Collier's  
Ecclesiast. Hist. Vol.  
II. p. 47, 133.

(23) Fox, Vol. II.  
p. 5, and 6.

(24) Col. 232.

(25) Col. 691,  
692.

(26) Annals of  
the Reformat.  
Vol. I. cap. 21.  
Ann. 1561.

(27) P. 527.

(17) Athen. Ox.  
Vol. I. p. 232.

(18) Annals of  
the Reformat.  
p. 238.

(19) Defence of  
the Answer to  
the Admonition,  
p. 333.

(20) Annales Eli-  
zabeth. p. 558.  
edit. 8vo.

(21) Preface,  
p. 14. to the Life  
of John Wick-  
liffe, D.D. by John  
Lewis, A.M. Mi-  
nister of Mar-  
gate. 8vo. edit.  
Lond. 1723.

afterwards Fellow, and Master of Arts. In 1586 he had a lease of the manor annexed to the prebend of Shipton, settled on him by his father [K]. He was steward to Sir Thomas Heneage, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen; and in 1589 married Mrs Anne Leveson, in the house of Sir Moyle Finch, of Eastwell in Kent (l). In 1610, he wrote the Life of his father, prefix'd to the *Acts and Monuments of the Church* (m). Thomas Fox, the younger son of our author, was educated at King's College Cambridge, and became afterwards an eminent Physician at London, and Fellow of the College of Physicians (n). His daughter Anne, who was his heir, married Sir Richard Willis, of Ditton in Essex, Bart. some time Colonel-General of the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Rutland, and Governor of the town and castle of Newark.

(l) Strype, *ibid.*

(m) Wood's *Ath.* Ox. col. 233.

(n) Strype, p. 254.

chester's, for he died at Framingham castle, September 1554, and was succeeded by his grandson, who could not then be an *old Duke*, as the story says. As to Gardiner he died of the gout, as Godwin relates, and not of a suppression of urine as Fox would have it (28). Mr Fox, as Mr Collier also observes, is particularly severe upon the memory of the famous Cardinal Wolsey, and in many places of his Martyrology lashes him and loads him with censure, sometimes wrongfully, and disingenuously. He gives a remarkable instance (29) of an exaggeration of Mr Fox, in the account he gives of the charge exhibited against the Cardinal by the Privy-Council, in the fourth article of which, Wolsey is accused of presumption in speaking and writing in this manner, *The King and I would you should do thus; and, the King and I do give you our thanks, &c* (30). This to be sure was an high presumption in the Cardinal, but Mr Fox has swelled it much higher, by making him set himself before the King, and speak in the language of *Ego & rex meus*, as Fox reports he did (31). The same author (32) also gives us, among others, a very remarkable instance of Mr Fox's intemperate zeal, which hurried him almost to a degree of prophaneness. When it was thought that Queen Mary was with child, there were prayers printed and dispersed about the kingdom, for her Majesty's happy delivery, &c. which Fox has taken the freedom to ridicule (33), and to rally the people's devotion upon this occasion, with this extraordinary and odd sentence in his margin; *cry up louder you Priests, peradventure your God is asleep; as if (as Mr Collier justly observes,) their devotions had been directed to Baal or Ashteroth; as if the Papists had worshipped one God, and the Protestants another. I can't perceive (says Mr Collier) that the Martyrologist had any right to Elijah's sarcasm; his zeal was without doubt too much embittered; he was plainly ridden by his passion, and pushed, by disaffection, to-*

(28) Bishop Burnet's *Hist. of Reformat.* Part 2. p. 320. compared with Fox. Heylin's *Hist. Ref. Q. Mary*, p. 39. Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 586.

(29) Collier, Vol. II. p. 43.

(30) Coke's *Institutes*, part 4. fol. 89. Cotton Library. Julius I. fol. 24.

(31) Fox, Vol. II. p. 255.

(32) Collier, Vol. II. p. 375.

(33) Fox, Vol. III. p. 116.

wards prophaneness.' Mr Strype (34) remarks that the esteem of our author grew low among some even of the Clergy; and it is intimated by Dr Walker (35), that 'the Dissenters pay a known and particular regard to Mr Fox's *Acts and Monuments*;' which passage is animadverted upon by the Reverend Mr John Lewis (36), who observes, that 'as to private stories, Mr Fox and his friends used the utmost diligence and care, that no falsehood might be obtruded on the reader, and were very ready to correct any mistakes that might happen.'

(34) *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, Book iii. cap. 16. p. 255.

(35) Attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of Eng. Preface, p. 20. edit. Lond. 1714. folio.

(36) Preface, p. 14. to his *Life of John Wickliffe*, D.D.

(37) *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*.

[K] In 1586, he had a lease of the manor annexed to the Prebend of Shipton settled on him by his father.] Mr Strype tells us (37), that this was done upon Mr Samuel Fox's return home from his travels, which was about the end of June, as appears from a journal of his; but Dr Piers, Bishop of Sarum, a Court Prelate, had begg'd it of the Queen to collate it, and accordingly had the grant of it. Upon this, Mr Fox applied himself in his father's name to Archbishop Whitgift, declaring his case, who immediately gave him a letter dated July the 14th, to the Bishop of Sarum, and the Bishop readily granted his request, 'out of a due sense, (says Mr Strype) of a man that had so well deserved of the Church for his vast written labours of the History of the Church, and the persecutions of the true professors of it. Nay, more than his request, for he promised to settle an exhibition upon father Fox's second son, whose name was Thomas, bred up in King's-College, Cambridge; and when he was capable of it, of a Prebend in his Church of Sarum. For to this tenour did the Bishop's answer to the Archbishop run, dated the same day with the Archbishop's to him. This was the judgment and venerable esteem the Archbishop and Churchmen in those days, had of that reverend and learned confessor and his labours.'

H

FREIND (JOHN), a learned Philosopher, an excellent Physician, and a most elegant Writer in the XVIIIth Century. His father was Rector of Croton, in Northamptonshire, a man of great learning, piety, and integrity; and extremely careful in the education of his sons (a). Of these, John was born in 1675, and, together with his brother Robert, put under the care of the celebrated Dr Richard Busby, then Master of Westminster-School; under whom both brothers distinguished themselves, as well by the quickness of their parts, as the steadiness of their application. From thence, John was elected into Christ's-Church College in Oxford, in 1690, where he had again the signal advantage of being under the eye of the famous Dr Aldrich, who, for his exemplary vigilance, true zeal for learning, and well conducted generosity, was universally admired and applauded while living, whose memory will be ever revered in that seat of the Muses, where he made it the business of his life to promote useful and polite literature (b), and whose praises ought always to accompany those of the great men formed under his care. In consequence of that warm spirit of emulation which then prevailed in Christ-Church, as well as the natural inclination of our young scholar, he applied himself with the greatest vigour to study the writings of the most celebrated Poets, Orators, and Historians, among the Antients; by which he acquired an early facility in writing elegant Latin, in Verse as well as Prose, and a perfect knowledge of the Greek language, of which he gave some publick specimens, which were generally and justly admired (c) [A]. He was not however diverted, either by the pleasure

(a) Johan. Wigan, *Præfatio ad opera medica*, J. Freind.

(b) Wood's *Ath.* Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1055.

(c) *Act. Eruditor.* Lipsic. Mens. Septemb. 1696. p. 439.

[A] Which were generally and justly admired.] It may be affirmed without the least flattery, or even complaisance towards the memory of this learned person, that even in the earliest part of his life he gave unquestionable testimonies of those two admirable qua-

lities, which when conjoined never fail of producing great men in every profession, genius, and application. We have observed in the text, that it was impossible for one endowed with such signal advantages, not to receive all imaginable encouragement in that seminary of

of

pleasure that accompanies this kind of reading, or the reputation he had acquired by his proficiency therein, from the design which he had formed of pursuing severer studies; and accordingly began with great diligence to cultivate those sciences, without the knowledge of which it is impossible to become absolutely master of Physick (*d*). His first care was to digest thoroughly the true and rational principles of Natural Philosophy, Chymistry, and Anatomy; and to these he added a sufficient acquaintance with the Mathematicks, reading afterwards the best physical authors ancient and modern, examining, weighing, and comparing what they said, and labouring to gain a true judgment of their excellencies and defects, from the dictates of sound reason and the unbiassed light of experiments. How well this method succeeded, and how soon he became a great master in this truly noble and useful science, appeared from a letter of his, dated from Oxford July the twenty-sixth 1699, to Sir Hans, then Dr Sloane, which was very soon after published in the Philosophical Transactions (*e*) [B]. In this first exercise of his pen, on the proper business of

(*d*) Vid. *Prefat.*  
ad opera medica.  
J. Freind.

(*e*) No. 256. for  
Sept. 1699.

his

of learning, where Dr Aldrich presided. Under his auspice, Mr Freind undertook, together with another young gentleman of great parts and rising reputation, to publish a Latin translation, with several necessary helps, of two Greek orations (1), one of Æschines and the other of Demosthenes, which were at that time generally well received, and have been since reprinted. The title of this book runs thus.

*Æschinis contra Ctesiphontem, & Demosthenis de corona orationes, interpretationem Latinam, & locum difficultiorum explicationum adjecerunt.* P. Foulkes & J. Freind, *Ædis Christi Alumni. Oxoniæ, 1696. 8vo. It. Oxoniæ 1715. in 8vo.*

About the same time, being then in the twenty first year of his age, he was prevailed upon to revise that edition of Ovid's Metamorphoses, which had been prepared in France for the use of the Dauphin, which was then re-printed at Oxford (2) with the following title.

*Ovidii Metamorphoseon libri xv. cum interpretatione Danielis Crispini in usum Delphini, à Joan. Freind recensiti.* Oxoniæ 1696. in 8vo.

To these proofs of his diligence and learning, let us also add one of his genius excited by a very melancholy occasion, that of the death of his Royal Highness, William Duke of Gloucester, which happened July the thirtieth 1700, at Windsor, in the eleventh year of his age. It was upon this subject, that Mr Freind addressed a Latin Ode to Dr Edward Hannes (3) an excellent Physician, and one who was also distinguished by his poetic writings in the same language. The conclusion of this Ode, which has been always regarded as an admirable performance, as well in point of sentiment as elegance, cannot but be acceptable to the reader at the same time, that it justifies what is asserted in the text. After expatiating on the high hopes that were entertained of this promising young Prince, he returns to the sad subject of his loss in these stanzas.

Depinge adulti sanguinis impetu  
Venas micantes: mox celeri caput  
Volutat orbe, mox voraci  
Pectora depopulatur igne.  
Febrilis ardor; fœtaque lucidum  
Fulgere quondam lumina, pondere  
Devicta torpescunt inertî.  
Ah! quid agis studiosa chari  
Cohors *Gloverni*? quò Tibi spiritus  
Recessit, ægro militiæ Ducæ?  
Ut dextra friget! ut recurvo  
Scuta tholo galeæque pendent!  
Pendent capilli, fœmineus decor,  
Vulsæque compto vertice tæniæ:  
Nymphæque, jam primum molesta  
Semianimi Dominæ caterva,  
Vanis ministrant officiis opem:  
Hæc Te requirit, spesque suas Tibi  
Commendat ultro, certa, siquid  
Herba potens valeat, salutis.  
Tu quicquid Hortus vel Chymicus labor  
Promit, salubri suppeditas manu;  
Sed impotentem spernit artem  
Non Medico superanda Febris.

V O L. III. No. 170.

Quin mox *Glovernum* pectine Lesbio  
Adde recentem sideribus Deum;  
Vitaque donabis perenni  
Invidiam faciente *Parciis*.

[B] Which was very soon after published in the Philosophical Transactions.] This letter contains the history of a very remarkable Hydrocephalus, or watry head, and is more precise, and at the same time more perspicuous, than almost any thing of the same kind extant in other authors (4). The external dimensions of this head before it was opened, were from the eye brows over the crown to the nape twenty three inches, the circumference from the nape round the *Offa Bregmaticis* twenty six, but round the *Os Frontis* twenty four; from ear to ear over the crown nineteen, from the eye brows to the chin four, from one extremity of the eye brows to the other, four and a half from the chin to the coronal future, seven and a half, the circumference from the chin round the crown thirty, from one extremity of the ear backwards to the other; round the nose twelve, and round the nape six and a half, from temple to temple over the forehead eleven; the circumference of the head round the *Os Frontis* and *Occipitis* twenty nine; the circumference of the neck nine and two thirds, the length of the neck two, the length of the body thirty three, the circumference of the *Thorax* eighteen, the length of the foot four and a half, from the end of the middle finger to the *acromion* twelve and a half, the circumference of the arm five, of the calf five and a half, and of the thigh eight inches. After the integuments were removed, the top of the *Cranium* appeared soft and membranous, the extent of the membrane from one temple to the other was eight inches, between the *parietal* bones three and a half, from the *Os Frontis* to the *Os Occipitis* twelve; in the middle, just upon the crown, lay a bone in some places a little cartilaginous five inches long and one broad, joined to the membranes on every side of the same thickness, with the rest of the upper part of the *Cranium* that was bony, which was extremely thin every where, and the *Lamina* lay so close, that in many places no *Diploe* could be discerned, the membrane was as thin as the *Pericranium*, which yet was easily divided from it, none of the sutures were entirely closed, those of the upper jaw were very loose in the *temporal* and *lambdoidal* futures, there was a vast number of the *Triquetra wormiana*, all which had so many distinct sutures: upon piercing the *Dura Mater*, a great quantity of water gushed out which lay in the ventricles of the brain, as well as between the *Dura Mater*, and the *Pia*; the liquor was thin, pale, and inspid, of which there was taken out five quarts; the *Dura Mater* was firm and entire, of its usual thickness, and it stuck very close to the bony as well as membranous parts of the *Cranium*; all its processes and sinus's were singular, the fourth sinus somewhat larger than ordinary, a very large vein of the *Dura Mater* entered the longitudinal sinus directly forwards towards the *Criſta Galli*, contrary to the course of the blood.

The *Pia Mater* was very much distended, and seemed to be stretched as much as it could bear, it lay smooth and equal upon the surface of the brain, there being neither any circumvolutions in the brain for it to go between, nor any partition to the *Corpus callosum*, tho' there was a large *Falx* in the *Dura Mater* ; the lateral ventricles were very thin, their upper part to-

(4) No. 256,  
Sept. 1699.

(1) J. Wigan.  
*Prefatio ad opera  
medica*, J. Freind.

(2) Nicéron, *Mémoires des Hommes illustres*,  
Tom. XXV. P.  
257.

(3) *Musarum  
Anglicanarum  
Analeſta*, Vol.  
III. p. 27.

his profession, he shewed the same exactness, regard to method, and modesty in expressing his own sentiments, which were so conspicuous in his succeeding Treatises. He was very careful in restraining that eagerness which is naturally incident to young men, and without suffering himself to be led away by the commendations of his friends, continued his assiduity in his study and practice, from whence he would rarely suffer himself to be drawn aside by the desire of adding to that fame which constantly attended his writings. However, in the spring of 1701, he wrote to the same worthy person a Latin letter, concerning some extraordinary cases of persons afflicted with convulsions in Oxfordshire (f), which, at that time, made a very great noise, and might very probably have been magnified into something supernatural, if our author had not taken great pains to set them in a true light [C]. He was already known and considered in the Faculty, when he began to meditate

(f) No. 270. for  
March and April  
1701.

wards the *Cerebellum* was quite wasted, so that nothing was left to cover the cavity in that place but the *Pia Mater*, this was so thin that in bending down the head to empty the water it broke, and hindered the knowing exactly how much water the lateral ventricles contained, but by their cavity which was very large, one might guess they held at least a pint each. The third and fourth ventricles had a little water in them, but were scarcely larger than usual, as *Steno* observed in his *Hydrocephalus* calf; the brain had all its parts plain and entire, tho' its substance in most places was but very thin and loose about the *Corpora striata*, *thalami nervorum optico- rum*, it was tolerably thick and firm enough, tho' nothing to what it is in a natural state; the *Cerebrum* and *Cerebellum*, when laid out in their proper position, were eleven inches long; the *Cerebrum* cross the lateral ventricles was nine inches broad; after all the water was taken out, both of them weighed one pound and a half.

The *Corpora striata*, and *thalami nervorum optico- rum*, were very small in all their dimensions, on the inside towards the ventricles they were wrinkled, and lay in folds like those in the inner coat of the stomach; in the *Corpora striata*, there were no *Striæ* discernible, the *Plexus Choroides* was very small, the *Glandula Pinealis* was somewhat larger, but less compact than ordinary; the *Nates* were very red and large two inches long, one broad, and one thick, the *Testes* were not distinguished from them by any protuberance, they seemed rather to be a production, into which the *Nates* lessened by degrees like a fugar loaf. The *Cerebellum* was very firm every where, and did not much exceed its natural bulk, the medullary trunk, which sends out those little branches like trees, was thicker and harder than usual, the branches were not so much disposed like those of a tree, but went rather in single oblique lines, like so many rays from a point; the nerves were all regular and plain, only the olfactory were very small, the optic nerves did not join before they entered the orbits; the *Rete mirabile* was very large, and so was *Dr Ridley's* circular sinus, on the right side were two carotidarteries, the intercostal nerve lying between them, and they entered the scull at the same hole; the trunk of the vertebral where those arteries unite was extremely large and full of blood, the veins were neither larger nor more in number than usual; Mr Freind could easily discern three or four lymphatics upon the brain over the lateral ventricles, but they were too small to be traced: whether this great effusion of water was caused by an obstruction in the capillary arteries, which might make the finer part of the Serum ouze thro' their coats, or by a rupture in the lymphatics Mr Freind could not determine. The mother of the child brought it to Oxford for a shew, the account she gave of it was, that she had been three weeks in travail, and that at last she was obliged to have the vagina ript for its passage, the child was two years and six weeks old, it could speak a little, it could neither walk nor hold up its head, it was always merry, never subject to drowsiness, pain in the head, want of appetite or indigestion; its sight was somewhat dim, and its smelling but indifferent; it never had any illness only two or three days before it died, it was very much troubled with the gripes, and upon opening the Abdomen, the guts were found extremely swelled with wind, every thing else in both the lower cavities was in its natural state. By comparing those two *Hydrocephali* which *Tulpus* gives an account of, with this, we may see how different each of them is from it; his first was a boy five

years old, the scull no larger than a man's, and contained only five pints of water, the brain had lost all its shape and most of its substance, the reliicks of which stuck to the scull; and all he says of the second is, that it had a quart of water in one of the lateral ventricles.

[C] To set them in a true light.] We shall give the reader the substance of this (5), as of the former paper, the rather, because we do not meet with either of them in the collection of our author's physical works. At *Blackthorn* in *Oxfordshire*, five little girls were seized with frequent fits of barking like dogs, together with violent motions of the head, no convulsions were observed in their faces, only frequent distortions and oscillations of the mouth, their pulse was like that of persons in health, but that towards the end of the fit it was somewhat weaker, the noise as it seemed to the Doctor did not resemble the barking of dogs so much as their howling, only that the returns were more frequent with alternate sobbings. The youngest of the girls was but six, and the eldest fifteen years of age. At intervals they had their reason and senses entire, but it was not long ere one of them renewing her yelling would affect the rest. At length their spirits being exhausted, they would fall down like epileptics upon a couch, laid in the middle of the room to receive them, for some time they would lie quietly and decently, but upon a new irritation, or orgasm of the spirits, they would beat their breasts and other parts and discommode each other. July the twelfth 1700, Dr Freind visited another family at *Blackthorn*, where a boy and three girls had been seized with convulsions ten weeks before without any apparent preceding cause, at first one of the girls was affected, and the first fit lasted for two hours, and the rest, as the mother informed him, were so struck with their sister's disorder, that in a few days they were also seized therewith. At his arrival they were all before the doors upwards of half an hour at play very brisk and unconcerned, and their complexion laudable from this disorder, was produced no other bad effect than a little weakness and languor, their pulse was in every respect regular. At length the eldest girl about fourteen years of age was seized as usual, the only symptoms of its approach was a swelling of the stomach, which rising gradually like a ball up the throat, set the muscles of the larynx and head upon their wonted convulsions, this rising was a certain and constant forerunner of the paroxysm, and if they endeavoured to stop it, it broke out with the greater violence and continued the longer: the noise they made, which was incessant and disagreeable, did not so much resemble the barking or howling of dogs as had been given out as an uncouth kind of singing, consisting of three notes or tones repeated twice over, and succeeded by deep sighs, which ended in a plain note that was much stronger and sharper than any of the rest. No words can describe this song. At intervals she varied her note, but when her spirits began to fail her motions and bawling increased, till being at length almost choaked, she would express a note or two and repress a little the shaking of her head, by this means recovering strength she would renew the same ditty, which was always accompanied with an alternate nodding of the head backwards and forwards, the muscles of the neck were very tense and inflated, all the other parts of the body were free of convulsions. All the time of the paroxysm she had her senses entire, and would sit or walk as she pleased, but could not utter one word, her complexion did not change, her eyes were immovable as if dead, she had no distortion but

(5) No. 270,  
March and April  
1701.

tate a work truly worthy of his own genius and learning; and of those free, rational, and incontestible principles on which it was founded. He observed, that Sanctorius, Borelli, and Baglivi in Italy; and Pitcairne and Keil, here at home, had introduced a new and more certain method of enquiring after physical truths, than had been known to most of the writers in the preceding age (g). He therefore resolved to apply this way of reasoning, in order to set a certain subject of great importance, of daily use, and general concern about which the learned had been always divided, in such a light as might put an end to disputes, and open the eyes of mankind to a natural unperplexed theory, from whence, of consequence, an effectual and satisfactory practice might be deduced. This he accomplished in his EMMENOLOGIA (h), which he gave to the publick when he was about twenty-eight years old; and tho' at first it met with some very considerable opposition, through the reverence that many entertained for old tho' unintelligible systems, and the prejudices with which others beheld the discoveries made by their contemporaries, as if their sagacity and industry rather outraged than obliged such as were of the same profession; yet all candid and competent judges acknowledged it to be an excellent performance; in respect to which, it was hard to affirm whether the beauty of the stile, the elegant disposition of the parts, or that wonderful succinctness which detracted nothing from it's perspicuity, ought to be more admired than the happy concurrence of learning and penetration, which enabled him so effectually to reconcile the judicious observations of the Antients, with those discoveries in Anatomy which are indisputably due to the Moderns. In short, his plainness in stating the principal points in question, his easy and satisfactory solutions, his wonderful application of all previous, concomitant, and succeeding circumstances, to that simple principle, which, he suggests, quickly gained that acquiescence in his doctrine (i) which it deserved. Some years after a second edition of this treatise appeared, which is likewise to be found in the general collection of his medical works [D]. In the succeeding year 1704, he was appointed

(g) See his own Prefaces to the Treatises hereafter mentioned.

(h) Lond. 1703. 8vo.

(i) Boerhaave Institut. §. 659. 667.

in her mouth, which by reason of the contraction of the muscles, was quite a *Spasmus cynicus*; during the paroxysm you could scarce feel a pulse, and thus she continued upwards of half an hour, tho' the brother and sisters stood by, yet they were not seized with the *Spasmus* as usual: they slept pretty well in the night, provided they were inclined to it when they lay down, but if not, they were seized with the paroxysm till morning, at the same intervals, as in the day time; the girls of the other family were troubled with this disorder about the beginning of the year, at which time their mouth was distorted and swelled, and a little after that these just mentioned had convulsions, the others were seized with epileptic fits, and a total deprivation of sense; they would sometimes, as if they were possessed beat upon their breasts, and at other times run about, &c. but there was nothing of this the first three months, only the symptoms the Doctor has already described. The uncommon appearance, or long continuance of these symptoms, does not hinder concluding that this is a natural disorder, for this *Spasmus* agrees with all other convulsions, as arising from the irregular motions of the animal spirits within the nerves, variously contracting the muscles according to the disposition of the organs; so that in this case nature does nothing but what is usual in other kinds of convulsions, using the same organical motions here, as in the *Chorea S. Viti*, or in hysterical disorders, where the patient is at one time seized with laughing, at another with howling, and at another time beats upon the breast, all which is occasioned by the various and involuntary motions of the muscles; seeing therefore the muscles of the larynx, head, hands, and feet, are equally disposed to convulsions, whatever seems to be strange and uncommon in these girls, is owing not so much to the nature of the symptoms as to the part affected.

[D] *Of his medical works*] We will first give the title of this valuable performance at large, then a short view of its contents; and lastly some historical remarks of the fate with which it has been attended. The title in the original runs thus.

EMMENOLOGIA, in qua Fluxus muliebris menstrui Phenomena, periodi, vitia, cum medendi methodo, ad rationes mechanicas exiguntur. Auctore Johanne Friend, M. B. Aed. Christi Alumno. Lond. 1703. 8vo.

This treatise was translated into English by Dr Thomas Dale, who dedicated it to the late Dr James Douglas.

Our author takes notice in his preface, that there are very few subjects on which Physicians had written more, or with less satisfaction to their readers than this, which he had undertaken to explain; the cause which

he assigns for this, is their having recourse to dark, abstruse, and unintelligible principles, neglecting those that were plain and easy, as if their being more obvious made them less valuable. He acknowledges, that in his performance he has followed the principles and the example of the learned Bellini; and that one of the principal points he had in view, in composing this work, was the opening a clear road to the relief of one half of the human species, since almost all the diseases incident to the sex, either arise from, or are connected with, the subject of his book. As to the final cause of the *catamenia*, he agrees with *Galen*, and that it is to provide for the health of the mother and to provide nutriment for the embryo; with the same learned person he agrees with respect to the efficient cause and rejecting the influence of the moon, the operation of the *Archeus*, and the doctrine of ferments, as equally repugnant to truth and reason, he adheres to that of a *Plethora*. He proceeds next to explain this, to shew how and whence it arises, and why it is peculiar to the sex. He demonstrates the truth of this opinion from the structure of the parts, and then goes on to shew, from mechanical principles, how this is effected; he then answers the objections that have been made to this doctrine; after this he proceeds to the periods, and gives a plain solution of those difficulties that from other methods are inexplicable. The way being thus cleared, he enters on an explanation of the phenomena, then considers whatever is known to promote or to retard the menses. He next points out the symptoms which arise from a suppression, and establishes the proper method of cure. In like manner he describes the symptoms attending an immoderate flux, and the most effectual means of removing them, illustrating all that he delivers with the most exact and instructive histories or cases. He concludes with a discourse on the virtue and operation of the usual remedies, and from a retrospective view of the whole makes it evident, that his theory is founded in truth and the operations of nature, and is not the fruit of a happy invention, and the power of explaining in a plausible manner principles that have no foundation but in the mind of the contriver. Such is the design and distribution of this excellent work.

Soon after the publication of this treatise, our author's opinion that the Menses are occasioned by a *Plethora*, was attacked by Dr Thomas Snuellen, or Snelenus a Dutch Chymist (6), who ascribes that purgation to a ferment. He wrote with much warmth, or rather rudeness, and, as the ingenious author of the historical preface to Dr Friend's Medical Works, observes, used rather the language of Billingsgate, than the Schools, in his performance. In 1712, Peter Fre-

(6) *Theoria Mechanice Physico-Medice del natiōis, in qua damnosa ejus precepta ad rationem et experientiam lancem revocantur ac practice emendatur.* Lugd. Batav. 1705. in 8vo.

(k) Vid. Præfat. ad opera medica, J. Freind.

(l) Nicéron, Mémoires des hommes illustres, Tom. XII. p. 351.

pointed to read chymical lectures in the University, which he performed with great applause, the novelty and perspicuity of his lectures, attracting and giving the highest satisfaction to a numerous audience (k). In 1705, he attended the famous Earl of Peterborough in his Spanish expedition, and was the companion of his fatigues, in which, as Physician to the army, he had no small share for very near two years together; and, in his return home through Italy, he made a tour to Rome, as well for the sake of seeing the celebrated antiquities of that famous city, as for the pleasure of visiting and conversing with Baglivi and Lancisi, men whom their skill in physick, and their excellent writings, had justly merited respect and renown (l). On his coming back to England, he found the character of his illustrious patron very rudely treated; and, out of a spirit of justice and gratitude,

fart, a Physician of Liege, published an Emmenologia, in which he rejects our author's notion, as well as that of a ferment, and asserts the cause of the Menses to be *Sal exustum purgaminis uterini in vasis collecti*, which, as the author before mentioned rightly remarks, is in reality saying nothing, and therefore it is impossible that there should be any thing said in answer to it. Since Dr Friend's death, Dr Thomas Simson, Chandos Professor of Physick and Anatomy in the University of St Andrew's, in his *System of the womb: with a particular account of the Menses independent of a Plethora; to which are subjoined a few observations relating to cold and its effects upon the body*, printed at London 1730. in 8vo. has declared against the doctrine of a Plethora, and assigns another cause of it. Monsieur Tellier the younger, Physician at Peronne, in his *Reflexions Critiques sur l'Emmenologia de Mr Freind*, printed at Paris 1730, recommends our author's treatise on account of its perspicuity, strength of argument, and the useful observations contained in it, and owns that the Plethora contributes not a little to this purgation; but differs with Dr Friend among other points, in this, that the latter supposes the flux to be occasioned by the rupture of the capillary vessels, whereas Monsieur Tellier affirms it to be performed by the influx of the blood into the lymphatic vessels, or as Helvetius calls them the lymphatic arteries. But Dr Wigan observes, that tho' Dr Friend often speaks of the rupture of the vessels, yet we are not to imagine that he meant a preternatural or violent breaking of them, since he expressly says, 'that the orifices of the vessels open upon the impulse of the blood.' *Per impulsum sanguinis, eorum officia dissilere*; considered in this light, Dr Wigan does not perceive any great difference between the theories of our author and Monsieur Tellier. He acknowledges that Frefart, Simson, and Tellier, have raised some difficulties against Dr Freind's doctrine, which deserve to be solved, and that the Doctor might be mistaken in some points of less importance, and advanced some things in this treatise not altogether consistent with what he wrote afterwards in his riper years; and he assures us, that the Doctor designed in the second edition published at London, to have corrected some things, added others, and answered some objections, but was prevented by business from executing that design. But Dr Wigan thinks that none of the objections are of such weight, but that the substance of his doctrine of a Plethora still stands firm.

In 1735, there was published an academical exercitation upon Dr Friend's Emmenologia, under the following title, *Exercitatio Academica ad Emmenologiam Freindianam: quâ fundamenti loco suppositæ quædam Doctrinæ modeste examinantur. Præsidi Jo. Friderico Herelio, Medicinæ Doctore & Physico Reipublicæ Norinbergensis, designato placidæ Eruditorum discussioni A. D. Martii 1735. 1000 xxxv. subjicienda, respondente Jo. Philippo Zellmano Hertzbergæ Hannoverano: Halæ Magdeburgicæ in 4to. p. 26.* Dr Herelius in his preface observes, that tho' a great many foreigners as well as English extol Dr Freind's book, as a compleat work, and adhere to his doctrine, yet that when he studied physic under Dr John Henry Schulze, he perceived many reasons which weakened the authority of that book, and shewed its insufficiency both in theory and practice. These reflections were confirmed by Monsieur Tellier's treatise abovementioned, upon which Dr Herelius translated it into Latin, and wrote notes upon it, and designed to publish his translation with an appendix, containing further animadversions upon Dr Freind's Emmenologia, but was pre-

vented for the present from executing this design by his travels. However he committed the Exercitation abovementioned to Dr Schulze in order to be published, which was accordingly done.

It contains five *Theses* which the author amply explains and illustrates, and which are as follow. I. *Freindi Systema non suppeditat ullam rationem, cur fluxus menstruus sit periodicus, & non perpetuus.* II. *Freindius nihil agit, quando solis humanis fœminis purgationes uterinas vindicatum it, ideoque uteri situm perpendiculararem in mulieribus, in quadrupedibus horizontalem urget.* III. *Freindius Plethorâ suâ quam a Galeno adoptat, remminimè expedit, nec alii expedient, quam diu nihil aliud nisi Plethoræ imminuendæ viam interpretantur menstruæ evacuationis negotium.* IV. *Freindius nullam rationem indicavit, cur suppositâ Plethorâ vim potius in vasa capillaria, usque ad disruptionem eorum, edat, quam majores truncos, quos tamen prius debet ingredi, antequam ad capillares perveniat.* V. *Freindius contendit, quod in gravidis menstrua cessent, quia sanguis alendo fœtusi insumitur. Id si verum est, concipi non potest, cur fœmina paupercula, laboriosa, & non plethorica, non diutius uterum gerat, aut minores fœtus excludat, quam fœmina sanguine ad modulum Freindianæ Hypotheseos abundans, tantamque abundantiam suo fœtui impendens.*

It is visible enough from the heads of these discourses, that Dr Herelius had either read our author's discourse with little attention, or had the misfortune not to comprehend his meaning. For with respect to the first, the account which Dr Freind has given of a Plethora, the consequences of it in a human body, and the different structure of the parts in women, very clearly explains, not only why they are subject to this flux, but also why they are not always subject to it. The second assertion is a bare begging of the question, and if he had been well acquainted with Natural History, he would have known that there are some exceptions to that general rule, which very plainly prove the reason assigned by Dr Freind to have very great weight. What he affirms in the third place, will not affect the candid reader's judgment in any degree, when he is informed that the best Physicians and Anatomists are now of a contrary opinion. His fourth objection proceeds from a mistake of Dr Freind's meaning, who plainly enough declares that he did not intend a preternatural breaking or separation of the vessels, but their yielding to an impinging force, in consequence of their natural structure, which is the plain solution of his doubt. The last is the least founded objection of them all, since there is no thing more commonly known, than that the nutriment depends as much on the quality as the quantity of the aliment; and therefore there is no reason in the world, why strong women should go longer with their children, much less that their offspring should be weaker than the children of those who have a more delicate constitution. But after all these objections, all this opposition, and not a little ill usage, if the reader will consult the learned Boerhaave (7), he will find the truth of Cicero's maxim, that the credit of opinion lasts but for a day, whereas truth rightly stated makes its passage in time, and remains established for ever. This has been the case of our author's doctrine which is now generally received, and received upon the arguments which he advanced, tho' we often find them mentioned without the least notice taken of him; so certain it is, that both envy and gratitude are short lived, in comparison of truth and experience.

gratitude, he drew his pen in the defence of that brave man, whose actions he is truly said to have vindicated, with the same spirit and fire with which they were performed (m). It is no wonder therefore, that the Doctor's book met with the same fate that the Earl's conduct had done; and, that as the surprizing successes of the latter were attributed to a happy temerity, so the detail given by the former, was, in spite of all the evidence he produced, considered as absolutely incredible, even by those who confessed that nothing could be written with more sprightly eloquence, or a more plausible appearance of truth (n). As time has now worn out all prejudices and prepossessions, so we may have leave to say, without giving much offence to any party, that the Doctor's history, however short, may be esteemed as correct and as perfect a piece, as any thing that ever appeared of the kind; and no doubt, had it been written in favour of any of their Generals, and published in a neighbouring country, it would have been extolled to the skies, compared to the most finished writings of the Antients, and treated as a work that deserved to be universally read, and as universally admired (o). But with us, things of this kind are run down by a party-spirit when they are new, and buried in oblivion when they are old; while, at the same time, we do all the justice imaginable to the writings of foreigners, whether new or old; which is indeed as reasonable as the other practice is absurd. What truth there is in these reflections, and what merit in that work of our author which occasioned them, we shall take occasion to explain in the notes [E]. It is now time to return to the historical thread of our article.

(m) See an Instance in note [E].

(n) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 370.

(o) See the numerous Catalogues of French Memoirs, in le Long, Bibliothèque historique de la France; and in Abbé Fresnoy's Méthode pour étudier l'Histoire.

He

[E] To explain in the notes.] The title of our author's work at large, runs in the following words.

*An Account of the Earl of PETERBOROUGH'S Conduct in SPAIN, chiefly since the raising the Siege of Barcelona, 1706; to which is added, The Campaign of Valencia. With original Papers.* Lond. 1707, 8vo.

He dedicated this book to his patron Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth; and it is generally reported, that he gave the strongest testimony a man could do, of his being fully informed, and thoroughly persuaded, of the facts that are contained in the whole series of his relation (8). The character we have given it in the text, requires that something farther should be said of it here. There are some places that seem fated to be always famous, and one would think that Saguntum was of the number; the siege of that place, in early times, has been described by masterly pens; we will leave to the reader's own judgment this account of the surprisal of it by the Earl of Peterborough, which fell from the pen of Dr Freind (9).

The Duke of Arcos, who commanded for the Duke of Anjou (as Philip the Fifth was then stiled by the Allies), kept the main of his army to the right of Valencia, towards a place called Torrente; but sent Brigadier Mahoni, with a detachment of horse, to secure the strongest pass in the country, over a river which was just under the walls of Molviedro, the antient Saguntum so famous in the Roman History. This place, which is about four leagues distant from Valencia, my Lord must pass, for no other way was practicable. All the officers were of opinion, that his Lordship must come to a full stop here, having no artillery, no miners, no preparations to take a walled town; where, besides numerous inhabitants, all armed and zealous for the Duke of Anjou, there was a very good General officer, and near eight hundred men, near half of them being Mahoni's regiment of Irish dragoons. What made our circumstances the more desperate in appearance, this place was for us most unfortunately situated, because, after passing the river, there was a plain of two leagues to a Carthusian convent, where the enemy, to all advantage, might make use of their horse, which were excellent, and double in number to ours. The Earl of Peterborough gave the officers hopes, that what he could not do by force, he did not fear but to compass by art; and told them, that if he could but prevail to get Mahoni to come out to speak with him, he was almost confident of getting immediate possession of the town, and the opportunity of passing the plains without opposition.

Molviedro lies about a league from the sea, the greatest part of the town upon a flat, except the side rising towards the castle, which stands on a high hill. On the right runs a long ridge of mountains; but, a little above cannon-shot from the place, there is, towards the country, a little round hill distinct by itself: our troops came towards the town by a great descent, and the way towards the pass was behind the round rising ground, turning short on the left to the river.

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The place of the interview intended by his Lordship, was on the side of this little rising ground next Molviedro, behind which my Lord had stolen some of his troops towards the pass, and brought them within view of the town; the rest were at the same time marching on purpose to make a shew, and, coming down the hills, the soldiers edging, as it were, the country people on that side where they could be seen. The few field-pieces we had were disposed to the like advantage, and every thing was set in a sort of perspective to the place of the interview.

The scene being thus prepared, the Earl of Peterborough sent an officer and trumpet into the town to Mahoni, to let him know that it should not be his fault if the country was exposed to unnecessary hardships and ruin, it being the interest of both sides to prevent it, since each had a chance to be master of it: that besides, he should be glad to have an interview with a countryman of so good a reputation; that such a conference could have no ill consequence, and might perhaps have some good effects; and that he was ready to meet him, with ten or twelve horse, in any convenient place betwixt his troops and the town. My Lord had the more hopes of succeeding in this project, since, that besides in these conferences, every body presumes to make his own advantage; he thought it might be reasonable enough, that Mahoni should be glad of a capitulation, and an opportunity to join his horse with those of the Duke of Arcos, in order to prevent our passing the plains towards the Carthusian convent.

The Condé de las Torres, the best officer in Spain, but by many thought no enemy to the House of Austria, was luckily recalled, upon pretended faults found in his conduct, in relation to the siege of St Mattheo; so that the Earl of Peterborough met an advantage he well improved, a General just come to an army, a man of great quality, but no soldier of service. Mahoni returned an officer with this compliment, that he would immediately wait upon the Earl of Peterborough, upon his Lordship's parole for his security, being desirous to shew him any proper respect, and to concert measures with him, that might prevent any disorders but those which were inevitable in war. This gentleman being related to the late Countess of Peterborough, of the Thomond family, was the more inclined to pay any civility to his Lordship. He came, with some of the principal officers of the Spanish forces, to the place where his Lordship received him, as the most proper to make an advantageous shew of his strength; and, after he was entertained upon a subject which had no effect, my Lord's second design was more successful.

It was not improper for my Lord to offer the most pressing motives, to incline him to take part with King Charles the Third, and to support them with the greatest offers; which were refused upon the principles of honour, and the impossibility of leaving a service to which he was engaged, for any advantages. But, as all pass with great compliments, the

(8) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 370.

(9) An account of the Earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, chiefly since the raising the siege of Barcelona, 1706; to which is added, the campaign of Valencia. Lond. 1707, 8vo. p. 254.

(p) Taken from  
the College Regi-  
ster.

He was created Doctor of Physick by diploma, July the twelfth 1707 (p); his reputation every day increasing, in proportion as the true sense and real merit of his writings became better known. In 1709, he published his Chemical Lectures, read at Oxford five years before; in which he rendered the same service to that science, that he had before done to Physick,

‘ Earl of Peterborough, to shew how sensible he was  
‘ of his confidence in coming to him, told him, that  
‘ he was willing to return his marks of esteem, with  
‘ what he conceived he would be well pleased with,  
‘ and which might prevent likewise some unavoidable  
‘ cruelties very much against his inclination. The  
‘ Spaniards, said he, have used such severities and  
‘ cruelties at Villa Real, as will oblige me to retaliate.  
‘ I am willing to spare a town that is under your pro-  
‘ tection: I know you cannot pretend to defend it  
‘ with the horse you have, which will be so much more  
‘ useful in another place, if joined with the Duke of  
‘ Arcos, to obstruct my passing the plains of Valencia.  
‘ I am confident you will soon quit Molviedro, which  
‘ I can as little prevent as you can hinder me from tak-  
‘ ing the town. The inhabitants then must be exposed  
‘ to the utmost miseries; and I can no otherwise pre-  
‘ vent it, but by being tied by a capitulation, which  
‘ I am willing to give you, if I had the pretence of the  
‘ immediate surrender of the place this very night.  
‘ Some cases are so apparent, that I need not dissemble:  
‘ I know you will immediately send to the Duke of  
‘ Arcos, to march to the Carthusian convent, and meet  
‘ him there with the body of horse under your com-  
‘ mand. My Lord, with a pretended frankness, of-  
‘ fered him, if he pleased, to let him see his troops,  
‘ and the artillery which he had; and, besides, told  
‘ him, what he could bring from the sea.

‘ Mahoni seemed almost to confess, that his part  
‘ was to strengthen the Duke of Arcos with his horse;  
‘ and laughing, said to my Lord, I may say so to your  
‘ Lordship, who is sensible of it, but cannot prevent it.  
‘ The Brigadier, however, seemed to be very well  
‘ pleased with my Lord’s openness, and told his Lord-  
‘ ship, that he would go back into the town, and send  
‘ an answer in half an hour. The capitulation was a-  
‘ greed upon, and the answer came by the chief of the  
‘ Spanish officers, with whom my Lord had occasion  
‘ to talk, and to feel his pulse; but finding no proba-  
‘ bility of prevailing on him to change sides, he con-  
‘ trived all he could, and not without success, to give  
‘ him jealousies of Mahoni.

‘ Mahoni, who of his side managed this matter with  
‘ a great deal of dexterity, and very much like an of-  
‘ ficer (had his advices been followed) in his capitula-  
‘ tion, had agreed not to quit the place till about one  
‘ at night; neither was the Earl of Peterborough to  
‘ pass the river till that hour. This was to get time  
‘ for the Duke of Arcos, to have made the march to  
‘ the plains; and the Brigadier allowed himself the  
‘ time before day-break, to have gained the same post.  
‘ But the Earl of Peterborough so increased the jealousy  
‘ betwixt the Spanish officers and Mahoni, that the  
‘ latter was forced to send to my Lord, to let him  
‘ know that his Lordship was obliged, in honour to  
‘ the most sincere and punctual compliance with his  
‘ capitulation; and confessed to him, that he was in  
‘ danger from the Spanish troops, even for his person,  
‘ if there were not the greatest assurances and evidences  
‘ given of the performance of his word.

‘ I am satisfied nothing would have engaged the  
‘ Earl of Peterborough to the least breach of faith, nor  
‘ could any consideration have justified his Lordship in  
‘ going over the pass of the river till the appointed  
‘ time, the enemy upon agreement having withdrawn  
‘ their dragoons which defended the intrenchments on  
‘ the other side. But my Lord having over-heard the  
‘ neighing of horses in the night, took it for granted  
‘ that some part of the troops had evacuated the town;  
‘ and that if the noise of firing was heard, it might  
‘ cause a jealousy that they were attacked, and so pro-  
‘ duce the desired effects of his plot upon the Duke of  
‘ Arcos, if any of the Spanish officers should arrive in  
‘ the enemy’s camp persuaded of an ill design in Ma-  
‘ honi.

‘ Upon this, my Lord ordered a party of men a  
‘ little up the river, with directions to make discharges  
‘ that might resemble an engagement of small parties.  
‘ Mahoni sent immediately to my Lord, to let him

‘ know that whatever umbrage was given, he depended  
‘ upon his word, and would never believe there could  
‘ be of his side any foul play. Mahoni was so pressed,  
‘ that many of his officers solicited his immediate  
‘ march; but his aim was not to move till one o’clock,  
‘ to give time to the Duke of Arcos; and the point  
‘ my Lord was labouring, was to improve the suspi-  
‘ cions and jealousies of the Spaniards. He thought  
‘ the message from Mahoni gave him a good occasion,  
‘ and therefore sent back an officer with this seeming  
‘ compliment, which succeeded to his wish, and entire-  
‘ ly accomplished what he aimed at. My Lord begged  
‘ of Mahoni to consent, that, for his security from any  
‘ accident, he might order a regiment of dragoons to  
‘ pass the river, and wait the hour appointed under the  
‘ walls of the town; that his own officers might ac-  
‘ company them, and send them to the proper place,  
‘ his Lordship having ordered two thirds of the officers  
‘ to come into the town, and put themselves into his  
‘ hands as hostages, for the exact and honourable per-  
‘ formance of all articles.

‘ Upon the march of these troops towards the town,  
‘ most of the Spanish officers, with the detachments  
‘ they commanded, marched separately towards the  
‘ Duke of Arcos; and some left their men, to give  
‘ their General an account of what had passed. My Lord,  
‘ as his officers conceived, had two insuperable difficul-  
‘ ties; the one, to get possession of Molviedro, and se-  
‘ cure the pass on the river; the other, to pass the two  
‘ leagues of the plains, which were betwixt Molviedro  
‘ and Valencia, before so good and so strong a body of  
‘ horse. My Lord was in hopes, if he succeeded in  
‘ one, to compass the other; and to that end, as soon  
‘ as he found the treaty in a fair way, he chose two  
‘ Irish dragoons out of Zinzendorf’s regiment, which  
‘ he well instructed, and well paid, and sent imme-  
‘ diately as deserters to the Duke of Arcos. He pro-  
‘ mised to make them officers if they succeeded, which  
‘ was punctually made good to one, who had well de-  
‘ served it, the other dying soon after his return. They  
‘ were to discover to the Duke of Arcos, that, being  
‘ hid under the rocks of the hill where they were drink-  
‘ ing a glass of wine, they had heard all the discourse  
‘ betwixt the Earl and Mahoni; that they saw five thou-  
‘ sand pikoles delivered; and that Mahoni was to be a  
‘ Major-General upon the English and Spanish establish-  
‘ ment, and to command a body of ten thousand Irish  
‘ Catholics, which were raising for the service of King  
‘ Charles. They agreed with the Duke of Arcos, to  
‘ have no reward, if he were not soon made sensible of  
‘ the truth of what they said by Mahoni himself, since  
‘ they were persuaded that he would quickly send, to  
‘ engage the Duke of Arcos to march immediately, with  
‘ the whole army, towards the Carthusian convent,  
‘ under pretence of joining with his horse, in order to  
‘ prevent the Earl of Peterborough from passing the  
‘ plains of Molviedro; but that whereas this march  
‘ must be made in the night, all matters were so agreed  
‘ and contrived betwixt the Earl and Mahoni, and the  
‘ troops so placed, that he must fall into the ambushes  
‘ designed, and run great hazards of an entire de-  
‘ feat.

‘ It fell out, that soon after these spies had given  
‘ this account to the Duke of Arcos, Mahoni’s Aid de  
‘ Camp arrived, with proposals exactly to the same  
‘ purpose; the Spanish General, whose suspicions were  
‘ confirmed, by the jealousies the Earl of Peterborough  
‘ had raised in several of the Spanish officers that were  
‘ come from Molviedro to him, instead of complying  
‘ with the immediate march proposed by Mahoni, re-  
‘ moved his camp quite the contrary way. Mahoni,  
‘ with his horse, expected the whole army at the Car-  
‘ thusian convent, till the approach of the Earl of Pe-  
‘ terborough made him retire to the Duke of Arcos’s  
‘ camp; as soon as he arrived, he was secured by that  
‘ General, and sent to Madrid. I must add here, that  
‘ when Mahoni came to tell his story at Court, he was  
‘ made a Major-General, and the Duke of Arcos was  
‘ recalled.

Physick, by reducing it from fictitious and fabulous, to rational and real principles (q). This small work of his, for small it is in bulk, however weighty in it's contents, gave as much satisfaction to all judicious readers, as the same lectures, when read, did to the learned audience which attended them. They were so much the more agreeable, to the lovers of undisguised truth, and of knowledge capable of being reduced to practice, as hardly any thing of the same nature had appeared; so that this science was left in the worst hands, and, from their ill management, had contracted stains that could be no other way wiped out, but by shewing that they were not in the art, but in the abuse of it (r). In fine, his lectures were clear, and yet very concise, plain, and perspicuous, tho' deduced from mathematical principles, and in which many curious and instructive disquisitions were made, of a philosophical nature, without the least perplexity or confusion. It was no wonder, therefore, that a performance so much wanted, and of such general use, should meet with general esteem [F]. But as these chymical lectures were written, read; and published in Latin; so when they came to the view of the learned Philosophers in Germany, the novelty of the doctrine they contained alarmed such as were zealous for the old principles, and of that learning which was built upon them, and of which they looked upon themselves as in full possession. The authors therefore of a celebrated Literary Journal, prefixed, to their account of this treatise, a censure of it (s), in which they were pleased to treat the principles of the Newtonian Philosophy as figments, and the method of arguing made use of in the lectures as absurd; because, in their opinion, it had a tendency to introduce again occult qualities in Philosophy. To this unfair and unfounded charge, an answer was given by Dr Freind, which was published in Latin in the Philosophical Transactions (t), and afterwards translated into English [G]. In 1712, he attended his Grace the Duke of Ormond

(q) See this explained in note [F].

(r) Vid. Præfat. ad Prælect. chymic.

(s) Opera med. J. Freind, p. 41.

(t) No. 331. for the Months of July, Aug. Sept. 1711.

[F] Should meet with general esteem.] We will first give the title of this book at large.

*Prælectiones Chymicæ: in quibus omnes fere operationes chymicæ ad vera principia & ipsius naturæ leges rediguntur; Anno 1704, Oxoniæ in Museo Ashmoleano habitæ. A Johanne Freind, M. D. Aed. Christi. Alumn. Lond. 1709. 8vo.* That is, *Chymical Lectures, in which almost all the operations of Chymistry are reduced to their true principles, and the laws of nature. Read in the Museum at Oxford, 1704.*

These lectures are dedicated to Sir Isaac Newton, and are nine in number, besides three tables. In the first lecture, after having observed the great defect of all chymical writers, in the theory of Chymistry, he proceeds to take notice, that no person had contributed more to the improvement of this art, than Mr Boyle, who did not so much lay new foundations of it, as destroy the old ones; and tho' he left sufficient materials from whence to deduce a true explication of things, yet his explications themselves are very defective. As to the way of deducing the operations in Chymistry, from the true mechanical principles, this he ascribes to Dr John Keil, as its first discoverer. Our author's design is, from these principles, to discourse somewhat largely upon such things, as tend most to the illustration of the nature of Chymistry, and to explain, as clearly as he can, its principal operations. This method he thought by far the most proper to be used, because it is the most natural and simple; and also, because he found by experience, that the common confused courses were of such little advantage, as not to leave the least tolerable idea of Chymistry, upon the minds of those who hear them. Upon this account, he proceeds in the following method. First, to explain all the operations in their natural order, and to shew by what law of mechanism they are produced, and to what uses and purposes they are principally subservient. Secondly, to shew all the ways in which they either are, or may be performed. Thirdly, to record all the experiments relating to this subject, under their proper heads, and to reduce them to the general theory. It is impossible to enter into a closer analysis of this work, our author having written so concisely, that it is simply impossible to give his meaning, or any thing like it, in fewer words. We may be well assured, that to write perspicuously, and to bring all he was to deliver on such a variety of subjects, in which almost every thing he had to say was entirely new, must have cost him a great deal of pains, which, however, he willingly underwent for the information of mankind, by the subversion of the ancient errors, and opening a new road to truth.

[G] Translated into English.] We find it added by way of appendix, to the second edition of our author's

book, in Latin, and to the English translation of it. A short extract will be acceptable to the reader, as it will be sufficient to give him a just notion, both of the censure and the reply.

The publishers of the *Leipsick* Transactions, says the Doctor, without making any objection to the experiments themselves, or shewing any false reasonings in the manner of explaining them, attack some of the principles, upon which the explication is founded, and this they do before they give any account of the treatise itself, with a design to raise a prejudice against it: a method surely very new, and very unfair, in these retailers of learning, who pretend only to give a naked and impartial relation of what is contained in books, and to leave the readers at liberty to judge for themselves. The grounds upon which I proceeded, in my *Theory of Chymistry*, were the principles and method of reasoning introduced by the incomparable *Sir Isaac Newton*, whose conclusions in Philosophy are as demonstrative, as his discoveries are surprising. And since the editors seem to have no true notion of his method, which is the only one by which natural knowledge can be advanced, I will here endeavour to explain it to them; I shall shew that it is to this we owe the late great improvements in Philosophy; that the objections they produce against it, arise from their wrong apprehensions of it, that the same objections are of much more force, against their own principles, than those of *Sir Isaac Newton*; and if, from what I have to offer upon these points, the reader be convinced, that the principles upon which my lectures are founded, are sufficiently justified and confirmed, I hope he will the easier be inclined to believe that they are rightly applied, which the editors, by their silence in this point, seem to confess.

It has been the constant method of the *Cartesians*, and of those too, for the most part, who call themselves mechanical Philosophers, to assume an hypothesis, or figment, which has no foundation any where, but in the imagination only; and then, in general terms, to tell us how every thing in nature may be produced, according to that hypothesis, without being able to give a clear and satisfactory account of one single appearance. Nothing of this kind can be charged upon *Sir Isaac Newton*, he assumes nothing but observations and experiments, which are evident to the sense of all mankind; and from thence he deduces demonstrative conclusions, and then again, by the assistance of these conclusions, he explains the causes of many phenomena in nature. Thus it is evident, by undoubted observations, that the planets move in ellipses round the sun, and describe areas always proportional to the times; and that the satellites do the same, in respect of their primary planets: from this he clearly demonstrates, that all the planets have

into Flanders as his Physician (*u*), and remained abroad the best part of a year. He had been a little before his departure admitted a Member of the Royal Society (*w*), which afforded him the honour and the happiness of conversing with Sir Isaac Newton, Dr Halley, Dr Keil, and several other eminent persons, whose great knowledge, and wonderful discoveries, reflected glory on their country. To them also Dr Freind was so much the more agreeable, as the learning he drew from books, had been cultivated and improved, after

(*u*) Account of the Campaign in Flanders. 1712.

(*w*) Præfat. ad opera medica, J. Freind.

the

have a tendency towards the sun, and the satellites towards the planets, which they attend, that this tendency decreases in a duplicate proportion of their distance; that moreover, there is an universal tendency of matter to matter, and that the tendency of the moon towards the earth, is the very same with the force of gravity, and is the cause of the flux and reflux of the sea. This tendency, or attraction, some indeed may, if they please, term an *occult quality*, and I believe it will always remain so, for I cannot find that the greatest Philosopher among the editors will undertake to shew how it may be produced mechanically.

But then, however occult it be, as to its cause, it cannot be called what their principles are own'd to be, an hypothesis or figment; since the existence of it is as undeniably proved, as that of the sun, or the planets. If then there be such a principle, which demonstrably belongs to matter, what reason can there be why we may not make use of it in Philosophy? and shew how it is the real and adequate cause of a great many effects which we daily observe. So likewise, by the most evident experiments and observations, Sir *Isaac Newton* has found the different refrangibility of the rays of light, and by that means has discovered such wonderful properties of light and colours, that all the attempts which have been made, in this part of Optics before, are trifling, in comparison of his performance.

The true way certainly of proceeding in these philosophical enquiries, is, first to find out, by many and undoubted experiments, the properties of bodies, and then, without any farther search into the cause of such properties, which perhaps are insearchable, to explain the particular phenomena which depend upon them. By this method Archimedes discovered the principles of Mechanics, and the laws of Hydrostatics, without determining the cause of gravity and fluidity. He assumes such facts as are evident to observation and sense, and from thence he demonstrates the principles of those sciences. So likewise, *Galileo*, tho' he knew no hypothesis which explained the cause of gravity, did, notwithstanding, find out the laws of acceleration in heavy bodies, the motion of projectiles, and the doctrine of pendulums: and, in a word, laid a foundation for all the discoveries which have been made in natural knowledge since his time. Have not the Mathematicians made great advancements in the science of Optics, by assuming two principles of reflection and refraction, which are evident to experience, tho' the real cause of these two principles, is still unknown to most of them? According to the principles of our philosophical editors, all these great and noble discoveries must be rejected, because they are founded upon such properties of bodies as have unknown causes, and cannot be explained without admitting occult qualities, which confound the principles of true Philosophy, and reduce it to its antient chaos.

*Wolfius*, in his *Aerometria*, has assumed for a principle, the gravity of the air; and from thence has deduced the reason of many phenomena in nature, but he has no where given us a mechanical account of the cause of this gravity; and, I believe, never any hypothesis has been yet produced to explain it, but what *Wolfius* himself could easily demonstrate to be false. Will the editors object to him, that he has introduced an occult quality into Natural Philosophy? Indeed, Sir *Isaac Newton* has gone farther towards explaining the cause of gravity, which we feel and observe, than any one besides, for he has shewn that it arises from the principle of attraction, which all matter has to matter. Such a principle of attraction they are pleas'd to call a figment, but how any thing should be a figment which really exists, is past comprehension. Sir *Isaac Newton* has undeniably proved one species of

attraction to be diffused through the whole planetary systems, and I have not heard that any objections of the least weight have been raised against his demonstrations.

I have more experiments to prove the existence of this other kind of attraction, which decreases in a greater proportion than the squares of the distance, and that it exerts itself vigorously in the minute particles of matter, than *Wolfius* has to prove the gravity of the air. Why then must we reckon the principles upon which the reasoning is founded, more a figment in one case than in the other? We find by observation that the particles of light which flow from the sun, the fixed stars, or even our terrestrial fires, are all equally attracted towards the edges of solid bodies, and wherever there is action, there must be re-action, and therefore it may be concluded that this principle is really existent, and equally diffused through all the matter of the universe. And tho' it may be inherent equally in all matter, yet Mr Keil has demonstrated, that it must of necessity produce the most sensible effects in the smallest bodies.

But they say, if we once allow such a liberty of feigning, others will invent other occult qualities, and so, by degrees, we shall return to the old refuge for ignorance: as if there be an attractive force or sympathy, why not likewise an antipathy, or an antipathistasis, and qualities emitted by way of species: we may likewise allow of the attractive funicles of Linus, and the variation of extension in the same manner. If there be an attractive force? 'Tis clear and demonstrable that there is such a force. This is not an hypothesis invented to solve other phenomena, but is itself a phenomenon in nature, and therefore tho' these editors may think they have urged the defenders of it to an absurdity, yet the foregoing argument, in which they seem to place so much confidence, has really no more in it than this: If we allow of one principle, which by undoubted experience we are sure exists in nature, therefore we ought upon the same account, to admit of others which do not exist: for instance, if we allow of gravity, which by experience we find to be in all bodies, tho' we know not the reason of it, therefore we must acquiesce in all the fictions and fancies of Philosophers, of which we have no experience, and for which no reason can be assigned. If this be a mathematical way of reasoning, I must confess we had better return to any old refuge of ignorance, than allow of such a liberty of arguing.

But the great objection against the principle of attraction is, that there can be no mechanical reason given for it. Must we then allow of nothing, but what we can give a reason for? have ever any of them yet given a true and mechanical account of the elasticity of the air? which however, is acknowledged by all Philosophers, and several phenomena are owned to be rationally solved by it. We don't deny but a clock maker may understand the mechanism of a clock or watch, tho' he knows nothing of the nature of gravity, or elasticity, which are the principles that set all the wheels in motion: and for the same reason, why may not he be allowed to know the mechanical operations of nature, who has discovered the spring which actuates all the bodies in the universe, and preserves them in their orders and motions, and can give an account how it mechanically produces each particular phenomenon, tho' at the same time he is intirely ignorant as to the cause of that first spring, upon which they all depend? however, if the editors have a mind to attempt explaining this principle of attraction mechanically; they have their full liberty: Sir *Isaac Newton*, I dare say, will willingly resign to them the glory of the discovery, and be satisfied if he escapes their censure for not undertaking the solution of such an intricate problem.

the manner of the Antients, by travelling through various countries, and conversing with the learned of different nations. He had now visited Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Flanders, and heightened the lights which his great genius and extensive learning enabled him to receive from experience, by a strict attention to the havoc made by wounds and diseases in fleets and camps (x). He resided mostly after his return at London, and gave himself up wholly to the cares of his profession. In this if he succeeded, it was wholly owing to his merit, for he was incapable of using any of the little arts that passed for wisdom with men of meaner minds; he had neither an obsequious complaisance for patients of high quality, nor could he readily dispense with all the received opinions amongst those of the same Faculty (y). But these, and some other wants, were supplied by true knowledge, great integrity, and happy success, which triumphed over all obstacles, and carried him to the very summit of medical practice. He passed through his first examination July the third 1713, was admitted a candidate on the thirtieth of September following, and April the ninth 1716, was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians (z). He published the same year the first and third books of HIPPOCRATES *de morbis popularibus*, to which he added a commentary upon fevers, divided into nine short dissertations (a), which he dedicated to Dr Richard Frewen, of Oxford, a person of excellent character, with whom he had lived long in the most entire friendship. This was still a more important work than any which had fallen from his pen, and as he was desirous of establishing, for the true principles of Physick, those that having been discovered by the sagacity of the Antients, were confirmed by the experiments of the Moderns, he thought a more proper method could not be taken than this, of prefixing the most valuable parts of the Epidemics of Hippocrates before his own discourses, that it might incontestibly appear that he had not only sound sense and right reason, but also the highest authority on his side (b). Few books have met with better reception than this did, from all who were competent judges of the subject; and indeed it had all the merit of his former pieces, with this additional advantage, that it contained a greater variety of matter [H]. It is no improbable conjecture, that the loud and general applause

(x) This is Dr Wigan's remark.

(y) Vid. Epist. ad D. R. Mead. de purgantibus in febricula Variolarum confluentium Febre, adhibendis.

(z) From the College Register.

(a) Lond. 1716. 4to.

(b) Vid. Commentar. 1. de ratione scribendi, quam in Epidemicorum libris tenuit Hippocrates.

[H] *A greater variety of matter.*] The title of this learned and curious book, in which our author shewed an equal reverence for the Antients, and just respect for the discoverers of the Moderns, runs thus.

HIPPOCRATIS *de morbis popularibus liber primus & tertius* Græco Latinus. *His accommodavit novem de Febris Commentarios*, Johannes Freind, M. Doctor, Coll. Med. Londinensis. Londini 1717. 4to. That is, *The first and third books of Hippocrates of Epidemick Diseases in Greek and Latin. To which are added nine Commentaries upon Fevers accommodated to his Doctrine*, by Dr John Freind. These Commentaries were translated by Dr Thomas Dale into English, after the death of their author.

We find a copious and curious dedication prefixed to this work, as has been observed in the text, addressed to the author's old and intimate friend, Dr Frewen, dated December the first, 1716. In this our author observes, that the ancient Physicians were not only skilled in their profession, but likewise in all other parts of learning, and distinguished for the elegance of their stile. They applied themselves to give an exact account of diseases, and their different symptoms, and explained them with the utmost perspicuity and accuracy. Among the Latin Physicians, he particularly extols Celsus as an admirable writer, as well as an excellent Physician, and observes that Cælius Aurelianus would deserve a place amongst the principal physical writers, if his style had been less barbarous. Amongst the Greek writers he commends Alexander Trallianus, who expresses himself politely enough, except with regard to some few words. We find some things in him which favour of the Empiric, and of one full of superstition, he is also too diffuse upon the remedies, but he gives a very clear and exact account of diseases. Dr Freind seems to doubt, whether Galen is to be ranked among the Physicians, who have explained the nature of diseases, since this does not appear to be his design in any one of his books, tho' he was himself an excellent Physician, and delivers the notions of his predecessors, and especially of Hippocrates, with great subtilty and elegance. Our author recommends Aretæus, and then proceeds to the character of Hippocrates, whom he stiles the most compleat Physician of all Antiquity, and is surprized that several Moderns neglect the study of him, as if he was of little consequence, and prefer several writers to him. He remarks, that those who abandon the Antients, do not understand the subjects of which they treat, or express themselves in a very bad manner, and that the reason

why we have so few good writers among the vast number who have written of diseases in the two last centuries, is, that they never read the Antients, but formed their style merely upon the Moderns; and not content with writing ill, have added to the explication of distempers, so many vain chimeras of Philosophy, that they seem rather to have composed fables than histories of diseases; for being infatuated with their own hypotheses, they lay down not only useless, but even false and pernicious rules for the cure of them. Dr Freind does not pretend to deprive the Moderns of the honour due to them, he owns that they have cultivated anatomy, and enriched it with a great many new discoveries, and explained the virtues of medicines with great diligence and accuracy. But perhaps, says he, the use which anatomy may be of in physic, has not yet been sufficiently shewn. And with regard to medicines it may be affirmed, that they frequently perplex the Physician, and that the needless multitude of them is a great obstacle to the cure of diseases.

In the preface our author informs us, that all the editions of Hippocrates's works are full of errors. That of Aldus Manucius is very defective, but Frobenius's is more correct. Jerom Mercurialis has followed the latter so implicitly, that he has sometimes copied even the faults. Though Foësius's edition is not exempt from mistakes, it is more correct. Charterius's is the most erroneous. There is but one manuscript in England of Hippocrates *de morbis popularibus*, which was of great advantage to Dr Freind, who, in order to publish the text as correct as possible, consulted all the editions, without adhering to any one in particular. After the preface, follows Hippocrates's treatise in Greek, with Foësius's Latin version at the bottom of the page.

In the first of his commentaries, our author discourses of the manner of writing which Hippocrates pursued in his books of epidemick diseases. He gives us two reasons for the pains he took in publishing these pieces; the first is, that only these two books are held to be genuine, and that in them we find all that this great man delivered concerning fevers. For the better understanding of which, our author enters very learnedly and closely into his method of writing and recording, that the reader may the more easily apprehend the meaning of his observations, and have the clearer idea of the matters of fact which he sets down. In his second discourse, he considers the use of bleeding, and more especially the safety, expedience, and even necessity, of opening the jugulars, where the brain is affected; at the close, he mentions the opening the temporal artery, which

applause with which this learned treatise was received, had an unhappy effect; either on the head or heart of another Physician, who set himself immediately an unpleasing, or at least an unsuccessful task (c), that of destroying with the publick the credit which some new points in practice, recommended by our ingenious author, had gained, purely from that force of reasoning with which they were supported. To this extraordinary piece, in which great bitterness of heart appeared, with no small acrimony of stile, it is said our author opposed a very ludicrous answer (d), in which the vivacity of his wit, was shewn to be not at all inferior to the extent of his learning, and the solidity of his understanding. His rival shewed some inclination to fight him with the same weapons, but his vinegar was not near so strong as his gall; so that it was quickly discerned that all the lovers of raillery were on the side of Dr Freind, and were extremely diverted with the controversy, of which, had it been managed in a serious light, they would not have ventured to assume the character of judges [I]. Upon this the scene changed, the Doctor's adversaries cried out, that they had been laughed at, but not refuted; that the subject was very serious and important, and therefore called for a sober and judicious, not a humourous or whimsical reply. Upon this Dr Quincy took them at their words (e), and very learnedly and modestly, as well as plainly and judiciously, answered all the little cavils that had been raised against Dr Freind's Commentaries. Yet even this did not do; those who called so loudly for argument, found it not at all grateful to their palates, and therefore chose to put an end to the controversy, by a flat piece of irony, which could be only scorned and despised [K]. Our author supported that sentiment of his, which had occasioned so warm an altercation, in

(c) See this explained in note [I].

(d) Letter from Dr Byfield mentioned at the bottom of the page.

(e) In his Examination of Dr Woodward's State of Physick, &c. 1719. 8vo.

which he commends; but at the same time adds, that he is unwilling to dwell upon it, since it is very unlikely that our countrymen will ever be reconciled to this kind of practice. The utility of sweating is the subject of the *third* commentary, which is very short. In the *fourth*, he treats of vomiting, which he advises at the beginning, and the use of which he dissuades at the approach of the crisis in fevers, and more especially in the small-pox when at the height, unless where there is evident danger of suffocation. In the *fifth*, he treats of a purulent spitting, of a pleurisy likewise and peripneumony. What he says concerning an abscess, an ulcer of the colon, and the bladder, composes the *sixth* commentary, in which there is a very singular and accurate history, of a curious case that fell under our author's inspection. The *seventh* commentary, which is larger than all the other six taken together, relates to purging, what effect it may have in the putrid fever which attends upon the confluent small pox, and in an erysipelas of the head; in this there are inserted, with the consent of the persons who wrote them, a letter from Dr Richard Frewen, dated Christ-Church Oxon, July the twentieth 1710; another from Dr H. Levett, dated June the tenth 1710; another from Dr Salusbury Cade, dated September the eighth 1716; another curious, critical, and circumstantial letter from Dr Richard Mead, dated September the first 1716; as also a letter from Dr Freind, to the same gentleman, dated November the twenty-sixth 1716, and in this there is a very exact history of a case in which they were consulted together. At the close of this commentary, there is added a very clear and learned account of the intestinal discharge. What he says concerning a profluvium of urine takes up the *eighth* discourse; and the *ninth* relates to those vesicatories into which cantharides enter, and concludes with the author's assuring the candid reader, he will find by experience, that tho' many kinds of fevers generally yield to evacuations, without making use of any other remedy; yet there are scarce any, which, if they are become any thing vehement, can be extinguished by any medicine whatever, if this method of evacuating be set aside.

[I] *The character of judges* ] The history of this dispute, which was carried very high, would take up much more room, than, in a work of this nature, can be allowed; we must therefore be content to report the titles of the principal pieces published during this controversy, with a few remarks. It was begun by a book written by Dr John Woodward, Professor of Physick in Gresham College, and eminent in his profession. The title of which ran thus:

*The State of Physick and of Diseases: With an Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of them, but more particularly of the Small-Pox: With some Considerations upon the new Practice of purging in that Disease: To the whole is premised, An Idea of the Nature and Mechanism of Man, of the Disorders to which*

*it is obnoxious, and of the method of relieving them.* Lond. 1718, 8vo.

Dr Woodward tells us in his preface, that this book, together with remarks upon some of the other heads treated of by Dr Freind in his Commentaries, were drawn up in the winter of the year 1716, soon after these Commentaries came out; and in the second section he writes thus (10). 'In every thing that Dr Freind hath hitherto published, and particularly the present Commentaries, he hath advanced several hypotheses, some of which are rightly supported, and the rest all so ingenious, that I cannot but be pleased with them. But then I can see no reason to debar myself of the same pleasure, from those of Dr Willis, Dr Sydenham, Dr Morton, and other Physicians, to whose hypotheses Dr Freind is so very adverse, he having not, exclusive of others, the sole privilege of entertaining the world in this way.'

To this, Dr Freind opposed a ludicrous answer; under the title of *A Letter to the learned Dr Woodward, by Dr Byfield.* Lond. 1719, 8vo. It was purely calculated to expose Dr Woodward, and his manner of writing. About the same time, there was likewise published another pamphlet against Dr Woodward, intitled, *A Letter from the facetious Dr ANDREW TRIPE, at Bath, to his loving Brother the profound GRESHAMITE, shewing that the SCRIBENDI CACOETHES is a Distemper arising from the redundancy of BILIOSE SALTS, and not to be eradicated but by a diurnal Course of Oils and Vomits. With an Appendix concerning the Application of SOCRATES his Clyster, and the use of clean Linnen, in Controversy.* Lond. 1719, in 8vo. pages 48. In answer to this, and the Letter by Dr Byfield, there was published, *The two Sofia's: Or, the true Dr BYFIELDE at the Rainbow Coffee-House, to the Pretender in JERMYN STREET; in answer to a LETTER wrote by him, assisted by his two Associates. With a Preface relating to the late famous exploits of the facetious Dr ANDREW TRIPE. As also an Account of the new Creed of these Physicians, designed as an Appendix to the RELIGIO MEDICI.* Lond. 1719, in 8vo. pages 58. In this Pamphlet, Dr Freind is every where represented as the author of the *Letter from Dr BYFIELDE*, and severely reflected upon; and his *Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conquest in Spain*, is particularly censured. Another bitter invective, which appeared on the same side, bore the following title:

*A Letter to the fatal Triumvirate, in Answer to that pretended to be written by Dr BYFIELDE; in which, sufficient Reasons are assigned, why Dr WOODWARD should take no Notice of it.* Lond. 1719, 8vo. There were also several smaller pieces inserted in the publick papers, and periodical productions of those times, of which it is not requisite that we should take any further notice.

[K] *Only scorned and despised.* At length, after much time and paper spent, in the management of this

(10) Woodward's State of Physick, p. 54.

in a letter addressed to the learned Dr Richard Mead, and dated September the twentieth 1719 (f); in the beginning and at the close of which, if we discover something of heat, or cannot avoid perceiving an unusual quickness and acidity in the stile, we ought, not only to excuse it, on the score of the many admirable things which that most learned epistle contains; but we must likewise acknowledge, that some amends is made us by that honest zeal which our author expresses for the dignity of his profession, the sincerity and tenderness of his friendship for that worthy person to whom his letter is addressed, and, if one may be allowed to avow it, that elegant spirit of invective by which his resentment is conveyed in all the energy and force of the Roman language. This letter had it's effect, and every body that took any share in matters of this kind, could not avoid being pleased to find the history of so capital a disease as the small-pox, deduced, with so much accuracy and succinctness, from the very earliest accounts that authors give of it; so many slips of the learned; as well as vulgar mistakes, convincingly rectified; and the subject, with all it's circumstances;

(f) Lond. 1719.  
4to. p. 147.

this debate in so fantastick a way, there came out a short treatise which had a graver aspect; it was intitled,

*An Appeal to common Sense, or a sober Vindication of Dr Woodward's State of Physick, by a Divine of the Church of England.* Lond. 1719, 8vo.

The apparent design of this short discourse, was to shew how very inconsistent the language hitherto used in this dispute was, not only with regard to the persons concerned therein, but also to the importance of the subject, as a thing in which mankind was deeply interested, and had a just right to expect it should be no longer considered as a jest. Upon this, the very learned and ingenious Dr Quincy immediately took up the challenge, and very soon after published

*An Examination of Dr Woodward's State of Physick.* Lond. 1720.

In that treatise, Dr Woodward had advanced the following hypothesis. 'That the beginnings of all things, good or bad to the body (bating exterior accidents) are in the stomach, in which more or less of a bilious juice is ordinarily resident, containing salts of a very different nature. These salts are the instruments of digestion, and, while they retain their natural state, are in a proper quantity, and regular motion, the body is in health; but when they become too redundant or vitiated, they are the causes of all distempers. Therefore the speediest, as well as the most effectual, method of removing all bodily disorders, is to cleanse the stomach by emetic medicines. And as this generally holds good in other cases, so particularly in the second fever of the confluent small-pox, in which purging is very dangerous.' In answer to this, Dr Quincy asserts, 'That several diseases have not their origin in the stomach; that the natural residence of the bile is not there, but, being separated by the liver, is emptied out into the bowels, a considerable distance below the further orifice of the stomach, and never ascends thither but by convulsive and preternatural means; that consequently the disorders attributed to the bilious matter in the stomach, and the method of removing them by vomits, must be groundless (\*). And then he proceeds to vindicate the practice of purging in the second fever of the confluent small-pox, in the following manner; he insinuates, that Dr Woodward disguises, under the name of *purging in the small-pox*, the practice recommended, and adds, 'Those Physicians have advised that evacuation only in some particular circumstances of this distemper; that is, chiefly in such cases of the confluent kind, where the whole load of humours cannot be thrown off by the surface and glands about the mouth, but stopping, when the pustules grow hard, returns back into the blood, and raises a secondary fever, which proves often fatal; and their reasons for thus doing, they have communicated to one another in the Latin language, as a point in practice of great importance. But Dr Woodward, in English, has harangued the populace, and endeavoured to frighten people with a belief that their general practice, in this distemper, is by purging; and, from instances of it's impropriety in some cases, takes occasion to be very compassionate for his country, to weep over the Weekly Bills, and inveigh as bitterly against purges, as a crafty Penthustia would against the Scarlet Whore, by this means prostituting the honour of the profession, and marking out those of greatest emi-

nence therein to publick resentment. He traduces these gentlemen also by a delusory name, for purging, in the common acceptation in English, has a very different idea from those terms of the learned, whence it is translated. Solliciting the discharge of an overload of bad humours by stool, which the constitution is not of itself able to struggle with, is amongst them expressed in terms which may bear the English word purging in a restrained sense, but in the most enlarged acceptation of it, and as Dr Woodward uses it, it is not true of their writing or practice. After all, so far as these Physicians advise purging in the small-pox, it is also practised, by common consent, in many other cases of fevers; that is, wherever nature makes an imperfect crisis, and the efforts of the constitution are not able to bring the peccant matter to a head, or throw it off the principal parts, and wherever such matter threatens mischief to some noble part. These happen frequently in inflammatory fevers; and evacuation often by stool is promoted both to ease the constitution of the over-load, and draw off the humours that would be otherwise troublesome; and this assistance, in some particular cases of the small-pox, seems so consonant to nature and reason, that an omission of it can arise only from an unacquaintance with the true procedure of the distemper.' Dr Quincy also gives the following answer, to the passage cited from Dr Woodward in the foregoing note (11). 'Every one who has read Dr Freind, will find it very difficult to understand what is meant by hypotheses. That gentleman has advanced many propositions, which he has fully proved; but for hypotheses, in the common acceptation, he disclaims them, and is an utter enemy to them. But yet, in this sense, Dr Woodward must use the word; because he says, just after, But then I can see no reason to debar myself of the same pleasure from those of Dr Willis, &c. Yet, here again, we are in a contradiction, for Willis's works are professedly an hypothesis, being founded upon suppositious principles, such as sulphur, salt, &c. And Dr Morton accounted for diseases, and their cures, from a supposition of their seat being in the animal spirits. But then Dr Sydenham went upon no hypothesis, but utterly declaimed all such delusory conceits, and drew no conclusions except from facts and experience.' The whole of this work was conducted in such a manner as to convince by reasoning, and to give no other offence than what must necessarily attend every endeavour to refute opinions, warmly, and even angrily, espoused. At the same time, it gave a fair occasion to wipe out the remembrance of those mistakes, by a conduct of another nature, and by a defence worthy the importance of the subject, and of the characters of those who were embarked in this affair. But instead of a serious answer to this book, there was published soon after, *An Account of Dr Quincy's Examination of Dr Woodward's State of Physick and Diseases, in a Letter to the Free-thinker*; which consisted, in a great measure, of invectives against the author and his performance, without entering into the subject. This occasioned Dr Quincy to print a second edition of his examination; to which was subjoined, *A Letter to Dr Woodward*, wherein he complains of the ill treatment he received in that pamphlet, for having complied with the invitation of bringing the matters in dispute to the test of truth and argument. And thus at length ended this controversy.

(\*) Quincy's Examination of Woodward's State of Physick, p. 73 — 75.

stances, set in so very clear a light [L]. The connecting several points relating to the same subject, has carried us a little out of the direct path of Chronology, into which it is but reasonable we should return. March the seventh 1717, he read the Gullstonian lecture in the

[L] *In so very clear a light.* This was written in the heat of that dispute, and before several treatises mentioned in the former note, but it seemed to be the clearest, as well as the most natural, method to carry on the history of the paper war in that quarter without interruption, and this finished, to give an account of his epistle, the title of which runs thus.

*Johannis Freind, M. D. De Purgantibus, in secunda Variolarum confluentium febre, adhibendis Epistola. Lond. 1719. 4to.* That is, *Concerning purging in the second fever of the confluent small pox, in an Epistle to Dr Richard Mead.*

This letter is dated, London, September the twentieth 1719, our author begins with lamenting the hard state of those Physicians, who have no other way of enlarging their practice, or raising their reputation, but by a diligent application to the study of the profession. He speaks of the little arts, the low complacencies, the mean cunning of some men, who by constantly pursuing the beaten road, falling in with popular prejudices, and vainly pretending to follow nature, tho' they are not able to penetrate much less to explain her operations, endeavour to support themselves, and to decry others who labour with unwearied pains to tread in the footsteps of their judicious predecessors, and, if possible, add a farther degree of perfection to the healing art themselves. He then enters into the reason of that practice, in which he had concurred with the worthy and learned person to whom he wrote, which from his experience he had recommended, and which he was desirous of seeing farther explained, and supported by a work which this gentleman had then in hand, and which having lately appeared fully justifies the character given it so long ago, by so good a judge. He afterwards delivers ten cases, which, in point of accuracy, perspicuity, and coming clearly up to the point they were brought to prove, are in every respect satisfactory. He enters afterwards into a very curious, but concise history of the disease, and of the method in which it had been treated in all its stages, by the ablest of the Faculty in different countries and ages, to shew how little foundation there was for styling this a new practice, he comes then to the apprehensions which some had endeavoured to raise upon this manner of treating the disease, as if a temporary relief ought not to be sought by running the hazard of future evils, which he fully shews to be without either meaning or foundation. His words are very worthy the reader's observation (12). 'For to say something, continues he, of that danger which some dread, as being the certain consequence of this method of cure, they seem to me not to understand, either what that distemper can bear, or in what manner this medicine ought to be applied. But do they know any one to have been killed or carried off by purging? Perhaps they may: for my part I do not: nay, not one whom it did not recover, unless in a case which in the judgment of every one was plainly desperate. Farther I can affirm, which may perhaps seem strange, that not one of those who could not be saved by this kind of remedy, ever died of a looseness, and that no one ever sunk under the operation of the purge: but that those very persons; who tho' catharticks were given them, however died, almost always found some relief from them for a time. And this, indeed, is agreeable to reason; for nature at this time labours under the too great weight of the distemper, and has no occasion for an additional load from the intestines: by what medicine then can she be more expeditiously relieved, than that whereby this load of faeces is discharged? But neither yet, because a spontaneous flux of the belly has proved destructive, which does not however very often happen, is the opening of the body to be scrupled at this time of the distemper, for whatever agreement there may seem to be betwixt them they differ very widely, for one of these cases shews plainly, that the strength is dissolved; in the other case, what hinders, if the other inclinations agree, our trying those purges

(12) Oper. raed.  
Johan. Freind,  
p. 303.

which are suited to the strength, upon this account likewise, is there the less danger from this evacuation, in that we can moderate it at our pleasure, either by giving the most gentle remedies, or in a moderate quantity, or at the longer intervals. Besides, at this time of the small pox the belly having been so long shut up, and immoderately charged with faeces, is not so readily loosened, as to occasion any fear of too great a flux. Therefore it is in our own power, either to hold in or let go the reins, we may try this experiment of purging without any danger in the most gentle manner, we may, if it avails any thing, repeat it at times, so that we may proceed gradually as far as we desire. Wherefore, since this kind of remedy is not only free from hurt, but greatly advantageous to the patient, I admire at the dulness of some men who, being prejudiced, are entirely averse to it, or at least they administer it so timorously and coolly, that they are not willing to try it till the health is even irrecoverable. As if it were better to wait for the danger than prevent it: as if he would not more easily surmount the danger of this distemper, who is thus relieved on the ninth or tenth day, than by deferring this medicine till the thirteenth or fifteenth, when the distemper is become already inveterate.' He goes on to enquire to what causes these people themselves attribute these jealousies and terrors, and demonstrates them to be vain from those causes, having no foundation, but in their imagination. They dread that nature should be disturbed in her course, or defeated in her endeavour, to throw out the morbid matter; he shews that in this case nature makes ineffectual efforts, and without the assistance of art can only struggle against death, till the strength of the patient is exhausted. They are afraid of sinking the spirits by purging; he affirms, that this does not happen, but that the body being relieved by the removing an oppressive load, is quickly freed from many alarming symptoms. They take it for granted, that the tumefaction in the hands must be abated by the purging, he gives many instances of the direct contrary. In reference to the abuse of a true principle, that Physicians ought to study nature, and the occasion taken from them, to reflect upon learning, as if a Physician deserted nature by applying himself to books, he says with much warmth, but at the same time with much good sense (13). 'I must confess the constant cant of those trifling, and as they imagine themselves philosophising, fellows, has often times raised my indignation, and often times also my laughter, when they tell us we must always attend nature, and proceed in that path which nature's self points out to us: as if no body knew this, but persons entirely unskilled in all the arts and sciences: as if they were less capable of this, who are assisted by the writings of the Antients, and have made some progress in learning. What else have those ingenious and learned men done, those great restorers of physick among the Greeks and Arabians, what end did they propose to themselves in their studies, than to understand only how to follow nature; to follow her however in such a manner, as that they might guide and direct her by art, whenever there was occasion? Can we receive therefore no advantage from their lucubrations? Can we find no assistance in our endeavours towards relieving the afflicted from their experience, histories, and institutions? Because, forsooth, it is the part of an honest Physician to observe only what is indicated by nature. In truth, those very persons who entertain these sentiments, trusting too much to their own natural sagacity, will not easily understand what is meant by the word Nature, neither will they understand what she indicates, nor what of help she stands in need, or lastly by what means she may be assisted.' To this epistle are added two letters, the first from Dr Sedgewick Harrison, dated All Soul's College Oxon, September the tenth, 1719, containing five cases; the other from Dr Bate, dated Ashford, September the nineteenth, 1719, containing six cases.

(13) Ibid. p. 346.

the College of Physicians; he was chosen one of the Censors September the thirtieth 1718, in which honourable post he continued two years. On the twenty-fifth of March following, he gave the sum of fifty pounds towards repairing the College. October the eighteenth 1720, he pronounced the anniversary oration before that learned body, which was published, and, as might be well expected, highly applauded (g). He takes occasion therein, to bestow just praises on the great men who had adorned the Faculty, by their learning and labours, in this kingdom; and as there was no subject more agreeable to his temper and inclination, as he had a great facility of composing, and withal a very strong judgment, so we need not wonder that this oration is a peculiar proof of the felicity of his genius, and of his excelling in those qualities for which he has so justly, and so highly, commended the famous Linacre (h). In 1722, he was elected a Burgess to Parliament for Launceston, in the county of Cornwall; and acting in his station as a Senator, with that warmth and freedom which was natural to him, he distinguished himself by some quick speeches against such measures as he disapproved (i). As those were very critical times, and a matter of great importance was upon the carpet, in which Dr Freind thought himself obliged to take some share; it drew upon him so much suspicion, or so much resentment, that, the Habeas Corpus Act being at that time suspended, a warrant was issued against him for high-treason, and, after the House of Commons had been made acquainted therewith, he was on the fifteenth of March 1722-3 committed to the Tower (k), where he continued prisoner till the twenty-first of June following, when he was first admitted to bail, and afterwards discharged from his recognizance (l). This affair made a great deal of noise at the time it happened, and was then very little understood; which is the reason that what some publick writers have delivered concerning it, is at once obscure, and not much to the purpose [M]. The leisure afforded him by this confinement, being not at all

(g) These dates from the Register.

(h) Opera med. Johan. Freind, p. 366.

(i) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. 11. p. 737.

(k) Historical Register, Vol. VIII. p. 259.

(l) See the note [M].

disturbed

Immediately after the publication of this Latin epistle, came abroad a burlesque piece under the following title.

*Dr Freind's Epistle to Dr Mead, rendered faithfully into English, divided into proper chapters, with notes learned and unlearned.* Lond. 1719. 8vo.

The design of this ingenious piece was by a ridiculous translation of a few of the first paragraphs in Dr Freind's letter, and the heightening this coarse humour with some notes of the same kind, to raise a laugh amongst those who were incompetent judges of the point in dispute, of which it is requisite to give the reader an instance, that it may appear we have no intention to deceive him. At the beginning of his epistle, Dr Freind writes thus, as we have literally translated his expressions (14).

'In this therefore, as well as in the business of Painting or Sculpture, if any has a desire to excel, it is necessary that he should have an understanding framed as it were and accommodated to the art he would pursue, for no man by mere dint of study can ever become a Physician, unless he is in some sort born thereto. For in this art there are many things obscure and hidden, many complicated and subtle, which cannot by any precepts be taught or fully delivered by any explanation; so that, tho' much may be learned from the writings of Physicians, from whence that he may the better draw them, it is requisite that they should be thoroughly known to a Physician, yet much more must after all be left to his judgment and penetration. Neither is this in any thing more evident, than in the being able to distinguish amidst the variety of pulses, for those who are well acquainted with this happy effect of the touch, are very sensible that it is not to be acquired by the lessons of masters, but from daily practice and their own proper sagacity; insomuch, that in the affair of physic, more especially, the benefit is found of a natural quickness of apprehension, and the felicity of forming readily a true and sound judgment of things.' The remarks upon these observations of Dr Freind, in the piece before mentioned, are in the following words (15).

'This is the most extraordinary discovery the Doctor ever made, that *no man can be a Physician, unless he be born one*, or as he more elegantly phrases it, *as it were, and in some manner, born one*. This softening *quodammodo* instead of mitigating the nonsense in it, and turns his poor attempt at a meaning into ridicule. Pray, after *what manner, which way, or how, must he be born a Physician, or as it were one?* Must he come into the world with receipts in his hand, or must the name like the *Beasts* in the Revelations be written on his forehead? But

'I know what deceived the Doctor, having heard of *Poeta nascitur non fit*, and knowing himself to have as indisputable a right as *Sancta Panca* to the misapplication of all *Proverbs* and quaint *Sayings*, he changes the word *Poeta* for *Medicus*, and makes the proverb his own. There may be something in the assertion, when it refers to *works of fancy and imagination*, as *Poetry and Painting*, but I hope *Physic* is not in that number, nor any *Physician* proud of the title, but as it stands in opposition to the *unborn Doctor*, unless the great F—— who is the most *fanciful* of his brethren, writes treatises of *Poetry* instead of *Physic*, and *paints* when he should *prescribe*. The secret is now out, a *Physician* must be born a *Pulse-feeler*, having a nicer sensibility in *extremis partibus*, than a *Tanner* or a *Tinker*. After the same reason, long and small *fingers* denote a man born a *Musician*, or a *Man Midwife*, an erect countenance makes an *Astronomer*, and a down-cast look a *Botanist*. Te, vir clarissime, hinc oculis sepius vidi, & dum lineamenta tua, cum figuris *Baptistæ Portæ* contuli, nunquam Te alium, quam *Saltatorem natum judicavi*, adeoque *Te tuis verbis, proprio Magisterio relicto, in Medicæ Artis Munera insuluisse credo*.' Such were the arguments made use of to refute the learning, reasoning, and facts, advanced by Dr Freind.

[M] *And not much to the purpose* ] In the close of the year 1722, a discovery was made of that design, which has been since stiled the Bishop of Rochester's plot, upon this there was a bill brought into the House of Lords, 'to impower his Majesty to secure and detain such persons as his Majesty shall suspect, are conspiring against his person and government;' by which the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act was taken away for a whole year, which before had never been suspended, for above six months; after it had passed the Lords, it was brought down to the Commons, on the fifteenth of October read the first time, the same day a second, a third time the next, and soon after received the Royal Assent. In regard to what happened to Dr Freind, we find the following account given which we transcribe without altering a letter (16).

'March the eleventh, 1722-3. Mr Yonge stood up and took notice how deeply Dr Francis Atterbury Bishop of Rochester had been concerned in this detestable conspiracy, aggravating his crime from his holy function and high station in the Church of Eng'and, a Church ever conspicuous for its loyalty, from the solemn oaths he had on so many occasions taken to the government, and by which he had abjured the Pretender, when at the same time he was traitorously conspiring to bring him in, upon the ruin

(16) History and Proceedings of the House of Commons, Vol. VI. p. 301, 302, 303.

(14) Ibid. p. 303.

(15) Dr F's Epistle to Dr M. rendered into English.

(m) J. Wigan.  
Præfat. ad Oper.  
med. Johan.  
Freind.

disturbed by any uneasy thoughts or apprehensions, was, in some measure, employed in writing a second epistle to Dr Mead, on the subject of the small-pox, in which the strength of thought, the freedom of stile, and the accuracy of the several cases set down, most evidently demonstrates, that he never had a greater command of his parts, or exercised his judgment in his profession more happily, than at this time (m); so that however his health and his affairs might suffer by his confinement, his reputation increased, and the Republick of Letters was the better for it [N]. Here also he laid the plan of his last and most elaborate

of his country, and of all that was dear and valuable to us as free men and christians: concluding, that as he was a disgrace to his order, and dishonour to the Church, so he might apply to him on this occasion these words, of the first of Acts verse the twentieth, *Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein: and his Bishoprick let another take.* And therefore he moved that it appears to this house, that Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester was principally concerned, in forming, directing, and carrying on the said wicked and detestable conspiracy for invading these kingdoms with a superior foreign force, and for raising insurrections, and a rebellion at home, in order to subvert our present happy establishment in Church and State, by placing a Popish Pretender upon the throne. Mr Yonge was seconded by Sir John Cope, but they were answered by Sir William Wyndham, who said, 'He saw no cause to proceed against the Bishop in so severe a manner, there being little, or indeed no evidence, besides conjectures and hearsays.' He was back'd by Mr Bromley, Mr Shippen, Mr Hutcheson, Mr Hungerford, Colonel Strangeways, Mr Lutwyche, and Dr Freind. They were replied to by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr R. Walpole, Mr Pelham, Mr Talbot, Mr John Smith, and Mr William Pulteney; and a motion being made, and the question being put, that the House do now adjourn, it passed in the negative by two hundred eighty five voices, against one hundred and fifty two; after which the question being put upon Mr Yonge's motion, the same was carried without dividing. Then a motion was made, and the question put, that a bill be brought in *To inflict certain pains and penalties on Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester*, which after some debate was also carried without any division. March thirteenth, Mr Robert Walpole acquainted the House, that he had received his Majesty's commands to acquaint the House, that his Majesty having had just reason to apprehend Dr John Freind, a Member of this House, for High-Treason, had caused him to be apprehended, and desired the consent of the House to his being committed and detained for High-Treason, according to an Act of this present Session, intitled An Act for empowering his Majesty to secure and detain such persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government. Upon which he moved, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to give order for committing and detaining Dr John Freind, pursuant to the Act of this Session of Parliament for that purpose. This motion was seconded and backed by several members: but Mr Shippen, and Mr Bromley opposed it, saying, 'they could not see any reason for that House giving leave for detaining any Member, unless the species of Treason was declared, and that the information was upon oath.' Sir Joseph Jekyll, and Mr Robert Walpole replied, that by the late Act for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, the King was empowered to take up any person he had reason to suspect, that therefore the Government was not obliged to say, whether the information was upon oath or not. But Mr Walpole added, 'He did not doubt, but Dr Freind was charged upon oath, and privately declared to several Members, that they had positive proof of his being guilty of the blackest and basest Treason.' Mr Shippen then suggesting, 'That Dr Freind's having spoke so warmly two days before in Mr Kelly's, and the Bishop of Rochester's behalf was, in his opinion, the reason of his being taken up the next day himself, and that at that rate there was an end of the liberty of speech, which every Member of that House had a right to.' Mr R. Walpole with a great deal of warmth replied, 'He wondered any gentleman could think any Ministry capable of so

base a thing, as to take up any gentleman for what he said in that House without any other cause, when they knew themselves to be accountable as well as others for their actions,' adding, 'That they who made such insinuations, might more easily be proved to be Jacobites, than they could make out such an allegation against the Ministry;' Mr Pulteney spoke on the same side, and in relation to Dr Freind's speaking in Kelly's behalf, 'observed, that it was usual in all conspiracies, for one traitor to endeavour to excuse another.' Mr Shippen animadverted severely upon this reflection, saying, 'It was not to be endured to have a Member of that House called a traitor, before he was convicted as such.' But Mr Pulteney having explained himself, that matter ended, and then the motion for an address was carried without dividing.

We have observed in the text, that on the twenty-first of June following he was admitted to bail, his sureties being Dr Mead, Dr Hulse, Dr Levett, and Dr Hale. On the first day of Michaelmas term following he appeared at the King's-Bench Bar, and November 28, 1723, being the last day of Michaelmas term, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery; William North, Lord North and Grey; Dennis Kelly, Esq; John Freind, Esq; M. D. and Thomas Cockran, Esq; who had been prisoners in the Tower, and were admitted to bail, appeared on their recognizances, and were discharged (17).

[N] *Was the better for it.* The title of this short work at large, runs thus.

*Joannis Freind ad Ricardum Mead, M. D. de quibusdam Variolarum generibus Epistola.* That is, *An Epistle to Dr Richard Mead, concerning some particular kind of the small pox.* This letter is dated March the thirtieth, 1723, and begins thus (18). 'Enjoying, Sir, unexpectedly, abundance of leisure, and my mind being even in this confinement not over solicitous, I thought I could not better employ my vacant hours, than in cultivating my former studies, and adding a few observations to what I have already writ, concerning acute diseases. And indeed, I the more willingly undertake it, since I learn from that elegant book concerning the small pox, which Helvetius has lately presented us with, that that learned author has either trod in our steps in his method of cure, or at least set out in the same road with us. I read that work over, I cannot say whether with greater eagerness or pleasure. So diligently has this learned and experienced practitioner traced out the various and greatly dissimilar kinds of the small pox, so wisely delivered the whole method of cure, that he alone has happily supplied many things, which have hitherto been wanting in the generality of authors. But neither has this gentleman explained every thing so fully, but that this Province seems by a certain fatality to be reserved for you, Sir, namely that you should one day give us a full and complete account of the nature and difference of the several kinds of the small pox, a work which I know you have long since undertaken.' There are two things remarkable in this paragraph, the first is, that in so short a time, so judicious, and so eminent a Physician as Helvetius, should embrace the practice recommended by Dr Freind, or should think proper to declare publickly on its behalf, if he had embraced it before, for in either case his book is decisive against the calumnies of those who had attacked our author and his friends. If concurrence in opinion amongst the most distinguished in any profession of different nations, is not sufficient to establish the reasonableness of any point in which they concur, there is no such thing as authority, neither can there be any criterion whatever of notions agreeing with, or being contrary to, good sense. It is true, indeed, that a wise man may be

(17) Histor. Register in the Diary.

(18) Freind. Oper. med. p. 357.

elaborate work, his celebrated HISTORY of PHYSICK, from the time of Galen to the close of the XVth century; the first part of which was published in 1725, and the second in the year following (n). In respect both to use and elegance, it may be justly stiled a great and masterly performance, worthy of the reputation of it's author, and capable of rendering singular service to young Physicians, nothing comparable to it, either in point of judgment or accuracy, having been before published in any language. These were the sentiments of some of the ablest men in the Faculty, at the time it came abroad; and the work having always kept up it's credit, and being still in as much esteem as ever, shews that their opinion was not ill founded [O]. There were, however, certain circumstances that

(n) In two Volumes in 8vo. in English.

be in the wrong; but that a false or absurd position should, by a dint of argument, be imposed upon men of the greatest credit for wisdom, capacity, and learning, where there is no connection of interest, and not the least visible motive to warp them from the love of fame and truth, is not to be comprehended. The second remarkable particular, is the zeal with which he recommends that learned person's treatise to whom he writes, which has since appeared, tho' at a great distance of time, and does the same credit to our author's judgment, as his language here and elsewhere, to the sincerity of his friendship. He hated flattery as much as he despised calumny, but he had a peculiar pleasure in praising merit, and never missed any occasion of paying a just tribute of applause where it was due. The last paragraph of his epistle is as remarkable as the first, the whole of it demonstrates the soundness of his head, and these passages are peculiar proofs of the uprightness of his heart (19). 'Dear Sir, says he in the conclusion, farewell, and of this be assured that where ever I am, fortune will never have it in her power to efface that remembrance of your friendship which gratitude will ever oblige me to preserve.'

[O] Was not ill founded.] The title of this very learned and useful treatise at large, runs thus.

*The History of Physic from the time of Galen to the beginning of the sixteenth Century, chiefly with regard to Practice: in a discourse written to Dr Mead by J. Freind, M. D. London 1725. 8vo. The second vol. 1726. 8vo.*

Our author divides his History of Physic into three parts, of which the first contains the Greek Physicians after Galen, the second relates to the Arabian Physicians, and the third takes in the Moderns. To give a long account of a book at once remarkable and valuable for its brevity would be absurd, and yet it is absolutely necessary that we should give the reader some notion of the contents of its three parts, and of the advantage arising to the study of medicine, from the indefatigable pains he has taken in this respect. In the first part then, he settles very exactly the time in which Oribasius, Aëtius, Alexander, and Paulus, flourished, which was a point so much the more necessary, as great mistakes have been made about them, so that in reality nothing had been written, even with respect to their history, that could be depended upon, 'till it became the subject of our author's pen. It is acknowledged, that the chief merit of these authors lay in their compiling, what had been written before their time by others, and more especially by Galen; yet there are some things in them new as well as some ancient fragments preserved in their collections, which are not to be met with any where else. He insists particularly upon what they have preserved relating to Surgery. He shews that some things which are commonly regarded as modern discoveries or inventions, were actually known to them; as for instance, the salivary glands, the use of issues, setons, cauteries, and of acupuncture in case of dropsies. He then proceeds, to such of the Greek Physicians as lived after these. He insists upon the description of the plague, by Procopius and Evagrius; and concludes from the accuracy of the former, that he must have been a Physician. He maintains, that the art of distilling liquors was actually known to the Greeks. He describes from these writers two very strange distempers that were not very rare in those days, and which in ours however are never mentioned; the first a kind of worms, and the other a sort of melancholy madness, when men wandered in desolate places, and howled like wolves. He commends some remedies that were then in use, and which are since in a great measure fallen into obli-

tion, such as scarification, and on some occasions opening an artery, with a multitude of other useful observations and remarks, so much the more valuable as they are delivered with great simplicity and succinctness; so that at the very same time they do justice to the learning and abilities of the Antients, they are the most pregnant proofs of his own industry in collecting, and that happy facility with which he has disposed them in proper order.

In the second part he renders the same justice to the Arabians, he mentions such diseases as are nowhere to be found but in their writings, and likewise such as were by them first described. He enters largely into the history of chirurgical operations. He shews that some useful instruments were invented, described, and even depicted by Albucasis, concerning whose writings he had made very particular enquiries. As the small pox first appeared amongst the Arabians, so the very best description of the different sorts of that distemper, and of the methods of cure before the time of our Sydenham was written by Rhazes. Of the truth of this, even the English reader may now be a judge, since a translation of that curious piece has been published in our own language (\*). By these writers there are not only many things preserved, that were contained in the books of the Greek Physicians now lost, but they have added also of their own invention, many gentle and moderate purges, taught the advantages of moderate Phlebotomy, made us acquainted with Chymistry, and with several useful compositions that have long had a place, and are not like to be very soon discarded from our best Dispensatories.

In the third part we have the History of Physic, as practised and improved by the Moderns; he not only mentions, but describes the schools of Salerno, Naples, Montpellier, and Bononia. The History of Chymistry more especially in this kingdom, from the time of the celebrated Roger Bacon, who was perfectly skilled in this, and all other parts of useful learning, is clearly and concisely laid down. He gives us a view of that dreadful plague, which raged about the middle of the fourteenth Century, which is succeeded by the description of the sweating sickness, which was peculiar to the English nation, and of which there were five returns. He enters into a short, but satisfactory, history of the venereal disease, which is thought to have taken its rise from our first correspondence with the West Indies, about the end of the fifteenth Century, as the scurvy is believed to be produced about the same time, or a little earlier, from the inconveniences attending the long voyages by the Cape of Good Hope to the East. Neither is our author at all forgetful of his own country, but furnishes us with excellent memoirs of such physical writers as flourished here, more especially of the famous Linacre who lived under Henry the Seventh, and Henry the Eighth, who founded two Lectures of Physic at Oxford, and one at Cambridge, and who procured the original charter for incorporating the Royal College of Physicians, with the history of which foundation, and a very just encomium thereon he finishes his work. We may even from this short and imperfect sketch of the out lines of his performance, discern the great utility and real value of such a history, which, tho' very succinct, must have cost him incredible labour, and could never have been drawn up in so easy, so elegant, and so natural a manner, but by a person of his great sagacity and extensive learning. We need not wonder therefore, that it was quickly translated into French, and received in that language with as great, if not greater, applause than it met with here at home. The Latin translation published with the rest of his medical

(\*) By way of Appendix to Dr Mead's book upon that subject.

that attended the publication of this judicious and learned treatise, which raised the prejudices of some against it, more especially in a neighbouring country, where it was thought that our author had dealt a little too severely with Mr Daniel le Clerc (o), and that this usage might justify reprisals, in which there was a pretty strong mixture of invective, as the reader will be informed, more at large, at the bottom of the page [P]. This attack from abroad,

(o) See this point explained in the note [P].

works, has contributed to make it still more generally known, and is so much the more valuable as it contains some additional corrections and explanations taken from his own notes upon the English original. We may the more boldly advance this, since within two years after the publication of our author's medical works at London, there came out a new edition at Paris (20), that in the title page was affirmed to be more accurate than correct; which could not have happened, if the demand for his writings had not been very great in consequence of his credit as a Physician, being thoroughly established in all parts of Europe, and of this some farther instances will necessarily occur in the succeeding note.

[P] At the bottom of the page.] We have observed in the foregoing note, that our author's History of Physic had not been long published in English, before it was translated into French, and this translation had no sooner seen the light, than the book was attacked in Holland by a famous journalist, who gave his censure the following title (21).

*Réponse à ce qu'a écrit Mr Freind concernant diverses fautes, qu'il prétend avoir trouvées dans un petit ouvrage de Mr le Clerc, intitulé Essai d'un Plan, &c.* That is, 'An answer to what Mr Freind has written concerning several faults that he pretends to have found in a little work of Mr le Clerc's, &c.'

These animadversions were written in defence of Dr Daniel le Clerc, the three former parts of whose History of Physic Dr Freind had highly extolled, but had spoken somewhat slightly of the supplement to that work published in the new edition of 1723, and represented it as not only a very imperfect and superficial performance, but in many particulars inaccurate and erroneous. The author of the Memoir in the Bibliothèque observes, that it will be no difficult matter to shew that Dr Freind had not a just idea of the piece which he so rashly condemns, but that he is mistaken in several points. For first he did not understand what Dr le Clerc's meaning was by these words, *Essai d'un Plan pour servir à la Continuation de l'Histoire de la Médecine*, which Dr Freind thought to be the same, as if Dr le Clerc had said, that that Plan was a Continuation or a Sequel of the History of Physic, whereas the author only meant it as a plan or rough draught, which might be of use to such as would undertake to bring that history down to the time which he has mentioned. The author of the Memoir proceeds then to vindicate Dr le Clerc from the particular exceptions of Dr Freind, and concludes with observing, that as the plan of the former contains but six or seven sheets, if it were true, that there are as many errors in it as the latter pretends, one might justly conclude, as Dr Freind has done, that it is a very imperfect, superficial, inaccurate, and erroneous performance. 'But I think, says the writer, that I have sufficiently demonstrated that nothing could be charged on Dr le Clerc with less reason, not to say more lightly, since, if there are faults they are few and inconsiderable. However, such as they are, if Dr Freind had contented himself with setting him right, he was at liberty to do it, but to endeavour, as he has done, to find errors where there are none, it is what one should not have expected, and what has occasioned this answer.'

It is a point of justice certainly due to the memory of Dr Freind, to examine what is here charged impartially, as in justice to the publick we could not omit the charge. Dr Daniel le Clerc, brother to the celebrated Mr John le Clerc, wrote, as has been said, a History of Physic, which was justly admired and applauded. This History reached no lower than the time of Galen, but upon publishing a new edition in 1723, there was a little piece added to it, which in the title page of that new edition is styled, *un Plan pour servir à la Continuation de cette Histoire depuis la fin du Siècle II. jusques au milieu du XVII.* That

is, a Plan which may serve as a Continuation of that History, from the end of the second age to the middle of the seventeenth. It was after the perusal of this, that Dr Freind finding himself much disappointed, and having a strong idea in his mind of the usefulness of a proper continuation of so good a book, determined to employ the leisure he had in the Tower, for there it appears that he conceived the whole, and executed a part of his design in writing such a history in composing such a work. When he had taken this resolution, it was necessary for him to express it, more especially as he wrote to a particular friend, the present Dr Mead (22), and this he does in the following manner.

'Sir, you will forgive me, that I was a little impatient to see a new edition of Mr le Clerc's History of Physic, for you know very well what a great opinion I have always had of the learning and judgment which he has shewn in the three parts already published. In them he brought down the History to the end of Galen's time, and having searched into his works, and into those of all the writers, who preceded him for above six hundred years, he put together his memoirs, not only with indefatigable industry, but with exquisite skill. We find there very amply and clearly represented all the philosophy, the theory, and practice of the antient Physicians; so that there is scarce a notion, a distemper, a medicine, or even the name of an author to be met with among them, of which he has not given a full and exact account.'

'In this edition we have a plan containing fifty six pages, which he designs should serve for a continuation of the History down to the middle of the sixteenth, the title by mistake says the seventeenth Century, a space of twelve hundred years, and too large to be well explained, in so short a sketch, tho' he had not filled half of it, with relating all the obscure jargon and nonsense of that illiterate Enthusiast Paracelsus.'

'You desire that I would send you my thoughts of this piece, I must own I wish I could give it the same character which the former very justly deserved. But it seems to me not only a very imperfect and superficial performance, but in many particulars inaccurate and erroneous. I shall, in compliance with your commands, make a few cursory remarks touching the History of Physic within this period, but as I have not the opportunity of having much recourse to books, tho' indeed at present I have leisure enough, you must not expect any thing which is either correct or perfect, and must be satisfied only with some loose observations, such as my memory chiefly can at present furnish me with, and which a short review of some of these authors can suggest.'

The reader sees clearly that our author could not write without mentioning Dr le Clerc, and he sees also how he has treated him. What is said in the French Memoir of not understanding the title of Le Clerc's supplemental piece is weak enough; for if our author did not understand it, it must have been because it is not to be understood, for, *an Essay, of a Plan, of a Supplement*; cannot be made sense in any language. That Dr Freind did not consider it as a Supplement is plain, for if he had he would not have wrote another, neither did he conceive it a Plan, for then he would have followed it, but he tells us plainly what he took it for, and which is not a little strange, Mr John le Clerc confesses in his Memoir, that it was precisely what he calls it, *an imperfect and superficial performance*. Imperfect, as it does not come up to what it promises; and superficial, as it is not collected from original authors. We shall in the next note mention Dr Buillie's defence of our author, and therefore here we will confine ourselves to matters which he has not mentioned; in the first place it is observable, that the Memoir writer confesses that he never saw our

(20) *Johannis Freind. Opera omnia medica, editio altera, Londinensi multo correctior & accuratior. 1735. 4to.*

(21) *Biblioth. ancienne & moderne, Tom. XXVII. p. 388.*

(22) *Hist. of Physick, Part I. p. 1.*

abroad, on the character of Dr Freind, met with some countenance here from those who were piqued against him before, and who were in hopes, that, with the assistance of these auxiliaries from the Continent, they might be able to run him down; but, as in former combats, so in this, they were soon made sensible of their want of strength (p). It was defended in a pamphlet by Dr John Baillie (q), against the united forces both of the English and French critics; and the publick seemed to be perfectly satisfied with what was therein advanced, and with the contents of the author's book, which, with it's title, very plainly proved that some who censured it misapprehended his design, or at least wrote in such a manner as that he might be sensible they had other causes of resentment, than those that were avowed in the present quarrel [Q]. That severity which Dr Freind had met with, from those who differed,

(f) The pamphlet was not rise near so high as before.

(g) A Defence of Dr Freind his Hist. of Physick. 1733, 8vo, second edition.

our author's original work, but took the matter of his charge from the Translation, which is the less excusable, since he well understood English, and it might be shewn that our author made use of milder terms than his translator. In the next place he states the matter a little unfairly, in not taking notice that Dr Freind justifies and commends le Clerc's observations in many places, tho' he differs from him in others, which plainly shews he had an esteem for that gentleman, tho' in respect to the study of Physic, he could not commend an imperfect and superficial work. Besides, there are various objections made by our author to Dr le Clerc's History, which are passed by in the Memoir without any notice at all; we may add to this, that sometimes disingenuity, and even falsehood, are called in to support one Doctor and to refute the other. This fact requires an instance; that instance shall be given; Dr Freind says, that the celebrated Fallopius lived later than le Clerc has placed him, because he published his Lectures in 1555 (23). The Memoir writer complains he does not understand this, for that Gabriel Fallopius died in 1562 (24). It is very true he did so, but the point is where Dr le Clerc placed him? He says positively that he was born in 1490, and the common complaint of all writers that mention him is, that he was cut off in the flower of his age, that is, when he wanted a year of forty. How then does his reading Lectures in 1555 agree with this date, or how was it possible that he should read those Lectures, if he died so young? The truth is, he was born in 1523 (25), that is, thirty three years after the time assigned by Dr le Clerc. What pretence therefore for calling either the meaning or the truth of Dr Freind's assertion in question? The proper business of a Journalist, is to acquaint the world with the contents and characters of new works, but the author of this Journal, instead of inserting an extract of a new and valuable book, inserts a Memoir against it, which was treating his readers very indifferently, as well as the English Physician very unfairly (26). Father Niceron (27) who was a very impartial judge, decides this matter very clearly. 'John le Clerc, says he, complained of the dissembling manner in which he has spoken of the Plan, which his brother Daniel le Clerc had given for the Continuation of his History of Physic. Freind proposed himself to give such a Continuation which he has very learnedly executed' No exceptions can be taken to this judgment, Father Niceron had seen the books, and heard the parties, with neither of whom he had any connection.

[Q] In the present quarrel] The title of the piece which we have mentioned in the text, and which is indeed a full answer to all that is said in the French Memoir, in the first edition runs at full length thus.

A Letter to Dr ——— in answer to a tract in the Bibliotheque Ancienne & Moderne, relating to some passages in Dr Freind's History of Physic. Lond. 1728. 8vo

Mr Baillie observes, that one would imagine upon viewing the number of pages in the piece abovementioned, Dr Freind had certainly been guilty of a great many mistakes, and that Mr le Clerc had been very grossly misrepresented. Yet upon looking into this critic, says he, we find nothing like this, and that, however vigorous in general he appears in Mr le Clerc's defence, he nevertheless acknowledges most of the errors alleged against him, and this not faintly, but in full as strong expressions as the Doctor himself uses. To give one instance of his manner of treating his antagonist, 'The Memoir writer, says he, goes on with his usual evasions in the dispute concerning the per-

son who first introduced Chymistry into Physic. Mr le Clerc had affirmed in his Plan, that Avicenna was the person. The Doctor is of opinion if this practice be, as perhaps it may be derived, from the Arabians, the honour of the invention ought rather to be restored to Rhafes, because he wrote first, and first mentioned medicines made by a chymical process. This the answerer cannot avoid owning, and acknowledges that the oil of Bricks in Rhafes is a chymical medicine, and proposed by him as a cure in many distempers. This he confesses Mr le Clerc overlooked, when he said there was no mention of any chymical remedy in the writers of Physic, who lived before Avicenna. One would think that after saying so much, there was no way left of evading the force of Dr Freind's arguments. For the Doctor says nothing more upon this head against the plan, than this defender of it: but observe his usual way of chicanery; he goes on and says, that altho' Mr le Clerc be mistaken in this article, it does not from thence follow that the honour of the invention of chymical medicines belongs to Rhafes. I fancy you could not have guessed at his reason, had you not seen the piece itself, what tho' this Arabian writer does not pretend he invented or first discovered the manner of preparing the medicines he treats of? Is that any thing to the purpose? The dispute was not, who invented or who did not. The single question is, who is the first Arabick author who mentions a chymical medicine? Is there any one before Rhafes? If not, who knows but he did introduce it first, and perhaps invent it, at least it is a sufficient proof that Avicenna did neither. This instance amongst others may give you the reason, why I called this critic's piece the pretended defence of Mr le Clerc's Plan. For almost in every place he gives up Mr le Clerc, and seems fully satisfied if he can only cavil at the Doctor.' At the close of his pamphlet he tells us, that the defender of Dr le Clerc set out with the mighty appearance of running down every thing which was objected against the Plan, and yet in the issue yields up every thing. This certainly must appear a very burlesque defence to the greatest favourers of the Supplement. For what can be more ridiculous than to pretend he would defend an author, and yet in almost every instance to own he is in the wrong? To be convinced that he does this, you need do no more than call your eye back on the three principal points in dispute. Does he not acknowledge Mr le Clerc's error in the ages of Orbasias, Aetius, Alexander, and Paulus? And notwithstanding his sophistical subtleties, doth he deny that some of the Greeks mention Rhubarb contrary to Mr le Clerc's assertion? Nay, doth he not in express terms own it? After the same manner, doth he not confess that Rhafes first introduced Chymistry into Physic? And as to the age of Fallopius, he says Mr le Clerc is deceived in it. This gentleman however, acknowledges a mistake in Dr Freind in the spelling of Aetius with Æ instead of an a and an e separate, every one knows it is Aetius in the Greek, and yet very commonly it is writ with an Æ in Latin, as you may see in several books. So the island Aeria is very often writ Æria, though no doubt it is the Aeria of Stephanus. He believes the Doctor likewise to be mistaken, when he says that Dr le Clerc supposes the Pena Medarshi, the same as another distemper described by the Arabians, and called the Pena Bovina; and I dare say, continues he, the Doctor, upon considering the passage in the Supplement again, will own that these two distem-

(23) Hist. of Physick, Vol. II. p. 370.

(24) Bibliotheque ancienne & moderne, Tom. XXVII. p. 447.

(25) P. Niceron Memoires des hommes illustres, Tom. IV. p. 396.

(26) Other Journals shewed a like prejudice against the Doctor's book, but their criticisms did not affect it.

(27) Memoires des hommes illustres, Tom. XXXV. p. 267.

differed, or supposed they differed, with him in political principles, was amply recompensed, soon after he obtained his liberty, by the favour he met with at the Court of the King now on the throne, then Prince of Wales, who entrusted him with the care of some of his Royal Family when indisposed, and who under it happily recovered (r). Upon his Majesty's accession, he became Physician to the late Queen, who honoured him with her confidence and esteem (s), which naturally increased the circle of his practice, that was of large extent before. How equal soever his talents might be to that prodigious weight of business which was thrown upon his shoulders, it quickly appeared that his constitution could by no means bear so great a fatigue; he struggled against it as much as he was able, he concealed his weakness, he was silent as to the decay of his strength; in short, he preferred his duty to his safety, and to the preservation of the health of others sacrificed his

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(r) John. Wigan. Præfat. ad oper. med. J. F.

(s) See the Monumental Inscription.

' are there plainly distinguished. So far is true, and the Doctor's expressions are no doubt too general in this case, and, what I believe he is not very often guilty of, a little unguarded. But what he intended, I suppose, was chiefly this, to shew that even the *Affectio Bovina*, described at large by the Arabians, and in a separate article, was not a distemper unknown, as Mr le Clerc asserts, to the Greeks. For Aetius, as the Doctor remarks, mentions the little *Dracunculi* as well as the great, which latter the Arabians call the *Vena Medinensis*. And what Avenzoar, Alfaharavius, and Albucasis, say of the former, amounts to nothing more than what Aetius had in general and in short said before, that the worms in this case were little.' These concessions shew the candour and ingenuity of Dr Baillie, and they shew at the same time how little foundation there was for the clamour raised against our author, as if he had endeavoured to raise his own reputation by depressing that of Dr Daniel le Clerc; whereas he commends him highly and frequently, and corrects him only where it was requisite, and that too in a manner which ought not to have given any offence, more especially when it is considered, that the far greater part of his corrections are in the justification of writers long since deceased, and for whose memories Dr Freind thought himself obliged to shew a due concern.

We have now done with this little treatise, considered in the light of a defence, at least in regard to the French memoir; but there is a passage at the beginning of this performance, which, for the reader's satisfaction, it is necessary should be explained. That passage runs thus.

' Tho' the justness and truth of all Dr Freind's writings are sufficient to bear them out, yet there are many who have an appetite for nothing but answers and replies, and who entirely form their judgment of the author from his antagonist. These men very often read the answer, without ever having looked into the original, and as confidently determine, as if they had, with the utmost care and exactness, read it over and over. Were it not for this unaccountable and disingenuous turn in some readers, and a strange negligence and inadvertency in others, who, out of indolence or incapacity, seldom use their own judgment, but must have every thing minutely pointed out to them. I say, were it not for these two things, I must confess the following remarks would be entirely useless. For a careful reader, with but an ordinary understanding, by perusing the history, and annotator's criticisms, would quickly see the justness of the former's observations, and the fallacy of those in the latter. Yet I make no doubt, as inconsiderable a writer as this annotator is, his having attacked an author of reputation, will be reason sufficient to translate him into English, with a prolix preface, containing probably a tedious repetition of the critic's errors; for none but an author of a very low size would undertake such a work. And if such a notable performance should come out, we shall find it, I dare say, writ with so much wit, learning, and in so good language; with so much perspicuity, modesty, and manners, that it will not be at all difficult to guess at it's author, however his name should happen to be inverted.'

The first part of this paragraph explains very properly the causes which render these literary éclaircissements so necessary, or at least so acceptable. Let us proceed then to shew what is the true sense, and genuine meaning, of these obscure insinuations. Immediately after

our author's book appeared, it was attacked with the utmost indignation, unallay'd with the smallest regard to temper or decency, in a piece which bore the following title.

*Observations on Dr Freind's History of Physick, shewing some false Representations of antient and modern Physicians; by C. W. M. D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh. London 1726, 8vo.*

The very first paragraph will sufficiently support what has been before hinted, as to the heat of this author's resentment, abundantly discovered in the acrimony of his stile. ' Dr Freind's principal scheme in writing his History of Physick, says he, was to represent himself first, and after him Dr Mead, as the only Physicians at this time, in London especially. As for History, that is made subservient to the mentioned design; and indeed that part of the performance is very imperfect and superficial, he seeming now to corrupt the history of physick, and to abuse men by a corrupted history. Did I propose to examine the book, it might be made very manifest, that he was little acquainted with his authors, and less in what they excelled. His great unhappiness is most commonly to propose their errors, or their weakest performances, to our imitation; so that the mistake should not be great, if I affirmed that his end seems to be a banter on the antient as well as our own Physicians. All these his talents, will sufficiently appear in the following examination of that part of the book which at present falls under our consideration.' He proceeds afterwards to refute what Dr Freind had advanced, that the antient Physicians never had a *nosstrum*, or a secret medicine, and that a *nosstrum* is the peculiar and distinguished mark of a *Quack*; and affirms, that Physicians of every sect, both rational and empirics, had their *nosstrums*, and that from antient times down to this day; and, among the moderns, he particularly instances in Dr Cockburn, a most rational Physician, says he, who has always vindicated this antient practice, and has an *Arcanum*. The author defends likewise, Dr Cockburn's book concerning the *gonorrhœa*, and his tables of doses, in opposition to what Dr Freind had urged from Avenzoar, that it is vain and useless (28), ' to pretend to find out the proportionable quantity and quality of any purge, so as to square it exactly to the constitution of the patient, and the nature of the humours to be discharged; and calculate it so as not to be even a hair under or over, since such speculations contribute very little to form a judgment about any right method of cure.' Within a very short time after the publication of Dr Baillie's pamphlet, there came abroad another shrewd piece, under the following title.

*An Answer to what Dr Freind has written in his History of Physick, concerning several mistakes which he pretends to have found in a short work of Dr le Clerc, intitled, An Essay of a Plan, &c. translated from the Eighth Article of the Bibliotheque ancienne & moderne. Vol. XXVII. Part ii. By Mr le Clerc. To which is added, a Preface by W. Cockburn, M. D.*

Upon the whole it is manifest, that what Dr Baillie had in view, was to intimate to the publick, that the sending this translation into the world, was the mere effects of personal resentment; and that W. C. M. D. was the same person with C. W. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians at Edinburgh; which is likewise agreeable to what we have hinted in the text of this article.

(28) History of Physick, Vol. 13. P. 77.

own (s). His health having been for some time on the decline, a fever at length ensued, which presently affected his head; and tho' in this, as well as in former illnesses, he had all the assistance that the Faculty could give, yet even that assistance proved vain; and the power of medicine being far inferior to the violence of the disease, he expired July the sixth 1728, in the fifty-second year of his age (u). Their Majesties expressed the greatest concern on the news of his illness, and appeared very much affected with that of his death. The pension settled upon his widow, sufficiently declared how large a share this worthy person had in the Royal esteem (w). He was buried in the church of Hitcham in Buckinghamshire, near which he had a seat; but there is a cenotaph erected, with a suitable inscription to his memory, in Westminster-Abbey (x) [R], a mark of filial piety in his only son, but of little consequence to his fame, which his writings have rendered extensive and immortal. Dr Wigan published his Latin works, and added to them his History of Physick, translated into the same language, with an excellent historical preface, and a grateful commemoration of his obligations to the deceased (y). To these, his medical works, a most elegant dedication is prefixed, to his Royal Patroness the late Queen, by his brother Dr Robert Freind (z); and if, after all these glorious monuments, this article should be esteemed

(s) Johan. Wigan. Præfat. ad oper. med. J. F.

(u) See the Inscription.

(w) Johan. Wigan. Præfat. ad oper. med. J. F.

(x) See the note.

(y) Johan. Wigan. in Præfat. prope finem.

(z) Nicéron suggests the Dedication was written by Dr Wigan.

[R] *To his memory in Westminster-Abbey.* How little necessary soever a cenotaph, with an inscription, might be for preserving the memory of an author whose reputation extended so far, and was established so well; yet it must be allowed, that this was no improper, or unseasonable, testimony of respect to this excellent person. He had himself rendered the like kind office to more than one of his friends. The inscription on the monument erected to the memory of the famous Mr John Phillips, by the Lord Chancellor Harcourt, was penned by our author. That copious and elegant character of the Right Reverend Dr Thomas Sprat, Lord Bishop of Rochester, and his son the Archdeacon, appear, from what is said at the foot of the tomb-stone, to have fallen from the pen of Dr Freind, who was peculiarly happy in this kind of compositions. It may however be with truth affirmed, that the following lines are not at all inferior to his own, and consequently deserve to be remembered. They are conceived in the following terms,

Johannes Freind, M. D.  
 Archiater  
 Serenissimæ Reginæ Carolinæ.  
 Cujus perspicaci judicio cum se approbasset,  
 Quantâ prius apud omnes Medicinæ famâ,  
 Tantâ apud Regiam Familiam gratiâ floruit.  
 Ingenio erat benevolo & admodum liberali,  
 Societatis & convicium amans,  
 Amicitiarum  
 (Etiam cum suo alicubi periculo)  
 Tenacissimus.  
 Nemo beneficia  
 Aut in alios alacrius contulit,  
 Aut in se collata libentius meminit.  
 Juvenis adhuc scriptis cœpit inelarescere,  
 Et assiduo tum Latini tum Patrii sermonis usu,  
 Orationem perpolivit.  
 Quam vero in umbraculo coluerat facundiam,  
 Eam in solem atq; aciem Senator protulit.  
 Humanioribus literis domi peregreq; operam dedit;  
 Omnes autem ut decuit nervos intendit,  
 Sua in arte ut esset versatissimus.  
 Quo successu orbis Britannici  
 Cives & Proceres,  
 Quam multiplici scientiâ viri omnium gentium cruditi,  
 Quam indefesso studio atq; industriâ  
 Id quidem non sine lacrymis amici loquentur.  
 Miri quiddam fuit,  
 Continua occupatione,  
 Inter tot circumfutiones  
 Scribendo etiam vacare posset:  
 Quod tanto oneri diutius sustinendo impar esset,  
 Nihil miri.  
 Obiit siquidem, vigente adhuc ætate,  
 Annum agens quinquagesimum secundum,  
 Anno Æræ Christi 1728. 26 Julii.

Into ENGLISH it has been thus translated.

*John Freind, Doctor of Physic.  
 First Physician  
 To the most serene Queen Caroline.  
 Whom when once her penetrating judgment had approved,  
 His universal reputation in Physic,  
 Was but equal to the favour expressed to him by the  
 Royal Family.  
 His disposition was benevolent and highly liberal,  
 Towards his acquaintance affectionate,  
 Of his Friendships  
 (Even when attended with danger to himself)  
 Most tenacious.  
 None in respect to obligations  
 Was on others more ready to confer,  
 Or if received with a willing gratitude to remember.  
 While a very youth distinguished by his writings.  
 And from his assiduous diligence as well in Latin as  
 in his mother tongue,  
 His stile was perfectly polite.  
 That eloquence which he cultivated in retirement,  
 He had the courage as a Senator to display.  
 The Belles Lettres at home and abroad claimed his  
 attention,  
 But, as was fit, his whole abilities were bent,  
 To render him most expert in his profession.  
 With how great success the whole English world  
 Of every rank,  
 With what various knowledge the learned in every  
 nation,  
 With what indefatigable study and industry  
 His friends not without tears shall declare.  
 Some wonder it may create,  
 That continually occupied,  
 And having so many avocations  
 He should yet find time to write;  
 That to sustain such burthen he should at length be  
 unequal  
 Is not to be wondered at all.  
 He died therefore, in the flower of his age,  
 When only in his fifty second year,  
 July 26. A. D. 1728.*

But we must not imagine, that the praises of this great Physician were barely confined to his tombstone; on the contrary, the celebrated Dr Keil acknowledging, that, at his persuasion, the piece he published was sent to the press, makes him a compliment that can scarce be exceeded, and might possibly be regarded as a mere compliment, if the character of that worthy man did not set his sincerity above suspicion; his words are these, 'En editionem suadente, quem omnes & scribendi & docendi, Magistrum nostræ Gentis si non aliarum omnium, maximum libenter agnoscunt (29).' These

(29) Medicina Statica Britannica.

esteemed no disgrace to the memory of so great a man, it will add very highly to the pleasure received in perusing his incomparable writings, in order to compose it.

high praises were bestowed upon him in his life-time, from whence perhaps some objection might be made; but the force of that will be wholly taken away, when it is considered that the very ingenious and learned Dr Edward Wilmot, some years after his decease, spoke of him in the highest terms of commendation and respect, representing him as a deep Philosopher, a learned Physician, an elegant Writer, and an ornament to Society; as being very honest and very humane, ever desirous of doing good, and communicating knowledge to the utmost extent of his power; and a zealous defender of the rights of that learned Body before whom he spoke. The reader shall have his own words, as well as the sense of them, because a translation could not be made, without manifest injury to the beauty of the expression

(30) *Oratio Anniversaria in Theatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensium, ex Harvæi instituto habita 18 Octobris 1735. p. 19, &c.*

(30). 'Tanta de uno aliquo viro prædicari, magnum quidem est; majus autem, quod de tali viro prædicantur, qui nihil suum esse duxit, quod aliis beneficio esse posset. Si quid eximii, si quid reconditi habuit, (quid autem utriusque non habuit?) non solitariam famam contentus, in apertam liberè protulit. Scivit egregiè? ut alii itidem scirent, operam sedulo dabat. Medicinæ peritus fuit? ut alii etiam essent, studio flagrabat. Gloriam attigit? si aliorum accenderet, lucro apponebat, alienæ inserviens, suæ profusus. Secundum divini Senis effatum, ideo artem suam quamplurimum amans, quia hominum amantissimus. In malam rem abire jubebat, qui nescio quod Arcanum superbè venditabant; si non haberent falsos; si celerent invidos; utroque nomine aut neglectui aut odio habendos. Id nimirum patriæ, id suo & artis commodo inferviturum esse putabat, si alios sui similes inveniret, vel, quoad posset, faceret; & ut essent, omnia sua cum illis communicabat, præceptis instituebat, exemplo præibat. Imperitiam Medico non opprobrium solum, sed crimini vertere solabat; & mortuo nihil interesse, seu ignorantiam seu fraude periret, benevolentiam dicitabat. — Cum legendis, condendis libris incumberet, & quotidianis muneris sui officiis occuparetur, nec suæ, nec alienæ mille curæ circa caput salientes, impedimento erant, quo minus Rempublicam

capesseret: auspiciato die Regni fenatum intravit Vir ad omnia natus, & sedem suam dignitate implevit, eloquentiam ornavit. Medicinam prosperè fecerat, scriptis illustraverat, famam auxerat; deerat in laudis cumulum, ut periclitanti opem ferret, in discrimen adductam eriperet. Nec in moram res fuit; hanc etiam increnam partem oblatam avidè arripuit, fortiter explevit: Collegii hujus jura, avita, sanctissima, Regum dona, erant qui in jus vocabant, imminutum ibant. Accurrit, dixit, propugnavit; literarum fautor, artium patronus. Argumentis, auctoritate, gratiam, suam & artis felicitate, omnes in unam sententiam discedentes habuit, & privilegia nostra, non tantum facta tecta servavit, sed confirmata, ampliata reddidit. Stetit reipublicæ nostræ fortuna, illabata, integra, splendida, præstigatorum opprobrium; quod oppugnata fuerat, illustrior; quod insidiis petita, munitior; quod à malevolis odia habita, bonis omnibus charior. We have already, moved by his merit, and conducted by his reputation, carried this article to an extraordinary length, which is sufficient to excuse our not adding the testimonies of foreign writers; but, that we may not be entirely defective in this point, let us observe, that his writings were admired, and the notions he advanced applauded, by the greatest men in the Profession throughout Europe; such as Hoffman, in Germany; Helvetius, and Hecquet, in France; and Boerhaave, in Holland (31); which abundantly demonstrates his abilities in his profession, and frees us from any apprehension that the praises given him by his countrymen and contemporaries, were tinged with the zeal of their personal friendships. This indeed, might be in them excusable, but not in us; for we do not cite authors as elegant panegyrists, but for their exquisite judgments, which, in this case, being corroborated by such disinterested, as well as such capable witnesses, we may be satisfied, that, in these endeavours to do justice to his memory, whose writings have been so useful to his profession, so honourable to his country, and so beneficial to mankind, we have done our duty as well as gratified our inclinations. E

(31) J. Wigan. Præfat. ad opera medica Johannis Freind.

FROBISER, FROBISHER, FROBUSHER, or FORBISHER (Sir MARTIN) [A], a most excellent navigator, and sea-officer in the XVIth century, was born near Doncaster in Yorkshire (a). Who were his parents, or in what year he was born, is not mentioned any where. But being brought up in his youth to Navigation, either through his own or his friends choice, he became one of the most eminent Sailors in his time: and was the first Englishman that attempted to find out a *North-West passage to China*. For, having a thorough knowledge of the sphere, and being extremely well skilled in his profession, he judged, from his own experience, and many years observations both by sea and land, that a Voyage that way was not only possible, but also most easily practicable. Having therefore well laid his design, he resolved to go and put it himself in execution; But wanting ships and other necessaries for that purpose, which he could not procure at his sole charge, he consulted a long time with his private friends how to have his wants supplied. He made also many offers to several English merchants, even for a course of *Fifteen* years; but meeting at last with no sufficient encouragement from them [B], he applied to Queen Elizabeth's Court, which, under her royal influence, promoted to the utmost the Trade and Navigation of England. And so, through the favour and countenance of her wise Ministers, particularly of Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick, he engaged a sufficient number of Adventurers in the affair; and, by degrees, with no small expence and pains, collected such sums of money as enabled him to fit himself out for his voyage. The ships he provided, were only three; namely, two small Barks of about twenty-five tuns a-piece; named the Gabriel, and the Michael: the one commanded by himself, the other by Capt. Matthew Kinerley; and a pinnace of ten tuns burthen (b). June 8, 1576, they sailed from Deptford [C], and, bending their course Northward, came,

(a) Stow's Annals, edit. 1631. p. 809.

(b) Hakluyt's Collect. of Voyages, &c. Vol. III. p. 29, 57, 58. Purchas Pilgrim. Vol. V. p. 311.

[A] FROBISHER, &c.] Thus variously is his name written, by such of our own, or other authors, as mention him. But we are assured, that he used to subscribe his letters, (of which several are extant in the Harleian Library of MSS.) by the name of *Frobiser*.

[B] But meeting at last with no sufficient encourage-

ment from them.] The words of our author, George Best, as in Hakluyt (1), are, 'that hardly he was hearkened unto of the merchants, which never regarded virtue, without sure, certain, and present gains.' 'Too severe a reflexion!

[C] June 8. 1576, they sailed from Deptford.] How much they were countenanced and encouraged by

(1) Ubi supra, p. 58.

came, the 24th of the same month, within sight of Fara, or Faire-isle, one of the islands of Shetland. Thence they cast about to the Westward, in 59 degrees of latitude; and the 11th of July, being in 61 degrees, discovered Freeisland bearing West-North-West, which stood high, and was all covered with snow [D]. Making towards it, they could not land, by reason of the ice, and depth of water, which, near the shore, was above 150 fathoms: The east point of this island the Captain named *Queen Elizabeth's Foreland*. On the 28th of the said month, in 62 degrees of latitude, they had sight of *Meta Incognita* (c), being part of New Groenland; towards which advancing, they endeavoured to find out a harbour, and to land, but could not for the reasons just now mentioned (d). August the 10th he went on a desert island, three miles from the continent; but stay'd there only a few hours. The next day, in latitude 63 degrees 8 minutes, he entered into a Streight, which he called, and that hath ever since borne the name of, *Forbisher's Streight*; and went as far as 60 leagues in it. On the 12th, sailing to Gabriel's-island, they came to a Sound, which they named *Prior's-Sound*, and anchored in a sandy bay there. The 15th they sailed to *Prior's-bay*: the 17th to *Thomas Williams's* island: and the 18th came to an anchor under *Burber's* island; where they went on shore, and had some communication with the natives [E]: but he was so unfortunate as to have five of his men, and a boat, taken by those barbarians. Having endeavoured in vain to recover them, he set again sail for England on the 26th of August; came within sight of Freeisland the 1st of September; and, notwithstanding a terrible storm on the 7th of the same month, he arrived safe at Harwich October the 2d (e). He took possession of the country in the *Queen of England's* name; and, in token of such possession, ordered his men to bring him whatever they could first find. One, among the rest, brought a piece of black stone, much like a sea-coal, but very weighty. Having, at his return, distributed fragments of it among his friends, one of the adventurer's wives threw a fragment into the fire; which being taken out again, and quenched in vinegar, glistered like gold; and being tried by some refiners in London, was found to contain a rich quantity of that metal (f). From this Essay, the Nation dreaming of nothing but mountains of gold, great numbers earnestly pressed, and soon fitted out, Capt. Frobisher to undertake a *Second Voyage* the very next Spring. The Queen lent him a ship of the royal navy, named the *Aid*, of 200 tun; and he had besides two small barks, of about 30 tuns a-piece: one named *The Gabriel*, and the other *The Michael*. His whole complement, of gentlemen, soldiers, and sailors, was about 140 [F], furnished with victuals, and all other necessaries for half a year (g). May 26, 1577, they fell down to Gravesend [G], and two days after came to Harwich, where Capt. Frobisher went on board; having been to take his leave of the Queen, who was then at the Earl of Warwick's seat in Essex. The Privy-Council having sent him orders, not to take in more men than the number appointed him, he discharged several to their great grief: And setting sail May 31, arrived in St Magnus Sound at the Orkney-islands June 7. After having taken there a few necessaries, they proceeded, June 8, on their voyage; and kept their course

(c) Which they wrongly supposed to be Labrador. Hakluyt, *ibid.* p. 30.

(d) *Ibid.* and p. 58.

(e) Hakluyt, *ibid.* p. 31, 51.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 60.

(g) *Ibid.* p. 32, 60.

by their good mistress Queen Elizabeth, appears by this passage, out of the account of their voyage. 'We bare down by the Court [then at Greenwich] where we shotte off our ordinance, and made the best shew we coulde. Her Majestie beholding the same, commended it, and bade us farewell, with shaking her hand at us out of the window. Afterward shee sent a gentleman aboard of us, who declared that her Majestie had good liking of our doings, and thanked us for it, and also willed our Captaine to come the next day to the Court to take his leave of her. The same day towards night, Mr Secretarie Woolly came aboarde of us, and declared to the company, that her Majestie had appointed him to give them charge to be obedient, and diligent to their Captaine, and governours in all things, and wished us happie successe (2).'

[D] *And was all covered with snow.*] George Best, who writ an account of this voyage, affirms, that Captain Frobisher, 'not far from hence, lost company of his small pinnace; which he supposed, in a great storm, to be swallowed up by the sea, but lost in it only four men. Also that the other burk, named the *Michael*, conveyed themselves away privately from him, and returned home, with a strong report that he was cast away.' Notwithstanding these discouragements, and tho' his mast was sprung, and his top-mast blown over board with extreme foul weather, he continued his course (3).— But the other relation of the same voyage, written by Christopher Hall, Master of the *Gabriel*, mentions no such thing (4).

[E] *And had some communication with the natives.*] They were like the Tartars, or Samoeds, with long black hair, broad faces, flat noses, and tawny: the

garments both of men and women were made of sealskins, and did not differ in fashion. But the women were marked in the face with blue streaks, down the cheeks, and round the eyes. Their boats were made of seals-skins, with a keel of wood within the skins; flat at bottom, and sharp at both ends (5). They appeared, by several circumstances, to be a dispersed and wandring nation, living in hords and troops, without any certain place of abode (6).

[F] *His whole complement of gentlemen, soldiers, and sailors was about 140*] Those on board the *Aid*, officers and gentlemen were, Martin Frobisher, General of the whole company for her Majesty; George Best, Lieutenant; Richard Philpot, Ensign; Francis Forder, Corporal of the Shot; Christopher Hall, Master; Charles Jackman, Mate; Andrew Dier, Pilot; Richard Cox, Master-gunner. Together with these gentlemen, Henry Carew, Edmund Stafford, John Lee, M. Harvie, Matthew and Robert Kinerley, Abraham Lins, Francis Brakenbury, William Arnshaw.—The chief on board the *Gabriel*; Captain Edward Fenton, a gentleman of the Earl of Warwick's; William Fansfield, Gent; William Smyth, Master.—On board the *Michael*; Captain Gilbert Yorke, a gentleman of the Lord Admiral's; Thomas Chamberlaine, Gent; James Beare, Master (7).

[G] *May 26, 1577, they fell down to Gravesend.*] And there performed an act of religion, not so frequent as it ought to be among men of their profession, exposed to so many perils: of which he pleased to take an account in the words, of their journal. 'On Monday morning the 27th of May, aboard the *Ayde* we received all the Communion by the Minister of Gravesend, and prepared us as good Christians towards God, and resolute men for all fortunes (8).'

(5) Hakluyt, *ibid.* p. 31, 59, 93.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 67.

(7) Hakluyt, p. 32, 60, 61.

(8) Hakluyt, p. 61.

(2) Hakluyt, *ubi supra*, p. 29.

(3) Hakluyt, *ubi supra*, p. 58. See also Holmsted's Chron. ed. 1587, p. 1202.

(4) Hakluyt, *ubi supra*, p. 30.

course West-North-West, for the space of 26 days, without sight of any land [H]. At length, on the 4th of July being in the latitude of 60 degrees and a half, they discovered Freeseland; along the coast of which they found islands of ice of incredible bigness [I]. Not having been able safely to land in this place, they proceeded for *Forbisher's* Streights, and, on the 17th of the said month, made the North-Foreland in them, otherwise named Hall's island (b); as also a smaller isle of the same name, where they had, in their last voyage, found the ore, but could not get now a piece so big as a walnut. However, they met with good quantity of it in other adjacent islands. On the 19th they went upon Hall's greater island, to discover the country, and the nature of the inhabitants; with some of whom they traffick'd [K], and took one of them, neither in a very just nor handsome manner: And upon a Hill here, they erected a Column of Stones, which they called Mount Warwick. The 21st they discovered a Bay into which they anchored, and named it *Jackman's Sound*, from the Master's mate, who first lik'd the place. Upon a small island within it, called *Smith's island* (from one of that name who first set up his forge there), they found mines, both of silver and gold; but not sufficient, it seems, to merit their attention [L]. As they went along these streights, they landed on both sides, namely July 23d on the South side [M], and the 26th on the North side, without meeting any thing very remarkable. One of the Bays they anchored in, was named by them *Beare's Sound*, from James Beare Master of the Michael; and an island in it, *Leicester's isle*, in honour of Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester. Another bay received the appellation of *Yorke's Sound*, from Gilbert Yorke Captain of the Michael; under whose conduct, a party landing in an island there, had a bloody conflict with some of the natives, five or six of which they killed, and brought away a woman with her child [N]. Further up, they named

(b) He was master of the Gabriel, in the former voyage. Hakluyt, ubi supra, p. 63.

[H] Without sight of any land.] But they met great drifts of wood, and whole bodies of trees: which were either blown off the cliffs of the nearest lands, by violent storms; or rooted up, and carried by floods into the sea. They imagined, that they were brought from some part of the Newfoundland, with the current that setteth from the West to the East (9).

(9) Hakluyt, ubi supra, p. 33, 61.

[I] Along the coast of which they found islands of ice of incredible bigness.] Some were seventy or eighty fathoms under water, besides the part that stood above water; and more than half a mile in circuit. Upon tasting the ice of which they consisted, it was found quite fresh without brackishness. From whence they concluded, that those islands were bred, in the sounds or bays adjoining, either from melted snow, or fresh rivers, and driven with the wind and tide along the coasts. For, as to their proceeding from the supposed *Mare Glaciale*, or frozen sea; that they looked upon as absurd (10).

(10) Ibid. p. 62.

[K] With some of whom they trafficked.] Their manner of trafficking was thus: two on each side met, without weapons, at a good distance from the rest of their company. And then laying down upon the ground what they could or chose to part withal, they retired a little. If the savages liked what the others had set down, they took it, leaving their own goods in exchange: but if they did not like what was put down, they took up again their own wares, and marched away (11).

(11) Ibid. p. 63.

[L] But not sufficient, it seems, to merit their attention.] Upon another island near, they found a Sea-Unicorn dead, about twelve foot long, and of a proportionable bigness; having a horn two yards long growing out of its snout, which they brought home, and is still kept at Windfor (12).

(12) Ibid. p. 65.

And Supplement at the end of Sir John Narborough's, &c. Voyages, p. 190.

[M] Namely, July 23, on the South side.] What they did there, I shall relate in their own words. Our General commanding a trumpet to sound a call for every man to repair to the ensign, he declared to the whole company [being about seventy in number] how much the cause imported for the service of her Majesty, our country, our credits, and the safety of our own lives; and therefore required every man to be conformable to order, and to be directed by those he should assigne. And he appointed for leaders, Captaine Fenton, Captaine Yorke, and his Lieutenant George Beste: which done, we cast ourselves into a ring, and all together upon our knees, gave God humble thanks for that it had pleased him of his great goodness to preserve us from such imminent dangers, beseeching likewise the assistance of his holy spirit, so to deliver us in safety into our country, whereby the light and truth of these secrets being known, it might redound to the more honour of his holy name, and

consequently to the advancement of our Commonwealth. And so, in as good sort as the place suffered, we marched towards the tops of the mountains, which were no lesse painfull in climbing then dangerous in descending, by reason of their steepness and yce. And having passed about five miles, by such unwieldy wayes, we returned unto our ships without sight of any people, or likelihood of habitation (13).

(13) Hakluyt, p. 65.

[N] Five of which they killed, and brought away a woman with her child.] It is manifest from our people's own account, that they were the aggressors, and attacked the poor savages in their boats: a strange way of endeavouring to civilize those people! It might be said, by way of excuse, that it was done as a kind of retaliation for their taking the five English, the year before: but this excuse cannot hold good, unless it had been quite certain, that the persons thus attacked were the very same that had taken those five prisoners.—The woman they took, was encumbered with a child, which prevented her escape. And, in shooting at her, they wounded the child in one arm; to cure which the English chirurgeon applied salves. But the mother, not acquainted with such kind of surgery, plucked off the plaister; and by continual licking of the wound with her tongue, healed the child's arm (14).—Having now a woman for the man they had taken before, they brought them together; and extreme was their surprize, and strange their gestures and behaviour, at their first meeting. They stared a while at each other, without speaking a word; tho' great and visible was the change in their colour and countenance all the while. At last, the woman suddenly turned away, and fell a finging as if she had minded something else, seeming to disdain or not regard the man. But being brought together again, the man broke silence first, and with a stern and stayed countenance began a long story, which the woman attentively listened to, without interrupting him. Afterwards being grown better acquainted by conversing together, they seemed not to be easy without each other's company. But tho' she would do all kind and friendly offices for him, as a good housewife yet they never knew one another as man and wife; [having undoubtedly left some behind, in that relation to each other, when they were taken] And so extremely strict and remarkable was their bashfulness and modesty, that they could not bear to appear naked in each other's presence, or any one's else: and their continence very much surpassed that of multitudes of Christians, and others so in name, who pretend to more politeness and knowledge, but really have much less virtue and morality, than those honest heathens (15).

(14) Ibid. p. 68.

(15) Ibid. p. 69.

[O] And

named another bay, with an island, *Anne Countess of Warwick's Sound, and Island*. And this was the furthest place they went, this year, within those Streights [O]; being only about 30 leagues (i). For, the Captain's commission directed him, in this voyage, only to search for ore, and to leave the further discovery of the North-West passage till another time (k). Having therefore, in the island last mentioned, found a good quantity of ore, he took a lading of it; intending, the first opportunity, to return home. But, before that, he would fain have recovered the five men he lost the foregoing year; for which purpose he landed in several adjacent places [P], and used all possible and imaginable means, tho' still in vain (l). So, despairing of ever seeing them again, they set sail on the 23d of August; and, tho' very much tossed and separated by storms, all safely arrived in England, about the end of September, the Aid at Milford-haven, the Gabriel at Bristol, and the Michael at Yarmouth. In this voyage they lost only two men; the Master of the Gabriel, who was washed over-board; and one who died at sea, being ill when he went out (m). Capt. Frobisher was most graciously received by the Queen, whose singular pleasure and glory it was, to extend the English name and trade to the furthest parts of the habitable world. And, as the gold ore he brought had an appearance and shew of great riches and profit; and the hopes of a North-West passage to China were greatly increased by this second voyage, the Queen appointed Commissioners to make trial of the ore, and examine thoroughly into the whole affair. Also the new-discovered country not being known by any particular name, her Majesty named it *Meta Incognita* (n). The Commissioners, after sufficient proof of the ore, and examination of every circumstance, reported, How great was the value of the undertaking; and the expediency of further carrying on the discovery of the North-West passage. Whereupon suitable preparations were made, with all possible dispatch. And, because the mines newly found out were sufficient to answer all Adventurers charges, it was thought necessary to send a select number of soldiers, and other proper persons, to secure the places already discovered, to make further discoveries in the inland parts, and to search again for the passage to Cathay. As they were to be left behind, a strong Fort of timber was framed to be set up at their landing, in order to protect them from the injuries of the weather, and defend them against all attacks of the natives. The adventurers which willingly offered, and were appointed, to stay in that cold and desert country all the year round, were 100 in number; whereof 40 were mariners for the use of the ships, 30 miners to dig the ore, and 30 soldiers to guard the whole company, in which last number were included the gentlemen, refiners, bakers, carpenters, and other useful persons. Their leaders were Capt. Edward Fenton, Lieutenant-general to Admiral Frobisher, Capt Best, and Capt. Philpot. To each of these Captains was assigned one ship; as well for the better searching of the coast and country; as to bring them back again to England, if they should be driven by necessity, or disappointed of a fleet's coming the next year. Besides these three ships, twelve others were fitted out for this voyage [Q], which were to return in the end of the Summer, with a lading of gold ore (o). They assembled at Harwich the 27th of May, from whence they departed the 31st of the same month, and sailing Westward through the English channel, arrived, June 6, at Cape Clear in Ireland. Then they bent their course Northward [R], and in fourteen days came within sight of West Freeland, where the General went on shore, and taking possession of the country in the Queen of England's name, named it *West England*; and one high cliff therein, *Charing-Cross*. June the 23d they made for Frobisher's-streights, and on the

(i) Hakluyt, p. 66.

(k) Ibid. p. 70.

(l) Ibid. p. 69, 70, 71.

(m) Ibid. p. 39, 73.

(n) i.e. An unknown mark, or boundary.

(o) Ibid. p. 74.

[O] *And this was the furthest place they went this year, within those streights.* They observed, among other things, that in the narrowest parts, they were nine leagues broad at the least (16).

[P] *For which purpose he landed in several adjacent places.* Upon the main land over against the Countess's island, they observed with astonishment the caves or winter-habitations of the natives. They were two fathoms under ground, round like an oven, and had a communication with each other. That the water falling from the hills above might not annoy them, there were proper trenches made deep under them, to carry off the water. And generally they were seated at the foot of a hill, in order to be secured from the piercing cold winds; for which reason also, the door or entrance into them was always towards the South. From the ground upward they were built with whales bones, for want of timber, which bending one over another, were handsomly compassed together at the top; and covered with seals skins, instead of tiles that are unknown in that country. Each of these houses consisted only of one room, and half of the floor was raised with broad stones a foot higher than the rest; upon which strewing moss, the poor inhabitants laid themselves down to rest (17).

[Q] *Besides these three ships, twelve others were fitted out for this voyage* The names of all the ships,

and of their Captains, were, the Aid, being the Admiral-ship, in which was the General Capt. Frobisher; the Thomas Allen, Vice-Admiral, Capt. Yorke; the Judith, Lieutenant-general, Capt. Fenton; the Anne Francis, Capt. Best; the Hopewell, Capt. Carew; the Beare, Capt. Philpot; the Thomas of Ipswich, Capt. Tanfield; the Emmanuel of Exeter, Capt. Courtney; the Francis of Fowey, Capt. Moyles; the Moone, Capt. Upcot; the Emmanuel of Bridgewater, Capt. Newton; the Solomon [or Salamander] of Weymouth, Capt. Randal; the Bark Dennis, Capt. Kendal; the Gabriel, Capt. Harvey; the Michael, Capt. Kinesley (18).

[R] *Then they bent their course northward.* As they were sailing towards the Northwest parts from Ireland, they met with a great current from the Southwest, which carried them one point to the Northeastward of their course. And it seemed to continue towards Norway, and other North east parts of the world; which made them believe it to be the same, the Portuguese had observed at the Cape of Good Hope. That, in their opinion, being obstructed in its western course by the narrowness of the streights of Magellan, ran along into the Bay of Mexico, where also meeting another obstruction from the land, it was forced to strike back towards the North-east (19).

(18) Ibid. p. 75.

(19) Ibid. p. 76.

[S] *Which*

16) Ibid. p. 69.

17) Ibid. p. 66.

the 2d of July came within the mouth of them; but being obstructed by the ice (which sunk the Bark Dennis) [S], and driven out to sea by a violent storm, they were so unfortunate as not to hit the entrance into them again. For, instead thereof, being deceived by a swift current from the North East, which had dragged them many miles more South-Westward than was thought possible, and remaining twenty days in a continual fog, they ran above sixty leagues into Streights hitherto unknown [T], before they were sensible of their mistake. However, coming back again, the Admiral made for the real Streights that bore his name; and, on the 23d of July, at a place within them called *Hatton's headland*, found seven ships of his fleet, by which he was heartily welcomed. At length, on the 31st of the same month, after many difficulties, he recovered his long desired port, and came to anchor in the Countess of Warwick's sound (p). But the season of the year was so far advanced, that he could not pretend to undertake any new discoveries during this voyage; and part of the wooden Fort being lost, a Council which was called, did not think it adviseable to leave those persons behind, that were carried on purpose to winter in that desolate country [U]. So all that remained to do, was to get as much ore as they possibly could; which they did in great quantities, particularly out of a new place, named by them the Countess of Suffex's mine (q). Whilst the ships were loading, General Forbisher having an extreme desire of making some further Discovery, went higher up the Streights in a pinnace; and found, that by Beare's sound and Hall's island the land was not firm, as he imagined, but all broken islands, in form of an Archipelago. At the same time, the masons were employed in building a house of lime and stone upon the Countess of Warwick's island; by way of trial, to see what effect the frost and snow would have upon it against the next Season, or whether the natives would take it to pieces. And to allure them to civility against other times of their coming, they left in the house, bells, knives, looking-glasses, pictures of men and women in lead, whistles, and such other toys as they knew them to be delighted with. They made also an oven in the house, and left bread baked, for them to see and taste. The timber of their intended fort, they buried; and sowed pease, corn, and other grain, to try what the soil would produce against their coming again. On the last day of August, and the day following, the whole fleet set sail from the Countess of Warwick's Sound; and, after a stormy and very dangerous passage, arrived safely in England, about the beginning of October. The Emmanuel of Bridgewater being left behind the rest, in great danger of never getting out of the ice, was forced to seek a way Northward, beyond Beare's sound, through an unknown channel full of rocks, into the North-Sea, upon the back of Frobisher's Streights [W]. And, in her passage home, to the South-East of Freeseland, discovered a great Island in the latitude of 57 degrees and a half, which was never found before; along the coast of which they sailed for three days, the land seeming to be fruitful, full of woods, and a champain country. In all this voyage, there died not above forty persons in the whole fleet: a small number, considering the extreme hardships and the variety of fortunes they underwent (r)! We can find no account, how Capt. Forbisher employed himself from this time till the year 1585, when he commanded the Aid, in Sir Francis Drake's Expedition to the West-Indies; which was attended with the glorious success of taking and sacking St Domingo in Hispaniola, Carthagena on the continent, and Santa Justina in Florida, three towns of great importance (s) [X]. In 1588, he bravely exerted himself in the defence

(p) Ibid. p. 84.

(q) Ibid. p. 90.

(r) Ibid. p. 91, 92, 93.

(s) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, in Collection of Voyages, printed for Churchill. edit. 1745. Vol. III. p. 155.

[S] *Which sunk the Bark Dennis.* All the men were saved; but part of the timber-frame of the Fort, which was in this ship, sunk with it, and was irrecoverably lost (20).

(20) Hakluyt, p. 78.

[T] *They ran above sixty leagues into Streights hitherto unknown.* These were the Streights between the Isle Desolation, and another Isle south of the same. Such as sailed furthest into them, met with the outlet or passage leading into Forbisher's Streights. And some had sight of a supposed continent on their left hand, but could make no part of it exactly; except certain islands in the entrance thereof. That whole track of land seemed to be more fruitful, and better stored with deer, foxes, hares, and all kind of fowl, than any part they had yet discovered, and more populous (21).

(21) Ibid. p. 81.

[U] *That were carried on purpose to winter in that desolate country.* The chief reasons against their staying, were these. Upon perusing the bills of lading, it was found, that only the East and South sides of the Fort were arrived, and those not entire; for many pieces had been used by some of the ships when they were distressed by the ice, and broken or lost. Then, there was not a sufficient quantity of drink and fuel for the number of persons that were to be left. And upon enquiring of the Carpenters and Masons, what time it would take up to erect a house only for sixty men; they replied, eight or nine weeks, if there were timber sufficient. Whereas now there were but

six and twenty days in all, they could stay in that miserable cold country. For these reasons, the design was absolutely laid aside, at least for this year (22).

(22) Ibid. p. 86.

[W] *Upon the back of Forbisher's Streights.* The General himself had gone into this passage with his pinnace; and some of his company discovered therein (as they affirmed) a large foreland; from whence they imagined here was a great probability of the widest passage towards the South-Sea (23). But time has shewn that they were mistaken.—For a further account of the attempts made since to discover the North-west passage, see what was published upon that subject by Arthur Dobbs, Esq; Capt. C. Middleton, in 1743. and 1744. and Capt. Ellis, in 1746, and 1747.

(23) Ibid. p. 93.

[X] *Three towns of great importance.* This fleet, (as Sir William Monson observes,) was the greatest of any nation but the Spaniards, that had been ever seen in those seas from the first discovery of them (24); and if it had been as well considered of before their going from home, as it was happily performed by the valour of the undertakers, it had more annoyed the King of Spain than all other actions that ensued during the time of the war.—For had we kept and defended those places, when in our possession, and provided to have been relieved and succoured out of England, we had diverted the war from this part of Europe; and with more ease inroaded upon the rest of the Indies, than the King of Spain could have aided or succoured them (25).

(24) It consisted of twenty-five sail.

(25) Monson's Tracts, p. 155.

[Y] Of

fence of his country against the Spanish Armada; commanding then the *Triumph*, one of the three largest ships in that service, and which had on board the greatest number of men of any in the whole English fleet (r). On the 26th of July, he received the honour of Knighthood, from the hand of the Lord High-Admiral, at sea, on board his own ship the *Ark*, amongst four others of the gallantest officers (u); for a reward, and encouragement, of their most distinguished and unparallel'd valour (w). And when, after this signal victory, Queen Elizabeth thought it necessary to keep a fleet on the Spanish coast, as well to hinder the fresh preparations King Philip might make against her, as to intercept his *flota's* from America, Sir Martin was employed in that service; particularly in 1590, when he commanded a squadron, as Sir John Hawkins did another: But tho' they alarmed the coasts of Spain, and ranged as far as *Tercera* (x), they had not so good success in making of prizes; as in 1592, when two ships of good value were taken by Sir Martin, and a rich carack by another part of his squadron (y). In 1594, he was sent with four men of war (z) to the assistance of Henry IV, King of France, against a body of the Leaguers and Spaniards then in possession of part of *Bretagne*, which had fortified themselves very strongly at *Croyzon* near *Brest*. But in an assault upon that fort, on the 7th of November, Sir Martin unfortunately was wounded with a ball in the hip, or side, of which he died [Y] soon after he had safely brought back the fleet to *Plymouth* (a); and was buried in that town (b). Some accuse him, of having been harsh and violent (c); but he is universally allowed, to have been a man of great and undaunted courage, and inferior to none of his age in Experience and Conduct, or the reputation of a brave Commander (d).

(r) Stow says ten, which is more probable. Ubi supra.

(z) The memorable service of Sir John Norris, at *Brest*, in *Bretagne*, by Tho. Churchyard. Lond. 1602, 4to. p. 135—141. And Munson's Tracts, p. 166.

(b) Stow's Annals, p. 809.

(c) Stow, ibid.

(d) Churchyard, ubi supra, p. 141. And Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1594.

[Y] Of which he died ] The wound was not in itself mortal, but became so through the negligence of his surgeon; who only extracted the bullet, without duly searching the wound, and taking out the

wadding that was driven in, which caused the wound to fester (26). There is a good painting of him in the Picture-gallery at Oxford.

(26) Stow, ubi supra.

FULLER (THOMAS), an eminent Divine and Historian in the reigns of King Charles the First and Second; was the son of the Rev. Mr *Thomas Fuller*, Minister of *St Peter's*, in the town of *Alwinckle*, or *Oldwinckle* (a), near *Oundel* in *Northamptonshire*; who being presented to that benefice by *William Cecil*, Earl of *Exeter*, as may be gathered from our author's account in the same place, did, by the painful discharge of his pastoral office, and peaceful evasion of those disputes and controversies, so frequent in his time between the Puritans and Papists, acquit himself there with general satisfaction; and was in good esteem among the most eminent *Literati* in those parts, particularly *Sir Robert Cotton*; who once told him, he had met with a true *Plantagenet* at plough (\*). In that town (which is some five miles distant from) and not in *Oundel*, as *David Lloyd* mistakes (b), his said son, *Thomas*, was born in the year 1608 (c). His mother was sister to *Dr John Davenant*, afterwards *Bishop of Salisbury*; as from his own, and other writings, may be gathered [A]: and that town was many years reckoned most notable for being the birth-place of this *Historian*; as it was afterwards, for giving his first breath also to *Mr Dryden*, the famous Poet. His pregnant parts were so ripened, under his father's tuition, for the University, when he was not above twelve years of age, that he was then sent, in 1620, to *Queen's College* in *Cambridge* (d), where his father had been, it seems, himself educated; and here, under the care and government of his uncle *Dr Davenant*, then Master of that College, and soon after *Bishop*, as aforesaid, he made such extraordinary progress in his learning, that he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1624, and that of Master in 1628 (e), with general approbation, and at such an unusual age, that it is observed the like early commencement had not been within memory. About the end of those first eight years education, which he received in this University, at that College (f) there became a Fellowship vacant, for which he stood candidate; and he had a double prospect of succeeding, by merit as well as interest, besides the inclinations of the whole House; but

(d) The Life of that Rev. Divine, and learned Historian, Dr Thomas Fuller, ed. t. Lond. Printed for J.W. &c. 8vo. 1661. P. 3.

(e) The University Register.

(f) See Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, fol. 82.

all

[A] As from his own writings and others may be gathered ] *Sir Anthony Welden* informs us, that, among the Ecclesiastics in King James his reign, 'some worthy men were preferred gratis, to blow up the fame of *Backingham*, and his party; as *Dr Townson*, who paid nothing in fine or pension; and after him, *Davenant* in the same Bishoprick; yet, that these were but as music before every hound (1). Whereupon our author *Dr Fuller* makes this reflexion: 'Tho' both these persons here praised, were my god-fathers, and uncles; the one marrying the sister of, the other being brother to, my mother: yet it does not tempt me to accept his praises, upon such invidious terms; knowing, those Bishops, if alive, would condemn such uncharitable commendations, which are, if not founded on, accompanied with, the disgrace of others of their order: and tho' he

grants that, 'corruption was too common in this kind; yet were there, besides them, many worthy Bishops raised by their deserts, without any simoniacal compliances (2).' Now, to that notice which our author here takes of his said uncles, if we join what *Anthony Wood* says of them, 'that the former, *Dr Robert Townson*, dying 15 May 1621, left fifteen children by his wife *Margaret*; and that the latter, *Dr John Davenant*, who died 20 of April 1641, was enjoined by King James not to take a wife (3). we may conclude that, the said *Margaret*, whom the former married, was sister to *Mrs Fuller* our author's mother; and that the latter, who probably never was married, was *Mrs Fuller's* own brother, and consequently that the maiden name of both the sisters was *Davenant*. Of his said uncle *Davenant*, he has more than once spoken elsewhere (4).

(2) Worthies of England, in Cambridge, p. 154.

(3) Fasti Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 157.

(4) Church Hist. Book xi. fol. 176. And his Worthies of England, in London, fol. 207, &c.

(r) It was a ship of 500 tons, and had on board 1100 men. List of the English fleet, in the Description of the Tapestry, as below.  
(u) The Lord Thomas Howard, Edmund Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, and John Hawkins.  
(w) Description by P. M. of the Tapestry Hangings in the House of Lords, engraved by J. Pine. 1738. fol. p. 9, 13, 16.  
(x) Linschoten's Voyages, ch. 99.  
(y) Munson's Tracts, p. 162, 164.

(a) See Dr Fuller's Pisgah-Sight of Palestine, fol. in the Epist. Dedic. of lib. 5, to John Lord Burghley, p. 140. Also, his mixt Contemplations in better times. 8vo. 1650. Partii. p. 64.  
(b) Fuller's Church Hist. fol. 170.  
(c) In his Memoirs of the Lives, &c. of the Nobles & others, who suffered for their Allegiance, from 1637 to 1660, &c. fol. 1668. p. 323.  
(d) Computed from the Inscription engraven by D. Logan, round his Effigies, before his Worthies; and other Evidences hereafter occurring.

(1) Sir A. Welden's Court and Character of K. James, p. 129, 130.

all their hopes were frustrated by the College statutes, which, prohibiting the admittance of two Fellows from the said county of Northampton, he relinquished his pretensions there- to, tho' he knew that a dispensation could have been procured for him; so unwilling to obtain that preferment was he, by setting others such a precedent of irregularity (g). Thereupon, thro' the invitation of some learned friends, he transplanted himself in, or a little later than, the year last mentioned, to *Sidney College* in the same University (\*). Here he was pupil under Dr Samuel Ward, Master thereof, and Margaret Professor for above twenty-years (h). His private studies, at this time, were chiefly *Divine Poetry*; and the first specimen of it, that we find in print, was about three years after published [B]. In that College he had not been long settled, before he was chosen Minister of *St Bennet's* parish, in the town of Cambridge; in which church he offered the first fruits of his pastoral office; and here, by the most sublime Divinity, in the most ravishing elegancies, says my author, he attracted the audience of the University (i), and became a very popular preacher, at those years when others are scarce publickly known. Being now arrived to the age of twenty-three (k), his extraordinary qualifications tendered him the Prebendship, in *Salisbury Cathedral*, of *Netherbury in Ecclesia*, to which he was collated upon the decease of Dr John Rawlinson, on the 18th of June 1631 (l), and at the same time a Fellowship in *Sidney College*; whereupon he retired from the University, and betook himself to his priestly function, being thereunto ordained by Bishop Davenant. And that Prebend was a commodious step to another preferment more profitable, in the same diocese; being soon after inducted to the Rectory of *Broad-Winsor*, in Dorsetshire; of which he mentions himself to have been once Minister (m), and, upon his advancement to this Benefice, he seems to date, in one place, the discontinuance of his living at Cambridge, about 1634 (n). After he had here exercised for some time his ministerial charge, he was persuaded by some friends to dignify his desert, with the degrees which his time and standing in the University allowed him. Accordingly, he returned to Cambridge, was gladly received, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1635 (o); and this commencement, thro' the extension

(g) The Life of Dr Fuller, as before, p. 4.

(\*) Idem, p. 5.

(h) His Worthies of Eng. in Dorham, fol. 29<sup>3</sup>. And Hist. of Cambridge, fol. 168.

(i) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 5.

(k) Ibid.

(l) A. Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 556. Also the Hist. and Antiq. of the Cathed. Church of Salisbury, &c. edit. 8vo. 1719. p. 332.

(m) Worthies of Eng. in Dorsetshire, fol. 278.

(n) Hist. of Cambridge, p. 167.

(o) University Register.

[B] *The first specimen of his DIVINE POETRY in print, was about three years after published.* The first performance of our author that has appeared to us in print, being a *Divine Poem*, very rare to be met with, and having had no description given of it, the following account may not be unacceptable to the curious. It is entitled, *DAVID's Hainous Sin, Heartie Repentance, and Heavie Punishment*. By THOMAS FULLER, Master of Arts, of *Sidney College* in *Cambridge*. London, printed by T. Coates, &c. in a thin 8vo. 1631. 'Tis dedicated in verse, To the Honourable Mr *William* and Mr *Christopher Montagu*, sons of the Right Honourable *Edward Lord Montagu* of *Boughton*. The whole three parts, consist of 144 stanzas, of seven lines each; four *alternate*, and a *triple* in base. A critical reader of poetry might find matters of remark in it; either to commend in some agreeable descriptions, natural similies, and instructive reflections; or to censure in some few parts of the style, which were fashionable elegancies in those times: but in the whole, promising that, had he persevered in the study and culture of poetry, his genius might have advanced him to some considerable rank among those contemporaries, who were then favourites of the Muses. His good sense and ingenuity at that age, is distinguishable enough; his versification is more compact or limited, and usually flows with smoother cadence, than that of some riper wits of great name in those days. Among other observable parts, the very proposition and invocation are very comprehensive, solemn, and regular: the persuasions of *David* by the *Spirit*, and the *Flesh*; with the description of *Uriah's* drunkenness are very natural: the obsequious offer of the Elements to destroy *David* upon his transgression, and after his restitution, to relieve and cherish him, are somewhat *Picturesque*, and touching upon *Spenser's* imagery in miniature: his comparison of those variable Elements upon this occasion, to temporising *Courtiers*, who will fawn upon a Minister, when he is restored to favour, as fast as they flouted him in disgrace, looks to have something in it perfectly alive; and so does that figure, wherein we may imagine that we see *Abolom* cringing, with supple neck and knees about the Court, to gather up what alms and fragments he could of popular favour and interest, by seizing upon one man's hand, to steal away his heart; and sucking out the soul of another with deceitful kisses; enquiring the name of this, the business of that, and the country of t'other, to serve them all! prostituting his promises, and enslaving himself, to errant

slaves: in whom also we have a further glimpse of pride itself, groveling to be exalted to grandure, and exercising all the abject spirit of the most beggarly poor, to worm itself into riches: Or as our author words it,

Proud men are base, to compass their desire;  
They lowest crouch, that highest do aspire.

But this is a picture not near so agreeable as that of plain-dealing *Nathan*, in his state of moderation; the knowing and communicative, the kind and compassionate *Nathan*; who being skilled in lancing a fester'd soul, in searching and tenting the sore, and stanching a bleeding-hearted finner; would heal his wounds with the sovereign balsam of counsel, or bind up the disjointed members of his troubled mind. He was neither oppressed with that plenty which made him envied; nor distressed with that penury which made him despised: his pursuits were circumscribed to his possessions; and as he was in no needful want, he thought wanton need most despicable; or that want in sufficiency was the true mother of contempt: so, as his desires were planted within the most temperate situation of command, they produced the sweetest fruits of content: for, as our Poet says,

High hills are parch'd with heat, or hid with snow,  
And humble dales, soon drown'd, that lie too low;  
Whilst happy grain, on hanging hills doth grow.

Descriptions more flowery might be hither transplanted; such as are so gently strewed over *David's* child in death, and others; but as his gravity in this poem prevails above the natural gaiety of his genius, we have chosen in this *historical* work, to instance those few particulars, which are rather in the edifying and profitable, than to hunt after such as may run into a more pleasing and poetical vein. At the close of this performance, our author having subsided into the characters of *Queen Elizabeth*, *King James*, and *King Charles I.* and lamented the loss of the Duke of *Brunswick*, with the discords then in *Europe*, thro' the wars in the *Netherlands*, *Denmark*, &c. he very properly and piously concludes, that those grievances may be bewailed by mankind, but till they are redressed by Providence, they are more besitting his prayers than his pen.

[C] His

of a liberal disposition, agreeable to that of his literary affluence, cost him seven score pounds (p). It seems, according to his own reckoning, that he did not account himself totally removed, or departed from *Sidney College*, before 1636; because he also gratefully acknowledges this to have been his mother, for his *eight last years* in this university (q). After his return into Dorsetshire, and during his recess in that Rectory, he applied himself to compleat some other of the books he had begun at Cambridge: And there, about the year 1638, or not long before, he was married to a virtuous young gentlewoman; it being when the nation was alarmed with the news of the tumults then begun in Scotland (r). By her he had one son, named *John*, who was brought up a Student at the same University and College in which his father had been: And she was delivered of him, much about the time that her husband brought forth his *History of the Holy War*, which is dated in the latter end of 1639, tho' not published, it seems, till the next year [C]; soon after which, and but a short time before the eruption of the civil wars, she died (s). Then, for the greater convenience of enjoying more readily, and in larger choice or variety, the works and conversation of the learned, he removed to London, where his conspicuous talents in the pulpit were soon admired by the distinguishing part of his auditory; being cry'd up for one of the most excellent preachers of his age (t), but more especially in the Inns of Court. However, he was soon after drawn to settle a little nearer the Royal Court, and chosen Lecturer of the *Savoy* in the Strand, by the Master and Brotherhood thereof, at the intreaty of some principal parishioners. Here he gave such general satisfaction, became so famous, and was thronged with such distant congregations, that those of his own cure were in a manner excommunicated from their own church, if they came not early enough to fill it, which, without conforming to his own habitual temperance, they could seldom do: tho' he had an audience without, and another within the pale, the windows and sextonry were so crowded, as if bees had swarmed to his mellifluous discourse (u). On the thirteenth of April 1640, a Parliament was called, and then also a Convocation began at Westminster, in King Henry the Seventh's chapel, having licence granted to make new *Canons* for the better government of the Church. Of this Convocation our author was a Member;

(p) Lib. of Dr  
Fuller, p. 11.  
(q) In Lib. H. B.  
of the University  
of Cambridge,  
fol. 115.  
(r) Lib. of Dr  
Fuller, p. 13.  
(s) Idem, p. 41.  
(t) Ibid. p. 14.  
(u) Idem, p. 15.

[C] *His History of the HOLY WAR, dated in 1639, &c.* It is dated at the end of his epistle dedicatory, from his Rectory at Broad Winfor on the sixth of March that year: and as no other date appears in the graved frontispiece, it is mentioned as printed that year in some catalogues; but was not, it seems, before the next. It was well received by the publick, and has passed at least three editions; the last is entitled as the former likely are—*The History of the Holy War: by Thomas Fuller, B. D. Prebendary of Sarum late of Sidney College, Cambridge*, printed there by Roger Daniel, &c. the third edition, fol. 1647: to which is also prefixed the said graved frontispiece, containing the portraits of Godfrey of Bulloign, and of Saladin, in small ovals at top; and underneath a view of all ages, sexes, and degrees of people, flocking to the said wars, &c. with an explanation in the page before the same, in verse by J. C. The History is divided into five books, has a map before it of Palestine, and three tables at the end; the one chronological, another of authors cited, and the third of contents. The beginning of this war is reckoned to have been about the year 1096, and the end about 1291 (5). The author's ingenious dedication of this history is, To Edward Lord Montagu of Boughton, and John Lord Powlet of Hinton St George: to whom he recommends, 'If they fear to hurt their hands with thorny school-questions, the turning over of *History*, as a velvet study and recreation work. What a pity is it, says he, to see a proper gentleman have such a crick in his neck, that he cannot look backward! yet no better is he, who cannot see behind him, the actions which long since were performed. History maketh the young man old, without either wrinkles or gray hairs; privileging him with the experience of age, without either the infirmities or inconveniences thereof: yea, it not only makes things pass, present; but enables one to make a rational conjecture of things to come. For the world affordeth no *new accidents*, but in the same sense, wherein we call it a *new moon*; which is the old one in another shape; and yet no other than what hath been formerly, &c.' Then, lest some critick should condemn him for an ill husband, in lavishing two noble patrons upon one book; whereas one of them might have served to patronize many volumes, he says, 'He did it in the weak expression of his thankfulness to them; being deeply indebted to them both; and thought it dishonestly to pay all

(c) Hist. of the Holy War, edit. 1647, p. 21. and 228.

to one creditor, and none to another; therefore conceived it better to share his estate jointly between them, as far as it would extend: and secondly, considering the weakness of his work, now being to walk abroad in the world, *I thought it must be led by both arms, and needed a double supporter, &c.* In his short preface to the reader, he challenges nothing to himself but the composition; and as for his vouchers, 'If every where, says he, I have not charged the margin with the authors names, it is either because the story is author for itself, I mean generally received; or to avoid the often citing of the same place. Where I could not go abroad myself, there I have taken air at the window, and have cited authors on others citations; yet so, that the stream may direct to the fountain.' There are many encomiums bestowed upon our Historian, his wit, and his style, in the ten poems prefixed to this work; written by Robert Gomerfall, Vicar of Thorncombe, in Devon. Robert Tyrling, James Dupont, B. D. of Trinity College; J. Booth, B. D. of Christ-College, Cambridge; H. Atkins, H. Hutton, M. A. of Jesus College; H. Vintener, Thomas Jackson, William Johnson, of Queen's College; and Clement Bretton, of Sidney College. Out of these, a short sketch of some sentiments may shew the character for which he was chiefly distinguishable to them. One says his vein is so rich, that Tasso could not invent so well as Fuller could relate (6). A second, that barbarism is more vanquished by his wit, than ever it was by Godfrey's sword (7). A third, that Jerusalem need not envy Troy, since she has found one to write her battles in prose, as elegantly as Homer did those of the other in verse (8). A fourth, that as a viper was once enshrined in the amber tears of Phaeton; so here, Mahomet shall find a tomb in his language, so rare and transparent, as will endure, when the faint loadstone lets his own of iron fall (9). And a fifth compares the weaving of his stories to figures wrought in tapestry, and so enriched with embroidery, that flames, wounds, and bloodshed, objects in their nature most irksom and dreadful, are rendered agreeable by his art: the most horrid slaughters wrapped in his art's language, give more delight than distaste, and that which was most painful in the rencounter, is quite qualified by what we meet with so pleasing in the relation (10): besides many other high commendations, which to be more particular in, by citing the verses themselves, might here take up too much room.

(6) Robert Gomerfall.  
(7) J. Booth.  
(8) H. Hutton.  
(9) H. Vintener.  
(10) W. Johnson.

[D] Or

Member; and, when the Parliament was dissolved, on the fifth of May following, the Convocation was commissioned to continue still, by the title of a Synod, to complete the said new Canons, which, on the last of June following, were printed, with the royal assent; tho' our author says, he was one, who, in the select committee, privately dissented in passing many particulars therein; and has publickly preserved the several exceptions which were, and probably some of them by himself, then made to them. But those Canons being insufficiently confirmed, only by royal authority, enough notice was taken thereof in the *Long Parliament*, which in November following ensued; all which he has himself amply recorded (w). But now the divisions between the King and Parliament being grown so great, that he had left his Court at London, on the tenth of January 1641 (x), to gather such strength in the countries as might oblige their Representatives to obedience, rather than comply with what he and his advisers thought unprincipally concessions, our author, in other pulpits as well as his own, very loyally enforced the doctrine of allegiance; and so particularly in the *Inauguration Sermon*, he preached at Westminster-Abbey, on the twenty-seventh of March 1642, upon that text, so directly persuading the duties of submission, *Yea, let him take all, so my Lord the King return in peace*, his Majesty then being at York, that it gave great disgust to those who were in the opposition against him, and brought the preacher himself into great danger. He soon found that he was to expect nothing less than to be silenced and ejected, as others had been; yet desisted not from proceeding in the same course, till he either was, or thought himself unsettled, by what he says in the preface to his *Holy State*, which was that year printed [D]. And it appears more plainly the next year; when an oath, but not the *Covenant*, as some authors have mistaken (y), was obtruded upon him; which he took not without such exceptions in regard to himself, that the Parliament, unsatisfied therewith, and requiring him to take it in a more absolute manner, he retired to the Court at Oxford some months before the *Covenant* was urged. Yet were there various reports relating to his steadiness in refusing even this oath. The writer of his life says he conveyed himself to the King at Oxford in April 1643, to avoid the imposition, and preserve his conscience clear of it (z); and another, with the confidence that is usually hardened by malice or error, says that he saw him take the *Covenant* before he went thither, more than once; but as our author has both cleared himself, and rectified our understanding in this matter, it is but justice on all sides to give each of them a hearing [E]. When he arrived at Oxford, he was both joyfully received and honourably

(w) See Fuller's Church History, cent. 17. Book 11. p. 167 to 171, and p. 180.

(x) *Iter Carolinum*, &c. 4to. 1660. p. 1. And Sir George Wharton's *Geſta Britannorum*, 8vo. 1662. p. 16.

(y) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 18.

(z) *Idem*, p. 22, 23.

[D] Or thought himself unsettled, by what he says in the preface to his *Holy State*, &c.] That is pretty visible, from more than one part of this preface; wherein it appears, that this book was composed before he left Broad Winton in Dorsetshire, or at least before the eruption of the wars; it having been committed a twelve month before to the press: and his characters therein are, as he says, conformed to the then standing laws of the realm; which, as the King and State had now thought fit to alter, he expects his reader would make his alterations accordingly. And after having prayed that God would discloud these gloomy days, he says, 'Which if I may be so happy as to see, it will encourage me to count it a freedom to serve two apprenticeships, God spinning out the thick thread of my life so long, in writing the *Ecclesiastical History* from Christ's time to our days; if I shall, from remoter parts be so planted, as to enjoy the benefit of walking and standing libraries; without which advantages, the best vigilancy doth but vainly dream to undertake such a task. Mean time, I will stop the leakage of my soul; and what heretofore hath run out in writing, shall hereafter, God willing, be employed in constant preaching; in what place soever God's providence and friends good will shall fix me (11).' And it elsewhere appears, that he was now or very soon after debarred of the profits of his Prebendship of Salisbury, by the time he is mentioned to have continued so at the Restoration (12). However in the title page of this *Holy State*, it is said to be written by Thomas Fuller, B. D. and Prebendary of Salisbury. It was printed at Cambridge, fol. 1642. and the second edition, by R. D. for J. Williams, &c. fol. 1648. The whole contained in five books; whereof the *Profane State*, printed also by Roger Daniel, is the last. This work is a collection of *Characters*, moral *Essays*, and *Lives*; antient, foreign and domestic; so interspersed, as often to hold some analogy with the characters or essays which precede them. They are much enamelled with the figures or flowers of wit, and have much engaged the regard of rhetorical readers (13). But the lives are not in number equal to the essays; there being between seventy and eighty of the characters and essays,

and not above thirty lives; among which those of our own country, are, *Edward the Black Prince*, Sir *John Markham*, Lord Chief Justice; Cardinal *Wolsey*; Bishop *Ridley*, *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*; Lady *Jane Gray*; Dr *Nicholas Metcalf*; Sir *Francis Drake*; Lord *Burghley*; Mr *William Perkins*, and Dr *William Whitaker*; Queen *Elizabeth*, and Mr *William Camden*. The antients and foreigners are, *Abraham*, *Eleazar*, *Haman*, *St Augustine*, *Monica*, *Lady Paula*, *Hildigardis*, *Paracelsus*, *Scaliger*, and *Gustavus King of Sweden*; and in the *profane state* there are, *Jehu*, the Witch of *Endor*, *Andronicus*, *Joan Queen of Naples*, *Joan of Arc*, *Caesar Borgia*, and the Duke of *Alva*: with copper prints, engraved by W. Marshall, &c before most of them. Between the publication of these two editions of the *Holy and Profane State*, came out our author's *Andronicus*: or the *Unfortunate Politician* by itself, in 12mo. 1646. reprinted 1649, &c. And 'tis the same we presume above mentioned, which appears in the last edition of the *Profane State*, cap. 18, from fol. 448, to 502.

[E] But justice on all sides, to give them each a hearing.] We do not find that our author ever looked with a malignant aspect on any of the planetary schemes of Will. Lilly the famous Astrologer, Almanac maker, Prophet, Fortune-teller, and Conjuror; or that ever he charged any of his unaccomplished predictions with being retrograde, or in opposition to truth: we hear not that he any ways concerned himself with setting *Aries* and *Taurus* together by the ears (14); that he ever denied him to be even Lord of the Ascendant in his own Horoscopes, or any how promoted the least ejection of him from the twelve houses (15): Yet has this Mr Lilly, in a certain libel, endeavoured to stigmatise him, in these words— 'I would be very sorry to belie the dead, as Mr Fuller hath Paracelsus; who delivers him unto posterity for a drunkard (16), though those who lived with him, the Bishop of Saltzburg, knew no such thing of him, but report him virtuous. But that Mr Fuller may know, he hath wantonly abused his oratory, I let the ages to come know thus much of himself, viz. That he took the *Covenant* twice for the Parliament, before my face in the Savoy Church; invited others to it; yet,

(11) The *Holy State*, in Pref.

(12) Life of Dr T. Fuller, p. 50.

(13) Besides other Extracts from this Book which we have seen, there is a MS. Collection of choice Sentences in Dr Fuller's *Holy War*, &c. preserved in the Ashmolean Library at Oxford; Vol. 783.

(14) Vide, ΠΕΡ-ΔΟ ΑΣΤΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ: The Spurious Prognosticator unmask'd: Being an Examen of the Errors, Fallacies, Falshoods, and Flatteries, in Mr W. Lilly's Merlin, 1659. By G. J. (i. e. John Gadbury,) 4to. 1660.

(15) M. Stevenson's Norfolk Drollery, Svo. 1673. in his poetical Observations on Lilly's Almanack, p. 30.

(16) Fuller's *Holy State*, in the Life of Paracelsus, edit. 1648. p. 52.

honourably distinguished there. The King having heard of his extraordinary abilities in the pulpit, was desirous of hearing them from it. But, as the original cause of his leaving London,

' yet, apostate-like, ran within few days to Oxford, and there whined to his companions, and protested the Countess of R—— made him take it'— Here he turns one of our author's cudgels against himself, in behalf of Paracelsus; and quotes this precept of Fuller's, as if it were against his own practice; *Let not thy jests, like mummy, be made of dead men's flesh; abuse not any that are departed; for to wrong their memories, is to rob their ghosts of their winding sheets* (17): ' And yet, says he, this man must call Paracelsus a Quackfalver, and gave him, besides, other Billinggate language (18).'<sup>(17)</sup> As for Paracelsus, since our author has said nothing of him, for which he does not fairly produce his vouchers and compurgators, such as Thomas Erastus, Beroaldus, and those who had the best opportunities of knowing his character; Paracelsus seems not so much defamed or belied, if we may retort such an expression above, by Fuller, as Fuller is by Lilly; and that he made no mummy of Paracelsus when he was dead, whatever the wits of those times might make of Lilly while alive: but if, on the credit of others, he had, it little became such a scribbler to charge him with having belied one man, who, thro' the impossures of his pretended arts, made it his constant practice to belie and deceive the whole nation. Then as for Fuller's taking the *Covenant*, the author who best knew his story, and seems less biased by his affection, than Lilly by his acrimony, therefore most worthy of credit, has represented his conduct with relation thereto as follows. ' Several false rumours and cavils there are about his carriage and opinion touching that sacrilegious thing, by persons who were distanced as far from the knowledge of those passages, as fortunately from being concerned and engaged within the reach of that snare. 'Twas not only easy, but prudential, for other ecclesiastical persons to quit their livings, who were out of the gripe and elutches of those ravenous reformists, in order to keep their consciences inviolable; but it was difficulty enough of itself for the Doctor to escape, and get out of that place, where the next preferment would have been a dungeon. Some ventilations, and transient discourses, he made about that frequent and thumb'd subject of the reformation, the rather to suspend the busy censures of the Parliament and their party; wherein, though he seemed to comply, but as far as the rule and example would allow, and indulge the misapprehension of those men; yet these his charitable disguises could not obscure him from the severe animadversions of several ministers eminent in those reforming times; particularly Mr Saltmarsh. The contest between them is so known in print, that it will be needless to trouble the reader with it here: only thus much by digression, in honour of this venerable Doctor; Mr Saltmarsh being long since dead; he hath, in his book of the *Worthies of England*, given him a most honourable mention, and assigned him the place of his birth, education, and burial; registering him for an ornament of them all; so resplendent and durable was the Doctor's charity, &c. But to return to our subject; in the beginning of the year 1643, the said covenant was generally pressed; and a very great persecution soon after followed it. The Doctor was settled in the love and affection of his own parish, besides other obligations to his numerous followers; so that the covenant then tendered, might seem like the bright side of that cloud, promising serenity and prosperity to him, as was insinuated to the Doctor by many great Parliamentarians, which showed down, after a little remoteness such a black horrible tempest upon the Clergy; nay, the Church, and three kingdoms. But the good Doctor, could not bow down his knee to that Baal-Berith; nor, for any worldly considerations (enough whereof invited him to fall down and worship; men of his great parts being infinitely acceptable to them) lend so much as an ear to their serpentine charms of religion and reformation. Since therefore, he could not continue with his *Cure* without his *Conscience*, and every day threatned the imposition of

(17) Holy State; in the Chapter of Jerking, p. 146.

(18) See W. Lilly's Hist. of K. James and K. Charles I. 8vo. 1651, and 1725, in the Preface.

that *illegal oath*, he resolved to betake himself to God's providence, and to put himself directly under it; waving all indirect means and advantages whatsoever towards his security. In order thereunto, in April 1643, he deserted the city of London, and privately conveyed himself to Oxford, to the no less sudden amazement of the faction here, who yet upon recollection quickly found their mistake, than to the unexpected content and joy of the loyal party there; who had every day, Job's messengers of the plundering, ruin, and imprisonments of orthodox Divines (19).<sup>(19)</sup> Thus distinctly is his evasion of, or escape from, this oath asserted by that author. But Fuller himself has best discovered the ground of Lilly's misreport, and even more clearly than his Biographer, distinguished how the said covenant could not be taken by him, as well as what other oath he did take, and in what manner. For having mentioned that Scottish Covenant, as he calls it, being born beyond the Tweed, and projected, as a band for the streighter union of the English and Scotch among themselves, and of both, to the Parliament (20); having there also shewn very expressly, that it was first taken by the House of Commons and the Assembly of Divines, on Sept. 25, 1643; and first ordered to be printed two days after: that divers Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, &c. met also at St Margaret's Westminster, and took it; and that it was commanded to be taken the Sunday following, October the first, in all Churches and Chapels of London, within the *lines of communication*, and throughout the kingdom, in a convenient time appointed, according to the tenor thereof; he then recites at large the said covenant (21); not heeding whether there be exactly 666 words in the body of it (22): so proceeds to deliver many solid exceptions to the *preface*; the *six articles*, whereof it is constituted, and the *conclusion*. Then he goes on thus— ' So much concerning the Covenant; which some three months after began to be rigorously and generally urged. Nor have I ought else to observe thereof, save to add in my own defence, that *I never saw* the same, except at distance, as hung up in Churches; nor ever had any occasion to read, or hear it read, till *this day* (23),<sup>(23)</sup> in writing my history; whatever hath been reported, and printed to the contrary, of my taking thereof in London; who went away from the Savoy to the King's quarters, long before any mention thereof in England. True it is, there was an oath, which never exceeded the *line of communication*; meeting with so much opposition, that it expired in the infancy thereof, about the time when the plot was discovered; for which Mr Tomkins and Mr Chaloner suffered (24). This was tendered to me and taken by me, in the vestry of the Savoy Church; but first protesting some limitations thereof, as to myself. This *not satisfying*, was complained of by some persons present, to the Parliament; where it was ordained, that the next Lord's Day I should take the same oath in *terminis terminantibus*, in the face of the Church; which not agreeing with my conscience, I withdrew myself into the King's parts, which I hope, I may no less safely, than I do freely confess; because punished for the same with the loss of my livelihood, and since, I suppose, pardoned in the *Act of Oblivion* (25).'<sup>(25)</sup>

As for the controversy between our author and Mr John Saltmarsh, it was occasioned by the Sermon of *Reformation*, which Fuller had preached at the Savoy (26); against which, Mr Saltmarsh published some animadversions, wherein he charged him with several points of Popery (27); and Fuller defended the arguments he had delivered upon that occasion, in the tract he thereupon set forth, under the title of *truth maintained*, wherein he challenged Saltmarsh to a reply, but he appeared in the lists no more; giving his reason afterwards for it, that he would not shoot his arrows against a dead mark; being informed that Fuller was dead at Exeter (28). Upon which our author observes, that he himself has no cause to be angry with same, for such a favourable fallhood; May

(19) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 18—22.

(20) Fuller's Church Hist. lib. xi. cent. 17. fol. 200.

(21) Idem, p. 201.

(22) Revelat. xiii, 19.

(23) July 1, 1654.

(24) They were executed on July 5, 1643.

(25) Church Hist. as above, p. 206, 207.

(26) His Sermon at the Savoy, on Hebr. 9 and 10. With a Defence of some Positions in the same, 4to. 1643.

(27) Saltmarsh's Piece against Fuller, is dedicated to the Most Sacred Assembly of Divines.

(28) J Saltmarsh, in the beginning of his book against Tho. Gataker,

London, after the sermon he preached upon the new-moulding Church-Reformation, appears to have been, for the censure it gained him of being too *hot a Royalist*; it is now no less apparent, that, for preaching before the King and Court, at *St Mary's in Oxford*, he was censured for being one *too lukewarm* (a); which being the reverse of flattery on both sides, can only be accounted for, from that inflexible principle of moderation in himself, which he would have sincerely inculcated in either party, as the only means of reconciling both; that each, abating their high expectations of condescension in the other, both might be brought to a happy accommodation; in which, if he could have prevailed, the beneficial effects must have exceeded all estimate; and it had been difficult to determine, what reward could have been made him equivalent to such a national remedy, in that violent calenture under which the nation now laboured. But his reflection on his own narrative of the Convocation aforesaid, may be applicable here; that, *He is generally accounted an impartial arbitrator, who displeases both sides* (b). It seems to have been at this time that he was, as he mentions himself, tho' no member yet an inhabitant of *Lincoln college* in this University; that he was also then deprived of all his subsistence, or means of livelihood, and now, or not long after, rifled and plundered of his books, manuscripts, &c. But, tho' he expressly denies that his losses were owing to his expences, or the dearth of the place or provisions; yet there is a noted opposer of him, as of many others, who has, by the grossest distortion of his sense, and most uncharitable insult under his sufferings, endeavoured to make an affirmation of his denial [F]; and tho' he could plainly understand,

(a) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 23.

(b) His Church Hist. p. 167. as before.

‘ May I make this true use, says he, of that false report, to *die daily*: see how Providence has crossed it; the dead reported man is still living; the then living man, dead; and seeing I survive to go over his grave, I will tread the more gently on the mold thereof; using that civility on him, which I received from him.’ Indeed he has further spoken, with that superior candor and generosity of him, which he was wont to do of the few antagonists he had, in the same place, where he has preserved him among his learned and eminent men; and where, after informing us, that he was born in *Yorkshire*, bred at *Magdalen College* in *Cambridge*, and much befriended by *Sir John Hotham the elder*, he gives him the character of having had a fine and active fancy, of being no contemptible Poet, and a good Preacher; but that of a zealous observer, he became a violent opposer of Bishops and ceremonies; which our author very charitably wishes, imputed to the information of his judgment and conscience (29). It may be taken also as a beauty in his own character, that he was not too strict or over curious in remembering the place and time of this adversary's death, tho' the cause and manner of it were too publicly known to be omitted; for *Mr Saltmarsh* being at times intellectually disordered (30), it took him in the head latterly, after a fever, that he had commissions from the Lord, to deliver to the Parliament Army then at *Windfor*, whereof he was one of the Chaplains; and after that fit of sickness, telling his wife he had been in a trance, seen a vision, and received messages to the said army, he strode thither in a very erratic, if not distracted, manner; and did so much further inflame his brains, by riding to and fro among them in his shirt, pronouncing the menaces of the Lord, with his revelations, counsels, and rebukes, to the General *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, and other officers, in many extatic speeches, and prophetic raptures, that, when he returned home, five days afterwards, to his house near *Ilford* in *Essex*, his spirits seem to have been quite exhausted. He told his wife, that he had then done his work, finished his errand, and must go to his father; so, in two days more, being taken speechless, he quietly breathed his last, on the eleventh of December 1647, and not three years after, as our author has misconjunctured (31). The short abstract we have here given of his latter end, is from the account which the officers of the army aforesaid suffered to be published of it (32); but those who will not think it an infirmity bordering too near upon his own, either in others to be more particular, or in themselves to be further acquainted with his insignificant and brain-sick extravagancies, or crazy conduct in this melancholy condition, may repair to that account itself, or a more copious extract of it, than we have here from that pamphlet given, less difficult to be consulted (33). Among the books and tracts he had published, tho' they are now little read or known,

(29) Fuller's Worthies in *Yorkshire*, fol. 212.

(30) Mr Saltmarsh his Free Grace, &c. being an Experiment of Jesus Christ upon one who hath been in the Bondage of a troubled Spirit at times, for twelve Years, till now, &c. 12mo. 1645.

(31) Worthies of Eng. in *Yorkshire* as before.

(32) See Wonderful Predictions declared in a Message, as from the Lord, to his Excellency *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, and the Council of his Army; by *John Saltmarsh*, Preacher of the Gospel; with his Speeches, and Manner of his Death. 4to. 1648. one Sheet.

(33) *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 233.

the titles of about twenty are remembered in the author last quoted, and some of them elsewhere (34): in several parts whereof, he appears to have been of the *Antinomian* persuasion; also that, besides *Dr Fuller* and *Mr Gataker*, he had made himself an adversary to *Dr John Bastwick*, *Thomas Edwards*, the author of *Gangræna*; and *John Ley*, one of the Assembly of Divines, &c. The very titles of some of those pieces seem to have some tincture, or glimpses of enthusiasm, if not frenzy in them.

[F] A noted opposer, &c. who has endeavoured to make an affirmation of his denial.] This noted opposer was *Dr Heylin*, in his Animadversions upon our author's *Church History*; both which books we shall hereafter more particularly speak of. Our author being willing to intimate how he was totally ruined in the beginning of the civil wars, while he fled for protection to the royal party at *Oxford*, has gently dropt a reflection upon that melancholy event, where speaking of the foundation of *Lincoln College* in *Oxford*, he informs us, he was in those troublesome times, tho' no member of, a dweller in it; and adds, ‘ I will not complain of the dearth of this University, where seventeen weeks cost me more than seventeen years in *Cambridge*, even all that I had; but I shall pray that the Students therein, be never after disturbed upon the like occasion (35).’ Now tho' *Heylin* suffered then himself, and there, attending also the royal party in the like manner, we shall see how he could magnify that expression, without the use of glasses, which then indeed could do his eyes no service; or if they could, none are so blind, as those who will not see: for tho' Fuller has expressly distinguished that he had no objection to make against any extravagant exactions for his diet, or other accommodations, therefore would not complain of any dearth there, yet, says *Heylin*, ‘ The ordinary and unwary reader might collect from hence, that *Oxford* was a chargeable place, and that all commodities there are exceeding dear, but that our author lets him know, it was upon some occasion of disturbance: by which it seems, our author doth relate to the time of the war, when men from all parts did repair to *Oxford*, not as a University, but a place of safety, and the seat Royal of the King; at which time notwithstanding, all provisions were so plentiful, and at such cheap rates, as no man had reason to complain of the dearth of them. No better argument of the fertility of the soil, and the richness of the country in which *Oxford* standeth, than that the markets were not raised on the accession of such infinite multitudes as resorted to it at that time, and on that occasion.’ Here conscious that he had wilfully perverted our author's sense long enough into a *wrong meaning*, and considering that Fuller would be thought sensible of the cheapness of the place then, as well as himself, he goes on to let us understand, how unnecessary his own misconstruction was, by shewing again how readily

(34) In *Will. London's Catalogue* of the most vendible books, 4to. 1658. And the last *Oxford Catalogue*, fol. 1738.

(35) His Church Hist. cent. xv. lib. 4. p. 168.

stand, from our author's expression, that he was sequestered by the parliamentary power; yet, as we see he has most preposterously upbraided him with being a Royalist, tho' he was an exceeding one himself, and most ambitious, in his writings, of being so accounted. Thus, deprived of all, and having no church to preach in, our author turned his thoughts towards the camp; for, at this tumultuous juncture, having no conveniency to explain, or vindicate, those tenets or schemes of compofure and reconciliation, by the *press* or *pulpit* (c), against which some ecclesiastical and invidious competitors for court-favour had diligently insinuated their misconstructions; he resolved to recover the opinion of his stedfast adherence to the Royal cause, by openly trying his fortune, more distantly, under the Royal army. Therefore, being well recommended to Sir Ralph Hopton, now, after his *late* victory obtained at Stratton in Cornwall, May the sixteenth 1643 (d), created Lord Hopton of Stratton, at Oxford, he was admitted by him, in the quality of his Chaplain; and he has gratefully exemplified the patent of his patron's creation, which is dated the fourth of September following (e). This attendance must have been most agreeable, being most fortunate to him; as that Lord's steady attachment to the King's interest was so well known, that it reinstated the credit of Fuller's *loyalty*; and yet his Lordship's inclinations to an amicable and honourable closure of the war, were so correspondent with those of his Chaplain, that they no less confirmed *his judgment*; which justly reflecting a double honour upon both, gained *him also a victory* (f) over that attempt aforesaid, by his circumventing enemies. And now attending his Lord, wherever the soldiers under him lay in camp, his Chaplain constantly exercised his duty, in exhorting them to theirs; and where, in their progress, they lay quartered in towns and cities, he always found some intervals for his beloved studies, in gathering materials, especially for his WORTHIES OF ENGLAND.

(c) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 24.

(d) Fuller's Worthies in Cornwall, p. 212.

(e) Idem, *ibid.*

(f) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 25.

How

dily he could take his *right meaning*. 'Our author therefore, says he, must be thought to relate to somewhat else than is here expressed; and possibly may be, that his being at Oxford at that time, brought him within the compass of *delinquency*, and consequently of *sequestration*.' But mind with what politeness and humanity he concludes upon this misfortune of a fellow-sufferer in those calamitous times. 'And were it so, says he, (that he was sequestered) he hath no reason to complain of the *University*, or the *deariness* of it; but rather of himself, for coming to a place so *ehargeable*, and *destructive* to him. He might have *tarried* where he *was*, for I never heard that he was *sent for*, and then this great complaint against the *deariness* of that *University* would have found no place (36).' Many such bitter draughts of his gall should we swallow, if we were to run thro' this, and many others of his controversial writings; in which, he surely did not always sufficiently reflect, that if the Clergy were to make a practice of thus treating their own cloth, it would soon be no wonder that the laity, of whom they are the instructors, should, in their treatment of them, follow their own example. That our author was of a contrary spirit, might appear in many instances of his answer to the Doctor; but in this place, let us rather observe, with what temper he could express that most severe loss, and more valuable to him than all his other possessions, in these unhappy times of anarchy and lawless spoil, his *library* of books and manuscripts. In one place, for that loss invaded his memory more than once, having ingeniously introduced it with a story out of *Plutarch's* morals, of one *Nicias* an antient Philosopher, who being robbed of his shoes, wished, *they might fit his feet who took them away*: which may seem a charitable wish, but was a revengeful one; for being himself club-footed, he thereby wished the thief a cripple, rather than that they might prevent his being made one, by going barefoot. This story he no less ingeniously applies thus, 'Whosoever hath plundered me of my *books* and *papers*, I freely forgive him, and desire that he *may fully understand*, and *make good use thereof*; wishing him more *joy* of them, than he hath *right* to them. Nor is there any *snake* under my *berbs*; nor have I, as *Nicias*, any reservation, or latent *sense* to myself; but from my heart do desire, that to all purposes and intents, my books may be beneficial unto him. Only requesting him, that one passage in his, lately my, bible, namely *Exo. iv. 28.* 'may be taken into his serious consideration (37).' But it seems he did not lose all his books, as he also elsewhere informs us in these words, to one of his patrons: 'Besides desire, to shelter myself under your patronage, gratitude obligeth me to tender my service to your Honour. For all my books, being my *netber* and *upper millstone*, and such by the *Levitical*

Law, might not be taken to pledge, because a man's life (38), without which, I had been rendered unable to *grind* any *grist*, for the good of myself or others, had been taken from me in these civil wars, had not a letter from your Lady mother preserved the greatest part thereof. Good reason therefore, that the first handful of my *finest meal* should be presented in thankfulness to your family (39).' And elsewhere we learn, that he had afterwards a considerable reparation made of this loss; for which, to another of his patrons, he makes this grateful acknowledgment. 'I am sadly sensible, what the loss of a library, especially of manuscripts, is to a minister, whose books have passed such hands, which made riddance of many, but havock of more. Was it not cruelty to torture a library, by maiming and mangling the authors therein, neither *leaving* nor *taking* them intire? Would they had *took less*, that so what they *left*, might have been useful to me; or *left less*, that so what they *took*, might have been useful to others. Whereas now, mischievous *ignorance* did a *prejudice* to me, without a *profit* to myself, or any body else. But would to God all my fellow brethren, who, with me, *bemoan* the loss of their books, with me, might also *rejoice* for the recovery thereof, though not the same numerical volumes. Thanks be to your Honour, who have bestowed upon me, the *Treasure* of a *Lord Treasurer*; what remained of your father's library. Your father, who was the greatest honourer and disgracer of students bred in learning; honourer, giving due respect to all men of merit; disgracer, who by his meer natural parts and experience, acquired that perfection of invention, expression, and judgment, to which, those who make learning their sole study do never arrive. It was a gift I confess, better proportioned to your dignity than my deserts; too great, not for your Honour to bestow, but for me to receive. And thus hath God by your bounty equivalently restored unto me, what the *locusts* and the *palmer worm*, &c. have devoured; so that now, I envy not the Pope's *Vatican*, for the numerousness of books, and variety of editions therein; enough for *use*, being as good, as store for *state*, or superfluity for *magnificence*. However, hereafter, I shall behold myself under no other notion, than as your Lordship's *Library-keeper*: and conceive it my duty, not only to see your books dry'd and rubbed, to rout those moths which would quarter therein, but also to peruse, study, and digest them; so that I may present your Honour with some choice collections out of the same, as this ensuing history is for the main extracted thence; on which account, I humbly crave your acceptance thereof; whereby, you shall engage my daily prayers for your happiness, and the happiness of your most noble consort, &c. (40).'

(38) Deut. xxiv. 5.

(39) Fuller's Pif-gah-Sight of Palestine, in his Dedication to Henry Lord Beauchamp, Son of William Marquis of Hertford, before lib. 2. fol. 50.

(40) Fuller's Church Hist. in the Dedication to Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, before lib. c. containing the Reign of K. Hen. VIII.

[G] How

(36) Dr Heylin's Examen Historicum, &c. in his Animadversions on the Church Hist. of Britain, p. 72.

(37) Fuller's good Thoughts in worse times, edit. 11mo. 1652. p. 60. See also his good Thoughts in bad Times, printed the same Year, p. 78. of his comfort in sharing the Calamities of his Country.

How assiduous he was in his researches, and how extensive in his correspondence for that purpose, may appear in his Memorialist [G]. After the battle of *Cheriton Down*, on March the twenty-ninth 1644, the Lord Hopton drew on his army to *Basing-House*, the Marquis of Worcester's in Hampshire, and left his Chaplain in that strong garrison, intending to consult the King, at Oxford, before he took up his quarters; when Sir William Waller, having taken in Winchester, besieged the Doctor's sanctuary; but so little terrified was he with the cannon from the assailants leaguer, that it made him so vigilantly animate the defendants to such continual and effectual sallies, as constrained Sir William to raise the siege on the (g) seventeenth of November following, with the loss of more than a thousand men (b): However, this most noble feat in that county, some months after Fuller had left it, was taken by storm, with the Marquis in it, and razed to the ground. After the war, which had made a lamentable ravage through the three kingdoms, was drawing to a conclusion, and part of the loyal army driven into Cornwall, under the Lord Hopton; his Chaplain, having received a dismissal of his beloved patron, took timely refuge at Exeter, where he resumed his studies, and constantly preached with great satisfaction to those loyal citizens. Here, the Queen having been delivered at Bedford House, of her last issue the Princess, called after her own name Henrietta Maria, in June the year last mentioned, who was soon after her brother's restoration married to Philip of France Duke of Orleans, our author was made Chaplain to the Infant Lady (i), and, as the writer of his life also observes, the King soon after gave him a patent for his presentation to the living of Dorchester in Dorsetshire, valued at four hundred pounds *per annum*. But, as this would obstruct his design of settling in London, for the more convenient attainment of historical intelligence, he modestly declined that gracious offer, and continued waiting on the young Princess during the siege of that city, in the latter end of 1645; when, as he tells us, it was for a while so wonderfully relieved with such prodigious flocks of larks [H]. His conversation was here, no less than wherever else he was, much sought and admired by the most noble and ingenious persons of all ranks [I], several of whom made him advanta-

geous

(g) Sir George Wharton's *Gesta Britannorum*, p. 18.

(b) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 29, 30.

(i) *Idem*, p. 33. And Fuller's *Worthies*, in Exeter; fol. 271. Further of this Duchess of Orleans, see the *Countess de la Fayette's Fatal Gallantry*; or the *Secret Hist. of Henrietta, Princess of England*: Translated by Mrs Anne Floyd, and dedicated to John Laws, Esq; 8vo. 1722.

Wherein it is suggested, that she was poisoned at St Cloud, on the 30th of June 1670, in a Glass of Suctory Water, p. 127, 141.

[G] *How assiduous he was in his researches, and extensive in his correspondence for that purpose, may appear in his Memorialist.*] This author informs us, that, 'While he was in progress with the King's army, his business and study then was a kind of errantry; having proposed to himself a more exact collection of the *Worthies General of England*; in which others had waded before, but he resolved to go through. In what place soever therefore he came, of remark especially, he spent most of his time in views and researches of their antiquities, and Church Monuments; insinuating himself into the acquaintance, which frequently ended in a lasting friendship, of the learnedst and gravest persons residing within the place, thereby to inform himself fully of those things he thought worthy the commendation of his labours. It is an incredible thing to think what a numerous correspondence the Doctor maintained, and enjoyed by this means. Nor did the good Doctor ever refuse to light his candle, in investigating truth, from the meanest persons discovery. He would endure contentedly, an hour, or more impertinence, from any aged Church-officer, or other superannuated people, for the gleanings of two lines to his purpose. And tho' his spirit was quick and nimble, and all the faculties of his mind, ready and answerable to that activity of dispatch, yet in these inquests, he would stay and attend those circular rambles, till they came to a point; so resolute was he bent to the sifting out of abstruse antiquity. Nor did he ever dismiss such adjutators or helpers, as he pleased to stile them, without giving them money and cheerful thanks besides (41).'

(41) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 27.

[H] *Wonderfully relieved with such prodigious flocks of larks.*] This memorable relief by the vast numbers of those birds, being himself a witness of, he has recorded in these words.— 'When the city of Exeter was besieged by the Parliament forces, so that only the south side thereof towards the sea was open to it, incredible numbers of larks were found in that open quarter, for multitude, like quails in the wilderness; tho', blessed be God, unlike them, in the cause and effect; as not desired with man's destruction, nor sent with God's anger; as appeared by their safe digestion into wholesome nourishment. Hereof, I was an eye, and mouth-witness. I will save my credit in not conjecturing any number; knowing that herein, though I should stoop beneath the truth, I should mount above belief. They were as fat as plentiful; so that being sold for two pence

' a dozen, and under, the poor, who could have no cheaper, and the rich, no better meat, used to make pottage of them, boyling them down therein. Several natural causes were assigned hereof: 1. That these fowl frightened with much shooting on the land, retreated to the sea side for their refuge. 2. That it is familiar with them in cold winters as that was, to shelter themselves in the most southern parts. 3. That some sorts of seed were sown in those parts, which invited them thither for their own repast: however, the cause of causes was the Divine Providence; thereby providing a feast for many poor people, who otherwise had been pinched for provision (42).'

[I] *His conversation was much sought and admired by the most noble persons, and ingenious of all ranks.*] While he resided here, as well as in other places, his temper and humour, his learning and wit, were so conspicuous and captivating to the wise and grave, the learned and judicious, as well as those who were more jocose and mercurial themselves, that old Doctor Villain of that city, was pleasantly rallied by the Governor of Exeter, for inviting him so often, or detaining him so long, from the society of others; as a cornholder that hoardeth up the grain to enhance the market, and make a dearth in the neighbourhood (43). But it seems, that Doctor had some uncommon manuscripts in his library, with a *Museum* of natural curiosities besides; and being of a generous disposition, as his benefactions in that town may testify, notwithstanding his sufferings in those destructive times; as also of courteous comportment and communicative conversation, they were mutually agreeable to each other. It was in that *Museum* belike, that our author saw such a rarity, as served him to illustrate a reflection, he afterwards made, upon the assertion in one of the Oxford Antiquaries (44), that there were, or had been above two hundred halls in that University: for thereupon he observes, that, 'such halls, like flowers, which grow double, must either one crowd into another, or else be inconsiderably small; like those three hundred sixty five children which Margaret Countess of Henneberg brought forth at a birth in Holland; one skull whereof, says he, I have seen, no bigger than a bead, or a bean;' so, in the margin adds, 'It was derived for some hundred of years by succession, through authentic Physicians, to Dr Villain of Exeter, the present owner thereof; and avouched, by the skilful in anatomy, the true head of an infant once born into the world (45):' As it might

(42) *Worthies of England*, in Exeter, p. 273.

(43) Extract of Sir John Berkeley's Letter to the Doctor, among the Remains of Henry Earl of Clarendon's MS. Collections, some time after the Death of the late Earl, at Somerset House.

(44) Brian Twyn's, *Apolog. Antiq. Acad. Oxon.*

(45) Fuller's *Hist. of Cambridge*, fol. 28.

geous overtures to engross him to themselves, which he refused. Here he composed a little book, of pious applications and reflections upon familiar objects, examples, and events; so ingeniously, as made devotion delightful to the Princess, when she was old enough to read and understand it. He dedicated it to the Lady who preferred him into the service of her Highness, and calls it the first fruits of Exeter press, presented to her [K]. At last the garrison

might more probably be, than together with so many brothers and sisters. However the Doctor himself has in his book of Epigrams, one upon this incredible swarm of children, which that Belgic Countess is said to have brought forth at one birth, upon the imprecation of a beggar woman (46) who was reviled by her, as a common prostitute for having many herself. But our author was tempted with greater prospects of advantage by persons of higher rank, to engage him more constantly to themselves. For while he lay here, the Bishop of Bristol, Dr Thomas Westfield, it seems, made him fair invitations to live with him; but he declined them, being cautious of such a family favour: and John Digby, Earl of Bristol, was so charmed with his company, while he was here Chaplain to the Princess, that he also tendered him a noble competency, both now, and after the siege of Exeter, if he would go over and reside with him in France; protesting that, while he was master of a *loaf*, our author should have *half* of it (47): but he valued his liberty above the whole loaf. He seems to have considered the close attachment to dignity in a domestic Retainer, but as a crippling kindness; and however it might for a while promise an air of equality, or permit the appearance of a companion, that it was a situation which would prove improsperous by its contiguity, and insensibly breed a subordination, that would grow contemptible by its constancy; more especially, as the greatest services therein, soonest beget the most envious circumventions; or so dwindle and degenerate into unthankful duty, that the Dependent will find it thought a reward too great, to have been the witness only of little foibles; that he must live by no direction of his own, and have no dispositions that are unguided by his principal; till he who at first was a freeman himself, gradually becomes a slave, to the passions or humours, the vices or vanities, the profits or pleasures, the avarice or ambition, of another; and often in the end, a victim to the treachery of undermining competitors. But tho' he accepted not such courtesy, he has spoken much to the honour of those who offered it (48). In short, he was so engaging, and had such a fruitful faculty of begetting wit in others, when he exerted it himself, that he made his associates pleased with their own conversation as well as his: his blaze kindled sparks in them, till they admired at their own brightness; and when any melancholy hours were to be filled up with merriment, it was said, in the vein he could sometimes descend to, that the *Doctor* made every one *Fuller*. An author before quoted informs us, 'He was so good company, that happy the person who could enjoy him, either Citizen, Gentleman, or Nobleman; the Earl of Carlisle, and George Lord Berkeley especially; he removing up and down, out of an equanimous civility to his many worthy friends; so to dispense his much desired company among them, that no one might monopolize him to the envy of others (49).' For that Lord Berkeley's noble friendship to him, he has sundry times repeated his gratitude with great zeal and affection: where he calls him, the Paramount *Mæcenat* of his studies (\*): and in another place, 'one, who hath been so signally bountiful in promoting these, and all other my weak endeavours, that I deserve to be dumb, if ever I forget to return him publick thanks for them (50).' But to enumerate all the patrons or promoters of his works, and recite his shining characters of, and liberal acknowledgments to them, might make an article longer than this of his life.

[K] *The first fruits of Exeter press presented to her* Several little books of this kind were published by our author; some whereof have past divers editions. They are partly composed upon the plan of a learned and ingenious prelate's most celebrated writings (51): but several others have been since written, more directly upon our author's plan. As that, by Theophilus Wodenote, a sequester'd divine, sometime of King's-

College in Cambridge (52). Another was published by Dr William Spurthow Minister of Hackney (53), and afterwards there was another volume set forth, by an author more famous for his many publications in natural and experimental Philosophy (54). Whatever there might be in this last author's performance, that could tempt a late ludicrous wit to give his serious manner of writing another air (55), we forbear now to enquire; but have been so far from meeting with any reflection upon our author, for the pieces in this kind which he set forth, that we find they rather gained him the character of a most penetrating and flexible genius; which testified a comprehensive memory to recollect, and judgment to prefer, the most proper and agreeable incidents in poetry, history, or any other science, as well as divinity; and then a most surprising faculty of allusion, to apply them so pertinently and so eloquently, by inference or deduction to any present purpose or occasion: whereby he has drawn the most delightful and salutary precepts out of the most ordinary and disregarded, as well as the most extraordinary and observable examples; insomuch that no books of those times, in this manner of writing were more read than his, or more often reprinted. The first tract which he brought to light of this nature, if we are not misled by some catalogues in its title and date, was called, *Good Thoughts*, 12mo. 1637. The next he published was this above referred to, while at Exeter, as is there said, and entituled, *Good Thoughts in bad times*, &c. printed there, it seems in 12mo 1645, for we have not seen that edition; but the next we have, which was the fruit of a London press, printed for Andrew Crook, &c. in 12mo. 1646. And he published *Good Thoughts in worse times*, that year or the next in 12mo. 1647 (+). They were reprinted in 1649, and 1650. At least these two parts were again printed together, under the title of, *Good Thoughts in bad times*: together with, *Good Thoughts in worse times*; consisting of *Personal Meditations, Scripture Observations, Historical Applications, Mixt Contemplations: Meditations on the Times, Meditations on all kind of Prayers, and Occasional Meditations*. By Thomas Fuller, B. D. both parts printed for J. Williams, &c 12mo. 1652. He afterwards published a different work entituled, *Mixt Contemplations in these times*, as one author says in folio (56); who mentions no date to this, or any other of his works; and this if not printed in octavo, we never saw; but his *Mixt Contemplations in better times*, printed in 8vo. 1660. and dedicated from Syon College, to the Lady Monck we have seen. As for his *Good Thoughts in bad times*; which contain the first four heads of those specified in the two parts before mentioned to have been printed together; this first part containing an hundred meditations, is addressed by him in a polite dedication, to his patroness, the Lady Dalkieth, Governess to the Princess, as also her godmother, who was the planter of him in her service. We have seen an account or description of a collection of moral and divine contemplations, written seemingly in a woman's hand, by either the said Princess Henrietta Maria, as it was said, or for her use (57), having on its blue Turkey leather cover, the two first letters of her name in a cypher, surrounded with palm branches, and crowned with a coronet, in which there are several of the curious thoughts in this book; among others transcribed. As that pleasant story of the simple American, who hid or buried under a stone the letter his Spanish master had sent by him, to a friend with a basket of figs, while he eat some of them, because a former letter had revealed his former thievery; thinking, while he was out of its sight, he should now be free from its detection; which is ingeniously applied by our author, to the conscience in man, which however stifled and suppressed, while we are committing transgressions, will at last both upbraid us with, and punish us for them (58). Another is, that application he makes of the Shepherds on those Welsh moun-

(52) H's Hermes Theologus: Or, New Discourses upon Old Records, 12mo. 1649.

(53) Dr Spurthow's Spiritual Chymist: Or, Six Decades of Divine Meditations, 8vo. 1666, 1668.

(54) Mr Boyle's Occasional Reflections on several Subjects, 8vo. 1665.

(55) See Dr Swift's Meditations on a Broomstick: According to the stile and manner of the Hon. Robert Boyle's Meditations.

(+) We may also read of Fuller's Better Thoughts in worse times, in W. Lond. n's Catalogue of Books, &c. 4to. 1653.

(56) The Life of Dr Fuller, in the Catalogue of his Works at the End.

(57) Among the MS. Collections of the late Mr T. Coxe.

(58) Fuller's good Thoughts in bad times, among the Historical Applications, No. 13.

(46) See Dr Robt. Vilvain's Echiastikum Epigrammatum, Latino Anglicum, &c. 8vo. 1654, in the additional Essays. p. 166.

(47) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 524, 579, &c.

(48) Fuller's Worthies in Cambr. fol. 154. Also in Warwickshire, fol. 124, &c.

(49) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 524.

(\*) Church Hist. fol. 142. See also his Dedication of lib. IX. to the Hon. George Berkeley.

(50) Worthies in Gloucestershire, fol. 366.

(51) See Bishop Hall's Contemplations, in two or three Volumes 8vo. 1612, 1613, &c.

(4) Sir George Wharton, as before, p. 23. And Memorials of English Affairs; by Bulstr. Whitlock, Esq; edit. fol. 1732. p. 200.

(\*) See in Fuller's Dedication of the fourth Book, in his Church History, to this Earl of Carlisle, some remarkable particulars of his Lordship's ancestors.

(59) Idem, No. 3.

(60) Ibid. among the mixt Contemplations, No. 22.

(61) Fuller's good Thoughts in bad times, among the mixt Contemplations, No. 8.

garrison there, for want of succours, was forced to surrender, but upon such favourable conditions, to the Parliament army, under Sir Thomas Fairfax, on the thirteenth of April 1646 (k), that Fuller was permitted by him to depart without any loss or interruption to London. Here he met but cold reception among his former parishioners; Mr Bond, heretofore a preacher at Exeter, was Master of the Savoy; and so many other changes he saw, that the parish was scarcely to be found in itself. However, it was not long before he was chosen Lecturer at St Clements-Lane, near Lombard-street; and shortly after removed to St Bride's church in Fleet-street. In the title-page of a sermon which he published in 1647, he styles himself late Lecturer in Lombard-street; and in his dedication thereof to Sir John Danvers, it appears he was now silenced [L]. He published several other pieces in these two last years, as we shall see hereafter. But it seems to have been before the latter end of the next year, when King Charles was put to death, that he was received as Chaplain to James Hay Earl of Carlisle (\*), and presented by his Lordship, soon after, to the Rectory of Waltham-Abbey in Essex; because in that year 1648, and in 1649, he was, not only at London, but at Waltham, employing some engravers, to adorn, with sculptures, his copious Prospect or View of the Holy Land, as from Mount Pisgab, therefore called and known by the name of his PISGAH-SIGHT of Palestine (l), which he published in 1650 [M]. But as for his WORTHIES OF ENGLAND, the death of the

(l) See the Map therein of the Tribe of Gad, by W. Marshall, 1648. fol. 72. And the Map of the Tribe of Benjamin, by Robt. Vaughan, apud Waltham, 1649. fol. 238.

King,

tains, so high and such little ways asunder, that the men can talk together, but must walk some miles before they can meet together, to the divisions between the King and Parliament (59). Another is, his meditations on the risings and fallings in Salisbury plain (60); and besides two or three more, there is one we shall here recite, as a specimen of our author's talent in this kind of writing, as follows: 'I have sometimes considered, in what a troublesome case is that Chamberlaine in an Inn, who being but one, is to give attendance to many guests. For, suppose them all in one chamber; yet, if one shall command him to come to the window, and the other to the table, another to the bed, another to the chimney, another to go up stairs, and another to go down; and all in the same instant; how would he be distracted to please them all? And yet, such is the sad condition of my soul by nature, not only a servant but a slave to sin! Pride calls me to the window; gluttony to the table; wantonness to the bed; laziness to the chimney; ambition commands me to go up stairs, and covetousness to come down. Vices I see are as well contrary to themselves as to virtue. Free me, Lord, from this distracted case; fetch me from being sin's servant to be thine, whose service is perfect freedom; for thou art one and ever the same, and always enjoins commands agreeable to themselves, thy glory, and my good (61).'

[L] In his dedication to Sir John Danvers, it appears that he was now silenced.] This is entitled, *A Sermon of assurance, fourteen years ago preached in Cambridge, since in other places: now, by the importunity of his friends, exposed to publick view.* 4to. 1647. In his dedication to Sir John Danvers, he says that, 'It had been the pleasure of the present authority to make me mute; forbidding me till further order, the exercise of my publick preaching.' And in the Preface he tells his readers that, 'if he was finally interdicted his calling, he might bespeak their pity to bemoan his state; but lying as yet, in the marshes between hope and fear, I am, says he, no fit subject to be condoled for, or congratulated with: yet it is, I trust, no piece of Popery to maintain, that the prayers of others may be beneficial and available for a person in my purgatory condition.' And a little further, 'However matters shall succeed, it is no small comfort to my conscience, that in respect to my ministerial function, I do not die, *felo de se*; not stabbing my profession by mine own laziness, who hitherto have, and hereafter shall improve my utmost endeavours, by any lawful means to procure my restitution.' And tho' some might persuade him to hold a private congregation, and carry the pulpit to his lodgings; yet he refrains from giving any offence, in hopes of being brought back to his pulpit. Of that Sir John Danvers, to whom he dedicates this sermon, who was of a noble family, and had been a Royalist, tho' now an Oliverian, and next year one of the King's Judges, but died before the Restoration, we have met with the following passage, relating both to him and our author, in a little book that gives us

some account of Sir John's life; the writer whereof, says that, tho' he lived some years in his disloyalty without repentance, 'Yet drawing near the time of his death, I have, says the said writer, cause to believe that he repented of the wickedness of his life; for that, then, Mr Thomas, now Dr Fuller, was conversant in his family, and preached several times at Sir John Danvers his desire, in Chelsea Church; where, I am sure, all that frequented that congregation, will say, he was instructed to repent of his misguided and wicked consultations, in having to do with the murder of that just man, the King (62).'

[M] His *Pisgab Sight of Palestine*, he published in 1650.] The title is, *A Pisgab Sight of Palestine. and the confines thereof; with the History of the Old and New Testament acted thereon.* By T. Fuller, B. D. 'Tis an handsome folio, embellished with a frontispiece designed by Francis Cleyn, with many other copper plates, and divided into five books. The dedication, to Esme Stuart Earl of March and Darneley, &c. is dated from Waltham-Abbey, 7th July 1650, and after the preface, in which he excuses his delay of the *Church History*, and renews our hopes of receiving it, follow some verses in Greek, by John Ridley. Then we have a table of the arms in sculpture of several encouragers of this work, graved by J. Goddard; and after that, a map of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, dedicated to John Lord Cranfield, Sir William Paston, and Robert Condel, Esq; 'The first book contains the general description of Judea in fifteen chapters; with a map of old Canaan, inscribed to Edward Bendloes, Esq; The second book, is dedicated to Henry Lord Beauchamp, as we before mentioned. Then follow the histories of the Twelve Tribes, &c. in as many chapters, with a map before each, containing also, in a little compartment, a short Latin inscription, in prose or verse, to some patron, with his arms over it: the first, which is the map of Reuben, is inscribed to Sir Paul Pindar; the next of Gad, to Sir Hugh Windham, Bart. and so on: that of Benjamin to James Earl of Carlisle; and that of Judah, to another special patron, William Lord Maynard, &c. of whom, he elsewhere gratefully speaks (63). The third book, dedicated to John Lord Rofs, Son of John Earl of Rutland, gives us a description of the city of Jerusalem in thirteen chapters, with a plan of it in sculpture, inscribed to the Honourable Edward Montagu, Esq; also an account of Solomon's Temple in seven chapters, and his Courts, with the utensils of the Temple in twelve chapters; and prints of them inscribed to other promoters of the work. We have next a description and history of Zerobabel's Temple in twelve chapters, and a plate inscribed also of that, like the rest. The fourth book is dedicated to Francis Lord Russel, son of William Earl of Bedford, and dated from Waltham-Abbey, July 16, 1650. Here we have a map and description of Mount Libanus, with the adjacent country, inscribed to Simeon Bonnel, Merchant of London, a great encourager of his works. Also of Median, and other eastern confines of Palestine, with the like prospect and account of the wilderness

(62) See J Bates his Lives of the Regicides, 2mo. 1601. p. 134.

(63) Where he says, 'William Lord Maynard hath been so noble an Encourager of my Studies, that my hand deserves to wither, when my heart passeth him by without a Prayer for his good success.' Worthies, in Essex, fol. 347.

of

King, did now, for a while, quite stagnate and dishearten his continuance of that Work, as if the proceedings of the Parliament had proved a contradiction to the title of it: *For what shall I write, said he, of the Worthies of England, when this horrid act will bring such an infamy upon the whole nation, as will ever cloud and darken all its former, and suppress its future, rising glories (m).* Therefore he was busy till the year last mentioned, in getting out that book and others; and the next year, he rather employed himself in publishing some particular lives, in a volume, of religious Reformers, Martyrs, Confessors, Bishops, Doctors, and other learned Divines, foreign and domestick, than in augmenting his said book of English Worthies in general; and to this collection he gave the title of ABEL REDEVIVUS, which he published at London, in quarto, 1651 [N]. In the two or three following years, he printed also several sermons and tracts upon ecclesiastical subjects. And now having lived above twelve years a widower, and being recommended to an advantageous match by his noble friends, he married one of the sisters of the Lord Viscount *Balsinglass (n)*, in or not long before the year 1654. The next year she brought him forth a son, who, with the other before mentioned, survived their father. In 1655, notwithstanding Cromwell's prohibition of all persons from performing any ministerial service, or teaching any school, who had been adherents to the late King, he continued preaching, and exerting his charitable disposition towards those Ministers who were ejected; whom he not only relieved with what he could spare out of his own slender estate, but procured many contributions for them of his auditories. Nor was his charity confined to the Clergy, but, among the Laity whom he likewise befriended, one Captain of the royal army, who was

(m) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 39.

(n) Idem, p. 47.

of Paran, through which the children of Israel travelled forty years: likewise a draught of the tabernacle, inscribed to James Bovey, Merchant of London, and a map of Egypt, with historical observations, founded upon the authorities of the holy writings, and those of travellers, topographers, &c. as the other parts are.

We have next a description of the Jewish habits in eight chapters, with a table of them engraved (\*), and inscribed to his friend Mat. Gilly, Esq; also a print of the Jewish Pantheon, or Idols, with an inscription to Dr Hamey as we mentioned before, and philological observations upon them, partly, as he acknowledges, from the labours of Mr Selden (64). The fifth book is dedicated to John Lord Burgheley, son of John Earl of Exeter; and contains his answers to objections, concerning this treatise, and the representation of the Tribes, &c. in the maps aforesaid, in twenty two chapters. In one of them, to an objection, that the faces of the men who bear the great bunch of grapes (65), are set the wrong way: for being to go south-east, to *Kadesh-barnea*, they look full west, to the *Mediterranean sea*, he answers: 'You put me in mind of a man, who being sent for, to pass his verdict on a picture, how like it was, to the person whom it was to resemble, fell a finding fault with the frame thereof, not the Limner's, but the Joyner's work; that the fame was not handsomely fashioned. Instead of giving your judgment on the map, how truly it is drawn to represent the Tribe, you eavil at the history-properties therein; the art of the Graver, not the Geographer. Yet know, Sir, when I cheekt the Graver, *Robert Vaughan*, for the same, he answered me, that it was proper for the *Spies*, like *Watermen*, and *Rope-makers*, to look one way, and row another (66).' After these answers, there are six chapters more. 1. Of Ezekiel's visionary land of Canaan. 2. An account of the Ten Tribes since their Captivity, &c. 3. Of the Jews repossessing their native country. 4. Of the general calling of the Jews. 5. The present obstructions of their calling. 6. How Christians should behave in order to the Jews conversion.—Then follows a sculpture of sacred fragments, dedicated to John and Edward Russel, youngest sons of Francis late Earl of Bedford: and the whole closes with an elaborate table or index, of all the places; as cities, towns, mountains, vallies, rivers, &c. mentioned in this history of Palestine out of the Scriptures, in their proper Hebrew names, also their significations in English, parallel'd with many English towns, &c. as synonymas, and the texts referred to, in which those places are mentioned; as also their longitudes and latitudes: lastly, the book, page, and paragraph, in this history, where such places are treated of, or mentioned; and all in distinct columns. If we may depend upon the judgment of some writers who have given our author's character, this *Pisgab Sight* is the most exact of all his writings (67).

[N] His *Abel Redevivus* be published at London in Quarto 1651.] The title of it is, *Abel Redevivus: Or the Dead yet speaking. The lives and deaths of the modern Divines; written by several able and learned men, whose names ye shall find in the epistle to the reader; and now digested into one volume, for the benefit and satisfaction of all those that desire to be acquainted with the paths of piety and virtue.* Printed by Thomas Brudnell, &c. Lond Quarto 1651. The epistle written by our author, is subscribed from Waltham-Abbey. There are about one hundred and twelve lives, foreign and domestie in this volume, whereof thirty eight are English, except two or three Scots; beginning with Berengarius and Wicliffe, and ending with Robert Bolton and W. Wheatley. About forty three of the lives are embellished with little copper prints of their heads before them, and in the preface upon the honours, uses, and benefits of BIOGRAPHY, proceeds to distinguish the compilers of this collection, in these words— 'As for the makers thereof, they are many. Some done by Doctor Featly, now at rest with God: viz. the lives of Jewel, Reynolds, Abbot, and divers others: some by that reverend and learned Divine, Mr Gutaker: viz. the lives of Peter Martyr, Bale, Whitgift, Ridley, Whincker, Parker, and others: Doctor Willer's life, by Doctor Smith, his son in law. Erasmus his life, by the Reverend Bishop of Kilmore (68): the life of Bishop Andrews, by the judicious and industrious, my worthy friend, Master Isaackson: and my meanness wrote all the lives of Berengarius, Hus, Hierom of Prague, Archbishop Cranner, Maller Fox, Perkins, Junius, &c. save, the most part of the poetry at the end of every life was done by Master Quarles, father and son, sufficiently known for their abilities therein. The rest, the Stationer got transcribed out of Mr Holland, and other authors (69).' Before a little book of the *Daily Devotions* of Dr John Colet, Dean of St Paul's, and Founder of the Grammar School there, we see, a short account of that Dean's life written by our author, T. Fuller; but it is a different work from that in this collection, and not near so long (70). It may be observed in this collection of lives, that the plan our author followed in composing his share of it, is that which was then, among the most judicious writers in use; too modest to be justly charged with ostentation: for the other compilers, who were also learned and ingenious men, have as little displayed the directions they had in chronology, or those their readers might covet to their authorities, as himself; except one of them, who has bravely embroidered his margins, with above fourscore references to the old Philosophers, Fathers, Poets, &c. in the life of a *modern Divine*, within the compass of six leaves, and not five quotations in the whole that are directly personal, or do historically concern his subject (71).

(68) Dr William Bedell, as we suppose.

(69) Fuller's Epistle to Abel Redevivus, p. 70.

(70) Page 97.

(71) See Dr Smith's Life of Dr Andrew Willes, in *Abel Redevivus*, p. 565.

[O] It

(\*) By J. Fuller; no relation of our author's, we presume; but might be a son, or other kin'sman, of Isaac Fuller, the History-Painter, if not himself.

(64) De Diis Syris.

(65) In the Map of Dan, book the 2d, before cap. 10. p. 202.

(66) Lib. 5. cap. 22. p. 163.

(67) D. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 223. Also an Historical Dictionary of England and Wales, 3vo. 1692.

was quite destitute, he wholly maintained, with lodging, diet, and ten pounds a year for other necessaries, till he died (o). In that year, his History of the UNIVERSITY of CAMBRIDGE, and his History of WALTHAM-ABBEY, were printed; and they are usually annexed, as an appendix, to his volume intituled, *The Church-History of GREAT BRITAIN*, which, after many interruptions, he brought out in a large folio, printed the same year, and then published, some few copies, it seems, with the date thereof in the title page; and the rest with another title, dated the next year 1656, &c. and having then chambers in Sion College, London, for the benefit of the library there, he from thence published the said volume (p). The reader will think it no news to hear that it did not please every body. It was commended by several, and censured by some [O]. About this time he was

[O] *It was commended by several, and censured by some.* This book, for which our author has been so variously characterized, bears the title of, *The Church-History of Great-Britain, from the Birth of Christ, until the year 1648. endeavoured by Thomas Fuller.* London, printed for John Williams, &c. fol. 1656. It is divided into eleven books, whereof the sixth is the history of Abbies; also into seventeen centuries, and most of them after the earlier times into several sections; with a dedication before each, to some noble or eminent friend who was an encourager of his works, with their arms often printed from wooden cuts, in the initial letters; which particular publications of, and acknowledgments to his patrons, subscribers, &c. begot him some particular envy, as the history itself did, some censure, for his moderation to all parties therein; without a great regard to which, by the most discreet conduct, he must in the latter part of this history, have brought himself when it was published into inextricable danger. Indeed he brought this history down too far within his own time, contrary

(\*) But see also his arguments for writing the Hist. of our own times, in his Dedicat. to Robt. Lord Bruce, before the tenth book of his Church Hist.

(72) To his son Esme Stuart, Duke of Richmond.

(73) In the Pref. to his Church Hist.

(74) A short Narrative of the late dreadful fire in London, by Edward Waterhouse, Esq; 8vo. 1667. p. 89.

(75) John Darley's Glory of Chelsea College revived: 4to. 1662. p. 17.

(76) Idem, p. 27.

(77) Langbain's Account of the Dramatic Poets, p. 222.

to a good rule of his own (\*): but he could no longer resist the importunity of his friends, who had so long expected it, at this time, when truth could not be done right with safety, nor wrong with honour, to bring it out, as appears by the first words of his preface; which inform us, that an ingenious gentleman some months before it appeared, in jest earnest, advised him to make haste with his *History of the Church of England*, for fear, said he, lest the *Church of England* be ended before the *History* of it. It must be provoking enough in envious minds, to see the noble Duke of Richmond in the very first dedication of this book (72), had such a singular regard to our author's judgment in the exposition of the Scriptures, that his Grace would give him some favourite text to compose a sermon upon; and the zealots of a party could deduce enough matter of reproach from his saying that, 'The three first books were chiefly written in the reign of the late King, as appears by the passages then proper for the government; and the other nine, since Monarchy was turned into a State (73).' As for the gentleman aforesaid, who hastened the publication, we have learnt it was Edward Waterhouse, Esq; the author of some learned books, which were well received; in one whereof, speaking of our Church-Historian he calls him, 'ingenious Dr Fuller; who will be more valued in after ages as most are, than in their own (74).' Another contemporary writer, in a tract published before the last quoted, having occasion to consult that part of this Church History, treating of the foundation which was first begun at Chelsea, for a College of Controversial Divinity against the Papists, but is now an Hospital for disabled and superannuated soldiers, has these words— 'But yet further, for the establishing your judgments, and the attracting of your affections, let us produce the venerable relation and judgment of one, who may be well called a Chrysostom; that is, Doctor Fuller, &c (75):' and further again, in another part of the same treatise; 'Let us hercupon still hear, and heed what Doctor Fuller says; and he is ever most worthy to be heard, &c (76).' But somewhat earlier still, there was another author of those times, Mr Thomas Forde; a man of good genius, who was esteemed no inconsiderable Poet and Orator; a volume of whose writings in prose and verse, has been elsewhere spoken of among our dramatic writers (77); in one part of which book, there is a very respectful letter, in commendation of this history, addressed, tho' by the ini-

tial letters of his name only, yet evidently, as may appear by the substance thereof, as follows,

' To Mr THOMAS FULLER.

' SIR,

' HAVING lately, not without pleasure and profit read your *Church-History*; by which you have not only indebted our Church in particular, but the whole commonwealth of learning in general; my memory continually upbraided me with ingratitude, till I found out this way to convey my resentments. For though our returns of thanks ought to be large and universal as your merit, yet your goodness, I hope, will not refuse the single gratitude of private persons. In that number, though the last, and the least, I am bold to tender my mite. A task indeed better befitting a more equal pen, since none is able to do it but your own. But I know your modesty is as great as your merit, the highest worths being always accompanied with the lowest humility. May your name ever live, who have raised so many to life, and rescued their memories from the tyranny of oblivion. Among many others, I am particularly obliged to your courtesy, in the remembrance of that good man Mr Udal, to whom, by kindred, I am something related. One, of whom we have this tradition, that he was the first man King James asked for when he came into England, and being answered, that he was dead, the King, whose judgment was an exact standard of learning and learned men, replied, *By my sal, then the greatest scholar in Europe's dead.* And certainly, by his own party, if they may be admitted for competent judges, it is not yet resolved, whether his learning or his zeal were greatest; and they think, they justly boast him a Confessor, if not a Martyr, for that cause which since hath paid those scores with interest. Now, though I am not heir to his opinions, yet a small affinity to his person, makes me embrace the opportunity of proffering you that intelligence you complain to want, the rather, because perhaps, no man can now do it but myself; and I have a relation of all his trials, censures, and sentence, written by himself, which I doubt not may give you a satisfactory account in what you desire. If you please to command it, I shall be ambitious to serve you and the truth therewith. But I could wish you would review that passage in the 31 Sect. after the execution of Udal, &c (78), for he died at the White Lyon, just as his pardon was procured, and was buried at St George's Southwark. And so I leave him to his rest, wishing his good name and doctrines may survive his discipline. Sir, you have not only engaged learning, but religion, to perpetuate your labours. Fame is much in arrears to your desert, and therefore cannot in justice, but continue that veneration in length to your memory, which it yet wants in breadth. Those religious houses, erected by a better devotion than that which destroyed them, are more beholding to your pen, than to their founders, or materials; you having made them a task for the remembrance and admiration of future ages, so long as time shall hold a scythe, or fame a trumpet. I would say more, if the universal applause of all knowing men had not saved me a labour; and to pay you in some of your own coin, it is no flattery to affirm, what envy cannot deny. Did I not foresee that the relation would swell my discourse beyond the limits of a letter, or the length of your patience,

(78) Church Hist. lib. IX. sect. viii. but that this was only a little slip, or inadvertency, may be seen in sect. or paragr. 4. where he says that Udal died peaceably in his bed.

was invited to another living in Essex, which, for some respects to the patron, he undertook, and piously continued his labours there till his settlement at London (q). He seems to have had two great deliverances from death while he was in this county; for where he is speaking of the saffron in it, which grows so plentifully about the town of Walden, he calls it an admirable cordial; adding, that, ‘under God, I owe my life, when sick of the small-pox, to the efficacy thereof;’ and Dr Baldwin Hamey, afterwards knighted, seems to have been his Physician in this illness (r). The other deliverance we have also in his own words, where he says, ‘It is questionable, whether the making of gunpowder be more profitable or more dangerous, the mills in my parish having been five times blown up within seven years; but blessed be God without the loss of any one man’s life (s).’ Before he left Essex he made, as we are told, his last Will; which, after his death, was repositied in the Prerogative-office of Canterbury, at Doctor’s-Commons in London; where, with others made by some of the same name, it is to be seen (t). But now another noble patron, George Lord Berkeley, having made him his Chaplain, he took his leave of that county, to the great reluctance of his parishioners, and was presented by his Lordship to the living of Cranford in Middlesex, where he was no less generally beloved and respected, than at his other livings he had been (u). Ever since the *Church History* aforesaid was published, Dr Heylin had been hatching his *Animadversions* upon it and some others, which he printed in 1659. This invidious task, as he owns it himself to have been (w), diverted our author from his other studies to return an *answer* to it, which he published with no less speed than success within the same year; of both which we shall say something more in a note apart [P]: And when Dr Heylin’s own Ecclesiastical History, only of the Reformation,

(q) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 46.

(r) Fuller’s Worthies, in Essex, p. 317. See also his Latin Inscription on the Copper-Plate of Jewell Idols, to Dr Hamey, in his Pish-Sight, &c. lib. 4 p. 120. Also his Latin Dedicat. to him in his Church Hist. fol. 133.

(s) His Worthies in Essex, p. 319.

(t) Dr Tho. Fuller’s Will is in the Regit. entic. Laud, Qu. 43. Gen. Fuller’s, 1651. in R. G. Gray, Qu. 4. And Robert Fuller’s 1661, in Reg. Lady Judith May, Qu. 134.

(u) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 45, &c.

(w) Dr Heylin’s general Pref. to his Examen Historicum.

‘patience, I should assume the liberty to inform you, that my neighbourhood to the place, acquaints me with some *reliques* of *religious houses*, at and near Malden, bearing still the name of an *Abbey*, a *Friery*, and a *Nunnery*. And if we may judge of *Hercules* by his foot, of the whole piece by the remnant, and of them by their *remains*, I should suppose them not behind many in *England*. As yet, I know little of them, but their *ruins*; but if you vote it convenient, I shall endeavour to improve my present ignorance into a discovery of them. I suppose it will be no hard task; I am sure it shall not, when in relation to your command. I must now take pity of your *patience*, which had not run this hazard of abuse, did I not know I have to do with so great a candour, from which I can expect no less than *pardon*. And in that presumption, I crave your leave to be, as I subscribe myself,

‘S I R,

‘Your most assured Servant,

‘THOMAS FORDE (79).’

These, and other commendations of our author, that might be assembled, were paid him for this elaborate and ingenious performance, some after, as well as others before, the more severe examinations and censures of it were made, which will appear in the next note. Annexed to this *Church History*, is his *History of Cambridge*, from the Conquest to 1643, in 172 pages, with a dedication to Banister, son of William Lord Maynard, and a map inscribed to Baptist Camden, Lord Noel: also the *History of Waltham-Abbey* in Essex, founded by King Harold, in 22 pages, dedicated to his patron James Earl of Carlisle; with a plate at the end, before the index, of the *Seals of Arms*, of all the *Mitred Abbays* in England. Both which histories were printed, as we above observed in 1655, and the latter of them has lately been recompiled by another pen (80).

[P] *Of both which we shall say something more in a note apart.* We have seen in the letter, recited in the last note, a little mistake of our author’s, in a generous and genteel manner rectified by Mr Forde. We have also met with some agreeable conversation, which is said to have passed between our author and his ever-cheerful and friendly acquaintance, Mr Isaac Walton, upon the general character of this *Church-History*, when it first came abroad. For Walton, taking occasion, upon reading something in it, relating to one of the lives, he was collecting materials for writing, I think, that of Mr Richard Hooker, to visit him with other company; and our author knowing how intimate he was with several of the Bishops and

antient Clergy, first asked him what he thought of the History himself, and was then curious to know, what reception it had met with among them: Walton answered, that he thought it should be acceptable to all tempers, because there were *shades* in it for the warm, and *sunshine* for those of a cold constitution; that with *youthful readers*, the facetious parts would be profitable, to make the serious more palatable; while some reverend *old readers* might fancy themselves, in his History of the Church, as in a flower-garden, or one full of ever-greens: and why not, said Fuller, the *Church History* so decked, as well as the *Church* itself, at a most *Holy Season*; or the *Tabernacle* of old, at the *Feast of Boughs*? That was, but for a *season*, said Walton; in your *Feast of Boughs*, they may conceive, we are so overshadowed throughout, that the parson is more seen than his congregation, and this, sometimes invisible to its own acquaintance; who may wander in the search, till they are lost in the labyrinth: oh, said Fuller, the very *Children* of our *Israel* may find their way out of this *wilderness*: true, returned Walton; as indeed they have here such a *Moses* to conduct them (81). These were Laymen; how some of the Clergy have treated this history, we are now to relate; and particularly the author of *animadversions* on it. This was Dr Peter Heylin, a man whose learning had been well employed, if it could have reduced his unhappy temper; which obstructing his own preferment, moved his discontented spirit to oppose that of others; and lifting his hand against every body, raised theirs against him. This Doctor having written the *History of our Champion of England* (82), took a pique, it seems, partly from the slight grounds of our author’s making a little parallel of Perseus and Andromeda, with St George and the King of Lybia’s daughter (83); and taking some further distaste, that himself was less mentioned, or with less homage than he expected, in some other parts of his writings, especially for his reflection on the Doctor’s reflecting story on the antiquity of the University of Cambridge (84), kept feeding his rancour upon this *Church History* till it broke out, however he would have us believe it a task imposed upon him, in these *Animadversions* (85), before which he has written an *Introduction*, and given therein, the anatomy of the said History; dissecting it into many parts, and then reading lectures upon the unsoundness of all: beginning, I. At the title: of the *Church History* from *Christ*; by which, expecting an allowance of a Christian Church in *Britain*, in the time of *Christ*; he betrays his disappointment, in our author’s refuting the popish pretensions of St Peter’s planting the gospel here, or any other of the Apostles, &c. so early from *Rome*; and so, *Mother-Church* in that age, is defeated of the duty of a *daughter*! II. *Church-History* of *Britain*, is mighty exceptionable with him; because there is little said of the Churches

(81) In a Medley of diverting Sayings, Stories, Characters, &c. in Verse and Prose, written in Quarto, about the Year 1636, (as it is attested in another hand) by Charles Cotton, Esq; some time in the Library of the Earl of Halifax.

(82) Heylin’s History of St George, 4to. 1611, &c.

(83) In the Pish-Sight, fol. 210.

(84) Fuller’s Hist. of Cambridge, fol. 77, 78.

(85) Printed in his Examen Historicum: Or, a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Fallacies, and Defects, in some Modern Histories: Occasioned by the Partiality and Inadvertence of their several Authors. In two Parts. Lond. 8vo. 1659.

(79) See Fienestra in Pectore: Or, a Century of familiar Letters. By Tho. Forde, 8vo. 1650. p. 137. Joined to his Virtus Redevisa: Or, Panegyric on King Charles I, &c. 8vo. 1661.

(80) J Farmer’s Hist. of Waltham-Abbey, 8vo. 1735.

mation, appeared, it gave less satisfaction, and was by others no less *animadverted* on. They had no further controversy after the said answer, but were both thereupon, as we have

of Scotland and Ireland. III. 'Tis not properly called a *Church-History*, because 'tis an aggregation of heterogeneous bodies. There is too much variety; and, a *Church Rhapsody*, or *Fuller's Miscellanies*, had been a fitter title: so picks us out these impertinent parts; IV. Such as, *Title pages* a dozen; *Dedications* as many; and about three-score more, to other patrons, before the subdivided sections. This number of *Patrons* was an intolerable felicity, especially as our author has, more than once, let us into his good husbandry, of raising a *Nursery* of them (\*). V. His *Heraldry*, *Blazon of Arms*, *Descents of Noble Families*, *Rolls of Battle-Abbey*, *Arms and Names of the Conqueror's Knights* billeted with the Monks of *Ely*: catalogue of *Adventurers* with *Richard I. to Palestine*; which he thinks might have better served his *History of the Holy Wars*; but being also what would engage the young Nobility and Gentry, for whom he so much designed this book, is very displeasing. VI. Then also, his *Epitaphs*, and *Translations* of other pieces of *Poetry*, sprinkled up and down, as another attraction of his younger readers to the graver parts, and for the enlivening or illustration of his characters, are wholly disallowed; because, among the other ancient Historians, he says, *Plutarch* and *Suetonius* yield him no example; and therefore it looks rather like a *Church Romance*. VII. His raking into *Papish Legends* was unnecessary; that is, he should not have exposed so much, and armed his readers so well against the ecclesiastical impostures and miracles therein, devised to promote the admiration and bigotry of the people, and augment the profits of the Monks and Priests. VIII. Above all, says the Doctor, recommend me to his *merry tales*, and scraps of *trencher jests*, frequently interlaced in all parts of the *History*; which, extracted into a book by themselves (\*), might be served up, he thinks, for a second course to the *banquet of jests*; or *wits, fits, and fancies*; or the old *hundred merry tales*. But would one think his own severity could fall into the same levities he censures, in these *animadversions*? Yes, when they will gratify his spleen; tho' it be with a *trencher-jest*, out of any common jest-book in *Grub-Street*; as where, being inflamed at a story our author recites of a *Lady*, who told *Archbishop Laud* of her going over betimes to *Rome*, because, *she perceived his Lordship and many others hastning thither, and she did not love to go in a crowd* (†); he thereupon returns a story of another *Lady*; at whose table *one Mr Fuller* was a welcome, tho' frequent guest; and being offered by her the wing of a *Woodcock*, he was so very importunate to know, how she could tell a *woodcock* from a *woodhen*, that the *Lady* at last answered, *a Woodcock was fuller headed, fuller breasted, fuller thigh'd*; and, in a word, every way, *Fuller* (86); so hard it is to *halt* before a *cripple*! But this is not the only time the Doctor went astray, in the path he had given such expectations he could direct others. For our author might have retorted this jest, in a story of *one Dr Heylin*, who travelling not far from home to *Oxford*, was earnestly intreated by the man who was with him, to lead the way thro' the forest of *Whichwood*; but the Doctor lost his way, and wanted a leader himself. *Strange!* said the fellow, *that you, who made a book of the whole world* (†), *can't find your way out of this wood* (87). But he has not done with our author yet; for the next objection is, IX. His manifold excursions about the *Antiquity of Cambridge*; in which tho' this *animadverter* pretends to forbear awakening a useless controversy, that had so long lain asleep, yet he refers his reader to his *animadversions*, for what he could oppose our author therein; but might possibly have testified more discretion, in recommending to both Universities, such a friendly and laudable emulation in their studies, as should make it more difficult to determine, which of them were of greater service and honour to their country, by their instructions of mankind, than which of them is of greater antiquity. X. That there is too little of the *Church* and too much of the *State History* in his book; which, tho' sufficiently implied in other articles before, yet must more distinctly appear, to in-

crease the reckoning. For our author has not, it seems, frequently enough to please this candid and humane critic, displayed the calling of national and provincial *Synods*, and made their influence, or authority, sufficiently glaring and ascendant over the *civil power*; he wanted more such notable *Convocations*, as threw about their firebrands of *Sequestration*, *Deprivation*, *Suspension*, *Excommunication*, and other *Ecclesiastical Censures*, without any confirmation of *Acts of Parliament*. More of the *Heterodoxies* and *Superstitions* of the *Church of Rome*; and the whole *Reformation* settled upon the *Doctrine of the Apostles*: More of the *Affaults* and *Batteries* of the *Puritan* faction; and justification of *Rites* and *Ceremonies*. X. He discerns a continual vein of *Puritanism* running thro' the book; which thro' the facetiousness of his style, may work upon unwary readers. As if he allowed the sword to be put into the common peoples hands, when the *reforming* humour shall grow strong enough: that the opinions of *Wicliffe* and *Calvin* are too much favoured; the *Hierarchy of Bishops* too coldly pleaded for; *Non-conformists* followed with *Plaudites*; *Fathers of the Church* often sent off in silence. But makes a heavy clutter about the *Ceremonies*, and that dispute of the *Communion-Table* standing *Altar-wise*; also of a chapel built north and south; tho' *King James* could say, *it was no matter how the chapel stood, so the heart was right*; and another unconsecrated; with more, about hoods, gowns, cassocks, surplices, and such like. And last of all, our critic chews over what we mentioned before, from the preface of this *Church History*; in which our author distinguishes what part was written in the reign of the *King*, and what since *Monarchy* was turned to a *State*; by which, as 'tis construed, he only meant to temper it to the palate of the present *Government*, whatever it was, &c. These are the general heads of objection in the Doctor's *Introduction*. Then he attempts to make them good by above three hundred particulars, in the *Animadversions* themselves. To these is annexed *An Appendix, containing the Apology of Dr John Cofin's, Dean of Peterborough: in answer to some passages in the Church History of Britain, in which he finds himself concerned*. This letter, in answer to our author's charge (88), in relation to *Dr Cofin's* imprisonment of *Mr Smart* a *Prebendary of Durham*, for his sermon against certain superstitious innovations, imputed to the Doctor; for which suffering the *Parliament* had voted *Mr Smart* damages, is dated from *Paris*, April 6th 1658; and therein, the Doctor thinks, that he inserted that passage upon the false reports and informations of others, who were loth to let an old malicious accusation die, as it might have done, if he had not kept it still alive, and recorded it to posterity. But it appears also therein, that our author wrote him a letter of apology for publishing the said misinformation, which the *Dean* should have had printed here with his own letter; especially since our author therein offered to make him amends, in the next book he published; which he has very ingenuously done (89). As for *Heylin's Animadversions*, tho' 'tis allowed they contain many useful remarks, and corrections of several involuntary mistakes in this *Church History*, as to some circumstances of time, distinction of families, forms and ceremonies, &c. and might have been proper, in some reasonable degree, to amend the errors therein; yet they appear nothing so enormous as in his representations; being thereby so much aggravated and magnified. For if the Doctor does not frequently explain a truth into what is erroneous, he often will, an insignificant error into one that is material, where an unprejudiced reader would conceive none at all; or discern no fault in the history, till it is made one in the *animadversion*. Even the reflexions of others upon the *Hierarchy*, he turns upon the *Historian*, tho' he mentions, but to refute them, only that this eternal caveller may add some further superfluous refutation of his own; and many times willfully misconstrues his apparent meaning. But the great burden of his cavils, is the allowance of any mismanagements in the *Monarchical Government*, and speaking with any candour or lenity of some who were afterwards fa-

(\* See in his Church History, lib. 4. sect. 2. his Dedication to Sir Gerard Napier, Bart. in Apol. for many Patrons: And in several Dedications, in his Pisgah-Sight, how expedient it was for him, to have Infant Patrons.

(\* And so many of them have been, to the sale of several books, particularly one, intituled *Fragments Aulica, or Court and State Jest, &c.* By T.S. The second edit. 12mo. 1663, &c.

(†) See his Church Hist. Book XI. fol. 217.

(86) *Animadversions on the Church Hist. &c.* p. 260.

(†) *Heylin's Cosmography.*

(87) *Miscellanea: Or, a choice Collection of wise and ingenious Sayings, &c.* By G.M. 8vo. 1694. p. 70.

(88) *Church Hist. book XI. fol. 173.*

(89) *Worthies of Eng. in Durham, p. 295.* And yet it seems *Dr Cofin* was then spirited up, to some more severe opposition of our author; by those words in *Chancellor Hyde's Letter to Dr Barwick, from Brussels, June 27, 1659.* 'Pray tell me, whether my Lord of Ely doth not think that my very good friend Dr Cofin, hath proceeded further than he needed to have done, upon any Provocation Mr Fuller could have given him.' Vide *Parentalia: Or, Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens; By Christopher Wren, jun. Esq; fol. 1750. p. 54.*

have observed, well reconciled, especially when the Doctor's turbulent and acrimonious spirit was calmed and moderated by some of the many antagonists he had raised against himself;

voured under the administration of the commonwealth; which could not be avoided at the unlucky juncture when his history was published, without his inevitable ruin, as was before observed. If that incessant wrangler may not be flatly accused with Popish tenets, in the discipline he bellows on this history; yet what our author has related on another occasion, may be here applied; that, as that Driver at the Olympic games of old was held the conqueror, who could run his chariot wheels most near the mark, and yet not touch the mark, to hamper himself or impede his career: So that Divine was reckoned the hero of Laud's party, who could border, or drive up nearest the Papists, and not intangle himself in the charge of Popery; which yet Dr Heylin had not the dexterity to keep himself clear of, as may be read, when his own *History of the Reformation* appeared (90), in the *Animadversions* that were made upon that; the author, or authors whereof, having informed him therein, from many instances, that, 'we should rather judge you to be the pupil of Dr Harding, whom you would be thought to oppose; than of Bishop Jewel, whom you seem to reverence, &c. (91).' But others since, have treated it no better than as a libel upon the Princes, Prelates, and all, who, so much at their own peril, purged our Church of its corruptions, and established the said Reformation. It may be seen in Bishop Burnet, how he seems to have been set on by the Church of Rome, in those violent prejudices he has exerted against this of England, without the support of any authorities for the same (92). And also in Bishop Barlow, besides others of great knowledge and credit, who might be named, how justly, for representing our said Reformers as a pack of Fanatics, he is reproached with being guilty of scandalous injuries, both to Truth and the Church (93). The same year that Heylin published those *animadversions* upon our author's history, Fuller set forth his reply to them, intituled, *The Appeal of injured Innocence to the learned and impartial Reader, in answer to some Animadversions of Dr Heylin's on his Church History*. Printed in a thin folio 1659, being, as one author terms it, 'a very modest, but 'most rational and polite defence, to the aforesaid 'exceptions against that elaborate piece (94).' Some have spoken of it, as if, he was not only to be pardoned but praised, for tripping in his steps, who could make such graceful recovery of them. And others have observed, that the errors in his *history* are so ingeniously excused or confessed in his *appeal*, that he is even pleasing to his readers in those faults for which he has so wittily apologized (95). But his unquiet antagonist, to a book of his disputations with several other persons, published the same year (96), has added in the *Appendix, An Exchange of Letters between Mr Thomas Fuller of Waltham, and Dr Peter Heylin of Abington*, with an *examination* also of some passages in the said *appeal*. In this *appendix*, Dr Heylin allows that Mr Fuller's *appeal* is a well-studied *answer*, composed with ingenuity and judgment (97). And that he does not find wilfully in any error whereof he finds conviction, however traversing some points; which the Doctor thinks might have been with more honour to truth, declined. It appears here also, that our author, when his *appeal* was published, sent it to the Doctor; likewise such a letter with it, as very much mollified his censor's harsh opinions, and promoted their succeeding reconciliation. It also probably conduced to the abridgement of his *reply* to so long an *answer*; tho' the motives which the Doctor here publishes thereto, are, that three parts in five of the *appeal* are the words of the *animadversions*; that, in the two other parts, our author confesses mistakes, and promises corrections in the next edition of his history; and that other traverses or evasions in the *appellant*, are tantamount to acknowledgments, not to be qualified with the name of satisfactory *answers*; and therefore, he thinks no special *replication* necessary to them (98). But it is manifest, that letter before mentioned, and perhaps others which our author sent him, did allay his indignation; where-in he assures the Doctor, that, 'he was cordial to the 'cause of the English Church, and that his hoary hairs 'would go down with sorrow for her sufferings;' be-

cause the Doctor says thereof, that, 'It tended especially to the begetting such a friendly correspondence 'betwixt us, as might conduce to the establishment of 'a future peace.' And so it did, after our author had been more explicit in some serious conferences with him at Abington. For the writer, who well knew the conclusion of these altercation between them, asserts that the dispute in relation to this Church History was soon ended; 'for the oil our author had bestowed upon 'that labour, being poured into the fresh wound of 'this quarrel, did so assuage the heat of their contest, 'that it was soon healed into a perfect amicable clo- 'sure, and mutual endearment (99).' And what expectations the Papists had from this controversy, if they had no hand in it, for that more hands than Dr Heylin's contributed to those *animadversions* is evident enough (100), may also appear in another part of his Biographer aforesaid, where he informs us, that, 'It 'much rejoiced the Roman party, when this misunder- 'standing happened between Dr Heylin and himself, 'about his Ecclesiastical History, tho' they caught no 'fish in those troubled waters; while they tossed their 'proud billows forward and backward, the Prote- 'stant cause was safely anchored and moored between 'them (101).' And thus his orthodox principles, as a true son of the Church of England, were no more called in question.

As to those more obvious qualities in our author, which inclined him so much to illuminate the obscure, and enliven the languid parts of this History, as might render them more engaging to the generality of his readers; it has been objected, that he was too witty, too lepid, and indulgent therein of his own fancy and conceits; which, tho' often very ingeniously applied, it is thought he would have much refrained, if he had submitted to the advice of his good and worthy friend, as he styles him (102), Mr William Somner, the Antiquary of Canterbury (103), and not lightened some weighty matters so frequently with jests and tales; however, he might design only to enlighten them, or think them dispersed in his materials, like some alloy in metals, which may temper and dispose even gold itself, to be more binding and work the better. But that objection also, it seems, has since been accumulated upon him, with too much violence and excess. For some late Examiners of his works, in a few remarks left upon them, as well as other writers on serious subjects, would be for reducing this censure to its just bounds or degrees; and therefore observe, that much of his manner was the mode of the reign wherein he laid the foundation of his studies, and not to be particularly charged upon any new obtrusion of his; further observing, that much of what has been disparaged with the slighting title of jests and tales, are indeed apophthegms, and parallel events; so intended by the author, and so received and revived by unprejudiced readers, as instructive and corroborating ornaments; like what may be seen in many solemn discourses of great antiquity, being an imitation of the Philology therein. They have thought also, that an author may make even Church history in some parts diverting, without making a diversion of the Church; and therefore, that he may ridicule some monstrous and mischievous impositions on it, without making it ridiculous; as we daily behold in Civil, and even Ecclesiastical life, the most serious and sober negociations carried on by men of volatile and humorous dispositions, who may surely sometimes smile, or even laugh over their business, and not laugh at it; there being great difference between a man's shewing a little jocularly now and then, in the faithful discharge of a trust he has taken upon him, and betraying it into contempt, by making jokes of the trust itself. Therefore it has been questioned, when an author, who has the uncommon talents to render himself most pleasing and agreeable, shall, by an uncommon industry to exert them, render himself least so, whether there is not a sinister and ungrateful reception made of his labours? And whether any faults or failings, in the government either of Church or State, may not be sometimes corrected, with as much success, and more humanity, in a good humour, than a sour and morose

(99) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 47.

(100) In Dr John Cosins his Letter to Dr Heylin, from Paris, at the end of his Animadversions, &c. p. 285.

(101) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 85.

(102) In his Hist. of Abbeyes, &c.

(103) See the Life of Mr Somner, by Mr White Kennet (after Bishop of Peterborough), printed with Mr Somner's Treatise of Roman Ports and Forts in Kent. edit. 8vo. 1693. p. 114.

(90) With the Title of, *Ecclesia Restaurata: Or, the Hist. of the Reformat. of the Church of Eng. &c.* fol. 1661, &c.

(91) *Plus Ultra: Or, England's Reformat. needed to be reformed: Being an Examination of Dr Heylin's Hist. of the Reformat. of the Church of Eng. &c.* By H N O J. &c. Lond. 4to. 1661. p. 48.

(92) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. fol. Vol I. 1679, 1681. in the Preface.

(93) Bishop Barlow's Remains, 8vo. 1693. p. 185.

(94) The Life of Dr Fuller, p. 47.

(95) Lloyd's Memoirs, &c. p. 524.

(96) Heylin's Certamen Epistolare: Or, the Letter Combat, managed between Dr P. Heylin, and Mr R. Baxter, Dr N. Bernard of Grays-Inn, Mr J. Harrington, &c. 8vo. 1659.

(97) *Ibid.* p. 312.

(98) *Ibid.* p. 338, 339.

himself; when he found his own History more censurable for giving countenance to the Popish cause, than he could censure Fuller's for it's candour to the Presbyterians, and he saw

one? But if, in a copious work, wherein there must be a great diversity or disparity of actors, their actions and arguments, which must sometimes appear ridiculous even to one another, all confirmation of the good, or chastisement of the bad, by the illustration of any similar story, or witty saying, must be rejected, as altogether unseasonable, in respect to the grave title of it, what will become of the gravest Historians, Philosophers, and Fathers of old; who in the same manner derided the impostures in the Pagan, as our modern Divines have done in the Popish, and other Christian systems of worship; or the Prophets and Apostles themselves, who have so agreeably embellished and enforced their doctrines, with fables and parables? And if these illustrations are established by such unerring authorities, in the most inspired and divine, the most sublime and *spiritual* writings, sure they may be safely practised in those that are of *temporal*, or human concern and institution. If then, say they, notwithstanding such great examples, some men can still be so *saturnine*, as to relish nothing *mercurial*; no facetious or other delectable representation, naturally arising, in the miscellaneous occurrence of historical matter; if *wit* and *humour* are such disasters, blessed are the dolts and dizzards! Or, as Falstaff phrases it; If *sack* and *sugar* be a *sin*, *the Lord help the wicked!* But if our Historian has treated us too plentifully therewith, and, like a prodigal son, been so lavish of his treasure, as to be ungenerously reduced to husks, with those who prefer them to pearls, his motives for such liberty are yet thought to be misinterpreted; and this argument is not relinquished without some indications, as we shall see, at the grounds and sources of those rigorous and aggravated constructions, which have been made of the use of wit and humour, in such parts of a grave and serious work, which give birth to them; or any such history, as contains matters no less prophane than sacred in it; especially in respect to our author, and what has been written on him, by a late *historical critic*; who may yet have wronged more characters without wit, than Fuller did with it; or traduced them undeservedly in earnest, more than ever he did by a deserved jest; and with that *gravity* he required in our Historian, may have done him, and many others, more injustice than if he had reprehended them with *levity*; as where he charges him with not having taken care enough of his *style*; when, as it is observed, there is no writing in his style, without being more careful and delicate than we generally think it needful now to be: He adds, that if a pretty *story* comes in our author's way, affording *scope of clinch and droll*, off it goes, with all the *gaiety of the stage*; and that the most serious parts of his history, are so interlaced with *pun* and *quibble*, as if he designed to *ridicule the annals of our Church* into a *fable or romance*; of which, if proper distinction has not been made above, it may, by reading the history itself. As for puns, quibbles, and clinches, which are but the *shadows of Wit*, 'tis no wonder they are at present so much out of request, as to be almost out of sight, since the *substance* itself is so little seen, in the many volumes that are daily published; but they were not always in such low ebb of esteem as they are now; for some of the gravest Antients so loved the goddesses, that they would embrace the very clouds which appeared in her shape; and they were favourably enough thought of even in Fuller's time, or else such as may occur in him, would not have escaped the censure, much less engaged the imitation, even of his captious opponents. Indeed that critick also adds, that if this Church History could be refined, it would be of good use; *since there are in it some things of moment, hardly to be had elsewhere, which may often illustrate dark passages in more serious writers*, &c. (104). These things of moment, are several letters, records, instruments of Church and State, and other authentic evidences unprinted in other histories, thro' the friendly communications of Sir Thomas Cotton, Sir Simonds d'Ewes, Sir Simon Archer, and other treasurers of antiquities. He has also crected, as so many beautiful statues, abundance of *characters* of eminent men throughout this history; many of them latterly, drawn from the life, and also scarcely elsewhere to

be seen; out of such circumstances therein, which occurred from his own observations, or the intelligence of friends, as would yield the most remarkable connections or contrasts, &c. and he could best animate or adorn, with allusions or reflections, political, moral, and divine. Which embellishment is always desirable, unless where the clippings are more valuable than the little jewels that are reduced and shaped out of them, or many substantial matters of fact have been dropt, or excluded, for some more capable of such decorations; which indeed, in some histories, may be a little like filling of houses with so much carving and painting, as to leave them unfurnished with necessary utensils for every ordinary occasion. If his gay sparkling tales are such eye-fores, they may be overlooked by his gloomy or tender-sighted readers; and as for the arrows of his jests, they are usually so fledged with the feathers of his ingenuity, that, by a well-tempered and counter-vailing moderation, they break the force of their own flight, and defeat the danger of the points they are tipp'd with: so that we may smile more at the innocent effects of his wit, than frown at any rankling wounds that are made by it. But such is the hard fate of an author, especially if he happen to be a man of uncommon abilities, and so prone are his readers to calumny, thro' the conceit, or pretence of a superior taste or distinction, that if there be but one exceptionable quality in him, it shall be ever uppermost, and six such a disrelish as many excellencies cannot qualify. Had he violated the decorum required by good manners and morals; had he profaned, or defiled his pen, with the impiety, or ribaldry of low, licentious, and abandoned writers, he might not have been treated with greater severity, tho' he had then deserved it. However, since some varieties he designed in the entertainment of his readers, agreed not with the weak or dainty appetites of all, some reasons for it have been assigned, as the grounds and sources of that distaste, in the remarks here extracted; from whence we further collect, that this mixture of wit in history, was thought to treat irreverently that of the Church, however decently, concisely, and pertinently, interwoven or adapted; because it might be apt to make it too familiarly read, so be hurtful to that awe and veneration which must be kept up therein; as nothing but sincerity and sanctity should be thought to have any footing there: But his frequent application of the divine texts of scripture, so wittily, how adaptly or respectfully soever also, in it, to human or secular affairs, might be as reproveable, for the same reason as his pleasant stories or sayings; since the very translation of those scriptures into our own tongue, was once even sentenced to the flames, as what might also bring the religion itself into a familiarity too great with the vulgar. Then his rhetorical style, his quaint conformities, contradistinctions, and other elaborate niceties of an elegant and sententious diction; those who have the capacity, either want the forms and rules, or will not spare the time and pains to imitate; therefore such precedents must be rejected, as may tend to exact or revive an obsolete and troublesome compliance. Besides, bright and witty authors on any subject, must be discountenanced by dull and heavy ones, as riches and honours are by those in a poor and abject condition; who, to suggest in themselves more excellent properties, will rail at what they cannot reach: For if such inconvenient examples were to predominate; if florid and pithy writings were to prevail, or wit and eloquence become in vogue, it would make a dearth at the press; the majority of voices would be silenced by a few, and the generality of authors, being out of the fashion, might as well be out of the world. But, after all, it is not expected to establish a common practice of writing books, by any recommendation of such patterns, in these apologetical remarks, as our Historian has left us. For the author of them pronounces him more liable to robbery than rivalry; and, which is worse, many who have made him first stand and deliver, have afterwards abused him and defaced his credit, to prevent their own detection: so that there is no great danger of his corrupting those readily to an ill taste of imitation, who are humbly restrained from ascending higher than repetition,

(104) Nicholson's English Historical Library. 8vo. 1697. Part II. p. 92, &c.

saw his efforts so ineffectual to weaken our author's interest after the Restoration, that Fuller then grew in greater favour at Court, than ever he had been before. It was his noble patron aforesaid it seems (x), the Lord Berkeley, who, at that grand revolution, took Fuller over with him to the Hague (y), that King Charles the Second might also hear his singular excellencies in the pulpit, and his grateful salutations, upon the prevailing resolution of his subjects to receive and obey him in his own kingdoms; but the croud and hurry being too great there, he had soon after better opportunities of expressing his cordial and dutiful satisfaction upon that topic at Whitehall (z); and, among the many loyal congratulations which were made to his Majesty upon his joyful and magnificent entry, our author revived his acquaintance with the Muses, to address him poetically also upon that occasion (a). He was, a short while before, re-admitted to his Lecture in the Savoy, and now restored to his Prebend of Salisbury, after being twenty-years, as the writer of his life says, deprived of it's profits. He was chosen Chaplain in Extraordinary to his Majesty, created Doctor of Divinity by the King's letters of recommendation to the University of Cambridge, dated August the Second 1660 (b); and so well grounded was his expectation of higher advancement, that, had he lived about a twelvemonth longer, 'twas thought he would have been made, upon the translation of Dr Gauden from Exeter to Worcester, or his death soon after, Bishop of one of those Sees (c), thro' the Berkeleys interest with the Queen-Mother, and Princess Henrietta, soon after Duchesse of Orleans, at their late being in England. Now being commodiously enabled to prosecute his studies, he closely applied himself to set a finishing hand to his WORTHIES of ENGLAND [2]. This work was the

(x) David Lloyd's Memoirs, &c. fol. 524.

(y) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 104.

(z) Lloyd's Memoirs, &c. as before.

(a) See Fuller's Panegyric upon the Restoration of King Charles, in his Worthies of England, in Worcester-shire, p. 182.

(b) Bishop Kennet's Regist. and Chron. Eccles. and Civil, &c. edit. fol. 1728; p. 220.

(c) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 53. And J. F.'s Church revived, &c. 12mo. 1663. p. 9.

(105) Eustace Budgell, Esq;

(106) Dr Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester.

(107) By the late Mr Peter Des Maizeaux.

(108) A Discourse concerning Ridicule and Irony in writing, &c. 8vo. 1729.

(109) England's Worthies, in Church and State, &c. 8vo. 1684.

(110) An Histor. Dictionary of Eng. and Wales, &c. 8vo. 1692.

petition, unless the art was as perfectly attained of making, by bidding writers go and be witty, as the *Alchemist* implied his was, who bid his believer go forth and be rich.

Thus we have given the sense and substance of some Reasons which were drawn up for the toleration of wit in due proportion, and in the proper parts of serious subjects, with respect to our author; and found, among some critical papers, of a late gentleman who had a hand in the original *Spectator* (105), with others he also wrote of a political nature, in opposition to the late Earl of Orford. And tho' we have likewise seen some notes which a late Prelate (106) left, in the margins of Bishop Nicholson's *Historical Library*, correcting some errors therein; yet they distinguish his to be a different hand from that which wrote these *Remarks* on our Historian; and we have been informed (107), they were most probably written by the author of a treatise published entirely in favour of this subject (108), as an addition he might design to incorporate in the next impression of it; in which treatise, the said author has quoted a Divine, named Mr Gilbert Rule, who says, he knows of none that blame the excellent writings of Mr Fuller, for the pleasantries in them; and has given us, throughout the said tract, abundance of authorities and examples, of writing in the same manner; especially out of Ecclesiastical authors, in all ages, and of all ranks and persuasions.

[2] To set a finishing hand to his *Worthies of England*.] This work, which was part of it printed before the author died, seems not, in the lives or characters in some of the counties, especially of Wales, so finished as it would probably have been, if he had lived to see it completely published. It is intitled, *The HISTORY of the WORTHIES of ENGLAND: Endeavour'd by THOMAS FULLER, D. D. folio. 1662.* With a sculpture of his effigies prefixed, engraved by David Loggan, having this inscription round it, *Thomas Fuller, S. T. D. Aet. 53. 1661;* this motto at top, *Metodus Mater Memoriae;* and these verses at bottom,

The Graver here, hath well thy face design'd,  
But no hand, FULLER, can express thy mind;  
For that, a resurrection gives to those,  
Whom silent monuments did long enclose.

Being a posthumous publication, it is dedicated to King Charles the Second, by the author's son, Mr John Fuller, a young Divine of Cambridge. In the said editor's preface, we are assured that the unprinted counties were faithfully set forth from the author's copy, without any additions; and that the volume was printed for expedition at several presses, which may account for the several errors in the numbers of the pages, and thereby, the want of an index or two to the whole,

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which might have directed to the *local commodities* and *personal characters* therein: However, there has lately been published an index of the personal part, sometimes to be met with at the end of such copies as have been new bound to receive it. This book, tho' never wholly reprinted, has been partly revived in epitomies of the whole (109), or dividedly, in a work, geographical, historical, and political, whereof the second part is abstracted from these lives (110). The subject matter of the book, is distributed under the several counties of England and Wales; each division beginning first, with the commodities, products, and other particulars most eminent and remarkable in each county; whether waters, minerals, plants, animals, manufactures, buildings, battles, proverbs, &c. then the worthies born or residing therein, marshalled under their respective ranks or professions; the whole contents of each county, ending with tables of the gentry that were therein in the reign of King Henry the Sixth; and a list of the Sheriffs, for several Kings reigns, down to King James or King Charles the First, with their arms described, and places of abode. Prefixed to the whole, is a copious introduction, in near twenty sheets, divided into many chapters; distinctly treating of this grand and comprehensive plan, the matter, order, and stile, &c. shewing how methodical and uniform he has been throughout; also apologizing for any defects that may have escaped his pen, and answering many objections which might be made to any part thereof: But as the heads of those preliminary discourses will best explain the contents of the book, and display as well the variety, as the grandeur of the undertaking; and as a recital of them will give the most ready command of the whole scheme, to those who would only be informed, or reminded thereof; or such as may be inclined to revive the author in a more correct edition; give us a continuation, or any other improvement of his model; the said heads are therefore here offered to their consideration, as follow.

Chapter the Ist, contains the general design; wherein, as learned *Camden*, and painful *Speed*, with others, have described the *rooms* in that convenient structure, to which he compares this nation: So he intends to describe the *furniture* of them, in the most signal products and persons of distinction, adorning the same: to these five ends, 1. To gain some glory to God. 2. To preserve the memory of the dead. 3. To present examples to the living. 4. To entertain the reader with delight. And lastly, To procure some honest profit to himself. II. Of the national commodities; as the manufactures, wonders, buildings, local proverbs, medicinal herbs, waters, &c. III. The first quaternion of persons; Princes, Saints, Martyrs, and Confessors. IV. Of Popes, Cardinals, and Prelates, before the Reformation. V. Since the Reformation. VI. Of our statesmen; as Chancellors, Treasurers, Secretaries of State, Admirals, and Deputies of Ireland. VII. Capital Judges, and

the main channel of his thoughts, but, through the whole course of their current, they branched out into little streams or rivulets. The said intermediate publications were mostly

and Writers of the Common Law. VIII. Soldiers and Seamen, with the necessity of encouraging our Fishery. IX. Of Writers on the Canon and Civil Law; Physick, Chemistry, and Surgery, &c. X. Other Writers; in Divinity, Philology, and Philosophy; History, Music, and Poetry; also on Popery, &c. with a complaint of the number of needless books. XI. Of benefactors to the publick, with a recommendation of choice charities; under the heads of churches, free-schools, colleges, and almshouses; with a distinction of benefactors since, from those before the Reformation. XII. Of memorable persons, or such as were extraordinary for stature, strength, age, fertility, &c. XIII. Lord-Mayors of London. XIV. Catalogues of the gentry under Henry the Sixth; why inserted. XV. Of the Sheriffs. XVI. Of the Sheriffs arms. XVII. Observations on surnames, being often altered, and variously written. XVIII. Of modern battles. XIX. Of the shires, and why the worthies are digested under them. XX. Of the surnames of Clergymen, and that their sons have been as successful as others; with his expedient, where several places claim the birth of one person. XXI. Other general rules and distinctions, for the author and reader's ease: As, his use of the word *amplendum*, expressing a want of fuller intelligence: And his use of S. N. signifying *second nativity*; that is, when a Worthy whose native country is not known, he is historized under that which was his place of residence: And by the abbreviation R. E. M. which implies *removeable*, upon better information: Also his rule for ranking under some one head, persons who have a claim to several. XXII. The precedency of several professions adjusted. XXIII. Of the authorities from whence the work is derived. XXIV. Concerning his double division of the English, according to their nation and profession. XXV. General exceptions against the stile and matter of the author prevented; by his propositions of, and answers to them, being twenty-four in number. XXVI. An apology for the involuntary omissions in this book.—The whole volume wants but few of a thousand pages, and seems to have been not quite finished at the end.

Tho' our author was very diligent, as hath been attested in a note before (111), in collecting his materials for this work; yet when several parts of it were written, he had the disadvantage of being unsettled, remote from proper libraries, and intelligent conversation, being as it were a travelling writer, and forced to leave blank spaces, especially for *Dates*; wherein he has sometimes modestly left his reader rather uninformed than misinformed; and sometimes again filled them up conjecturally, and without any supposed need of nice recollection, as he designed to be more exact upon better opportunities of examination; in several whereof he was prevented by death. But tho' he looked upon dates as so many little sparkling gems in history, that would reflect the clearest and most sudden light, a great way's off, he still found or thought them very slippery ware, liable, by the smallest and most imperceptible variations, to lead us greatly astray from truth; and speaks of *Chronology* in one of his books, as of a little furlly animal, that was apt to bite the fingers of those who handled it with greater familiarity than was absolutely necessary; yet he knew, there was no giving any satisfactory intelligence without it, especially in the writing of lives. But indeed, an accurate regard to the directions thereof, was little in use with any writers in this particular branch of history at those times; as, among many others, may be observed, to go no further, in the author of his own life, whose deficiencies we have here been at much trouble to supply; one instance only whereof we shall now repeat, having touched upon it before, in that author, which is, that tho' he gives us the titles of almost all Fuller's books, and their sizes, he has not given us the date of one. But it was a general or fashionable neglect, especially in the more polite and ornate writers, as if they thought that arithmetical figures would look like so many scars in the sleek face of their rhetorical phrase. But what our author, in apology for himself, has ingeniously observed further on this topic, we

refer to his own words, in one or two of the chapters, whereof we have before given the heads (112). As to the historical particulars of these lives, no man could pretend to be very circumstantial, in a work that proposed to revive the famous men in a whole nation; such an undertaking can, or should give but a general and compendious view of them. Suppose here are eighteen or twenty hundred eminent persons characterized, much after the manner of those in his Church History; to have given a general satisfaction in all parts of the lives, actions, and works, of one or two only in every hundred, might have required more eyes, hands, and years, than nature allowed this author, and perhaps more abilities, knowledge, or information, than could be justly pretended to, by any of his ungrateful cavaliers. Then for the errors that must unavoidably occur, in the revival of such multitudes in all ages, our author's own apology, as it will be equally needful to any other compiler of a numerous collection of lives, is here produced from his own words, upon some objections made to Mr Fox the Martyrologist, as follow.

'It is impossible for an author of a voluminous book, consisting of several persons and circumstances, reader, in pleading for Master Fox, I plead for myself, to have such ubiquitary intelligence, as to apply the same infallibly to every particular (113).' But there is no winning the favour of those who think they have a licence for detraction, and may spoil an author with impunity, when he is incapable of self-defence, both of his reputation and his labours. Thus we may see some very rash censurers, superficially read, who have often pronounced their *anathemas* upon many other Historians, from the titles only of their writings, and sometimes without having ever seen so much as them, treating him also, like those who cannot be content with sheering the inoffensive prey that is free-yielding of his wool, but they must butcher him too: for surely, few have been so much pillaged, who have been so much disparag'd; he has been reproached for his ingenuity, by those who have no wit; and robb'd of his knowledge, by those who have no gratitude. Bishop Nicholson, who was too censorious, as we have seen, upon his last history, will also run the hazard of recrimination upon this. Our author begun his Worthies of England when he was Chaplain to the Lord Hopton, and it was his chief study, or mostly under his consideration by intervals, for near seventeen years, as it may be from this account computed; but the Bishop says it was *buddled up in haste*. Our author mentions, as we have quoted in this note, five reasons for publishing this book; but as if he had nothing more than a mercenary motive therein, the Bishop has sunk four of them, and quoting but the last induced you to believe, it was only for the *procurement of some moderate profit to the author*: and yet not quoted this honestly. The Bishop says, it *corrects many mistakes* in his *Church History*; but our author was acquainted with few mistakes, till a little time before he died, and then had little leisure or room to correct many, when the greatest part of his Worthies was printed off. The Bishop says, that *Fuller's chief author is Bale*, for the lives of his eminent writers; and he must have been his also, if he had wrote in Fuller's time, of the writers Bale has given account of, when Leland was not published; unless he would rather have followed Bale's Popish Plagiary; but a great part of the writers in Fuller, lived and wrote since Bale; therefore he had many other authorities for his writers, as may be sufficiently seen in his work. And whether our author has given more *misshapen scraps, or lies*, as they are called (114), of his *Heroes*, than the Bishop of his *Historians*, those may best judge who have read the one and the other; but if the Bishop would have undertaken to reform or rectify both, it might have been more acceptable, as well as more discreet, than to revile an author so extravagantly, as to vilify himself. In short, notwithstanding these hasty and immoderate aspersions, the characters or memorials here assembled, of so many great men, will always make the book necessary to be consulted; especially, as there are preserved therein, abundance of

(112) In Fuller's Worthies, cap. 21. p. 58. and cap. 24. p. 77.

(113) Idem, in Berkshire, fol. 92.

(111) Vide note [G].

(114) Nicholson's Histor. Library, edit. fol. 1736. p. 6.

ly occasional, or offered from time to time, as so many little whets, or stays, to the keen appetites of his curious readers; while his larger, and more splendid entertainments for them, were getting ready. And those shorter refreshments were so numerous, that, collected together, they only, without his more plentiful provisions, would appear a considerable

lives, then first or newly written, and no where else to be had; which have been of good service to many grave writers of substantial credit, even in History, Antiquities, and Heraldry; who, wanting neither the judgment nor justice in themselves, which they might covet in their own readers, knew how to make proper uses of his work, and acknowledgments for what they drew from it, without turning executioners upon every trivial oversight, or expressing any grievance at his humour, or his wit. But since his character has been so much degraded by some, it will be but equitable, to shew that it has been no less exalted by others; and as he has bestowed a grateful remembrance upon many Poets, we have met with a retribution that has been attempted by one; in a *Panegyric* upon *Biography* in general, and this *Biographer* in particular. It was freely communicated from the author's original, in the possession of a late Nobleman, who was a signal Patron to some of the greatest Poets, and other ingenious men in his time: and since it has never been published; since it is entirely suitable in *this*, as it may be partly serviceable in any other *Collection of illustrious men*; or may in some part be no less applicable to any other *Compiler*, than to every *Peruser* of such collections, we shall here present it as follows, faithfully in its own language, without any apology for its length.

To  
The READER  
and WRITER  
of  
LIVES:

Written in FULLER'S WORTHIES.

HERE, from FAME'S *Wardrobe*, you may dress to please,  
In *Suits* adorn'd, and shap'd to all degrees:  
Each genius hence, may graceful *Habits* take;  
No mind so warp'd, some mould won't straighter make.  
Patterns that best become you, still prefer,  
Without some wearing, they to ruin wear;  
Some patterns yet, like tarnish'd lace, are worn,  
And now disguise, what once they did adorn:  
Then be not, servilely a slave to those;  
Reform their *Fashions*, but refrain their *Cloaths*.

By the best chemic skill, their gifts combin'd,  
May so concocted be, and so refin'd;  
May, through your works, so undistinguish'd wreath,  
As *Incense* rich, from Holy *Altars* breathe;  
'Till, so the blended *Aromatics* rise,  
In grateful gales, to greet the deities,  
That we perceive no *Franckincense* exhale,  
No *Cassia* here, or *Storax* there prevail;  
Nor this, can *Myrrh*, that, *Ambergriſe* can call;  
But one strong, curling odour, spires from all:  
So when, such *Sweets*, you from these *Flours* have  
hiv'd,

From each they differ, as from all deriv'd.

CHUSE then with prudence, in your choice proceed,  
Till those you follow, you're improv'd to lead.  
The object equal to the human mind,  
And most instructive, must be human-kind.  
Read manly books then, books of men, and so,  
That you proceed to *do* the best you *know*.  
Peruse such lives, or parts, as you can live;  
It is the practice must perfection give.  
*Souls*, in which samples great, no semblance breed,  
Like cold and hungry *Soils*, but rot the seed:  
Or like weak stomachs, with strong food oppress'd,  
By that ne'er nourish'd, which they ne'er digest.

For, as your meals should suit, to thrive aright,  
Your constitution, and your appetite;  
So your examples shou'd proportion'd be,  
Both to your power, and your capacity.

SOME seek their minds with marvels to repleat,  
And taste no objects they shou'd emulate:  
Of things incredible, experience faith,  
The feeblest judgments have the firmest faith:  
Such, in *admiring*, still those hours destroy,  
They in *excelling*, only should employ.

SOME think, distemper'd times less heal'd may be,  
By wise mens woes, than fools felicity:  
Think not, that fortitude grows more unsound,  
By vice's balsam, than by virtue's wound:  
'That without deeds, words hold no lasting height,  
Unbodied feathers wanting nerves for flight:  
While airy sounds soon lose their empty name,  
Surviving record is substantial fame.  
To boundless forms, some, crude collections breed,  
And write a life, wou'd waste a life to read!  
With griping hands, some shrink up life's short span,  
And to a mite, epitomize a man!

Others add streams, to rivers swoln too high,  
While drowned pastures unrecover'd lie;  
Prop those, who boast superfluous aids to stand,  
While crowds deserted, most their aid demand!  
The aim's more lofty, th' art, in more esteem,  
To save the sinking, than sink those who swim.  
Thus, upon others lives, their own are lost,  
Or least devoted, where deserved most.  
But worse, desert in others, there is known,  
Where none from others, or themselves, is shown;  
Whose mem'ry of the GOOD, the LEARN'D, the BRAVE,  
Shou'd be their monument, and is their grave.

BUT victories o'er *Death*, must be renown'd;  
Triumphs like those, must thro' fame's clarion sound:  
His victors shou'd her richest trophies wear,  
To fame who rescue, what the fates won't spare.  
Garlands shall crown their works, that cannot fade;  
The lights they lend, with lustre be repaid.  
Who noblest do, most nobly must deserve;  
Great, who perform, but greater who preserve:  
If virtue most directs, which most dilates,  
The draught excels, that most communicates;  
Such copy spread, thus durably to all,  
Begets more virtue, than th' original:  
'Tis an original; its own outvy'd;  
Where life less copied is, than multiply'd;  
And they are deathless made, who long since dy'd. }  
Thus, when a Heroe is compar'd to you,  
Th' Historian is the Heroe of the two;  
The BRAVE, LEARN'D, GOOD, more efficacious grown,  
In your immortal lives, than in their own.

YOUR merit is, who labour'd hath so much,  
Such to revive, to be reviv'd as such:  
Our shame is, in your WORTHIES to be read,  
Till one at least, each to their number add:  
Till we, your Worthies reading, such shall turn,  
As sacred Reliques sanctify the Urn:  
'Till they, thro' you, dart influential worth,  
As Stars, tho' fixt in Heav'n, shine down on Earth.

PHOEBUS, the fire of your resplendent wit,  
Who blinds all brightness, must to your's submit:  
HE, only in th' Horizon, gilds our day,  
You here, tho' set, your glory still display.

siderable feast. Of these lesser tracts, now difficult to recover, we shall here only preserve the titles [R]; and proceed to observe, that, having been at Salisbury to settle his revenue, as Prebend of that Deanery, in his return about the tenth of August 1661, he brought home an aguish disorder, which turned to a malignant fever, whereof Dr Matthew Nicholas, Dean of St Paul's, after his return about the same time from the same place, died but two days before him (d). On Sunday the twelfth of that month he was taken with a dizziness in his head; upon which his eldest son, John, advised him to lie down, urging how dangerous such symptoms were; but he would go to Church, because he had promised a relation to preach his wedding sermon, declaring that *he had often gone up into the pulpit sick, but always came down well* (e); and said to his audience, *I will preach this sermon, though it be my last*. In the middle of it he faltered, and after it, was so weak that he was led down the pulpit-stairs, carried in a *sedan* to his lodgings in *Covent-Garden*, and put to bed. When Dr Walter Charlton, the Physician, came, he soon found him in a raging fever; which distemper he long before considered, and often discribed in his writings; but always suspiciously, if not prophetically, as what might be most fatal to, or was most feared by, him (f), and which was then so rife, and unufually violent, that it was called the *new disease*. Though he lost twenty ounces of blood, the paroxysms continued, and set the Physician's skill at defiance. It seized upon his intellects; but, in all his words, he would most frequently call out for, *the pen and ink*, ——— and, *he would write it out*. ——— On Wednesday the disease, like a flame which has nearly burnt up the spirits that fed it, abated, as his strength decayed. At last, his enfeebled senses were a while restored, but wholly alienated from all worldly thoughts; and the next morning, being the sixteenth of that month, the light of his life went gently out, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. A while after his death, an effusion of blood burst forth at his temples, which was thought to have been settled there by his sedate and intense application to his studies. The solemnity of his funeral was performed by the direction, and at the expence, of his noble friend the Lord Berkeley; and he was most reverently attended, by at least two hundred of the Clergy, to his grave; where his corps was deposited, in the chancel of Cranford church (g). Dr Thomas Hardy, the Dean of Rochester, preached his funeral sermon, in which he pathetically deplored so great a loss; to which learned discourse, we are further referred for his just commendation, when it had passed the press, as was then soon expected and desired; but we cannot find that it was ever printed. His Biographer, whom we have here been so much obliged to follow, has also given a copious character of him (\*), an extract from which, of the most observable particulars, is hereunder added [S], as in this work it

(d) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 54. And J. Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Anglic. fol. 1716. p. 185.

(e) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 55, &c.

(f) See Fuller's good Thoughts in bad times, edit. 12mo. 1652. p. 2. and p. 84, &c. Also the Life of Dr Fuller, p. 20.

(g) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 63.

(\*) Idem, from p. 65, to 106.

[R] *We shall here only preserve the titles.*] These detached pieces, hitherto in this article unspoken of, are so many, that he might pass for a very industrious author, if he had never published the much larger quantity of his works which we have before mentioned; as may be seen by the following titles of them.

I. *Joseph's party-coloured coat, and Sermons on the Corinthians*; which we take to be the same with *A Comment on part of the eleventh chapter of the first Epistle of the Corinthians*; with *other Tracts*, by T. Fuller, B. D. and Prebendary of Sarum, 4to. 1640. The second edition enlarged, Cambridge 1648. II. *Sermon on the Revelations*, ii. 5. 4to. 1646. III. *The Times anatomized*, by T. F. 12mo. 1647. From those initial letters, we conceive; it has been ranged, with other books that were written by our author, under his name, in some catalogues: but as the writer of his life has left it out of his list, and A. Wood says, there was a little thing printed in 12mo. under the name of Thomas Forde, perhaps the same with him of that name beforementioned, entitled, *The Anatomy of the Times*, tho' Wood had never seen it (+), we think it most likely that the said Forde was the author. IV. *Sermon on the 2d of Peter*, i. 10. 4to. 1647. V. *The Cause and Cure of a wounded Conscience*. 8vo. 1647, 1649. VI. *Sermons on Matthew, upon Temptations* (or his Comment on the 11 first verses of the 4th chapter of St Matthew) 8vo. 1652. VII. *The Infants Advocate*; of *Circumcision and Baptism, on Jewish Christian Children*. 8vo. 1653. VIII. *The Tripple Reconciler*: flating the controversies, whether, 1. *Ministers have a power of excluding Communicants*. 2. *Whether unordained persons may preach*. 3. *Whether the Lord's Prayer ought not to be used by Christians*. 8vo. 1654. IX. *A Fast Sermon preached on Innocents Day*, 4to. X. *Sermon of Life and Death*, 8vo. XI. *A Comment on Ruth, with two Sermons*, 8vo. 1654. XII. *Three Sermons*, London, 8vo. 1655. XIII. *Four Sermons, and notes upon Jonab*. 8vo. 1656. XIV. *The left name on earth, with other Sermons*; and a copper

print, in a 4to size, doubled in before it, of *Thomas Fuller, B. D. and Historian*; having paper, pen and ink beside him, 8vo. 1657. XV. *The speech of birds, also of flowers, partly moral, partly mystical*. 8vo. 1660. XVI. *A Latin Tract on the Church in a MS.* left imperfect; mentioned in the catalogue at the end of his life. XVII. *The Library of British Historians MS*— This is referred to by our author himself, in the beginning of his *Church History* (115): But as it was never printed, we take it to be a work only then intended separate, and that he afterwards incorporated those *Historians* among his *Worthies*. XVIII. *T. Fuller's Triana: or Threefold Romanza, of Mariana, Paduana, and Sabina*: 12mo. 1662. This, if written by our author, is a posthumous publication, which we have several times met with ascribed to him in some catalogues, but never saw the book (||). XIX. *Several Letters to his Friends* at Cambridge, and other places; which, as he had so many patrons, and so many occasions of intelligence, from his correspondents in relation to their own knowledge, or the particulars in many books concerning the eminent and learned persons, he so much enquired after, must have been so numerous, that a good volume might doubtless have been collected out of them, especially if the *answers* he received, had been added thereunto.

[S] *An extract from his character is hereunto added.*] This we must chiefly gather from the author of his life; who beginning with his person, informs us what a convenient habitation, learning and virtue had chosen (116); in which nothing could be complained of but that they were tenants for so short a term. He was of a stature rather tall, or exceeding the middle size, and of a becoming bigness, not inclined to corpulency; exactly strait, and proportionable, of a florid or sanguine complexion; his hair short, light coloured, and naturally curling; in his gait somewhat stately or majestic; in his garb the less careful externally, as he was so curious in that of his mind. As he had such an honourable and numerous acquaintance, he was no ways undisciplined in the arts and forms of courtly

(115) Lib. I. cent. 6. fol. 42.

(||) Bibliotheca Smithiana: 4to. 1682. p. 218, &c.

(116) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 65.

(+) Athen. Oxon. Vcl. II. col. 577.

it may be expected. Mr James Heath, who wrote a Chronicle of the Civil Wars, also published *an Elegy upon Dr Thomas Fuller, that most incomparable Writer, &c.* and it was printed on a sheet, in broad-side, the same year he died (b). But here to conclude; as our author bestowed so much time and pains in illustrating so many lives and characters of others; thus much, at least, we hope cannot be here thought redundant, by candid and grateful readers, in commemoration of himself.

(b) Athen. Oxon. Tom. II. col. 337.

courtly civility, but they were circumscribed by his sincerity, to an easy and succinct compass. He was a walking library, but sometimes required turning over to attain the contents; and when he was unbent from his studies, no man could better promote civilized and well tempered mirth. In diet, he was very temperate, especially as to liquor, which greatly contributed to his little need of sleep, and his great share of health, till his first sickness, and his last. All his recreation was intellectual; even riding he little indulged, but on his necessary occasions. He was a kind husband to both his wives, a tender parent to both his children, sparing no cost in the education of them, and serviceable to his neighbours; who found it the greatest prudence to rely on his advice. He never indulged his correction or severity so much, as on the offspring of his brain; and tho' he might not entirely clear all the cockle from his corn, any more than his adversaries from theirs, yet they have plough'd with his heifers, and been beholden to the direction of his authorities for many exceptions they made against him. He had a memory so vastly comprehensive (117), that he is deservedly known for the first inventor of that noble art (\*), whereof he left no rules behind him, but many extraordinary proofs; as, after a walk from Temple-Bar to the furthest conduit in Cheapside, his repeating all the signs on both sides of the way, orderly without missing or misplacing one; and so he would do by the words of different languages to any number; to the great astonishment of his hearers. Yet he would say, as we are told by David Lloyd, that the *art of memory* was apt to corrupt the *nature* of it. Which may be, as others have explained, that some men, thro' an insatiable monopoly of knowledge, so much trust to the numerous notifications of what they would not forget, till they lose all recollection of what they preserved, and cannot *remember* what is become of their *memorandums*. But what was most strange and rare, was his way of writing; somewhat like that of the Chinese, from the top to the bottom of the page. He would write next the margin, the first words that should make every line, down to the foot of the paper; then beginning at the head again, would so perfectly fill up every one of the lines, as, without spaces, interlineations or contractions, would so connect the ends and beginnings, that the sense would appear as com-

plete, and as much to his mind, he would say, as if he had writ it after the ordinary manner, in a continued series (118); which seems to denote a great command of the language, and is somewhat like the practice that has been among some Poets, especially in France, who would set one another tasks of difficult rhymes, as incoherent as they could in sense, to be filled up with words, that would make them complete verses. Our author, speaking of a ledger-book collected by Robert Fuller, the last Abbot of Waltham, gives a character of him as a happy penman, for his fair and fast writing therein; and adds, that others of his surname were no less defective in those qualities (119). The treasury of this happy memory, with his great reading, ready faculties of invention, distinction, application, and graceful elocution, completed him for the pulpit: and even upon very obscure texts of Scripture, of which some noble friends would desire his explanation, he would, only upon two hours warning, acquit himself with great applause. 'Twas sufficiently known how well grounded he was in the Protestant Religion, against the innovations of the Presbytery, and the schism of Independency; but his zeal against these, was allay'd with greater compassion, than towards the Papists; distinguishing between the seducers and the seduced. He avoided polemical controversies with one and the other, as endless or needless; and looked upon the new invented arguments against Episcopacy, but as insects of a day. While the Clergy were widening the divisions by their warm debates, he both preached and practised moderation; growing, in the promotion thereof, more diligent, as the dawning Restoration grew more visible; when he most plainly saw, how necessary the condescension of all parties would be, to remove all cause or remembrance of their former contentions, and combine in the establishment of a general concord (†). As he chose not to struggle thro' or make his way foremost in the crowd at Court; had he lived till the tide of solicitations was abated, 'tis not doubted but his advancement in the Church would have been no less eminent than his merits; especially since he had so many noble and honourable friends; who, thro' their affection to his virtuous and agreeable qualities, would have been as liberal of their interest in the preferment of his person, as they had been of their contributions, in the publication of his works.

(118) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 77.

(119) Hist. of Waltham-Abbey fol. 7.

(†) Life of Dr Fuller, p. 88, &c.

G

(117) His Lif, p. 76.

(\*) Doubtless much owing to the methodizing genius he was so happily blessed with, having said himself, according to the Latin motto, before quoted, on his Picture, that *Method is the Master of Memory*: See his *Worthies in Cambridgehire*, fol. 161.

## G.



GALE (THEOPHILUS), a very pious Divine, as well as a very learned and elegant writer, among the Nonconformists, in the XVIIth century (a). He was descended from a very good family in the West of England; and his father was Dr Theophilus Gale, Prebendary of Exeter, and Vicar of King's-Teignton in Devonshire (b), where this son of his was born some time in 1628 (c). He received the rudiments of polite learning in his father's vicaridge-house, which having cultivated in a neighbouring grammar-school, he was, when about nineteen, sent to the University of Oxford, where he became a Commoner of Magdalen college some time in 1647, that is, after the surrender of that place, as one of the King's garrisons, to the forces of the Parliament (d). He was much distinguished, soon after his coming thither, by Dr John Wilkinson, who was then President. In 1648, he was appointed a Demy of that college, by the Parliament Visitors (e). In 1649, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, December the seventeenth, and had this character from the Commissioners (f) before mentioned, that he was *Vir provectioris ætatis, & uberioris Spei Juvenis*, somewhat advanced in age (as to the usual time of taking that degree), and a youth of pregnant hopes. In 1650, he was chosen Fellow of his College, when many of his seniors were set by (g). He was no less countenanced by Dr Goodwin, than by the former President (h); and having, June the eighteenth 1652, completed his degree of Master of Arts, he became an eminent Tutor, and a distinguished Preacher (i). Among other pupils under his care at that time, was Mr Ezechieh Hopkins, afterwards Lord Bishop of Rhaphoe in the kingdom of Ireland, and one of the most pathetick preachers of that age; who was but five years younger than Mr Gale his tutor (k). In 1657, he went to Winchester, and became there a stated preacher, where, as well for his exemplary life and conversation, as for his excellent sermons, he was generally esteemed and admired (l). Upon the Restoration of King Charles the Second, not being able to conform to the terms prescribed by-law, he was excluded from the publick exercise of his function, and lost likewise his Fellowship (m). In this situation of his affairs, he was taken into the family of Philip Lord Wharton, who put his two sons, Thomas, afterwards the famous Marquis of Wharton, father of the late Duke, and Godwin, under his care; with whom he travelled in the month of September 1662, and resided with them for some time at Caen in Normandy, then a celebrated seminary for learning, under the direction of some of the most distinguished Professors of the Reformed Religion in France (n). This excursion into foreign parts was of very great service to Mr Gale, as well in the enlarging his mind and affording him an opportunity of acquiring the French language, as in procuring him the acquaintance of the famous Mr Bochart, and other great men who then resided there; and, by a communication of studies, improving those extraordinary talents nature had bestowed (o). In 1665, he returned with his pupils into England; and being now released from that employment, he became an assistant to Mr John Rowe, his countryman (p), who had then a private congregation in Holborn. Some time after this, his papers, which were his greatest treasure, and which, at his going over to France, he confided to the care of a friend in London, narrowly, but luckily, escaped (q) that dreadful fire which will be ever remembered, for the devastation it made in this metropolis [A]. As Mr Gale had now some leisure, he resolved to prosecute a great

(a) Wood, Calamy, Prince, &c.

(b) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 349.

(c) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

(d) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 603.

(e) Proceedings at Oxford, p. 197. Fast. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 69.

(f) Registr. Convocat. T. p. 23.

(g) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

(h) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 603.

(i) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97. Fasti Oxon. col. 99.

(k) From a MS. Memoir.

(l) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

(m) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 603.

(n) Kennet's Histor. Registr. p. 732.

(o) From a MS. Memoir.

(p) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 597.

(q) See the particulars in note [B].

[A] For the devastation it made in this metropolis. It is to be regretted, that we have not a more distinct account of this accident. Upon Mr Gale's coming from France, he carried his pupils to the Seat of the Lord Wharton their father, and in his return from thence to London in the beginning of September 1666,

he was struck with the dreadful sight of the city in flames (1). His concern for his friend, as well as the effects which he had deposited with him, naturally prompted him to enquire of almost all he met, whether such a street, naming the place where his friend lived, was in danger; to which they very uniformly answered, that

(1) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 65.

great work, which he had for many years in his mind; for compleating of which he had made vast collections, and on the principal points of which he had consulted the most learned amongst his friends. The care he had of his reputation, as well as the vast extent of his plan, and the great pains it required to digest his large stock of materials into a clear and concise method, took up a great deal of time, and obliged him to add several things to his original draught (r), that it might the more effectually answer the important ends himself proposed, and the high expectations of those he had occasionally consulted about it [B]. At length, when it was entirely finished, he grew apprehensive that the bulk of it

(r) From his Advertisement prefixed.

that it was wholly burnt to the ground. This was very bitter news at the first hearing, and he could not help regretting the loss of so many years reading, and the large collections which had cost him so much time and pains, and which he had little spirit left to think of going through a second time. By degrees, however, he quieted his thoughts, and as his learning, his passions, and his desires, were always subservient to his religion, he did not disquiet himself in vain, but submitted patiently to an evil, which he thought past remedy. It was not long before he met with his friend, and having received from him a detail of this dreadful calamity, with this alleviating circumstance, however, that by timely and vigorous precautions he had happily saved a good part of his effects, Mr Gale could not help interjecting this short question, *and what is become of my desk?* 'Why truly, replied his friend, that is saved too, and by a very singular accident. It stood in my counting house, the contents of which being thrown into a cart, I thought there was still something wanting to make up a load, and in that instant calling my eyes upon your desk, in it went among the rest, and you may have it returned when you please.' This, as it may be imagined, filled the mind of Mr Gale with joy, and as it was a very acceptable thing to him, so it was no inconsiderable benefit to the learned world, for if that desk had perished, *the Court of the Gentiles* had never appeared.

[B] *He had occasionally consulted about it.*] It was about the time he began his studies at Oxford, that our author observing what Grotius had remarked in his excellent book of the truth of the Christian Religion, began to be persuaded that it might be made appear, 'the wisest and most esteemed of the Pagan Philosophers, borrowed the most rational of their sentiments, and were indebted for their most sublime contemplations, as well natural and moral, as divine, from the Scriptures; so that how different soever they might be in their appearance, not only their Theology, but their Philosophy, and Philology were derived from the sacred oracles.' The more he considered and reflected upon this proposition, it seemed to him of so much the more importance, and his conviction was the stronger when he manifestly perceived that the most able and judicious critics in all ages had expressed their approbation of this opinion. As for instance, Josephus in his book against Appion; Origen in his defence of Christianity against Celsus; that learned Christian Father, Clement of Alexandria, in the first book of his Miscellanies; Eusebius, in his Evangelical Preparation; Tertullian, in many of his writings; Augustin, in his book of the city of God; John the Grammarian, in his treatise of the creation of the world. Steuchus Eugubinus, Ludovicus Vives, with other learned Papists of the former age; as also Julius and Joseph Scaliger, Serranus, Vossius, Sandford, Heinsius, Eochart, Selden, Jackson, Hammond, Usher, Preston, Owen, Stillingfleet, with others among the Protestants. He thought that so many great men could not be deceived, and he was fully satisfied, that if, upon a close and strict examination, this proposition could be made out to the satisfaction of reasonable and learned men, it would be attended with many very high advantages to the Christian Religion. Upon this principle he undertook so arduous and so painful a work, which however he went through cheerfully for the course of twelve or fourteen years, being continually stimulated from the hopes he entertained of its good effects, which were chiefly these. First, he thought that this would greatly confirm the authority and demonstrate the perfection of the sacred Scriptures, in which he was not led by his own sentiment only, but by the example of several modern Divines, and particu-

larly of the most learned Stillingfleet. His second motive must be expressed in his own words (2), because they shew the reason upon which the title of his book is founded. 'Another great end I have in this discourse, is to demonstrate what great marks of divine favour and rich tokens of his Grace, Christ the Mediator has been pleased to vouchsafe to his poor afflicted Church. And indeed is it not a great mark of honour that his poor infant Church, so much despised and persecuted by the Gentile world, should be not only the seat of his own presence and worship, but also as the moon to reflect some broken rays, or imperfect traditions of that glorious light she received from the sun of righteousness to the Pagan world, which lay wrapt up in midnight darkness? What, that the proud Sophists of Greece, esteemed the eye of the world for human wisdom, should be fain to come and light their candles at this sacred fire, which was lodged in the Jewish Church! That the poor Temple of Jerusalem should have a COURT for the GENTILES, to which they must be all beholding for their choicest wisdom, how great an honour is this for Mount Zion the Church of God!' His third motive was to exterminate a false notion, that the rational divinity, and sound morality scattered through the writings of Pagan Philosophers, were deductions made by the pure light of nature; whereas in truth, they are at best but broken traditions derived from the sacred Scriptures, and the Doctrines of the Jewish Church. The fourth great view that he had, was to disabuse the minds of many young students prepossessed with gross, yea in some degree blasphemous, ideas and notions touching God, his names, attributes, nature, operations, &c. sucked in together with those poisonous insusions they derived from ethnic Poets and Mythologists. The sad experience hereof made many of the primitive Christians, as well learned as others, greatly decry and declaim against the reading of Pagan books, specially Poets (3). 'Yea, Plato himself, says he, in his discourse of Mimetic Poetrie, is very invective against it, demonstrating how the minds of young students, by reading such romantic or fabulous stories of the gods, and things divine, are first abused with false images, and then adulterated and corrupted with false principles which draw on corrupt practices. Wherefore, in the idea of his commonwealth, he gives order that such mimetic or fable-coining Poets be banished, tho' with respect, from his commonwealth. For the preventing or removing of such corruptions, I have endeavoured to decipher or unriddle the whole Pagan *Ægyptioria*, or the genealogie of the Pagan Gods; as also other parts of history, Mythology touching the first chaos, the golden age, the several floods under Deucalion, &c. the Giants war, with other pieces of Mythology, and Pagan Theology, so common among the ancient Poets and Historiographers. Hereby we shall come to understand the original ideas of those monstrous fables, as also disabuse our minds from those false images of things divine and human, which are so pleasing to corrupt nature, and too often prove a foundation of atheism. If thou shalt, reader, continues our author, farther inquire into the motives and reasons which have induced me to suffer this discourse to come under public view, then be pleased to take notice, that I am not so much mine own flatterer, as not to be sensible of many imperfections, both as to matter and form, which may render it unfit for any curious eye or palate. Indeed, I have neither time nor capacity, no, nor yet a will, to polish and flourish it, so as to render it acceptable to every curious critic. I have always affected, with that great master of wisdom, Padre Paulo, the Venetian,

(2) Advertisement prefixed to the 1st Part of the *Court of the Gentiles*.

(3) From the same Advertisement.

it might prejudice it with some; that many might esteem some portions, tho' they might disapprove others; and that it would be prudent to see how it might be relished, before the whole was committed to the press; which determined him to publish it in parts. After this wise resolution, the press being then subject to restraint, he applied himself, as a member of the University, to Dr John Fell, then Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, for his licence, who, as he was a zealous friend to the Church of England, was also a true patron and encourager of learning, and therefore granted, with much readiness, that mark of his approbation of the work (s). Thus all obstacles being now removed, the first part of THE COURT OF THE GENTILES appeared, and was received with great applause (t). In process of time, encouraged by this candour and kind treatment, the author ventured to publish likewise the three following parts, of that truly learned work [C]. The love of privacy, the desire he had to pursue his studies, and the convenience of instructing a few young persons under his own roof, of which none was more capable, induced him to make choice of Newington for his retreat (u), where he was often visited by persons of distinction, and some not of his own communion, who were desirous, by their respect for him, to testify their esteem for unaffected piety and extensive learning. Upon the demise of Mr Thomas Tregosse, a zealous Nonconformist minister, but a very loyal, peaceable, and worthy person, it was resolved to put some little remains of his to the

(s) His Imprimatur bears date Feb. 1, 1668.

(t) See the Account of the time of their publication in note [C].

(u) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 349.

' tian, to suit my form to my matter, as nature does, and not my matter to my form, as the schools are wont to do. This with other moving considerations, detained me some while from publishing this discourse, which was, in the first draught thereof, intended for the private instruction of some persons of noble condition committed to my tuition: But that which prevailed upon me to let it pass a more common view and censure, besides my general ends above specified, is the persuasion of several judicious, learned, and pious friends, who conceive it may be some way useful at least, for the instructing of young students, which is a main consideration I had in mine eye, when I first undertook the composition thereof.'

[C] *Of that truly learned work.*] In this note we shall give the reader an account of the different times in which the several parts of this very learned performance came abroad. The Title of which was,

*The COURT OF THE GENTILES; or, a Discourse touching the Original of human Literature, both PHILOLOGIE and PHILOSOPHY, from the SCRIPTURES and JEWISH Church, in order to a Demonstration of,*

I. *The Perfection of GOD's Word and Church Light.*

II. *The Imperfection of Nature's Light, and mischief of Vain Philosophy.*

III. *The right use of human Learning, and especially found Philosophy.*

Part the first, *Of Philology*, was printed Oxon. 1669, and there again, 1672, in 4to. The second part, which is of *Philosophy*, was printed Oxon. 1671, and at London, 1676, in 4to. Of these two parts, there is a laudable account in the Philosophical Transactions

(4) Vol. VI. No. lxxiv. p. 2231.

(4). The third part, of the *vanity of Pagan Philosophy*, was printed Lond. 1677; and the fourth part, of *Reformed Philosophy*, was printed there the same year, both in 4to. These four parts, says Wood, shew the author to have been well read in, and conversant with, the writings of the Fathers, the old Philosophers, and those that have given any account of them or their works. As also to have been a good Metaphysician and School Divine. But to give the reader a clearer idea of this large and learned work, it may not be amiss to speak particularly of the aim and intention of each of these parts.

In the *first* he endeavours to prove, that all languages have their origin and rise from the Hebrew, intancing particularly in the Oriental tongues, as the Phœnician, Coptic, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Samaritan, and Ethiopic; and then in the European, especially the Greek, Latin, the old Gallic, and Britannic. To which he adds a deduction, importing, that the Pagan Theology, Physic, Politics, Poësie, History, Rhetoric, are traduced from sacred names, persons, rites, and records, and shewing withal, how the Jewish traditions came to be corrupted and mistaken by Pagans.

In the *second* part, he maketh it his business to evince, that Philosophy also hath it's original from the Jewish Church; beginning to shew this of the Barbaric Philosophy, under which he comprehends the Egyp-

tian, Phœnician, Chaldean, Persian, Indian, Ethiopic, Scythian, and Britannic; and thence, proceeding to the Grecian, and chiefly to the Ionic and Italic, or Pythagorean, where he shews great reading and learning, whilst he deduceth this doctrine of Judaic origin, from the testimonies of Heathen, Jewish, and Christian, both ancient and modern, authors, passing through all the particular sects of Philosophers, with great sollicitation and industry; and promising at the end of this work, that he is willing to undertake another treatise, to shew both the mischief of vain, and the usefulness of found, Philosophy, to Christian religion.

In the *third*, the vanity of Pagan Philosophy is demonstrated from it's causes, parts, proprieties, and effects; namely, Pagan idolatry, Judaic apostacy, Gnostic infusions, errors among the Greek Fathers, specially Origen, Arianisme, Pelagianisme, and the whole system of Papisme, or Antichristianisme, distributed into three parts, Mystic, Scholastic, and Canonic Theology.

In the *fourth* part he treats of Reformed Philosophy, wherein Plato's moral and metaphysic, or prime Philosophy, is reduced to an useful form and method. He divides this, which is larger than any of the former parts, into three books, discoursing in the first, of *Moral Philosophy*, in the second, of *Metaphysics*, and in the third, of *Divine Predetermination*. This last seems to have been a distinct piece, and to have been published after the fourth part of the *Court of the Gentiles*, to which it serves as an appendix, having a distinct preface and table of contents, which is not the method pursued through the rest of the work. The judicious Morhoff (5) gives a very advantageous character of our author and his work, and acknowledges, that, with much patience and application, as well as with great parts and learning, he had run through the whole circle of Jewish, Christian, and Hebrew learning; and with great diligence, and no less candour, had digested whatever was worth reading and consideration, in an accurate and perspicuous manner. We may plainly perceive in those parts of Bishop Huet's famous work, which relate to the same subject, that he was not unacquainted with Mr Gale's performance, or with another piece of his, of which we shall speak hereafter. Indeed, the author beforementioned assures us, that there was a Latin translation of the *Court of the Gentiles*, before the second edition of the original appeared in England, by which the reputation of the author was spread into all parts of Europe, but more especially in Germany, where his labours met with great applause. Here at home the learned ushered in both the editions of the first parts, according to the mode of that time, with Latin and English poems, of these the English pindaric before the first part, contains some fine strophes. Before the second part, there is a long Latin poem, subscribed Thomas Gilbert, and a shorter by Owen Price, M. A. a long Pindaric poem, probably by the same person, who wrote that prefixed to the first part, and a shorter complement in heroics, both without any name subscribed.

(5) Polyhistor. II. 1. 1. 8. III. 5. 1. 2.

the press; and the better to preserve his memory, it was wished that some particulars of his life should be prefixed (w). Our author undertook and performed it with spirit and eloquence, for it was a subject very well suited to his temper, and he was perfectly satisfied as to the veracity of the facts which he reported, and which were very much enlivened by the manner in which he set them forth; and yet he so carefully concealed his being the author, that we do not find it mentioned in any catalogue of his writings (x) [D]. In the discharge of his ministry, and the improvement of his faculties, he spent his years in solitude and quiet; and yet in a way highly useful to his contemporaries, and to posterity (y). He composed, amongst other useful and learned treatises, a compendious view of the ancient Philosophy in general (z), with an immediate regard to the service of his pupils, but in such a manner as that it might be very advantageous to the publick; and therefore, at the request of several eminent and worthy persons, he printed it in Latin, which is one reason perhaps why it is less known than so judicious a treatise deserves [E]. We mention these

(w) From a MS. Memoir.

(x) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 98.

(y) See the notes [E], [F], [G].

(z) Morhoff, Polyhistor, II. 1. 5. 8.

works

[D] In any catalogue of his writings.] The title of this book, which is properly our author's, for the letters and other papers, are only annexed to it, bore this title.

*The Life and Death of Thomas Tregosse, late Minister of the Gospel, at Milar and Mabe in Cornwall, with his Character.* Lond. 1671, 8vo.

This Mr Thomas Tregosse was of an ancient and worthy family, seated at St Ives in Cornwall, and educated in Exeter college at Oxford; he was a zealous nonconformist minister, and fessed for preaching privately very much. Amongst his other misfortunes he was once sent to the Marshal of Bodmyn, to be kept in custody as a dangerous and seditious person, of which King Charles II, being informed, and being also acquainted, that notwithstanding what was set forth in his commitment, he was so far from meddling with state affairs, that he did not so much as touch the controversies between the Church and the Dissenters, in any of his sermons; but, on the contrary, exhorted his hearers to live peaceably, and to manifest their faith by their works; his Majesty directed a special order to the Marshal to set him at liberty. Yet this did not hinder his being seized and imprisoned afterwards; and much notice was taken of misfortunes that befel those who were instrumental in his troubles; and it was currently reported, that he had prophesied the death of one of his great persecutors. Mr Gale mentions this matter, but not in such terms as will justify that report; for he tells us (6), 'that after Mr Tregosse had been committed by Mr Robinson, to Lancaster Jail for three Months, and had been four days returned home, Mr Robinson, who was indeed fatigable, gave out, that he would speedily send him back again to the place from whence he came. In order where-to, providing to ride to market, to procure another justice to join with him in a warrant, for a second conviction of Mr Tregosse, for a conventicler, and to prosecute some other; whilst he was at a tenement of his, his own bull, which was never known to hurt any before, followed him in a field with much fury, and gave him deadly wounds, whereof he shortly died.' This shews that Mr Gale was very cautious in his expressions; and tho' he might be of opinion himself, as indeed it is clear enough he was, that there was somewhat providential in this case, yet he would not take upon him to declare it a judgment, as many had before, and some very deliberately, have since done.

[E] Than so judicious a treatise deserves.] The title of this book runs thus:

*Philosophia Generalis in duas partes determinata, una de Ortu & Progressu Philosophiæ, &c. Altera, 1. De Minorum Gentium Philosophiâ 2. De 9 Habitibus intellectualibus. 3. De Philosophiæ Objecto.* London 1676, 8vo. That is, *A General View of the Rise and Progress of Philosophy; to which are added, some particular Treatises.*

In this book, which is very learned, and where, in a very narrow compass, the sentiments of the Ancients may be found, upon almost every subject of importance, the chief design of the author is the very same with that, in his Court of the Gentiles, only here he writes more concisely, and fitter for the perusal of such, as were engaged in a regular course of study, to whose use it was especially designed. What is said in the text, of it's being less known from it's being written

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in Latin, relates to our own island only, where this piece of Mr Gale's is in a great measure neglected, while a great many books, that might be named, that have been picked out of it, are in great esteem. It is quite otherwise abroad, where it is the best known of any of his works, much read, and highly commended. Morhoff particularly gives it a very good character, and represents it as highly useful in affording a considerate person the sense of antiquity at a single view, upon any point whatever. It must not however be disssembled, that in one thing he passes a censure upon our author, but with great decency and moderation (7). He says, that when learned men have addicted themselves to any particular hypothesis, they bend every subject that way, from which failing he thinks our author not entirely free, in his endeavouring to deduce all the arts of Philosophy and fabulous Divinity of the ancient Pagans, from the law and doctrine of the Jews. His position, generally speaking, is, without doubt, true enough; for we may very easily perceive, that the friends of an hypothesis, and much more the author of one, will bend things any way, rather than suffer the repugnancy of them to their own sentiments from becoming apparent. In this case, however, it is to be considered, that some very learned men have been in a direct opposite way of thinking, and have laboured to prove, that the Pagan notions were so far from being borrowed from the Jewish Church, that there was a visible conformity between the rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic Institution, and the religious customs of certain idolatrous nations, and more especially the Egyptians. Now we can hardly believe, that persons so opposite in their judgments, should agree in a falsehood; and if this be right reasoning, then there must be certainly a strong likeness between the facts in the Jewish History, and the fables in the Heathen Mythology; and granting this, we cannot certainly be at a loss to distinguish the original from the copy. There is in the Sacred Writings, a majestic simplicity that has been admired, even by the Heathens themselves; there was a certain childishness in the Ethnick Theology, which the wiser Pagans despised. We have no reason then to doubt of the foundation, or to suspect that our learned author, and all who went before him in his opinion, were mistaken, or that the French Prelate Huet, or our most learned Bishop Cumberland, were misled by their authorities; notwithstanding which, we are at liberty to doubt, and we may presume, that this is all that the judicious Morhoff means, whether in every particular these authors have been right in their conjectures; for it is one thing to lay down, and prove the truth of a general proposition, and quite another, to make a long train of deductions with equal truth and certainty. The greatest master in figures may mistake in a particular calculation, but it would be very unfair to infer from thence, the falsity of the rule by which he wrought. These reflections relate equally to this treatise of Philosophy, and to the Court of the Gentiles, and are intended purely for the reader's satisfaction, and to do justice to the skill and diligence of our learned and worthy author; not to represent him as infallible, or incapable of making mistakes, upon subjects so perplexed and embarrassed as those were, and ever will be, which he undertook to handle. His design in both books was good, and he pursued it with indefatigable labour, which is more than sufficient to justify the little pains we have taken

(7) Polyhistor, II. 1. 1. 8.

works of his particularly, because in those days they gained him universal esteem; but his other performances deserve also to be remembered, as breathing the same spirit of kindness and charity, tho' some of them written on less striking subjects; and therefore the reader will find an exact catalogue of them in the notes (a), with some necessary remarks [F]. Upon the death of Mr John Rowe, to whom, as we have said, he was for many years assistant, October the twelfth 1677, he, together with Mr Samuel Lee, was chosen Pastor of his congregation (b). He continued, as long as his strength would permit, to labour for the service of the Church of CHRIST, and in promoting, as it's support, sound literature. A very short space before his death, he published proposals for printing by subscription a very large and useful work, which he had long under his hands, and which was very far advanced (c). This, with some pieces he left behind him, served to prove how well he had spent his time, and how great a loss the world had, in so learned, so ingenious, so communicative, so indefatigable; and, in all respects, so pious and worthy a person [G]. He breathed his last, either at the close of the month of February, or in the beginning of the month of March 1678, when he was in his fiftieth year (d). He was decently interred in the burying-ground near Bunhill-Fields, and his death universally regretted (e). He was a man whose learning made him admired and esteemed, by all who were judges of it; his piety was so evident and unaffected, his course of life so innocent and uniform, that his example went as far as his sermons; he was stedfast in his opinions, and warm in the defence of them; but had charity for those who differed from him, whom he would labour to convince, but not to compel; he was as much an enemy to sedition as to persecution; and the known aversion he had to the former, defended him from the latter, when many of his brethren were exposed. In a word, he maintained to the last the character which he had early acquired, of having, in a very high degree, those qualities that most adorn a Minister of CHRIST, which secured him the love and veneration of men sincere and devout of all parties (f). His concern for learning and piety, reached beyond the times in which he lived; not in his writings only, but in the manner in which he disposed of the temporal goods, which either came to him by descent, or were the product of his œconomy in managing his small income. He bestowed all his estate, real and personal, on young students of his own principles, and appointed trustees to manage it for their support (g). All his well chosen library he gave towards promoting useful learning in New England, where, at that time, such a numerous collection was a publick benefit. Out of this, he excepted only such books of Philosophy as might be judged more proper for young students here; and thus having spent his whole life in doing good, he provided at his death that there might be a continuance of persons of the same frame of mind, and of like qualifications with himself, or at least he did towards such a provision all that was in his power.

to set his character, and that of his writings, in their true light; and so far as in our power lies, to revive the credit of both, as is certainly our duty.

[F] *With some necessary remarks.* In this note, we are to give the reader an account of such other pieces, as fell from the pen of Mr Theophilus Gale, which we shall do as exactly as we can; tho' it is not impossible, that some may have escaped us, but if there be any, such it is most likely, that they are prefaces to other mens works; or, it may be, that some of the treatises he left behind him, have been published without any mention of the author. The treatises known to be his are these:

*The true Idea of Janfenism, both Historick and Dogmatick*, Lond. 1669, 8vo. The large Preface to it was written by Dr John Owen.

*Theophily; or, A Discourse of the Saint's Amity with GOD in CHRIST, &c.* Lond. 1671, 8vo.

*The Anatomy of Infidelity; or, an Explication of the Nature, Causes, Aggravations, and Punishment of Unbelief.* Lond. 1672, 8vo.

*A Discourse of CHRIST's coming, and the Influence which the Expectation thereof, &c.* Lond. 1673, 8vo.

*Idea Theologiæ tam contemplatiuæ quam activæ, ad formam S. Scripturæ delineata.* Lond. 1673, 12mo. That is, *An Idea of Theology, contemplative as well as active, according to the Holy Scriptures.*

Wherein the Love of the World is inconsistent with the Love of God. *A Sermon on the 1 Epist. of John, chap. ii. ver. 15.* Lond. 1674. And in the Supplement to the *Morning Exercise at Cripplegate*:

*A Summary of the two Covenants.* This is set before a book by him published, intituled, *A Discourse of the Two Covenants, &c.* Lond. 1678. fol. Written by *William Strong*, some time Preacher in the Abbey Church at Westminster.

There is another book usually put into the catalogues of his works, which bears this title.

*Ars Sciendi; sive Logica novo Methodo disposita, & novis præceptis aucta,* Lond. 1682, 8vo. This is

John Clauberg's *Logic, and Ars Cogitandi*, called the Jansenits Logic, digested into one volume, with some alterations and enlargements; but we are assured by Dr Calamy (8), that this was unjustly ascribed to Mr Theophilus Gale.

[G] *So pious and worthy a person* ] The title of this work, of which he gave a large account in his printed proposals for publishing it, ran thus:

*Lexicon Græci Testamenti Etymologicum Synonymum sive Glossarium & Homonymum.*

This Lexicon of the Greek Testament was finished as far as the letter Iota; and the most considerable words were also placed under the other letters. It would have made when printed, a large folio volume, and have been much more compleat in every respect, than any thing of the kind yet extant, the author intending that it should serve for a Concordance as well as a Lexicon, and with that view, had taken great pains in settling the different senses of the same word, shewing whence they arose, and how they might be with certainty distinguished. It was a great loss to the world, that he did not live to compleat it; and still a greater, that we have not so much as the titles of the other manuscripts which he left behind him. It is very remarkable, that in Anthony Wood's account of Mr Gale, there is not the least abatement or restriction in his commendations; and it is no less remarkable, that the Reverend Mr Echard (9), joining his accounts of Dr Thomas Manton, and Mr Theophilus Gale, says, the latter seemed to have more learning and less fashion than the former; he adds, that he shewed himself to be a man of vast reading and industry, an exact Philologist and Philosopher, as his Court of the Gentiles, and other learned works, sufficiently testify; and that in the midst of his great designs, he was snatched away in the prime of his years. These testimonies do as much honour to those who gave, as to the memory of him to whom they are given.

E

GALE.

(a) See the Catalogues in Wood and Prince.

(b) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 59.

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 608. Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

(d) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 350.

(e) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 608.

(f) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. II. p. 59.

(g) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 350.

(8) Life of Baxter, Vol. III. p. 97.

(9) Hist. of Eng. p. 936.

G A L E (THOMAS), a most excellent scholar in the last century, was born at Scruton in Yorkshire, in the year 1635, or 1636 [A], and educated in Westminster-school. Thence he was elected a scholar of Trinity-college Cambridge, of which he became Fellow (a). He took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1658, that of Master in 1662, and accumulated the Degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity in 1675 (b). At the opening of the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, July 12, 1669, he was incorporated Master of Arts in that University (c). Among other branches of learning, he distinguished himself most particularly by his curious, critical, and exact knowledge of the Greek tongue; of which he was Regius Professor at Cambridge: And he published new and accurate editions of several ancient writers in that language; whereof an account is given below. In 1672, he was chosen Head-master of St Paul's-School in London, in the room of Mr Samuel Cromleholme; and had the Honour of being employed by that city, to write the elegant inscriptions on the Monument, erected in memory of the dreadful conflagration in 1666; for which he was presented with a piece of plate (d). June 7, 1676, he was collated to a Prebend in the Cathedral church of St Paul's (e). He was also a Fellow of the Royal Society, to which he gave a Roman urn with its ashes. About the year 1697, he presented the new Library at Trinity-college in Cambridge, with a great number of curious Arabic manuscripts (f). This most learned and industrious person, tho' encumbered with the care of so large a school, found means to publish new Editions of several ancient valuable Greek authors: Namely, A collection of the Mythologists, and other writers of moral and natural Philosophy [B]: A collection of authors on the Poetical History [C]: The select Rhetors, or Orators [D]: Jamblichus of Mysteries [E]: An Edition of the Greek Psalter, from the Alexandrine MS. [F]: and Herodotus [G]. He also revised Cicero's Works, printed in 1684 [H]; and published two volumes in folio of our ancient English Historians [I]. After having continued about twenty-five years Head-Master of St Paul's-school,

(a) S. Kni. h'te  
Life of J. Colet,  
Lond. 1724, 8vo.  
p. 382.

(b) From the  
University Reg. &c.

(c) Wood, Fasti,  
Vol. II. ed. 1721.  
col. 177.

(d) Knight, ibid.  
And Supplement  
to Jer. Collier's  
Diction. Vol. III.  
amongst the Ad-  
denda, at the end.

(e) Newcourt's  
Repertor. Vol. I.  
p. 144.

(f) Collier, ibid.

[A] Was born at Scruton in Yorkshire, in the year 1635, or 1636.] We learn from his Epitaph, that he died April 8. 1702. in the 68th year of his age. And as it doth not appear how far he was then advanced into his 68th year, he might therefore be born either in the year 1635, or in the beginning of 1636.

[B] A collection of the Mythologists, &c.] The title of which volume is, *Opuscula Mythologica, Ethica, & Physica, Græcæ & Latine*. Containing. 1. *Pa-  
lephatus de Incredibilibus Historiis. Cum variis lec-  
tionibus. Ejusdem duo Fragmenta, ex Chronico Alex-  
andrino, scil. De inventione purpuræ: & de primo  
ferri inventore; Mat. Raderio interprete.* 2. *Hera-  
cliti de incredibilibus. Leone Allatio interprete.* 3. *Anonymi, longe Heraclito recentioris, de incredibili-  
bus, eodem interp.* 4. *Pharnuti [vel Cornuti] Com-  
mentarius de Natura Deorum. Interprete Conr. Clau-  
serso.* With our learned Doctor's notes, and various  
readings. 5. *Sallustius Philosophus de Diis & Mun-  
do. Interprete Leone Allatio.* At the end are the  
learned editor's notes. 6. *Ocellus Lucanus Philoso-  
phus de Universi natura, interprete Ludovico Noga-  
rola Comite Veronensi. Ejusdem Nogarolæ Annota-  
tiones, & Epistola de viris illustribus Italis qui  
Græcæ scripserunt. Editio nova emendatio, &c.* 7. *Platonis Timæus Locrus de Anima Mundi, i. e. Na-  
tura* 8. *Demophili, Democratis, & Secundi Vete-  
rum Philosophorum Sententiæ Morales a Luca Hol-  
stenio editæ. Editio secunda accuratior.* 9. *Joan-  
nis Pediasimi desiderium, de muliere mala & bona.*  
10. *Sexti Pythagorei Sententiæ e Græco in Latinum  
a Ruffino versæ, & Xysto Romanæ Ecclesiæ Episcopo  
falso attributæ.* 11. *Theophrasti Notationes Morum  
[vel Characteres Ethici] Jf. Casaubono interprete.  
Editio nova correctior.* 12. *Pythagoreorum Frag-  
menta partim apud Stobæum, partim alibi reperta.*  
Among them, are two letters of Pythagoras. 13. *Heliodori Larissæi Capita Optiorum. Ex bibliotheca  
Fr. Lindenbrogi Cantabrigiæ. 1671. 8vo. reprinted  
at Amsterdam. 1688. 8vo. with great improvements.*

[C] A collection of Authors on the Poetical History.] *Historiæ Poeticæ Antiqui Scriptores. Paris. 1675. 8vo.  
viz. Apollodorus Atheniensis, Conon Grammaticus, Pto-  
lemæus Hephesti filius, Parthenius, & Anton. Liberalis.*

[D] The select Rhetors, or Orators.] *Rhetores se-  
lecti: viz. 1. Demetrius Phalereus de Elucutione.  
Editio emendatio.* 2. *Tiberius Rhetor de Schematibus  
apud Demosthenem.* 3. *Anonymus Sophista de Rhetori-  
ca.* These two, first published by our learned au-  
thor, with a Latin version. 4. *Severi Sophiste Alex-  
andriini Ethopoeiæ.* Published before by Fred. Morel

and Leo Allatius, but more correctly by Dr Gale, with a new translation. Oxon. 1676. 8vo.

[E] Jamblichus of Mysteries.] Under this title, *Jamblichus Chalcidensis de Mysteriis. Epistola Porphy-  
rii de eodem argumento. Græcæ & Latine ex versione  
Thomæ Gale. Oxon. 1678. fol.*

[F] An edition of the Greek Psalter, &c.] The title of this edition, was, *Psalterium juxta exemplar  
Alexandrinum, Editio nova Græcæ & Latine. Oxon.  
1678. 8vo.*

[G] Herodotus.] This neat and accurate edition of that most valuable ancient Historian was published at London, in 1679. fol. And, considering how severely Gronovius's edition hath been animadverted upon, and very gross errors discovered in it by the best of critics (1), Dr Gale's edition of Herodotus must, upon many accounts, still pass for the best.

[H] He also revised Cicero's works, &c.] This edition was printed at London in 1681, and 1684. 2 vols. folio (2).

[I] And published two volumes in folio of our ancient English Historians.] These two volumes are a continuation of another collection of the like kind, published by, or under the direction of, the most learned and worthy John Fell, Bishop of Oxford; with the title of, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum veterum Tom I. Quorum Ingulfus nunc primum integer, &c.  
terti nunc primum prodeunt. Oxon. 1684. fol.* Of the two volumes published by Dr Gale, the first was, at Oxon 1687. fol and intituled, *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Quinque, ex vetustis Codicibus nunc primum in lucem editi.* Which volume contains. I. *Annales de Margan;* The Annals of Margan-Abbey in Glamorganshire; that is, once belonging to that Monastery, and written there: Reaching from the year 1066, to 1232. II. *Chronicon Thomæ Wikes, aliter Chronicon Salisburienfis Monasterii.* i. e. The Chronicle of Thomas Wikes, a famous Monk of Osney-Abbey in the 13th century. It begins at the year 1066, and extends to the year 1304. But from the year 1289, it was continued by another hand. III. *Annales Waverleienfis;* i. e. The Annals of Waverley-Abbey in Surrey, from 1066. to the year 1291. [N. B. Every considerable Abbey in this kingdom, used to keep a Chronicle of what happened most memorable every year.] IV. *Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi, & aliorum in terram Hierosolymorum. Auctore Gaufrido Vinisaufo.* i. e. The expedition of King Richard I. and others into the Holy Land: by Geoffrey Vinisaufo. To which is subjoined an account of the taking of Damietta. V. *Chronica Walteri Hemmingford, Canonici de Giffesburne, de Gestis Regum Angliæ.*

(1) See Kuster's  
Examen Criticum  
Editionis Herodo-  
ti Gronovianæ: in  
J. Le Clerc's Bib-  
lioth. Ancienne &  
Moderne, Tom.  
V. p. 383, &c.  
And Acta Erudi-  
torum Lipsi: an.  
1716. p. 201,  
337, 417, &c.

(2) See Dr  
Knight's Life of  
J. Colet, as above,  
p. 476.

school, he was, as a just reward for his merit and pains, promoted to the Deanery of York, into which he was admitted Sept. 16, 1697 (g). Here he kept an hospitable table, and was particularly remarkable for his care and good government, and the repairing and beautifying the fabric of the Cathedral (b); besides an especial service he did to his Deanery [K]. But, after having enjoyed that Dignity little more than four years and a half, this worthy person, to the universal loss of learning, died at York April 8, 1702, in the 68th year of his age (i). He was buried in the Cathedral there, with an Inscription on his Grave-stone, as below [L]. As to his Character; he was a learned Divine, a great Historian and Antiquary, and one of the best Grecians of his age. He was not only known and esteemed at home, but also by the most learned of his contemporaries abroad; and kept a particular correspondence with Father Mabillon, Monsieur Baluze, Peter Allix, James Cappel, Sebastianian

(g) Survey of the Cathed. of York, &c by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 70.

(b) Collier's Diction. ut supra.

(i) Br. Willis, ubi supra.

glia. *Ab anno Domini. 1066. ad annum 1300. i. e.* The Chronicle of Walter Hemingford, Canon of Gifeseburne [in Yorkshire] from the year 1066, to 1300. But the learned editor hath published it here only as far as the year 1273, reserving the rest for another volume of our English Historians, beginning at King Edward I. which he intended to oblige the world with, but never did. It was published entire by T. Hearne in 1731, in 2 vols. 8vo.

The second volume of our English Historians published by Dr Gale, was intituled, *Historia Britannica, Saxonica, Anglo-Danica, Scriptores XV. Ex vetustis Cod. MSS. editi opera Thomae Gale Th. Pr. Oxon. 1691. fol.* This volume comprehends. I. *Gildæ sapientis de Excidio Britannia liber querulus. Ex antiquissimo MS. Cod. Cantabrigiensis i. e.* An History, and a Letter, concerning the destruction of Britain by the Saxons; written by Gildas, a Monk of Banchor in the 6th century. II. *Vita S. Wilfridi Episcopi Eboracensis. Auctore Eddio Stephano. i. e.* The life of St Wilfrid the third Archbishop of York, [who died in 711.] written by Eddius, or Heddius, surnamed Stephen, that flourished about the year 720. III. *Historia Britonum, auctore Nennio. i. e.* The History of the Britons, by Nennius; a Monk of Banchor, who flourished in the beginning of the 7th century. With notes at the end. IV. *Annales Joani. Afferii. i. e.* The Annals of J. Affer, Bishop of Sherborn, who died anno 909. These Annals begin at Julius Cæsar, and end at the year 904. V. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higdeni Monachi Chestrensis. i. e.* The Polychronicon of Ralph Higden Monk of Chester: divided into six books. It begins at the earliest times, and was brought down by the author to the year 1343: but Dr Gale has published it here only as far as the year 1066, and hath retrenched from it every thing that did not relate to the English History. VI. *Willelmus Malmesburienfis de Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesie. i. e.* William [Somerset, Monk] of Malmesbury, of the Antiquity of Glastonbury-church. VII. *Wil. Malmesburienfis Liber V. de Pontificibus. i. e.* The same William's fifth book of the English Bishops: being the life of *Aldelm*, first Bishop of Sherborn (3); and a supplement to his IV. books *De Pontificibus*, published by Sir Henry Savile, with the rest of that author's historical works. He had promised this life, at the beginning of his account of the Bishops of Sherborn. VIII. *Historia Ramesiensis, sive Liber de Fundatione & Benefactoribus Coenobii Ramesiensis. i. e.* The History of the foundation of Ramesey-monastery, in Huntingdonshire; and of the benefactors to the same. IX. and X. *Historia Ecclesie Eliensis. Lib. 11. i. e.* The History of the Church, or Monastery of Ely, in two books. XI. *Chronica Joannis Wallingford. i. e.* The Chronicle of John Wallingford, twenty first Abbot of St Albans. It begins at the year of Christ 449, and ends at 1035. XII. *Historia Compendiosa de Regibus Britonum, auctore Radulpho de Diceto. i. e.* A compendious [and indeed an imperfect] History of the British Kings, from [the pretended] Brutus to Cadwalader, anno Ch. 689. By Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St Paul's in the 13th century. XIII. *De Partitione Provinciae in Schiras, & Episcopatus, & Regna. i. e.* Of the Division of England into Shires, Bishopricks, and Kingdoms. By an author unknown. He reckons 32 counties in England; exclusive of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Cornwall, and Wales; and two Archbishopricks, and twenty Bishopricks. XIV. *Joannis Fordun Scoti-Chronicon, sive Scotorum Historia. i. e.* The

History of the Scots, by John Fordun, Chaplain of the Church of Aberdeen. [Published in a more compleat manner by Thomas Hearne Oxon. 1722. 5 vols. 8vo] XV. *De Pontificibus & Sanctis Ecclesie Eboracensis Poema, auctore Flacco Alcuino. i. e.* A poetical account of the Archbishops and Saints of the Church of York, by Flaccus Alcuinus, or Albinus (4). To this collection the learned editor hath added an Appendix, of what several ancient authors have written concerning Britain: namely, 1. The 2d and 3d chapters of the viiith book of Ptolemy's Geography, in Greek and Latin. 2. Extracts, from Antoninus's Itinerary; the *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Romani*; & *Geograph. Anonymus Ravennas*. 3. The number of hides in several counties south of the Humber. 4. An abstract of Doomesday-book, which he intitules, *Consuetudines & Jura Anglicana, ex libro censuali, dicto Doomesday*. 5. The ancient names of the people, places, &c. in Britain; from Camden, in alphabetical order. 6. Chap. 16. of book iv. of Pliny's Natural History, relating to Britain. 7. Genealogies of the several Saxon Kings in this island; from the *Textus Rossensis*, and Alured of Beverley. Interspersed with learned notes, and emendations. This very particular account of the contents of these two volumes I thought necessary to give, for the sake of all lovers of English History, to whom such notices are very useful, and save them a great deal of time.

Our learned author left also several pieces in manuscript, namely, 1. *Jamblicus de vita Pythagoræ*. 2. *Origenis Philocalia, variis MSS. collecta, emendata, & nova versione donata*. 3. *Antonini Itinerarium*. This last was published by his learned son Roger Gale, Esq; under this title, *Antonini Iter Britannicum, commentariis illustratum Thomæ Gale S. T. P. nuper Decani Eboracensis. Opus posthumum revisit, auxit, edidit R. G. Accessit Anonymi Ravennatis Britannia Chorographia cum Autographo Regis Gallia MS. & Codice Vaticano collata. Adjiciuntur conjecturæ plurimæ, cum nominibus locorum Anglicis, quotquot iis assignari potuerint.* Lond. 1709. 4to. But this is the most exceptionable of Dr Gale's works: for, out of an affectation of saying something new, he hath displaced most of the ancient stations, without sufficient authority; and hath indulged himself a great deal too much in fancy and conjectures.—There were likewise published in 1704, 'Sermons preached upon several holy days observed in the Church of England, by Thomas Gale Dean of York.' Lond. 8vo.

[K] *Besides an especial service he did to his Deanery.* It was this: at his admission to his Deanery, finding the Dean's title to be a Canon-Residentary called in question; in order to put it out of all dispute, he generously procured letters patent, in 1699, to fix it to himself, and successors (5).

[L] *With an inscription on his grave-stone* Being as follows. *Æ. M. S. Thomæ Gale S. T. P. Decani Ebor. Viri, si quis alius, ob multifariam eruditionem, apud suos exterosq; celeberrimi. Quale nomen sibi acquisivit, apud Cantabrigienses, Collegium SS. Trinitatis, & Græcæ Linguae Professoris Regii cathedra; apud Londinates, Viri literatissimi, in Rempublicam, & Patriæ commodum, ex Gymnasio Paulino emissi; apud Eboracenses, hujus res Ecclesie heu! vix quinquennio, at dum per mortem licuit sedulo & fideliter, administrata; & ubique agebat donata luce, veneranda Linguae Græcæ, & Historiæ Anglicanæ monumenta, marmore loquaciora, perenniora, testantur. Ob. Apr. viii. A. S. H. MDCCLII. Ætat. suæ. LXVIII (6).*

[M] *And*

(4) See above, in the article ALCUINUS.

(3) See above, in the article ALDHELM.

(5) Br. Willis, ubi supra.

(6) Ibid. p. 71, 72.

bastian Feschi, John Rudolf, Wettstein of Basil, Henry Wettstein of Amsterdam, J. G. Grævius, Louis Picques, and especially the renowned Peter Huet bishop of Avranches (k), who had a singular respect for him, and gave him the highest commendations possible [M]. He had a noble Library of choice and valuable books, and a curious collection of many esteemed Manuscripts; which he left to his eldest son the learned Roger Gale, Esq; late one of the Commissioners of the Excise, Treasurer of the Royal Society, and Vice-President of the Antiquarian Society, London, who hath published several valuable works [N]. His younger son, is the ingenious Samuel Gale, Esq; Treasurer of the Antiquarian Society. He also left a daughter.

(k) Collier's Dict. ibid. A 10 Knigt, ubi supra.

[M] And gave him the highest commendations possible.] In these words, *Quem utraque dote, & Modestie & Doctrinæ, — omnibus hominibus, quos quidem noverim, anteferendum puto* (-). i. e. who I think exceeds all men that ever I knew, both for modesty and learning.

[N] Who hath published several valuable works.] Namely, 1. *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*. i. e. A Register of the Lands, Manors, and Towns belonging to the Honor of Richmond in Yorkshire. Lond. 1722. fol. Printed from the original survey, taken in Henry the IVth's reign, and preserved in the Cottonian Li-

brary. 2. *An Essay towards the Recovery of the Courtes of the four great Roman ways in Britain*. And a letter to Thomas Hearne occasioned by that Essay, &c. Printed in the sixth volume of Ieland's Itinerary. 3. A discourse in the Philosophical Transactions No. 357. p 823. occasioned by a Roman inscription found at Lanchester in 1715.

His brother Samuel hath also published, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Winchester*, begun by Henry Earl of Clarendon, and continued to the year, 1715. Lond. 1715. 8vo. C

(7) Commentar. de rebus ad eum pertinentibus, l. v. p. 315. edit. Amst. 1717.

G A L E (Dr JOHN), a learned Divine, an eminent Preacher, and the most applauded Champion of the English Anabaptists (as they are called) in the XVIIIth century. He was born May the twenty-sixth 1680, at London, his father being a worthy and well esteemed citizen, one who had great natural abilities, and a very high reputation for integrity (a). The natural gravity, and unusual composure, of his son's temper thro' the course of his childhood, induced him to spare no pains or expence in his education, as having an early view to those labours for the instruction of mankind, which were to be the principal business of his riper years (b). He corresponded precisely with his father's intentions thro' his primary studies, which were his sole occupation, as well at those hours when his school-fellows were employed in amusements suitable to their age, as when, according to the ordinary course of education, a strict attention was expected from him (c). By this indefatigable pursuit of learning, he soon outstripp'd those of his standing, and qualified himself for more important inquiries than those which relate to grammar and languages. The good old man, desirous of giving all imaginable advantages to so great a genius, and so uncommon an application to literature, sent him over to Leyden, in order to finish perfectly what he had so happily begun (d). He was there engaged in the most serious enquiries; when at the age of seventeen, he received the unexpected, as well as unwelcome, news of his mother's death, whom he had many other reasons to regret besides those of tenderness and affection springing from so near a relation (e). He well expressed the motives to his own constancy, in a letter of consolation he wrote his afflicted father on that melancholy occasion. Yet he was well apprized, that this breach in the family would make his return to England necessary, earlier than otherwise it would have been, which made him very industrious in improving all the time which he still had to stay; and in this he was not only so diligent, but so successful, that, in the space of two years, a short time indeed for so great a work! he conquered all the difficulties of his favourite study, and, with universal applause, received, when little more than nineteen years old, the academical degrees of Master of Arts, and Doctor in Philosophy (f) [A]. In attaining these honours, at a time of life when most others begin only to aspire to them, he not only raised his own reputation very high, but reflected glory on his country; the rather because at his coming to that seat of the Muses, he was completely master of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which, besides being unusual in a youth of sixteen, must have greatly facilitated his other studies (g), and contributed thereby to so surprizing a progress as that before mentioned.

(a) Account of the Life of Dr John Gale, which is prefixed to the first of the four Volumes of his Sermons, p. 3.

(b) Funeral Sermon on Dr John Gale, by Jos. Borroughs.

(c) Life of Dr Gale, p. 4.

(d) Borroughs's funeral sermon, p. 25.

(e) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 45.

(f) Bibliothecæ Chæsiæ, Tom. XVIII. p. 391.

(g) Oratio Burcheri de Volder de novis et antiquis, p. 40.

Surprizing

[A] Of Master of Arts and Doctor in Philosophy ] To be satisfied that there is no exaggeration in what we have advanced in the text, the reader need only cast an eye on what his Professor testified to his father upon this subject, and which is much stronger than any thing in our account, and yet considering the reputation of the person subscribing it, no doubt need be conceived of its veracity. ' It has happened to no body says he, that I know of, to gain such a knowledge of things, which are to be traced out by natural reason within the space of fifteen months and no more, which is all the time your son has applied himself wholly to the study of Philosophy, and that before the expiration of the nineteenth year of his age, as to be judged worthy to be adorned with the

' highest honours in a solemn ceremony. God grant he may go on in the same pace he has begun, and continue the same assiduity and diligence to the end, that so he may become a most fit instrument to advance the glory of the name of the Lord, the furthering his own salvation, and the publick good of his neighbours.'

Sign'd

WOLTERDUS SENCQUERDIUS.

Upon this occasion when he published his Thesis, *De ente ejusque conceptu*, dedicated to his father and his two uncles, Sir John and Sir Joseph Wolf, the famous

Surprizing, one has a right to call it, since it appeared such even in the eyes of the best judges, as is manifested not only from the pieces preserved in the former note, but from the most eloquent oration pronounced by the learned Volder, expressly upon this occasion, July the third 1699, and published after his death by the celebrated Professor Boerhaave (b), of which a few periods will be found at the bottom of the page [B]. After he left the University of Leyden, he made a tour to Amsterdam, which afforded him several opportunities of visiting the famous Mr John le Clerc, with whom he then fix'd a correspondence, and of whose character we find him, in his writings, a very zealous as well as very able defender (i). Upon his return to his native country, he pursued, with the same vivacity and diligence as at School or the University, the acquisition of all useful knowledge in regard to the concerns of this life, and with still more attention and vigilance that sacred science which affords the means of obtaining a sure title to a better. With a view to this, he perfected his skill in the oriental languages; and, having carefully sought all the previous helps necessary to the thorough understanding of them, began, with most serious application, to study assiduously the sacred Scriptures in their originals, and to consider what lights might be obtained towards reaching their true sense, not only from commentaries, but antient versions (k). When he had been in England, or at least from that feat

(b) Bibliothéque Choise, Tom. XVIII. p. 390.

(i) See this Point explained in Note [D].

(k) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 8, 9.

(1) Life of Dr John Gale, prefixed to his Sermons, p. 5.

mous Adrian Reland (1) subjoined a noble testimony of his worth, in a Latin panegyric which ends thus, alluding to the Cartesians whom he had always opposed.

Vince tuos hostes, & murus aheneus esto,  
Ut referat laudes Anglica terra tuas.  
Summè ens perfectum ceptis magis annuat istis,  
Ut sæcli nostri lucida stella fores.

O'ercome thy foes, and rise supremely great,  
That bearing thee, thy country may elate.  
So these beginnings the great Being bless,  
That thee their star, the present age confess,  
Nor shall posterity conclude thee less.

[B] At the bottom of the page.] It will certainly be some entertainment to the reader, and can scarce be considered as a digression from our subject, if in this note we give some account of Mr de Volder, whose harangue does our author so much honour; he was Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics in the University of Leyden, and had therefore the fairest opportunity of knowing Mr Gale thoroughly, which adds not a little credit to what he says. This learned man was brought up, and in his youth embraced the sect of the *Menonites*, or *Minnists*, or as they are with greater propriety called *Baptists*, but before he entred upon the functions of his Professorship, he became a member of the reformed Church in Holland. He was a zealous Cartesian, and had high notions as a Republican, which being maliciously represented to King William then Prince of Orange, he superseded his own nomination of this gentleman to be Rector of the University, the very night before it was to have taken place. But in 1697, which was eleven years afterwards, his Majesty of his own accord conferred upon him that honour (2). In 1699, he presided in that publick Act, in which our young Student had his degrees conferred upon him, and in his oration he shews how unreasonable it is to oppose notions, merely upon account of their novelty, and from thence he takes occasion to make it appear, that it is highly imprudent for Princes or States to interfere at all about speculative opinions, by encouraging one side or depressing the other; he remarks, that truth and falsehood are not at all subject to authority, and that where a Government leaves an entire freedom to Theologians and Philosophers in their debates, it is impossible it should be hurt by them; whereas by a contrary conduct, factions are excited that frequently become dangerous, whereas when there is no such interposition, how loud or how warm soever those disputes may be for a time, *truth* is sure to prevail at last. This is the general scope of his discourse, and from the facts before related, the reader will see the true motive to it. The whole oration in Latin is very judiciously prefixed to the posthumous works of our author, and very well deserves reading, but for what more particularly concerns him, who is the subject of our discourse, it follows translated with the form of creation, (which is curious) as spoken in Latin (3). 'If that be new, said

(2) Bibliothéque Choise, Tom. XVIII. p. 346—407.

(3) Burcheri de Volder Philosophi Oratio de Novis et Antiquis, habita, cum virum doctissimum Johannem Gale, Lond. Britan. voce Senatus Academici Lugdunsi Batavi more majorem pronuncietur A. L. M. et Doctorem Philosophiæ, tertio Julii 1699, p. 39.

he, which has not been done for many years, which no one of the Professors in this University hath seen in his time, then 'tis new to declare a Doctor of Philosophy from this place, tho' if you consider the ceremonies with which this solemnity is performed it appears antient. But I wish the noble and very laudable design of this candidate in prosecuting his studies was a thing customary, who after he had applied his mind to them, thought it his business, not according to the new, but very bad, method to rest satisfied with a slight and superficial knowledge of the liberal arts, but to look into their inmost recesses, and to acquaint himself with what lay most concealed in those of them which he conversed with. Wherefore in the first place, with great labour he gained the knowledge of the tongues, that he might afterward with more ease and advantage apply himself to the sciences themselves. For this purpose he not only carefully studied the Latin Tongue, but what in this age is very rare and unusual the Greek and Hebrew. I say nothing of the Latin in which he has often spoke publicly at London, that famous city, for you have heard with what elegance, propriety, and force of persuasion, he commended the study of wisdom. But I can by no means omit to observe, that he so applied himself to the Greek Language, as not only to understand it, but be able to declaim in it publicly. To these he added likewise the Hebrew, thinking the knowledge of the Greek insufficient without this, and that he must depend upon the credit of others for the interpretation of the sacred writings. Furnished with these helps he entered upon the study of Philosophy being induced to it partly by the pleasure which arises from enquiries into things obscure, and partly by the advantage which those studies afford both in life and other sciences, and partly likewise as thinking it the best method to cultivate his mind, and dispose it more readily and clearly to distinguish truth from falsehood in every subject. And before he had pursued these studies full two years, see, I beseech you, what penetration of mind, joined with incredible diligence, is capable of performing, he was willing to give some publick proof of his proficiency in them. Nor has he failed in the attempt, for both in his private and publick examinations he discovered so acute a genius, and such knowledge of things natural, divine, and moral, that, agreeable to his great merit, the highest honours in Philosophy have been decreed to be conferred on him in a solemn manner, and according to antient custom. Having said this he added. 'Quare quod felix faustumque sit tibi, tuisque honorificum, ex auctoritate amplissimi Senatus Academici ego te Johannem Gale, Londinensem Anglum L. A. M. & Philosophiæ Doctorem creo, dico, renuncio: do tibi facultatem Cathedram hanc Doctoralem conscendendi, & ex ea Philosophiam docendi: confero denique in te omnia privilegia, immunitates, quæ L. A. M. & Philosophiæ Doctoribus vel legibus vel moribus debentur.' It was rude therefore in his antagonist to use so coarse a phrase as being dubb'd a Doctor (4).

(4) Wall's Defence of the Hist. of Infant Baptism.

[C] Than

of learning, about four years, he was offered by the University of Leyden (willing to preserve an interest in him) the degree of Doctor in Divinity (l), provided he would give his assent to the articles established by the Synod of Dort. But this, tho' highly sensible of the honour, he very prudently refusing, preserved the freedom of his judgment, tho' at the expence of a title (m). It is certain, that, in conferring this degree, the Dutch University would have lost no credit, since of his age there were few in Europe deserved it better. For, by this time, he had not only gone through, in the laborious way of a critical examination, both the Old Testament and the New, with the most celebrated commentaries on both, as well antient as modern; but the most eminent amongst the Fathers; with equal diligence and impartiality, by which he acquired (as his learned writings shewed) a thorough acquaintance with, and due regard for, without imbibing an implicit faith in, or a dangerous reliance on, the authority of antiquity (n). All this time, his worth was in a great measure hid; and there were but a very few, and those of his most intimate acquaintance, that knew the real merit of this excellent young man. It was not, however, many years before an occasion offered which called his very high qualifications into a much more conspicuous point of view. The Reverend Mr Wall, Vicar of Shoreham in Kent, wrote a celebrated treatise, which he intituled, *The History of Infant Baptism*; and for this he not only received, long after, the honour of a Doctor's degree from the University of Oxford, but also the thanks of the Convocation then assembled (o). A friend of Dr Gale's, a member of the Church of England, and very zealous for the doctrines of the Church, considering the reputation of this book, wrote the Doctor a warm letter thereupon, as if it had been absolutely impossible to read the arguments contained therein, without being convinced (p). It fell out, however, otherwise with Dr Gale; he was not only proof against both book and letter, but resolved to answer them, purely to satisfy his correspondent, that reason and learning might appear in defence of that cause which he thought so utterly overthrown by this performance (q). These letters, though written in 1705 and 1706, were not published till 1711, and then at the very earnest desire of some persons of distinguished abilities, who thought it an injury to the publick that they should remain longer in obscurity (r). Thus, by their own merit, they came abroad into the world, and made their author generally known and respected in a very short space (s), even by those who did not embrace his sentiments. Indeed there was so much good sense, learning, and moderation, in his discourses, that it was impossible they could meet with any other than a favourable reception [C]. But, amongst the best judges of those who were

(l) Ibid.

(m) Agreeable to his declarations on other occasions.

(n) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 8, 9.

(o) Proceedings in the Convocation, 1705, faithfully represented, p. 35.

(p) See Advertisement prefix'd to Dr Gale's Reflections, &amp;c.

(q) So Dr Gale himself says in his first Letter.

(r) See this explained in note [C].

(s) Dr Kinch's funeral Sermon upon Dr John Gale, p. 26.

[C] *Than a favourable reception.*] The best way of making the value of this work known within the narrow compass of a note, will be by entering into a succinct analysis of his learned performance, in which he has shewn himself equally conversant with books and men, and with polite literature as well as ecclesiastical writers. In the *first* letter, he observes that Mr Wall's history is not so formidable as is pretended, tho' the best defence of Infant Baptism which he had seen, and that for those reasons on which Mr Wall himself recommends it in his preface. He then tells us, that Mr Wall is not much to be depended on, and that his real aim and design, was only to establish the Baptism of Infants, and that he takes all occasions to blacken the Anti-Pædobaptists, disguising his designs with pretences to moderation. That Mr Wall endeavours to possess his readers with an opinion of his penetration, by several needless digressions, and to gain reputation by quarrelling with several of the greatest men for learning, &c. as particularly Archbishop Tillotson, Bishop Burnet, Rigaltius, Gregory Nazianzen, both father and son; St Chrysostom, Monsieur le Clerc, and Grotius. That he has not acted the part of a faithful Historian towards the Anti-Pædobaptists, but several times, on no ground at all, takes for granted some things, merely because they favour his design, and charges the Anti-Pædobaptists with whatever he had heard any one among them to have believed or said. In the *second* Letter, Dr Gale endeavours to justify his brethren from the charge of schism; and observes, that in order to an union it would be requisite (5), and 'I think, says he, none can except against it, ' that some fit persons were chose on both sides, to ' examine the Scriptures impartially; and the Fathers ' of the three first centuries, who followed their great ' master through sufferings, and whose writings are ' undoubtedly by far the best commentary on the sacred books; and, with these helps, to collect from ' the Word of God, the true doctrine and discipline ' of the primitive Catholic Church. And to what ' should be thus sincerely deduced, every one should ' resolve to conform, without reserve. And, I doubt

' not, if an union were endeavoured on this expedient, it would be accomplished much more easily ' than is imagined.' In the *third* letter our author remarks, that the dispute between the English Pædobaptists, and Anti-Pædobaptists, may be cast under two heads, one relating to the mode of baptism, whether it is to be administered only by dipping, and the other, who are the true subjects of it, whether adult persons alone, or infants also. He tells us, that so far as the scriptures are clear, the practice of the Anti-Pædobaptists is allowed to be agreeable therewith; and that therefore if they err, they are, however, on the safer side. He observes, that the Greek word for *baptize*, always signifies to *dip* only into any manner of a thing, but is more commonly used for dipping into liquids, which observation he confirms from several passages of ancient writers. In the *fourth* letter he remarks, that the critics constantly affirm the proper and genuine sense of βαπτίζω, to be *immergo*; that Mr Wall is conscious, notwithstanding his pretence that the opinions of learned men are against him; and that whereas that writer appeals to the scriptures for the sense of the word, it is evidently never used there in his sense, but the contrary. In the *fifth* letter he observes, that though it is very unreasonable to appeal to the Scriptures only, for the sense of a word; yet it is clear from them the Greek word must always signify to *dip*; that if the word were otherwise ever so ambiguous, yet, as it relates to baptism, it is sufficiently determined, only and necessarily to mean to *dip*, by the doctrine and practice of St John, amongst the apostles, and of the succeeding Church for many centuries, which urged a trine immersion. He affirms likewise, that the ancient Church of the three first centuries did not practice affusion; that all who baptized in the times of the apostles, were baptized by immersion; that clinical affusions do not appear to have been introduced, till about two hundred and fifty years after Christ, at which time their validity was much doubted; and that all allow immersion to have been insisted on anciently, as the only regular way in all common cases. In the *sixth* letter, he proceeds to the other chief

(5) Reflections on Wall's Hist. of Infant Baptism, p. 86, 87.

in the same opinion with the Divine who wrote the book he answered, some thought themselves obliged to testify their esteem for his candour and abilities, while others went a little further,

chief article in dispute, between the Anti-Pædobaptists and their antagonists, relating to the persons who are the true subjects of baptism, whether adult persons alone, or infants also. He observes, that Mr Wall's attempt, though the best in it's kind, falls very short of answering the design of it; and that this writer allows it cannot be made appear from Scripture that infants are to be baptized, and therefore recurs to these as the only expedients. 1. To the practice of the Jewish Church. 2. To the practice of the antient Christians. Dr Gale remarks upon this, that from Mr Wall's concession, that it cannot be proved from Scripture, it unavoidably follows, that it is no institution of Christ, and that to suppose it may be included in some of the more general expressions, is only to beg the point in dispute; and that unless Mr Wall can shew that Infant-Baptism is so much as mentioned in Scripture, the Anti-Pædobaptists will not believe it instituted there. He observes likewise, that the Baptism of Infants is unlawful, if Christ has not instituted it, that true Protestants should adhere to the Scripture as the only infallible guide in all religious controversies, and that the silence of the Scripture is a good argument against Infant-Baptism. In the *seventh* letter, he shews from Matt. xxviii. 19. that the Scripture does not leave Infant-Baptism so undetermined as some would pretend, and that the commission necessarily obliges to teach all whom it intends should be baptized, and that therefore infants cannot be included in that commission, and he asserts that the verb μαθητεύειν is constantly used to signify nothing less than to *teach*. In the *eighth* letter, he remarks that the substantive μαθητής is only said of such as are at least capable of being *taught*, and that the most judicious have always agreed, that the word in the commission particularly signifies to teach and instruct; and that this appears evidently to be the true sense of the place from the authority of the Scriptures themselves, from the practice of the Apostles, and from parallel places. The sum of the Doctor's reasoning on this head is this, that the commission obliges to *teach* all that are to be *baptized*, and therefore that the Scriptures are not so silent concerning the baptizing of Infants as the Pædobaptists would persuade us, so that if Mr Wall should prove the Jews and Christians did baptize their children, the Anti-Pædobaptists have still reason enough not to admit the practice. In the *ninth* letter, he observes that Mr Wall's assertions, *that the Jews did initiate their Proselytes, and their infants by Baptism, and that the Apostles and Primitive Church baptized the Infants of believing parents, are mistakes*, and that the arguments brought to prove these two points are no better. Dr Gale examines first Mr Wall's pretences from the Jews in this and the following letter, in which he endeavours to shew, from many considerations, that the arguments of the Pædobaptists do not make it appear to have been the custom of the Jews in our Saviour's time to baptize Proselytes and their children, and urges several arguments to evince the contrary. He remarks likewise, that even supposing the fact could be demonstrated, it is no rule in the administration of a Christian Sacrament, as being only the tradition of their elders, and not grounded on Scripture or derived from Moses. In the *eleventh* letter, Dr Gale proceeds to the other kind of evidence produced by Mr Wall, viz. the authority of the Primitive Fathers, which the Doctor observes ought to be valued more than Monsieur Daille and some others suppose (6). 'It is an ill return, says he, for the great lessons and examples of piety they have given us, and for their having been so instrumental in transmitting to us the knowledge of our most holy religion. And there is yet a greater evil attends this method, for all the abuses and affronts put upon the Fathers of the first centuries, do in the end reflect on Christianity itself which those great men have handed down, and which therefore must needs be in some degree of but doubtful authority, if it depends upon sufficient testimony. It would not be difficult to defend the writings of the Fathers from the reproaches cast on them by these men, and by

Daille, their oracle, notwithstanding he has taken such pains in the matter, and pushed it with all the vigour he could. But it is a nice subject, and much too copious to be treated here at large. I shall therefore only say, that in many cases the rejecting the authority of the Fathers is a very wild extreme, which men are driven to, only because they have nothing better to say for themselves, and cannot brook to see their opinions contradicted in their writings. That the Fathers of the first Churches were honest faithful men, and every way capable to acquaint us with the true posture of affairs in their own Churches and times, and therefore are to be depended on, as far as they relate facts within their proper cognisance, must be allowed on all hands, and I don't see how their greatest enemies can have the face to deny this.' The Doctor then observes, that Mr Wall's argument from the Fathers turns upon a supposition which cannot easily be granted him, viz. *That the Primitive Church believed and practised nothing but what they had received from the Apostles themselves.* But Dr Gale tells us, that without any reflection on the honour and fidelity of the Fathers, their testimonies cannot support Infant Baptism, tho' they should afford Mr Wall ever so many and full citations, 'for if the Fathers only prove Fact in the Church and not Right, and the Church was not wholly pure from innovations, how does this prove the Baptism of Infants was no innovation, but an institution of Christ? And yet this is the thing our author should have done, tho' he takes no notice of it. It is irksome to remember the instances of human frailty which even the most antient Church was liable to. They were men subject to like passions with us, and therefore no wonder they were sometimes in the wrong, and their zeal for God's honour was not always according to knowledge, which, tho' it might keep them from losing the chief thing our Lord had commanded, might however expose them to the inconveniency of superadding several things he never authorized. The Apostles undoubtedly kept close to his directions in all things without deviation, either in defect or excess, for they had the immediate assistance in a most extraordinary manner of the Spirit of God (7).' But that the Christians of the very next age made several additions, Tertullian confesses in his book *de Corona*. And Eusebius from Hegeippus (8) notes, 'that the Church continued all the Apostles times a pure virgin and undefiled.——But when those holy men were dead——then errors began to arise thro' the mistakes of other teachers.' Dr Gale then proceeds to discuss the grand question, *whether it can be proved from any of the authentic pieces of the Primitive Fathers, that the Church used Infant-Baptism in those early times?* He considers in this and the *twelfth* and *thirteenth* letters, such passages as are produced by Mr Wall. He remarks in the *thirteenth*, that in St Cyprian's time, Infant-Baptism was practised in Africa; and infers from thence, it probably took its rise there, together with Infant-Communion; that the Africans were generally men of weak understandings, that the Greek Church probably had not yet admitted the error, that the practice of Infant-Baptism began, as all innovations do, with only some little variations in opinion, and then passed to as little deviations in practice, and so by very short steps at length attained, unobserved, the great reputation it has now indeed for a long time enjoyed; that this was occasioned in some measure by a zeal which was not always according to knowledge, and that the earliest Pædobaptists admitted children to the Lord's Supper on the same principles as to Baptism. His own words upon this subject highly deserve the reader's notice (9), 'for thus, says he, in a case most exactly parallel, the same persons who introduced the baptizing of infants, were equally for admitting them, immediately after that, to the other Sacrament likewise, and that upon just such another mistake of our Saviour's words too, for as they inferred the necessity of Baptism from John iii. 5. so they did also that of the Eucharist from John vi. 53. Thus

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 395, 396.

(7) Rigaltius in Cyprian. Epist. 64. p. 2796.

(8) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 32.

(9) Reflections on Wall's Hist. of Infant-Baptism, p. 546.

further, and confessed they were moved by his arguments, and that they had never received so much satisfaction before as to this point, tho' they had been long conversant even in the most arduous disputes in Divinity, and the writings of the very ablest masters in controversy (t). Such, again, as did not esteem it necessary to make any declaration as to the point in question, shewed equal regard for his learning and modesty (u), for that strength and dignity which appeared in his manner of reasoning, and that spirit of candour and decency, which so happily distinguished his writings (w). Above all, they set an high value upon his charity, and that inclination he discovered that things should be calmly examined by the infallible standard of the Holy Scriptures, taking their true sense from the commentaries of genuine antiquity, in order to a thorough reconciliation of all sincere Christians upon a stable basis (x) [D]. In the management of this dispute, he took a proper opportunity to vindicate his friend Mr John le Clerc, from some imputations thrown on him by Mr Wall, or rather which he had taken upon trust from others. One sees in this, how much our author adhered to his own rule, that sincerity was a thing never to be dispensed with. He had conversed with Mr le Clerc, but could have hardly studied under him as his pupil; for after he quitted Leyden, he applied himself to the celebrated Limborch, one of the most learned and moderate of their Divines, and the scholar then in greatest esteem amongst the Dutch (y). Yet, for the sake of this acquaintance, and a persuasion that the attack on le Clerc was ill founded, and calculated to do him hurt here, he very generously engaged in his behalf, and very fully refuted whatever in his heat his opponent had charged upon him as impious, as well as heretical. This was certainly due to truth and friendship, but, without all question, many would not have been so ready to discharge the debt. The point too as to which this defence is made, was not a little difficult; and, in speaking to it, the Doctor's own notions would necessarily appear: He was no way moved by this consideration, but has very fairly and justly stated the imputation, or rather insinuation, which he overturns from that learned man's writings [E]; and then speaks as frankly

(t) See the Quotations from Dr Whitby and Mr Whiston, in note [C].

(u) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 10, 11.

(w) Burroughs's Funeral Sermon, p. 26.

(x) Reflections on Mr Wall's Hist. of Infant-Baptism, p. 12.

(y) Memoirs des Hommes illustres, par P. Nicerson, Tom. XI.

‘ Thus St Austin from these very texts at the same time argues for baptizing and communicating infants. And this custom of communicating infants accompanied the baptizing them, even from the first rise of Pædobaptism for several hundred years together, as in the Greek Church it does to this day, all which is so true and manifest as to be pretty generally acknowledged. Dr Taylor (10) somewhat largely proves it, and frequently says, the one is altogether as well grounded as the other, and indeed earnestly pleads for the continuance of both.’

[D] *Of all sincere Christians upon a stable basis.* There is something so attractive in a modest and learned search after truth, through the obscurest paths of antiquity, that such as take different roads in that search, naturally wish each other well, and speak kindly of their common labours. Thus the learned Dr Wotton, though he writes expressly against our author, in relation to the Jewish Talmud (11), says thus much of him. ‘ He seems to be well acquainted with those books, and is a writer so well versed in the arts of persuasion; and his way of writing is generally so very winning, that when I had undertaken to treat of the true authority of this most ancient text of Jewish traditions to us Christians, I should have been wanting to my subject, if I had not taken notice of what he had said upon these matters.’

The famous Dr Whitby (12), who made no scruple of thinking freely, and of speaking as freely what he thought, says, that Dr Gale's very learned letters prove it to be doubtful and uncertain, whether that practice did constantly obtain. Mr Whiston (13), in a little treatise of his, very fairly acknowledges that the first light he received in reference to the primitive mode of baptizing, was from Dr Gale's observations upon the passage of Irenæus, which laid the foundation of what he wrote upon that subject. This account he has very much enlarged in a late work of his, in which he says (14), ‘ this most important discovery I soon communicated to the world in this paper, which both Bishop Hoadley and Dr Clarke greatly approved, but still went on in the ordinary practice notwithstanding. I sent this paper also by an intimate friend, Mr Haines, to Sir Isaac Newton, and desired to know his opinion: The answer returned was this, that they both had discovered the same before: Nay, I afterward found, that Sir Isaac Newton was so hearty for the Baptists, as well as for the Eusebians, or Arians, that he some times suspected these two were the two witnesses in the Revelations.’ In several other places of that work, where Mr Whiston

takes occasion to mention our author, he never fails to do it with the highest marks of esteem and respect, and makes no scruple of pronouncing him *the most learned* amongst the Baptists, though it will fully appear from the succeeding note, that Dr Gale was not at all of the same sentiments with him, in respect to some very material points; and therefore, this character of his, is the more to be admired, as it is the less to be suspected. Sir Peter King, successively Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, High Chancellor of Great Britain, and Lord King of Ockham, had a very high opinion of Dr Gale, who was also honoured with the friendship of Dr Hoadley, in his time Bishop of Salisbury, and now of Winchester, and of Dr Samuel Bradford, late Bishop of Rochester, who declared in writing his esteem of our author, on account of his good understanding, great learning, candour, and largeness of mind (15). These were truly such qualities as merited general esteem, and ought to preserve universal respect to his memory, as in his life-time they attracted from wise and good men of all denominations, a sincere regard and veneration for his abilities, and the use he made of them, in labouring to promote the fundamental principles of the Gospel, and that spirit of extensive charity, which is the peculiar ornament of the Christian religion.

[E] *From that learned man's writings.* It is in his first letter upon Dr Wall's History of Infant-Baptism, that he inserts this vindication of Mr le Clerc, which he thought the more necessary, because his opponent was not the only learned man who had attacked, and as, the Doctor conceived, misrepresented this gentleman's opinions, which therefore he thought requisite to set in a true light. ‘ You may observe (16), says he to his correspondent, he, that is Dr Wall, is very angry with Mr Le Clerc, chiefly on these two accounts: Because he endeavours, with so foul a mouth, to vilify the Fathers and their writings; and the other is, his suspected Heterodoxy concerning the Blessed Trinity, and particularly the Deity of Christ. This is the common objection of all Mr Le Clerc's enemies, for which they most bitterly exclaim against him, though very unjustly, and oftentimes, in very bad language too. But it ought to be considered, whether a different sentiment, or suspending the judgment in so arbitrary a point, is a sufficient warrant to dispense with the rules of charity and forbearance, which the great incarnate God so repeatedly enjoins, and has made the discriminating badge of his disciples. 'Tis dreadfully severe to damn men, because they can't find out the Almighty to per-

(10) Worthy Communicant, ß. §. 2.

(11) Miscellaneous Discourses, Vol. I. ch. viii.

(12) Dissertat. de S. Scripturæ Interpretatione, Præfat. §. 5.

(13) Infant Baptism improved.

(14) Whiston's Memoirs of his own Life, p. 205, 206.

(15) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 10, 11.

(16) Reflections on Mr Wall's Hist. of Infant-Baptism, p. 32, 33.

frankly his own sense of things, the very mention of which, by a very little address, might have been wholly left out of this dispute (z). He was little more than twenty-seven years of age when he finished this work, which shewed not only strong parts and great judgment, but also most extensive reading. Yet the reputation acquired thereby, did not hasten him in his design of publick and stated preaching, which he would not undertake till himself judged every obstacle removed, and that he was in all respects qualified to discharge his trust duly, and with success (a). Upwards of seven years elapsed before this happened, and he who had merited and received a Doctor's degree at nineteen, declined a like degree in Divinity at twenty-three; and, before he attained the age of thirty, acquired the most established character for learning and a sound understanding, would not adventure on the great charge of constantly exhorting and instructing from the pulpit, till he was in the thirty-fifth year of his age (b). He was then chosen one of the ministers of the Baptist's congregation, in Paul's-alley near Barbican (c); and his sermons being chiefly calculated to promote the amendment of his hearers lives, and to press on Christians the great duty of living up to their profession, he was deservedly attended to and admired by persons of all persuasions, which occasioned a prodigious resort to hear him as often as he entered the pulpit (d) [F]. He was Chairman of a society for promoting primitive Christianity,

(z) Reflections on Mr Wall's Hist. of Infant-Baptism, p. 31.

(a) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 11.

(b) Borroughs's Funeral Sermon, p. 27.

(c) Plain Dealer, Vol. I. No. 52.

(d) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 18.

' perfection; for who then can be saved? But thanks be to God, the scriptures give us better hopes, and at the same time assure us, their condition is much the more dangerous, who so freely presume to judge their brethren: *For thou art inexcusable, O man,* says St Paul, Rom. xi. 1. *whosoever thou art that judgest.* Besides such men, in effect, do nothing less than oppose themselves to the merciful designs of our great Redeemer, and strive to frustrate his kind endeavour, to make us like himself, while he would teach us those admirable virtues of meekness, love, and good will, &c. And though he has been pleased to take so much more care to fix us right in the practice of these things, than in the speculations which disturb us; yet, an exact conformity in these weighty matters, which our Lord himself lays so much stress on, as spotless conversation, a pious life in all godliness and honesty, are not protection powerful enough to secure men from the insults of these furious's, as if they thought all moral virtues were nothing, without being right in the notion of the Trinity; and that this one speculation might compensate for the want of all other good qualities; and I believe, Sir, you may have observed with me, that many of these fiery zealots are none of the exactest men in their lives. But God grant, they may, in time, consider that most charitable warning, our gracious Lord has given them, of their danger beforehand, assuring them, *Not every one that says unto him Lord! Lord!* and in words only acknowledges his mighty power and attributes, *shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; but he only that does the will of his Father which is in Heaven.* But what considerably aggravates the crime in the present case is, that the charge is utterly false; and 'tis strange, persons that pretend to justice and honour, should exclaim against Mr Le Clerc, on such slender grounds, who must be acknowledged a man of great piety and learning. For the substance of all they urge, with any manner of probability, is, that his interpretations of several portions of scripture, destroy the fine glosses others have built upon them; and that he has gone about to shew, that the Fathers did not altogether understand this mystery in the present orthodox sense. Hence some angry men proceed to accuse him of Socinianism; some, for they are not agreed of Arianism, and others again of Photinianism; but they all join to reproach him, though for no reason, as I can discover, but his refusing to strain any text, which he believes in his conscience is not to the purpose, as men of no mean figure have done. A method which he rightly thinks only serves to expose the cause they pretend to vindicate. By the way, Sir, I would not be thought to justify all his expositions, some of them I receive, and thank him for, but not all; and I know Mr Le Clerc will not be offended at my dissenting. The question is not whether his interpretations are just or not, he thinks they are, and has a right therefore to propose them, without being stunned with such hideous outcries of Socinianism, &c. especially, since in several parts of his works he has cleared himself to the satisfaction of

' any impartial readers.' He then proceeds to cite such passages, as render it very evident that Mr Le Clerc acknowledged the Divinity of Christ, as plainly and expressly taught in the Holy Scriptures, but was unwilling to make an article of faith, of any human explanation of that mystery, which our Lord had left to exercise our faith, and not our reason.

[F] *As often as he entered the pulpit.* The great figure this learned person made in his life-time, in quality of a teacher of divine truths, and the general esteem the discourses he left behind him, and which have been since published, are in, at this day, render it absolutely necessary, that we should set his character in this respect, in a clear and full light. One who had an intimate acquaintance with him for fourteen years, treats this subject of his preaching in the following terms (17). ' Thus mature in knowledge, and prepared for his Master's service, he began stately to preach about the thirty-fifth year of his age, possessed of a heart glowing with humanity, and disposed to sacrifice every private view to that most glorious one, of promoting the eternal interest of mankind. This pleasing work he pursued with unwearied diligence and integrity, preaching the word, as the Apostle directs, in season and out of season, reproving, rebuking, and exhorting, with all long suffering and doctrine, resolving firmly to regard no man in the discharge of his duty. He stood too much in awe of his great Master, to fear or know any man, or to be swayed by any worldly considerations. He believed firmly that he must render an account of his conduct at the day of Judgment, and wisely resolved to act as that he might do it with rejoicing. He was equally qualified, both to teach and persuade. His style was easy and natural, his expressions strong and lively, his reasonings clear and convincing. He had almost an irresistible power over the passions which he used, agreeably to reason, and to the nature and importance of the subject. Who would not love God, when what may be known of the Supreme Being was described by him? When he maintained and vindicated human freedom, fate and necessity seemed to vanish before him. How gloomy does he make the vale of death appear, and how glorious the resurrection from that state of darkness, and the re-uniting for ever the immortal spirit, to the unchangeable body! how awful does he draw the last tribunal, when the Son of God, arrayed with the glory of his Father, shall come to render to every man, according to his works.' Dr John Kinch, who was also well acquainted with him, gives us the following pathetic account of his labours (18). ' But what rendered him most valuable was, that his mind was well stored with heavenly gifts and graces, so that as a scribe, well instructed in the law, he brought forth of his treasures, things new and old. Furnished to every good work, he was prevailed on to engage in the Ministry, in the discharge of which office, he studied to shew himself approved to God, a workman that needed not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth, and giving to all a portion in due season. In his preaching, though he highly deserved

(17) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 11, 12.

(18) Funeral Sermon, p. 26.

stianity, from July the third 1715, to the tenth of February following. This society met weekly at Mr Whiston's house in Cross-street Hatton-Garden, in order seriously and amicably to consider and examine the most antient writers of the Christian Church, to determine which of the pieces attributed to them were, and which were not genuine, that from thence the doctrines and discipline of the Church, in the ages next to the Apostles, might be clearly and certainly understood and embraced (e). This, as we have already seen, was entirely, was exactly, conformable to the Doctor's views, who was not passionate against any Church, or obstinate in any opinions; but sincerely desirous of being, in faith and practice, a true Christian, without regard to any other distinction. It is also acknowledged by Mr Whiston, that none of that assembly shewed a more steady, warm, and conscientious disposition, in this respect, than he did; or discovered more willingness to contribute to the utmost of his power, to extinguish all disputes amongst Christians (f) [G]. He remained however, at all times, firm to his first principles of religious liberty, which he conceived essentially necessary to the peace of the Church; and therefore, in the year 1719; when a great Synod was held amongst the dissenting Divines, in order to pacify the disputes raised amongst the people in their sentiments at Exeter, he was one of the seventy-three who subscribed an advice not to impose unscriptural subscriptions, whereas sixty-nine subscribed a contrary letter on that subject. This shews he was uniform in his judgment, and of the same opinion in an assembly of his friends, as in a controversy against one who opposed that Christian system which he had embraced. At the persuasion also of Mr Whiston; he had, in that gentleman's house, a conference with his former antagonist Dr Wall, which ended as such conferences generally do, without any signal or decisive success (g). Indeed Mr Whiston is very clear; that the advantage was altogether on the side of Dr Gale; but having

(e) Mr Whiston's Memoirs of Dr Samuel Clarke, p. 96.

(f) His Memoirs of his own Life, p. 475.

(g) Id. ibid. p. 461.

deserved the praise and commendation of his hearers, yet what he sought, was their profit and advantage. It was pleasing and agreeable to a polite and ingenious audience, which usually attended him, and at the same time plain and easy to persons of a meaner capacity; so that in his discourses, there was instruction for the ignorant, and entertainment for the most learned and judicious. His deportment in the pulpit was easy, yet attended with a seriousness and gravity, becoming the solemnity of the work in which he was engaged. His method was exact, his stile elegant, but unaffected, his reasoning clear and strong, and his arguments just and nervous, which, by his happy managing them, constantly discovered fresh beauties to his hearers. His voice was clear and melodious, which at once charmed the ear, raised and fired the imagination, and could not easily fail to gain the affections, and engage a reasonable mind, not wholly sunk in sin, and bound down with vicious habits, to receive the truth in love. He did not shun to declare, as far as he could, the whole counsel of God; nor was he afraid to oppose those sentiments he apprehended to be erroneous: though the zeal he sometimes used upon those occasions, might perhaps induce some, unreasonably fond of their own opinions, to treat his labours with disrespect. However, it is apparent from the whole of his conduct, that the earnestness he has at any time shown, in contending for what he esteemed the truth, did not arise from the disaffection of his mind to the person of any man, but from the love he bore to souls, from his great desire to reclaim those whom he thought mistaken, and prevent, to the utmost of his power, others from running into the like sentiments. He strictly adhered to the Scriptures, as the perfect and only rule of his faith and practice, and was a zealous asserter and patron of universal liberty, where it tended not to licentiousness; a warm opposer of all human impositions, in matters of religion, and used earnestly to press all Christians to stand fast in that liberty, wherewith Christ had made them free. He entertained a sincere and hearty respect for all good men, and paid a great regard to his Master's new commandment to his disciples, to love one another. The different apprehensions between him and other Christians, did not in the least alienate his affections from them. He truly loved all who bore the image of the blessed Jesus. He valued all his fellow-travellers, though they did not walk just in his path. To these testimonies, it may not be improper to join that of Mr Joseph Burroughs (19), speaking to the congregation of Dr Gale, to whom he appealed for the truth of all he said. Of his happy talent in the Ministry, when once he was brought statedly to it, you all are witnesses.

(19) Funeral Sermon, p. 27.

Concerning which, I shall have occasion to speak more particularly by and by. In the mean time, the consideration that a person so well furnished; was content to struggle with so many difficulties as he did, when he might have enjoyed ease and plenty; that for the sake of what he believed to be the truth, and commands of Christ, he chose to minister in an unfashionable and despised way, when he might have had both applause and riches; in turning his thoughts to some other courses; and that he persisted in this choice to the last, obliges me to observe, that herein he did, like the Apostle, fight the good fight, and finish his course, and keep his fidelity. He imitated him likewise, in his zeal, as well as in his integrity and constancy. But though he would be very earnest in defending his own opinion, yet he was far from bearing ill-will to any; for the sake of their differing from him; and of very large and generous principles, as to the extent of Christian Communion, with regard to any matters merely speculative; and in his conversation in general, he shewed a good and agreeable temper.

[G] To extinguish all disputes amongst Christians.] We have before shewn, that our author declared himself a lover of peace, and one that was by no means inclined to increase those heats, or widen those divisions, which had been already so fatal to Christianity. It was with this view, and in hopes of finding a rule for interpreting Scripture, of greater authority, and more consistent, than private opinion, that induced him to become a member of the society at Mr Whiston's, which consisted of men of very different persuasions; united by no other ties, than those of being serious and sincere in their enquiries after truth, as will fully appear, from the first and third articles of the rules (20) laid down for the conduct of that society, conceived in the following words. I. That the main, proper, and direct design of these societies, and their meetings, be the calm, serious, and impartial discovery of true religion, and genuine Christianity, both as to faith, practice, government, worship, and discipline, as they were at first settled by the Apostles from Christ himself; and the consequent recommendation of it to, and the re-establishment of it in, the several Churches in Christendom, with the propagation of the same throughout the world, and in proper and direct opposition to all party notions, human determinations, and modern controversies, among the several contending bodies.——III To admit and invite good Christians of all persuasions and denominations to these societies, to avoid all unhandsome reflections upon any of their persons and opinions, and to treat them all with that respect, tenderness, love, and affection, that are due to fellow-members, however different in their sentiments about lesser matters.

(20) Whiston's Memoirs of his own Life.

[H] A

having himself embraced his opinion, perhaps his judgment in this case may admit of some exception. It is out of all doubt that reverend person was far enough from thinking so, since some years afterwards he wrote a reply to Dr Gale's answer, which, as we have already hinted, procured him a Doctor's degree from Oxford, which shews they considered his undertaking as no easy task (b). Notwithstanding this, Dr Gale was not either silenced or discouraged, but resolved to write a rejoinder; yet this, as well as many other important designs, were defeated by his death. All that we know concerning it, is from a passage in a letter to his father upon the subject, in which he does not seem to have much doubt of making his party as good against the defence, as he had done against the history (i) [H].

This

(b) Borroughs's  
Funeral Sermon,  
p. 26.

(i) Dr Kinch's  
Funeral Sermon,  
p. 25.

[H] *As he had done against the History.*] The design of Dr Wall's defence of his History of Infant-Baptism, was, in general, to refute whatever had been said against it by Dr Gale and others. His motives to it himself informs us were these (21). 'The book, says he, that is, the History of Infant-Baptism having had more said and published by some for, and by some against it, than I could have expected, these latter who have wrote against it, and especially Mr Gale's large book of *Reflections*, so he calls them, he might have entitled them *reproaches*, have made it needful, in the opinion of some worthy men to whom I owe a deference, for me, even in this my weak and superannuated state, to write something in vindication, partly of the cause, and partly of myself, some people having it seems raised a report or suspicion, as if I myself had altered my opinion about the duty or the antient practice of baptizing infants.' After dispatching what he has to say against the rest of his antagonists, in about the ninth part of his book, he enters upon what he has to say of our author, in the following manner (22). 'Those that I have hitherto been speaking to have concerned themselves with my book but briefly and occasionally. But Mr Gale in 1711, wrote professedly against it. And tho' the greatest part of his book be either of personal matters, some about my life, temper, actions, &c. not relating to the cause; and some about my way of writing, when it is too long or too short, or too censorious, or catching at here and there a passage of my book, which he thought might be represented so as to put me out of favour with the Anti-Pædobaptists, as are his two first chapters which he calls my character, or else on another subject, viz. not the age or time of receiving Baptism, but the way of administering it, with which I had meddled very little, as are his three next, yet he gave to the whole the title of *Reflections* on my book. And tho' he goes no farther in any methodical way of answering than to the introduction, and five first chapters of my book, not nigh one tenth part of it, which answer begins at his ninth chapter, and he has but thirteen in all, yet it has gone among the men of his party as an answer to it. He deals not much with argument which the others have chiefly aimed at, but writes in a way of declaiming and flourish, and much addicted to reproaching, taking a pride in shewing how easily, and how naturally he can express a contempt of his adversary, or of any reason or argument. He writes in a stile indeed sufficiently fluent, and with a good stock of philological learning, but does not keep very close to the rules of candour, modesty, or truth; but delights in vaunting, insulting, slighting, and laying odious and false imputations, not on me only, but on the Clergy of England in general, and indeed our whole Church, as that was a time in which some people found their advantage by raising such slanders. His talent in Rhetoric, which is not inconsiderable, he uses to false colouring, and gaining his point, as he calls it, by wrested representations of things and passages. Of his impertinencies, to name but one sort of them, an unparallel'd instance is his picking up stories of things said or done by me before he was born, and naming the people, whose names one would never have thought to have seen in print, nothing, thanks be to God, of which one need be ashamed. But it is a great shame to see such impertinent stuff brought into a controversy of religion. Of his untruths, I would before-hand instance in one flagrant and manifest one, which, as I shall shew, he has affirmed above twenty times over; his saying that I have in

(21) Defence of  
the Hist. of In-  
fant-Baptism, p.  
2.

(22) Ibid. p. 53.

my books yielded, and owned that there is no Scripture proof for Infant-Baptism, tho' near half his book be spent in refuting, as well as he can, those proofs which I brought from Scripture. The province which I had undertaken, was the history of the times near following, but I did not altogether omit those of Scripture. If I had followed my own inclinations, or the advice of some of my friends in drawing up an answer to him, I should have made it shorter by half than it is, and taken notice only of those few reflections of his, that seemed to be of moment to the main point. The tyranny of custom obliges me not only to take more pains than I needed, but the dry work of following him *κατὰ ὁδόν*, and answering to many things that are impertinent to the cause, or of small weight in it: but also when I have done it to make an excuse to any judicious reader why I did it. Such an one will pardon me, if he consider, that some captious and litigious men would otherwise have been apt to say, that I had passed over the material objection: To spare the time of those who are choice of it, tho' I had not liberty to spare my own, I must advertise them, that there is hardly any thing in Mr Gale's first six chapters, or in my answer to them that is very material to the point of Infant-Baptism. And it will be no great loss to step over them. A vein of boasting and magnifying his own performance runs through all his book. With that he continues his work, and with that he ends, and contrary to Horace's rule, who says of a vaunting prefacer, *Quid dignum tanto foret hic promissor hiatus?* With that he begins. For in an advertisement prefixed to his book, having taken notice that several great and worthy men whom he names too, had given a favourable character of my book, he says, that he published these his *Reflections*, to inform the publick, &c.—and to let those learned gentlemen know, that they had been too hasty in their judgments, and that this history is not by far what they take it to be. Is not this youth a likely man, think you, to be able to inform their judgment of any considerable thing? I set down this as a specimen of the arrogance you are to expect all through the book. In the same advertisement, he says, that these *Reflections*, tho' published in 1711, were written in 1705, and 1706. Suppose that. But when he saw in 1707, my second edition with some alterations, should he not have left out his needless remarks on those places of my first edition, which I myself had altered in the second? He there adds, that he had hoped that a more learned advocate would have been engaged. If Mr Stennet were once desired or pitched on to answer my book, and it was devolved upon this man, it was an unhappy change both for the Anti-Pædobaptists and for me. For if he had answered at all, he would have said more to the purpose, would have used a more rational, modest, and candid way of seeking the truth, and I should have had far more Christian treatment.' In another place, he acquaints us with particularity relating to the Doctor's book, which at once contains both compliment and satire (23). 'I will make one observation, a better natured one tending to the commendation of him, and of the Anti-Pædobaptists of them for their generosity and being pleased, and of him for his abundant justice. It is to be noted, that this chapter was published a good while before the rest, as a specimen of what the book should be. They seemed very well pleased, and much taken with it, and encouraged him to go forward. Which was an instance of very good nature, since it is so little to the purpose, that if one were to expose him among

(23) Ibid. p. 100;  
101.

This, as we just now hinted, was not the only great design of which he had formed the plan before he quitted this life, and of which the publick was deprived by the loss of so valuable and so industrious a person. He had thoughts of contributing to the study of the oriental languages, by offering some means for facilitating the speedy acquisition of them; which he knew would have a very great effect in rendering the Scriptures, as well of the New as of the Old Testament, thoroughly understood, which, without this help, is impossible, and is one great source of those mistakes which do so much discredit to Revealed Religion. Another great and useful labour he had proposed to himself, if Providence had lengthened his days, was a translation into English of the Septuagint, according to the accurate edition published by Dr Grabe, at Oxford. But what seems most to have occupied his thoughts, to have been in the fairest train of execution, and for the loss of which, in all appearance, the Christian world has most cause to be concerned, was the scheme he had framed of a compleat *Exposition* of the whole *New Testament* from the pulpit, which, whoever impartially reflects on his critical knowledge of the Greek tongue, his soundness in the fundamental articles of religion, his great sagacity in judging, his known candour in speaking, and his moderation towards such as differed from him in opinion, must allow it to have been a loss indeed! It is hard to say, whether this loss is softened or irritated, by the plan he left behind him of this important work; but this, as is highly fit, shall be left entirely to the reader's judgment, by inserting that very curious and accurate, though plain and concise, piece, in the notes [I]. We must add to these another treatise of great expectation;

' among judicious men, one would desire them to read this chapter. But he is to be commended for doing them more than justice, and making the goods to be delivered better than the sample. For the following chapters are really something more to the purpose, and of a better strain.' Yet many disinterested persons who have read our author's book, think there is not a stronger chapter in it, and that the first part of it particularly contains as much as can possibly be said in favour of his opinion. As Dr Wall is very angry with him for being rude in many places in his book, yet in the following passage he censures him for being civil (24). 'He labours, says he, to defend

(24) *Ibid.* p. 238.

' the late Bishop of Salisbury's notion, that by the Kingdom of God in that text, is meant not Heaven, but the Church on Earth, and by some flattering elogiums of his Lordship's, unanswerable arguings, &c. seems to have aimed at currying favour. And whereas, I had said that all the Antients understand it in this place of the Kingdom of Glory; he says, yet it may not be the true sense if they do. For the Antients were fallible, &c. It seems he could find no unanswerable arguments among them, for they were all dead and had no places to give.' It does not appear that this insinuation had the least foundation, from the conduct of the person to whom it is applied; and the truth of the matter is, that Dr Gale's civility in one place (25), was intended to atone for his censure in another; for tho' he does acknowledge that the Bishop had very well proved, that this expression, generally speaking, refers to the Kingdom of Christ, and not to the Kingdom of Glory; yet he denies his Lordship's conclusion, from the passage which he had cited, and maintains, that tho' it does rarely signify the Kingdom of Glory, yet there it must be so understood. If this be currying of favour, it is a strange way of doing it. We come now to the passage of our author's letter mentioned in the text, which was conceived in these words. 'Dr Wall has written a defence of his History of Infant-Baptism, in which he has treated me very roughly, and has endeavoured to enrage the Clergy, as well as our own people, against me, besides which there appears not to be much in his book, however I am preparing an answer, which, &c.' After all, as they were men, we do no injustice to these learned persons in saying they had both their failings, or to speak with greater propriety, both had the same failing, that of warmth, and suffering themselves to be too much heated in the course of the dispute. But when a proper allowance is made for this, it may be truly said, and indeed tho' in their heat they sometimes unsay it, yet in several places they say it of each other, that Dr Wall's History of Infant-Baptism is by much the best vindication of the doctrine and discipline of the Church that ever appeared; as, on the other hand, Dr Gale's reflections upon that work is the best defence of the Baptists that was ever published, and this, tho' it be no more than the truth, is saying a great deal for both,

(25) Reflections on Mr Wall's Hist. of Infant-Baptism, p. 410, 411, 433.

since the subject had been handled by very great men before.

[I] *Tho' plain and concise piece in the notes.*] Amongst Dr Gale's papers after his decease, there was found his introduction to this practical exposition, and therein we have the plan of it so clearly, and so circumstantially laid down, that we may from thence form a just notion of the nature and importance of his design, and of how great value the work itself would have been had he lived to finish it. This short preface runs thus (26).

' I am now about to begin an Exposition of the New Testament, and design, if God in his boundless goodness shall give me life and ability, to go thro' the whole, with as much brevity as the nature of the thing will conveniently admit. To engage your most diligent attention, and to help your memory, and thereby render these lectures the more useful, I think it may be very proper at present to give you a short model of my design, and the method I intend to take in the prosecution of it. Now my chief view is not to engage you in any particular set of opinions, or to enslave your minds to any man's private interpretation of the Scripture, by dressing them to advantage, and concealing or misrepresenting what is said by others; this indeed is commonly thought warrantable enough, but truth needs no such artifices, but disdains to trick men unwarily into the belief or knowledge of it. Besides, since we are too sensibly convinced, how liable we are all to error and mistake, we by this artificial way deprive ourselves of the assistance of other men for the discovery of the truth, and when we are in an error ourselves, do all we can to cover others with the same darkness, and if our endeavours were successful, we should effectually deprive them of any possibility of being better informed. I am very sensible what poor short-sighted creatures we are, and therefore will endeavour not to espouse any particular opinion or interpretation, or urge any with that warmth, which may any way contribute to blind or obscure my own mind, or deceive you. But my whole aim shall be to lay before you the most sacred and awful rule of our faith and practice, without any partial disguises; and to the utmost of my power assist you in opening your minds to receive and own those great truths, which are able to make you wise unto salvation; that you may, upon a mature and due consideration of things, judge for yourselves with all that just liberty and true freedom of thought which so well becomes all men, and is the indispensable duty of every Christian, and upon which, 'tis the peculiar glory of the Christian religion to have spread itself thro' the whole world. To build your faith on the sense and authority of great men, is giving up your souls intirely to them, and to believe in them and not in Christ, as peevishly and hastily to pass judgment or take up an opinion without hearing, and diligently weighing

(26) Printer from his own Papers in the Life of Dr John Gale.

pectation, which was an History of the Notion of Original Sin, in which he hoped to have explained many deep truths, and to have driven out of the bosoms of reasonable men, several rooted and yet dangerous errors (*k*). About the beginning of December 1721, he was attacked by a slow languid fever (*l*), of which he died, after an illness of about three weeks, on the of the same month. He bore his last sickness with great constancy and patience, expressed the utmost resignation to the Divine Will, and, in his last moments, testified an entire confidence in that almighty and all-wise Being in whose hands are the issues of life and death, and whose mercy is over all his works (*m*). He may be said to have died in the flower of his age, being in his forty-second year; and in some measure unexpectedly, as being of a strong and healthy constitution. In his person he was rather taller than the common size, of an open pleasant countenance, and of easy and affable behaviour. Serious, without any tincture of moroseness; cheerful without levity, having a most perfect command over his passions, insomuch that one who knew him intimately for many years, assures us he never once saw him discomposed (*n*); extremely humble, tho' in such high reputation for learning; and particularly careful of giving offence to such as were in low circumstances, as being sensible that nothing makes the mind of man so tender as poverty, and that nothing wounds so deep as the very suspicion of contempt. As to his character in other respects, it may, in a great measure, be collected from what has been already said; and, if this shall appear deficient, the reader may receive ample satisfaction from those pieces that shall be presently mentioned, and in some measure from the extracts at the bottom of the page [*K*]. He was, as is apparent from a variety of evidence, as uni-

versally

what others say, is setting up a very dangerous ignorant idol in your own minds, and paying divine honour and worship to the vain delusion. Besides, 'tis the highest affront and indignity that can be put upon God and Christ, to deal so carelessly and disrespectfully with those holy books, as if we would boldly despise and trample upon all the sacred doctrines which the Son of God himself came down from heaven to teach us, and that purely for our good. Since then the extremes on both sides are so very dangerous, it highly concerns every private Christian to proceed in affairs of such great moment with the utmost caution and calmness of mind, with great sincerity and impartiality, for the Scripture contains such things as are undoubtedly to every one of you matters of the last concern. On your conscientious obedience to this rule your eternal welfare depends, and by this you shall be judged. To give you what help I can in this very important business, I intend to take this as the most proper method for your assistance and instruction. I will take in order entire portions of Scripture, which comprehend a full and compleat sense. This I would, if it were proper, read to you in the original language, but that not being convenient, I shall read the common version and consider it carefully, comparing it with the parallel places where the same thing is handled; the same words or phrases used, or any thing which may give light, and shall consult also the several opinions of learned men, with the reasons on which they build and compare the antient versions in the learned languages, together with the interpretations of the first Christians, and such remarks from the antient Historians, and such accounts of the Jewish and Greek Antiquities, as may give us any light at this distance from the time and place wherein the Scriptures were at first written. After having thus examined every thing which may seem to need examination, from the whole I will endeavour to give a very impartial and unbiassed translation and paraphrase, and herein draw out and make some rules and maxims for the conduct of life, in order to fasten all upon your minds, and leave it to your serious and diligent consideration. Before I do this, I shall in general prove the truth of the Christian rule. This comprehends, first that the books were written by those whose names they bear, and such as could not but know, whether what they writ was true or not; secondly, they could not design to impose upon us. And I will settle the authority of each book just before I enter upon the exposition of it. It may perhaps be objected by some, that in the course of these lectures there must be several things said not fit for common auditories; but since it is necessary to render the Scriptures intelligible to all, whatever is necessary to this end must not be omitted upon this pretence, that these things are unfit for com-

mon auditories, i. e. not to be easily understood by common auditories, because people do so rarely, if at all, hear them talked of. By treating these difficult matters frequently, they will become familiar to all, all things even the most necessary are strange and distasteful, and hard to understand at first. In the schools men are made acquainted with the most difficult matters, by being frequently entertained with them, and having them repeated over and over again. And this is destroying and cutting up by the very roots, heresy and schism, atheism, irreligion and profaneness, and all error and mistake, as far as it can be hoped for in this imperfect state of men; for 'tis reserved for the life to come to be perfect, when all error and mistake shall be done away for ever.

[*K*] At the bottom of the page.] The author of that short account of his life prefixed to the Sermons published after his decease, among other remarkable passages has these. (27). 'The grand principle which he endeavoured to root the deepest, and cultivate with the greatest care, in his own mind, as well as in the minds of his hearers, was that of sincerity; upon which he thought our happiness or misery in a future state will depend. He therefore considered that this would be of the highest importance, when many of the acquirements we here gain one above another will fade and wither away, which made him very humble, notwithstanding his great abilities. This also disposed him to judge charitably of those who differed from his sentiments, and to be very diligent in his enquiries after truth. His embracing the doctrine of the Trinity was one effect of this, for he did not run into this belief from any prejudices of education or bias put upon his mind, in his youth having been early introduced into the conversation of those who examined the several doctrines of the Christian Revelation with the utmost freedom, amongst whom were some foreigners as well as others of the first rank for learning and abilities.' Dr Kinch, in his discourse (28), sets some other parts of his character in a very graceful light. 'He was blessed, says he, with extraordinary natural abilities, a hail strong constitution, a smooth ready wit, a bright and lively fancy, a piercing thought, a quick invention, a strong memory, and a good and solid judgment. These excellent qualifications were very much heightened and improved by the advantages he received from an ingenious and liberal education, in which he made so great a progress, as rendered him truly valuable to all persons of real worth and learning, who were so happy as to have any knowledge of or acquaintance with him.—He had an even and composed temper, which discovered itself in the constant serenity of his countenance. The different turns of his affairs seemed to make little or no impression upon his mind, for he, with the great

(27) Life of Dr John Gale, p. 12, 19.

(28) Funeral Sermon, p. 23, 28, 29, 30.

‘Apostle

verfally regretted as any man of his character and abilities ever was, or could be, notwithstanding the heats and party prejudices which prevailed in those days (*o*). His funeral sermon was preached at Barbican, to his own congregation, by Mr Joseph Burroughs, December the fourteenth (*p*); and on the Sunday following, December the thirty-first, by John Kinch, Doctor of Laws (*q*); elegant and pathetick discourses both. But his praises were not only in the mouths of his brethren, I mean those of his own communion; but others also who were acquainted with his merit, his learning, and his zeal for the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, took also a share in the sorrow for his death, and willingly contributed their part in confessing and applauding his virtues (*r*). It is very certain that those who have said such high things of his attention to the great duties of his calling, his contempt of the vanities of this life, and his exalted confidence in the supreme Being, have not gone to any excess, or expressed his diligence, humility, or patience, with any excusable degree of latitude, but have strictly adhered to truth. Those were his sentiments in the vigour of his health, nor did they cease to be his sentiments on his bed of sickness. While he was able, he preached to his congregation from the pulpit; when he was no longer able, he preached to them from his death-bed. He taught them in words how to live with hope, he taught them by his example to die in comfort. These things, which might otherwise, in an age so censorious and incredulous, meet with doubts and suspicions, are put beyond all question by his sermons printed since his decease, and which fully shew what he was. As these posthumous works make the greater part of what he has left behind him to posterity, we reserved the mention of his writings till we could speak of them at once, and present their titles all together to the reader's view [*L*]. In them the justification of all that has been said of his parts, or his piety, will be found; and there

(*o*) Plain-Dealer, Vol. I. No. 52.

(*p*) Lond. 1722, printed for E. Bell in Cornhill, 8vo.

(*q*) Lond. 1722, for Aaron Ward, Little Britain, 8vo.

(*r*) See the Plain-Dealer, No. 52.

' Apostle St Paul, had learned in whatever state he was therewith to be content. He knew both how to be abased, and how to abound every where, and in all things was he instructed, both to be full, and to be hungry, both to abound, and to suffer need. He was truly pious, but without any thing of ostentation, exercising himself herein to have a conscience void of offence toward God, and toward man. He adorned the profession he made of the Christian Doctrine by a holy and exemplary life, which was a convincing proof that he firmly believed religion to be of the greatest importance, and that he was in earnest when he endeavoured to persuade others to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world. He was a person of great integrity, and preferred the peace of his own mind in the answer of a good conscience to all other considerations. His thoughts were so fully employed about affairs of the highest consequence, that he neglected several opportunities of advancing his temporal interests. He was so intent upon his great Master's business, and was so warmly engaged in the pursuit of the durable riches of the eternal world, that these fading treasures passed his notice. He was a kind friend, and made it his business to instruct and inform, to advise, and, on proper occasions, to reprove those with whom he converted; which most difficult office of friendship he so well managed, that none could be offended with him. And being always delighted in doing good, he was ever as ready to perform any friendly office even for the meanest disciple of Christ Jesus, as for those whose circumstances being more exalted, are from thence generally deemed to have a more commanding influence. He abounded greatly in those fruits of the Spirit mentioned by the Apostle, Gal v. 22, 23. love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance. But that virtue wherein he peculiarly excelled, was his great humility. Notwithstanding his valuable and uncommon abilities, both natural and acquired; he always appeared humble and modest, mild and courteous; and was so far from having a vain and proud conceit of his own endowments, that he knew how, without the affected vanity of lessening his own qualifications, to esteem others better than himself. He bore his last sickness with great patience and resignation to the will of God. When a little before his dissolution, his mournful consort, with weeping eyes and wringing hands, expected the dreadful separation, *Trust in the all-sufficient one,* says the good man, *who can if he thinks fit raise me up.* He seemed to depart with the greatest composure and serenity of mind, making good that observation of the Psalmist, that the end of the perfect and upright man is peace, and indeed what

should discompose him? For he well knew in whom he had believed.' Mr Burroughs observes also of his departed friend (*29*), 'That his extensive knowledge, and the sweetness of his address, gave him an easy access to men of the greatest figure and worth, by conversing with whom, his own abilities were very much improved, and this advantage he constantly pursued. The large acquaintance he had with the Classic authors in both languages, and the progress he made in mathematical studies, and in the most valuable parts of Philosophy, were accompanied with a good degree of skill in the oriental tongues. But tho' he took a large compass, 'tis evident that he turned the whole course of his studies to the work of the Ministry, to prepare for which, he spent a very considerable part of his time in the study of the Scriptures themselves in their originals, and in comparing them with the versions of various languages, particularly the more antient, whereby he became a great master in the knowledge of the Scriptures, and capable of discoursing to advantage upon any point which immediately related to them. Besides this, he employed himself with much diligence in consulting the antient commentators upon the Bible, and in reading and digesting the primitive writers of the Christian Church, for whose interpretations of Scripture he shewed a more than ordinary value. And here I think it deserves to be mentioned, to his special honour, that he entered into a voluntary society erected on purpose to enquire into the *primitive doctrines* and practices of the Christian Church, and compare them with the books of the Old and New Testament, at a time when such a thing could not be done without suffering much reproach for it; and that he continued diligently several years to search into the antient books for this purpose, and by discourse with others to make them familiar to him, the effect whereof might have been very beneficial to the publick, if it had pleased God to prolong his life.'

(*29*) Funeral Sermon, p. 26.

[*L*] *All together to the reader's view.*] We have already spoken largely of our author's principal work, published in his life-time; we have likewise spoken of those that he intended to have composed, if Providence had bestowed upon him a longer stay in this life; all therefore that is intended in this note, is, for the sake of perspicuity, to set down the titles of such of his works as are extant, and to give from the last, a short specimen of those excellencies that we have applauded in the text.

I. *Reflections on Mr Wall's History of Infant-Baptism, in several Letters to a Friend* Lond. 1711, 8vo.

II. *A Thanksgiving Sermon, preached November the fifth, 1713.* Lond. 1713, 8vo.

there is no question they will preserve his reputation, and their own, as long as there shall be any taste for strong, and yet clear, reasoning; masculine unaffected eloquence flowing from

III. *Sermons preached upon several Subjects, by the late Reverend and Learned Dr John Gale; to which is prefixed, an Account of his Life, in four Vols. Lond. 1726, 8vo. the second edit.*

The first edition, was published very soon after the death of the author, and met with such a reception as might be expected, from the reputation he had acquired while living. In these four volumes, there are seventy-eight discourses, exclusive of that preached on the fifth of November, which is reprinted (30). It may be very truly said, that though the eloquence of the pulpit be in itself a very distinct thing, from the various kinds of eloquence, by arriving at perfection, in which some men make themselves the guides and leaders of others; yet even this eloquence of the pulpit, is capable of many subdivisions; and we shall find, upon a strict enquiry, that few have been distinguished preachers, without having something very peculiar in their manner. We cannot either illustrate this observation, or bring this article better to a close, than by giving an instance from Dr Gale's Discourses (31).

In discoursing upon these words, *Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the LORD.* Having first stated the nature of this command, and described that habit of mind which Christians are directed to acquire, he proceeds to shew the advantageous consequences, that must be the natural, and therefore necessary, result of such an acquisition. 'This noble, generous, peaceable, and holy disposition of mind, says he, as it is every man's duty, and highly acceptable in the sight of the great God, and supreme Governor of the world; so is it likewise of unspeakable advantage to mankind, and absolutely necessary to their well being, in every state and condition, whether here or hereafter. To confine ourselves at present, to a prospect of this life only, we know men can't subsist without society, there is such a mutual dependance upon one another, so strongly planted and rooted in our very natures, that no art or violence can pluck it up; besides, our internal dispositions, and strong inclinations to converse, and which shine out so clearly, that some of the ancient Philosophers have thought fit to define man, by calling him a sociable creature, believing nothing in man to be so essential and distinguishing as this: we are likewise, as to our external condition, visibly placed, by the wise Author of all things, very much in one another's power; and though men were to condemn themselves to the most unnatural and uncomfortable state, and betake them to desarts, and solitary mountains and forests, there to lead a savage life, in the most obscure retirement, they could not remove themselves out of one another's reach; for even these places would be open to their rude incursions, and inevitably haunted by wilder and more savage monsters, than they are at present. The only remedy for all the numberless evils, and inconceivable miseries, into which an independent state, in every particular man, would certainly plunge us, is this of society, which nature itself, that is, the finger of God, has pointed out to us; and yet, without these virtues of peace and holiness, society, instead of a good, will be the worst condition rational creatures can be in; families, cities, and commonwealths, will be only so many swarms of scorpions, tygers, and all manner of venomous and rapacious creatures, pent up together in a narrow compass, and incessantly spending their utmost rage and fury upon one another; for no creature is more fierce and unruly than man, or exposed to more failings, which disturb and overturn society, when he throws off all restraint. Our own experience, as well as the history of all past-times, shews us, that most savage man exercises all his cruelties, not like the gentler beasts of the forest, upon those chiefly of a different kind, but even more especially upon mankind itself; and besides the stings of hunger, and other natural appetites, which it seems are not enough abused to the worst purposes, they have created to themselves other more powerful, at least more frequent and mischievous, incentives to vio-

lence and oppression, and the vilest acts of injustice and impiety. Thus they have raised in themselves, an endless burning thirst after things superfluous, which must be continually gratified, no matter how; they have planted in their very hearts, the most pernicious of all evils, the cursed sins of ambition, pride, and avarice, which lead captive virtue in adamantine chains of slavery, while they ravage the world. Outrageous malice, fierce resentment of petty injuries, and implacable revenge, do almost seem the natural product of a human mind; these are some of the inexhaustible springs, whence pour forth those deep foul rivers of sin and wickedness, which spread themselves over the whole earth, and pollute all the several degrees and stations of life. Hence arise quarrels, envy, hatred, rancour, enmities, discord, confusion, and endless disorders. Hence spring all kinds of violence, injustice, oppression, and fraud; hence come robberies, horrid murders, and cruel devastations, by fire and sword, together with all manner of direful calamities; and, in fine, hence proceed the mighty armies of impiety, vice, and profaneness, which make a constant and too successful war upon religion and virtue, establishing infidelity and impurity, irreligion and debauchery, atheism and immorality, and all manner of licentiousness, and numberless abominations, which utterly subvert and destroy all society from amongst men, and bury the distinctions of good and bad, right and wrong, in one common dreadful ruin: for by these, private persons break to pieces all the bonds and ties of duty, friendship, and relation; and by these, supreme governors, and men of great influence, whose sphere of action is large, and widely extended over the commoner sort, when they throw off the restraints of reason and law, spread ruin and desolation throughout the world. Thus then you see, as it were in miniature, a representation of man's uncultivated nature, which may well be likened to a deep wide sea, which these unnatural passions soon blow up into a dreadful storm, and render very turbulent and boisterous, and hardly to be confined within any bounds; but of what amazing force and efficacy then, must those divine virtues be, which can remedy all these mighty evils; which can subdue, manage, and tame the wild savage nature, and make it mild and calm; which can curb and restrain all the unruly passions, and confine them within the bounds of right and good, just and honourable? Nothing can be more amiable or beneficial to mankind; and here, no doubt, you'll fix your thoughts upon that peace and holiness, which the great Lover and Benefactor of mankind so earnestly recommends to us, not for his own advantage, but for our good; for these most powerfully expel all noxious humours, and naturally tend to settle an everlasting serenity, quiet, and uninterrupted happiness among men: And notwithstanding the corruptions of our natural appetites, or any unnatural propensions and dispositions, we may have contracted these great virtues, having once gained admission into our hearts, and a full power there, will render us pure and holy, as that bright flame which warms the breasts of saints, gentle as innocence, and kind and peaceable as love. For a truly peaceable disposition of mind, will constantly exert itself in all manner of generous and wonderful acts of goodness to all mankind; 'twill teach us to put on a calm, modest, and friendly behaviour towards every one, and is always bent upon that beneficial work, of promoting the growth of publick and private peace and concord; and accordingly, is in all cases forward, and strongly inclined, to put the most candid and favourable interpretations upon mens words and actions, and not quick-sighted to see their failings, and forward to blow them through the world, or lightly to play with another's reputation and good name; for a generous and good man, would sooner cease to breathe, than one contagious pestilential breath should escape him, to blast his neighbour's fame. The true disciples of the Lord Jesus, whose distinguishing character

(30) It is the 16th Discourse in the 4th Volume.

(31) Gale's Sermons, Vol. IV. P. 414.

from the just distribution of the parts of a discourse, and not a pomp of chosen words, and founding epithets; or men retain any sense of those interesting and important truths, which he has so represented as to be sure of their making an impression on the heart, by their filling the whole measure of the understanding.

‘ racter it is, to follow peace with all men, and ho-  
‘ *liness*, possess a mind seasoned with the divine arts  
‘ of peace, and works of purity; and therefore, in-  
‘ stead of improving occasions of quarrelling, by re-  
‘ turning ill language, or hard words, or by resenting  
‘ the reflections and affronts, put on them by vio-  
‘ lent, angry, or abusive men, they rather strive to

‘ moderate matters: and by a winning and engaging  
‘ sweetness of temper, and *soft answers to turn away*  
‘ *wrath*, Prov. xv. 1. when *grievous words* would stir  
‘ up *anger*, and blow up a spark into a raging flame,  
‘ afterwards it may be hardly ever to be quench-  
‘ ed.’

GARDINER (STEPHEN), an able Lawyer, a learned Divine, and shrewd Statesman; Bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of England, in the XVIth Century (*a*). Few have risen higher by mere dint of abilities, few suffered greater changes of fortune, few have been more magnified or commended, few more invidiously and outrageously treated, than this famous Prelate, in his life-time and since his decease; yet, for any tolerable account of him there is none. We find no article of him in any collection of this kind, very little amongst the compilers of historical memoirs, and, tho’ there is more in our literary and other biographical Historians, it is so intermixed with other matter, or so visibly tinged with party resentment, that it is almost impossible to know what to think, or whom to trust. In this case, the collecting his memoirs with caution, care, and candour, and reporting them fairly to posterity, is a work of equal labour and difficulty; but what then? It is necessary, useful, conducive to the bringing much truth to light, and exposing many errors which have been so often, and elegantly, repeated by those who took them to be truths, that we may reasonably hope a kind and favourable reading of what particulars are here digested concerning this great man’s life, which are as copious, as exact, and as free from bias of any kind as we were able to make them. It is also to be hoped, that they will be perused with the same equal spirit, and that the reader will bring an inclination to be informed how things really happened, what were, and what were not, the actions of this famous man, who had many failings, and some vices; but, withal, had fine parts, general knowledge, and abilities every way equal to the posts he gradually filled, and even to those high employments to which he at length attained [*A*]. At the very entrance

(*a*) Bale, Pits, Fuller, Godwin, Tanner.

[*A*] *To which he at length attained.*] Such as have not had experience of the incertainties, inconsistencies, and contradictions, that perpetually occur in most of the books relating to English History, will very probably wonder at these complaints, and look upon it as a thing strange, that the personal history of one who rose to such high dignities, both in Church and State, should be a thing so very obscure and perplexed, as we have represented it. The only method of making this plain, would be producing to the reader’s view, the genuine causes of this darkness and embarrassment; but, as that would require a volume instead of a note, it shall, in this place, suffice to set down briefly, only a few of these causes, and such as have a direct relation to the article before us. The authors of our Chronicles and Annals, very frequently, either in the course of their histories, when they speak of remarkable persons, or at the close, perhaps, of a Prince’s reign, when they come to speak of the scholars, statesmen, and soldiers, that flourished in his time, give short characters of such great men, from what occurs to their memory; but these concise representations, rather heighten than satisfy our curiosity, and excite in us a desire, to know where we may meet with more, instead of giving us content in the particulars we would be glad to learn. Some again, from an inclination to render their narratives more pleasing, draw their pictures a little fuller, and give not barely the out lines, but add also something of strength and colour to the piece, which is attended with various inconveniencies, not foreseen by the author. For the same period of time falling under the consideration of some other writer of a different genius and sentiments, he gives the picture of the same person opposite, it may be, in several, if not in all respects; and then we want new lights, to inform us which, or whether either, of these pictures were taken from the life. Those who have attempted to exhibit the lives and characters of such as have filled certain high offices, either through the want of proper materials, or negligence in collecting them, have rather

given us catalogues, and those too very imperfect. Bishop Godwin, for instance, in this very article, has hardly two right dates in the whole. Such as out of a love to learning, have undertaken the history of our eminent writers, content themselves, commonly, with a few general strokes in relation to their characters, and these rather taken from common fame, than from a close examination of their works. Besides, partiality and prejudice have had so great a dominion over the two principal authors in this way, with respect to our nation, that we learn from them, rather their own opinions, than the histories of those of whom they write. According to Bale (1), this Bishop of Winchester was a devil incarnate; but then, according to Pits (2), he was a very angel of light. It is the same thing with respect to Ecclesiastical Historians, or such as have written tracts relative to ecclesiastical history. John Fox (3) asserts, that this prelate was of a most fierce and sanguinary disposition; and the principal author of all the cruelties, in the reign of Queen Mary. Father Persons (4), on the other hand, assures us, that such as will speak truth, must acknowledge Bishop Gardiner to have been not only of a mild, but of a most compassionate nature; and that it was chiefly owing to him, the principal Protestants in that reign escaped. The remedies that are to be applied in this case, in order to free ourselves from mistakes, and to make the way open for truth, is to proceed methodically, and to shew his progress in preferment, the several employments through which he went, and the manner in which he discharged them. It is from facts, that we must collect his real character, and not from the panegyrics written by his creatures, or the invectives penned by his enemies. We must consider the temper of the times in which he lived, the nature of the affairs which went through his hands, the circumstances attending his actions, the means by which he rose, the causes of his fall, the manner of his recovery, and the measures he afterwards pursued. We must be content to compare what is advanced by differ-

(1) Script. Brit. P. 685.

(2) De illustr. Angl. Script. p. 743.

(3) In his Martyrology throughout.

(4) Warn Word, P. 34.

trance of our labours, we meet with nothing but doubts and incertainties. Most authors of his age tell us he was born of obscure parents at Bury St Edmund, in the county of Suffolk (b). As to the place, indeed, there is no dispute at all; but for the obscurity of his parentage, if we may trust to some very good authorities, it arose from hence, that he was the illegitimate son of a prelate nobly descended and royally allied, who took pains to conceal that so much discrediting circumstance to himself, by bestowing his concubine on one of his meaner servants, whose name, being born in wedlock, this infant bore (c). Fuller, who is not always an enemy to secret history, rejects this story, as invidious and ill contrived (d); but many, as like to be well informed, and not at all more credulous, admit the truth of it; and Sir William Dugdale (e), whose knowledge in such points can hardly be disputed, sets it down as a fact. We cannot, indeed, go quite so far; but laying all circumstances together, there appears to be the greatest probability that this was really the case, as the reader will see in the notes [B]. As to the year of his birth, that has been hitherto as great a secret as his descent; and very likely the design of concealing the one, might occasion so profound a silence in respect to the other; however, from an original picture of his still preserved, we have good grounds to conclude that it ought to be fixed to 1483 (f). We know nothing of his education, or the manner in which he passed his youth, till he was sent to the University of Cambridge, where he studied in Trinity-Hall with great diligence and success. He was distinguished there by his quick parts, his correct pen, his elegance in writing and speaking Latin, and for his extraordinary skill in Greek, which procured him very high compliments, as to his acquisitions in literature, when he was in no condition to reward flatterers (g). In process of time he applied himself entirely to the Civil and Canon Law, for which that learned foundation was very famous [C]. The reputation he attained

(b) Bal. Script. 685. Pits, p. 748.

(c) Σκελετός Cantabrigienfis, a Rich. Parkero, conscript. p. 26.

(d) Worthies, Suffolk, p. 60.

(e) Baronage, Vol. II. p. 231.

(f) Painted by Hans Holbein.

(g) Leland. Encom. illustr. vitor. p. 48, 49.

rent authors, in order to discover not only the truth of some things, and the falshood of others, but the probability or improbability of such transactions, as at this distance of time cannot be reduced to any absolute certainty. It is not of much importance to us, whether our discoveries heighten or depress the characters of several writers; but it is of very great importance to know the truth, and to have a just notion how the great businesses he managed were brought about, and whether he was at the bottom, a weak and wicked man, or a politician of great art and address; and who, like other politicians, sometimes pursued the interests of his country, for which, upon what motives soever he did it, it is fit he should be commended, and sometimes crossed them to pursue his own, when he ought to be censured, how plausible soever his excuses might be. These are the true principles upon which this kind of writing ought to rest, that those who move in the superior spheres of life, may be always sensible, that whatever their present fate may be, they will have justice done them by posterity; and that their memories will not be either tarnished by the groundless calumnies which envy excited, or preserve any of that false lustre, their mercenary flatterers, while living, were encouraged to bestow

[B] *As the reader will see in the notes.* The plain fact, in respect to his birth, was this. He is said to have been the son of Dr Lionel Woodvill, Widvill, or as he wrote his own name, Wydvisle, Dean of Exeter, and Bishop of Salisbury, brother to Elizabeth, Queen Consort to Edward the Fourth, who died in 1484 (5). Dr Fuller (6) objects to this, that Salisbury is at a great distance from Bury, where Gardiner was born, which is, in reality, no objection at all, for, since that prelate was so cautious as to oblige his mistress to marry an inferior servant of his, whose name was Gardiner, the better to conceal this shameful transaction, he might therefore be well supposed to have been as careful in sending her far enough off to lie in. Another objection he makes, has somewhat more weight, he thinks Bishop Woodvill must have had this son in his youth; and if so, the age of Gardiner, at his death, would not agree with the story. But those who relate it, say that he was born while his father was Bishop of Salisbury; and he did not hold that dignity above two years, which takes away the force of this objection. In the satirical writings against him and Bonner (7), it was objected to them, that it was not strange they were against the marriage of priests, since they were both born in adultery. Now Bonner was the bastard of one Savage, a clergyman, who was himself the bastard of Sir John Savage, Knight of the Garter. Bonner's was precisely the same case with Gardiner's, for his mother was married before he was born, to the person whose name he bore; and it

(5) Godwin. de Præful. p. 236.

(6) Worthies, Suffolk, p. 60.

(7) Burnet's Reformat. Vol. II. p. 320.

is very remarkable, that both of them, till they were Bishops, declined using their surnames, the one being called Dr Stephens, and the other Dr Edmonds. But Gardiner seems to have been better reconciled to his name afterwards, since he assumed the arms of the Gardiners of Glemsford in Suffolk (8), with a distinction of a border; and afterwards, either through the mistake of the painter, or by his own direction, they were impaled with the arms of the See of Winchester, without any such distinction. Bishop Burnet plainly proves, that this story was believed in our Prelate's life-time, for he tells us, that he had seen a letter written by Sir Edward Hobby, to one of the exiles abroad, for religion, immediately upon Gardiner's death, in which it was said, that he was a man of higher descent, than he was commonly reputed; and in the margin of the letter it was noted, that he was Nephew to a Queen of England (9); but though this might be true, and though he was, by this means, second cousin by the King's mother to Henry the Eighth, Bishop Burnet's conjecture is not at all probable, that this might be the cause he was so suddenly advanced to the Bishoprick of Winchester; for as the reader will see, there was another cause, which is assigned by Gardiner himself; neither is it at all likely, that the King knew this piece of secret history, or would take any notice of it if he did. Had it been otherwise, amongst the many private papers relating to that reign (for whence it's publick history is best collected) which, in process of time, have come to light, something of that kind would have appeared.

[C] *For which that learned foundation was very famous.* Amongst other poems of the famous Antiquary, John Leland, there is one addressed to Stephen Gardiner, when he wore no higher title; and in the close of which, he foretels him, that his brow would be honoured with a mitre. In this poem he compliments him on his great progress in polite literature, on his fine taste, and just respect for the Ancients; and the desire he had shewn of promoting the study of their valuable writings in the university (10). His own writings shew how much he had studied Cicero; and the critics of those times reproached him with affectation in that respect. As to severer studies, he is allowed to have excelled in the Civil and Canon Law; and in respect to the latter, he was so able, that Bishop Burnet tells us, King Henry, as eager as he was for promoting his divorce, would not suffer the proceedings to be begun before the two Cardinals, till the return of Dr Gardiner from Rome, so much he relied upon his judgment and abilities. Both that Bishop, and the Reverend Mr Jeremy Collier, who seldom thought the same way of men or things, agree that he was but moderately skilled in Divinity; and therefore, it is reasonable to acquiesce in their decision. But then it is

(8) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III.

(9) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 320.

(10) Encom. illustr. vitor. p. 48, 49.

at Cambridge, soon opened him a passage into the favour and confidence of several of the greatest men of that age. First, as some report he was taken under the protection of that generous and potent Peer Thomas Duke of Norfolk (*b*), and afterwards received into the family of the still more potent Cardinal Wolfey, in quality of his Secretary (*i*). But whatever hopes he might entertain of rising at Court, he had still academical honours in view, and in 1520 received the degree of Doctor of Civil Law (*k*), and was the year following made Doctor of Canon Law also; but whereas the learned Bishop Tanner, not without authority, makes him Master or Guardian of Trinity-Hall the same year (*l*), there seems to be good reason to suppose he did not attain that preferment till some years after. There is no question, that, as the Cardinal of York's Secretary, he had a good provision made for him; but this must have been by way of pension or salary, for preferment, so far as we find as yet, he had none. In 1525, he was, by an accident, admitted at once into the King's presence and favour (*m*) [*D*], to the great satisfaction of the powerful Cardinal, his Master

(*b*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 451.

(*i*) Polyd. Verg. Hist. Angl. lib. xxvii. p. 34.

(*l*) Regist. Acad. Cantab.

(*l*) Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 308.

(*m*) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

to be considered, that they ground their sentiments upon his book of *true Obedience*, which they confess he wrote to please his Sovereign, and against his own sentiments. It is no great wonder, therefore, that his arguments are not very strong, and that he does not reason so closely and convincingly as he might have done; but notwithstanding this, whoever reads that book with attention and impartiality, will not be able to deny, that he has overturned the Pope's Supremacy effectually; and though it is not penned, at least the greater part of it, with that heat and vehemence, visible in the writings of Protestant Divines, yet there is enough in it to shew learned men, that he had thoroughly considered the point, and was able to have said much more if he had been so inclined. All this learning he must have brought with him from the university, for from the time that he first came into business, to his being committed to the Tower, he was continually employed in matters of such high importance, that it was impossible he should have much leisure for study. That his parts and learning indeed were very extraordinary, must be confessed; but if what one of his greatest enemies said of him was true, we must have still an higher idea of them, since there is nothing harder, than for a man of a disagreeable, and even forbidding aspect, to make his way in a Court, and insinuate himself into the good graces of all sorts of people, which it is confessed he did. But we will transcribe the passage, which is very curious, and the book from which it is taken very scarce, for the reader's satisfaction (11). 'Albeit, this Doctor be now but too late thoroughly known, yet it shall be requisite, that our posterity know what he was; and, by his description, see how nature hath shaped the outward parts, to declare what was within. This Doctor hath a swart colour, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, a nose hooked like a buzzard, nostrils like a horse, ever snuffing into the wind, a sparrow mouth, great paws, like the devil's talons, on his feet, like a gripe, two inches longer than the natural toes, and so tied to with sinews, that he cannot abide to be touched, nor scarce suffer them to touch the stones. And nature having thus shaped the form of an old monster, it gave him a vengeable wit, which at Cambridge, by labour and diligence, he had made a great deal worse, and brought up many in that faculty.' The author who wrote this, and whom we shall be obliged to quote hereafter, was Dr Ponet, advanced to the Bishoprick of Winchester, upon the deprivation of Gardiner, in the reign of King Edward the Sixth; and at the time he wrote this book, an exile in Germany, where he died. In his treatise, he gives Gardiner, who was then Chancellor of England, the title of *Doctor of Practices*, and bestows the name of *Master of Practices* upon the Lord Paget, whom he makes to have been Gardiner's *pupil*; he was indeed bred up in his house, and owed his first rise to Bishop Gardiner's favour; and to shew how great wits will differ in opinion, John Leland complimented Paget upon this very circumstance, calling Gardiner's family the school of the Muses. At the time he directed these verses to him, he was Sir William Paget, and Secretary of State to Henry VIII; and their author thought it would not create either discredit or displeasure to him, to shew how much he, and Wriothesley, then his Fellow-Secretary, and afterwards Chancellor, were obliged to that Prelate

(11) Treatise of political Power.

for his countenance, and for their own preferment. The lines are very remarkable, and worth reading (12).

(12) Encom. illust. viror. p. 100, 101.

Ecce petis vivos fontes, Grantana fluenta,  
Nectareoque rigas labra liquore tua.  
Ast ego præcessi: nec signiter ipse secutus  
Vicilli fortis munera parva mea.  
Tu Gardineri petiisti testa disertæ  
Floquii sedem, Pierique chori.  
Sors vel ad obstreperos me duxit iniqua sophistas,  
Tale quidem potui non ego ferre jugum.  
Suffugio quodam sed honesto Gallica regna  
Invisi, schola qua Parrhisiâna viget.  
Quo magnis & tu properasti passibus, ardens  
Linguarum nitida cognitione frui.  
Confecta tandem caussa feliciter omni,  
Tu patriam repetis civis amicus humum.  
Gardinerum etiam recolis de more patronum:  
Uritislegi & nomina chara tibi.  
Per quos cœpisti commendatissimus esse  
Henrico Regi, nobilibusque viris.  
Scriba Palatinas coluisti hinc sedulus ædes,  
Exercens calamos dexteritate nova.

[*D*] Into the King's presence and favour.] There is nothing more entertaining, as well as more useful and satisfactory, than to be thoroughly and certainly informed, of the first steps by which those who have made a figure in the world, have risen to greatness. That of Gardiner, as of many others, was owing purely to accident, to speak according to the common sense of mankind. In the year 1525, his master Wolfey thought fit to change sides; and from being most violently attached to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, became as warm a friend to the French King, Francis the First, then a prisoner in Spain. Humanity and compassion, one would think, must have been the motives to this change; and they might be so, but a very grave Italian Historian, has suggested causes of another kind (13). He says, that before the battle of Pavia, in which the French King was made prisoner, the Emperor used to write to Wolfey, with his own hand, and subscribe *your son and cousin CHARLES*; but after that victory, the letters to Wolfey, like those to other persons, were written by his secretary, till the Cardinal taught him to resume his old manner of writing. It was the penning this lesson for his Imperial Majesty, that brought Gardiner to the knowledge, or at least introduced him to the favour of Henry the Eighth; the Cardinal had projected a treaty, which was to change the face of affairs in Europe, as indeed it did; and the King coming to his house at More-Park, in Hertfordshire, found Gardiner, then the Cardinal's Secretary, busy in framing that alliance. Few Princes understood business, or could transact it better, than Henry; and therefore, it is no wonder that from such a specimen, he should make a true judgment of Dr Gardiner's abilities. He liked his performance extremely, his conversation better, and that fertility he had in the invention of expedients, best of all (14). He did not disguise his sentiments from Wolfey, there was no need of it, the Cardinal was truly great in this particular, that he feared no man's parts,

(13) Guiccard. Hist. lib. XIX.

(14) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 451.

Master at this season; whatever it might be in process of time, when, as the Politicians remarked, the Cardinal sunk in the same proportion as this servant of his rose. At this juncture, the King's affairs at Rome were but in an untoward situation, the Roman Pontiff, Clement VII, having address enough to feed the King's Agents with fair promises, according to the standing maxim of that Court; but, in effect, making no progress at all towards the King's point, which was the obtaining a divorce from his Queen Katherine of Arragon. His Majesty therefore resolved to send some person thither, in whom he could entirely confide, and of whose abilities and attachment he had a like opinion (n). After much consideration, he fixed upon our Doctor, now become Master of Trinity-Hall, and, as Bishop Burnet remarks, esteemed at that time the best Civil Lawyer in England (o); to whom he joined Edward Fox, Provost of King's College in Cambridge. At the time of his departure, in February 1528, there is nothing clearer, or more certain, than that he had the most entire confidence reposed in him; both by the King and his Minister, who hoped all things from his diligence and dexterity [E]; and who, if there be any credit due either to their verbal or written declarations, were equally sincere and in earnest in this matter. In their journey towards Italy they executed a commission at the Court of Paris, where, by warm and vigorous representations of what their Master had done, and might do, for King Francis, they obtained that Monarch's letter to the Pope, in as strong terms as could be desired, in support of King Henry's demands. When they came to Orvieto, where the Pope then was, Dr Gardiner used very free language with his Holiness, shewed him the danger he was in of losing the King by playing a double game, and how much injury he would do the Cardinal if he failed his expectations. By these measures all was obtained which his instructions required, and a new commission directed to the Cardinals Wolfey and Compegius was issued (p). In the course of this long embassy, the Pope, whose mind was continually perplexed, and to whom the Imperial, French, and English Ministers allowed no quiet, fell dangerously ill, the disorders of his affections operating upon the humours of his body; and this, as might be expected, gave a new turn to the intrigues of Rome. Dr Gardiner had as large a share in these as any Minister, for he laboured the cause of the Cardinal of York, in case the Pope's death made way for a new election (q). He had the French King's letters also to support this design; for by soliciting the Popedom, he thought to make Wolfey more than amends for the Archbishoprick of Toledo, which was once tendered him by the Emperor; it may be with the same sincerity, or, in other words, with none at all. Yet so much was Wolfey set upon having, at least for a time, the title of Pope, that, having intelligence the King's agents, and his own,

(n) See note [E].

(o) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 52.

(p) Hollinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 907.

(q) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 64.

parts, but was proud of bringing to the royal notice, able and active men; and even under his misfortunes, as will be hereafter shewn, he had no reason to repent that the new ministers, Cromwell and Gardiner, were taken out of his house, because, in their highest prosperity, they did not forget that they had been once his domesticks. This treaty, (which was the foundation of Gardiner's fortunes) or at least the substance of it, may be found in that great work of the noble Historian (15), who has done so much honour to the reign of Henry the Eighth, and placed that important period of time, in a much better point of light, than almost any other, relating to the affairs of this kingdom. It was from this time, that Dr Gardiner was admitted into the secret of affairs, and equally employed and trusted by the King and his Minister, tho' we have no particular account of the matters, which exercised his care, till he came to be employed in the troublesome business of the King's divorce, which was about three years afterwards. All we know is, that he and his friend Dr Fox, were the persons upon whom the Cardinal chiefly relied, for directing his fine buildings, and for laying the plan of those magnificent foundations, which, however they might excite the envy of the times in which he lived, have very justly recommended his memory to posterity.

[E] *From his diligence and dexterity* ] Our Historians, are most of them dark, and divided in their sentiments, as to the sincerity of Cardinal Wolfey, in the business of the divorce. Yet this may be observed, that those who were best informed, and took most pains to look into original papers, are very clear, with respect to the Cardinal's real intention, to carry that point for the King, as the only one that could preserve his power, and secure him against all his enemies. Dr Ponet however, who made no scruple of laying every thing to Gardiner's charge, that might render him odious, tells us plainly, that, in order to his own advancement, he betrayed the Cardinal in this embassy, and pushed, with the greatest vigour, what his master wished might be spun out, in order to gain

time. But let us hear what the industrious and impartial Mr John Strype says upon this subject, from better authorities than any of our Historians, except Fox, had ever seen, which will effectually clear up this affair (16). 'Gardiner, says he, the Cardinal's Secretary, and Fox, the King's servant, Provost of King's College Cambridge, were dispatched to the Pope to effect this, in February 1527, according to the computation of the Church of England. Of whom, Gardiner was the chief, having been admitted into the King's and Cardinal's Cabinet Council for this affair, and stiled in the Cardinal's credential letters to the Pope, *Primary Secretary of the most secret Counsels*. He was grown into extraordinary request with the Cardinal, in so much, that in his said letters, he called Gardiner *the half of himself, than whom none was dearer to him*. He writ, that he should unlock his breast to the Pope; and that in hearing him speak, he might think he heard the *Cardinal himself*. The particulars of this embassy, of which I have the very minutes, in divers letters sent to the King and Cardinal, I will give some account of, especially of such things, as the Lord Herbert, or the Right Reverend Author of the History of the Reformation, have made no mention of, or but briefly and imperfectly.' He proceeds then to shew from these papers, that when the Pope intimated to Dr Gardiner, that he understood this proceeding was not managed with Cardinal Wolfey's consent; and that he had likewise heard some strange things of the Lady intended for the King's bed; the Doctor thereupon, in the name, and by the authority of the Cardinal, who had been acquainted with this before he left England, demonstrated to him the falsity of those suggestions, and what the Cardinal's real sentiments were in both points (17); and that the reader may have no doubts, as to the relator's capacity in stating these matters, he has printed several letters from the originals, which very fully justify all that is said of them; and shew the Cardinal was, hitherto at least, disposed to serve his master as far as he could.

(16) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 89.

(17) So in the Ambassador's Dispatches.

(15) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

own, had procured for him the suffrages of one third part of the Cardinals, orders were sent them immediately, to cause those Cardinals to withdraw to a place of safety, in case the Conclave appeared more inclined to any other, and there to declare him Pope, assuring them they should be most vigorously sustained by King Henry and his allies. No doubt the pains taken in this business must have been highly pleasing to the Cardinal, though, after all, the design came to nothing; for when Wolsey had shewn his utmost strength, and procured from the King very liberal marks of esteem for the Cardinals of his faction, Clement VII. recovered, and things once more returned to their old state (r). All imaginable care was taken to have the new commission penned to the King's mind, which, not without much difficulty, was obtained; and then it was to be carried from Orvieto to Rome, to pass through the necessary forms requisite to render it authentick. This being also an affair of nicety, and the disposing Cardinal Campegio to make a tour to England with a good will, requiring some extraordinary management, Dr Gardiner took it upon himself, after having procured whatever was requisite for his negotiation, and put every thing necessary to set this in a proper light at home into the hands of his colleague (s). Upon this, Provost Fox was sent home with a full account of their negotiation, with which the King, the Cardinal, and Mrs Anne Bullen, were equally pleased, and unanimously joined in applauding the industry, intrepidity, and ingenuity, of this new Minister, as is incontestably proved from the authentick minutes of this negotiation, which are, or at least very lately were, still preserved and in being [F]. The King, indeed, had the best reason to be satisfied, since Dr Gardiner dealt clearly with him, and shewed him plainly there was nothing to be obtained by soliciting at Rome; that the Pope might probably be induced to approve any thing the King could persuade the Legates to do, but, without question, would never be prevailed on, by hopes or fears, to do any thing himself, which, in his judgment, was the final issue of all this trouble and solicitation (t). Bishop Burnet is offended with Gardiner for desiring the King not to shew this epistle to the Cardinal (u), which, however, might be very consistent with his attachment and regard for his old master, since, from this caution, it appears he had no settled private correspondence with the King; for then it would have been needless, and some of the contents, as he was to sit in judgment in the cause, were exceedingly improper for him to have seen. The reader will find at the bottom of the page the greatest part of this letter, which shews not barely a strong capacity and a true political genius, but also how politely and how correctly he wrote, and that too in language very little antiquated even at this day [G]. When the King

(r) These Passages are from Gardiner's Instructions and other Dispatches.

(s) From his Dispatches.

(t) See his Letter to the King.

(u) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 321.

[F] *Were lately preserved, and in being*] We learn from the same author, and from the same authorities, that Fox was most joyfully received upon his return, which was in the beginning of the month of May 1529; it was evening when he came to Court, when he was directed to go to Mrs Anne's, that is, Anne Boleyn's chamber, where he first made a recital to her, of such points as were fittest for that Lady's ear; soon after the King came thither, and the Lady being withdrawn, he delivered his Majesty the letters he had brought, and run into a large and particular detail of the several steps they had taken; all of which he entirely approved and highly admired. After some time, he sent for Mrs Anne back again, and directed some passages to be repeated in her presence; then Fox went to the Cardinal, who was no less pleased with every thing he heard, and particularly with the accounts given him, of Dr Gardiner's justifying his colleges to the Pope's satisfaction, and making his Holiness sensible, that the revenues of the monasteries granted for their endowment, were fairly applied. Altogether, made such an impression on the Cardinal's mind, that speaking of Gardiner, he cried out, *O inestimable treasure, and jewel of this realm!* which exclamation, he desired Fox to remark, and to insert in his letter (18). As for Mrs Anne Boleyn, she thought herself under such obligations to this able negotiator, that even before Fox's coming, she wrote him the following letter (19), which is not amongst the papers collected by Strype.

' Mr STEPHEN, I thank you for my letter, wherein I perceive the willing and faithful mind that you have to do me pleasure, not doubting, but as much as is possible for man's wit to imagine, you will do; I pray God to send you well to speed in all your matters, so that you would put me to the study how to reward your high service. I do trust in God, you shall not repent it; and that the end of this journey shall be more pleasant to me, than your first, for that was but a rejoicing hope, which ceasing, the lack of it does put me to the more pain, and they that are partakers with me, as you do know; and

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' therefore I do trust, that this hard beginning shall have the better ending.

' Mr STEPHEN, I send you here cramp rings, for you and Mr Gregory, and Mr Peter, praying you to distribute them as you think best. And have me recommended heartily to them both, as she that you may assure them, will be glad to do them any pleasure which shall lie in my power. And thus I make an end, praying God send you good health. Written at Greenwich, the 4th day of April.'

The first part of this letter seems to refer to the journey made by Dr Gardiner, from the Pope's court at Orvieto to Rome, in order to quicken the departure of Cardinal Campegio. It is indeed very difficult to settle the dates of many letters, written about that time, because sometimes they have only the month, without either day or year; but more frequently the day and month without the year, which can only be recovered from circumstances.

[G] *Even at this day.*] It has been very justly observed, that the surest method of making a right judgment, as to the capacity of public ministers, is to consider their dispatches; and it is for this reason chiefly, that the collections of letters, written by famous men, are so highly and so deservedly valued. It is impossible for a man with a confused head, or of superficial parts, to write clearly and closely; these are qualities not to be acquired even by a long habit of business, but are the pure effects of superior talents. There is another remark, that may and ought to be made, upon this curious and important letter of Dr Gardiner's, which is, that solid learning enables a man to form a style, very different from that of the age in which he lives; and if the ingenious reader will be pleased to compare the following epistle, not only with those written about the same time, of which numbers are preserved, by Fox, Hollinshed, Stow, Fuller, Burnet, Collier, and Strype, but with such as are in the Cabala, and even in later collections, he will find it is written with peculiar elegance and ease, and has nothing of that stiffness or pedantry, which is visible in many of those compositions. It is no exception to this, that Gardiner

(18) Extracted from Dr Fox's long Letter.

(19) Copied from the Original in the Paper Office.

King had considered this advice sufficiently, and saw how well it corresponded with events, he recalled Dr Gardiner from Rome, in order to make use of him in the management of his

Gardiner makes use therein of several Latin expressions, because of their apparent propriety; and that he was writing to a Prince, not only well versed in that language, but who valued himself upon his learning. It may be also observed, that he shews a hearty and generous concern for Mr Gregory, in which there could be nothing of artifice or collusion, since it is very evident, from the contents of this letter, that he could not have communicated it; as it is likewise plain, that, by recommending this gentleman's affairs, when he is absolutely silent as to his own, he meant to render him the greatest, and most effectual service, in his power, which is a strain of friendship rare amongst Politicians (20).

(20) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. amongst the Records joined to Vol. II. p. 297.

‘Pleaseth it your Majesty to understand, that besides all other means used to the Pope's Holiness, for attaining and atchieving your Highness's purpose and intent, such as in our common letters to my Lord Legate's Grace, and my several letters to the same, be contained at length. I have also a-part shewed unto the Pope's Holiness, that which your Highness shewed me in your gallery at Hampton-Court, concerning the sollicitation of the Princes of Almayn, and such other matter, as should and ought to fear the Pope's said Holiness, adding also, those reasons which might induce the same to adhere expressly to your Highness, and the French King; and so to take the more courage, to accomplish your Highness desires, using all ways possible; to enforce him to do somewhat, being a man of such nature, as he never resolveth any thing, but by some violent affection compelled thereunto. And considering we can speed no better at his hands, it agreeth with that, your Majesty, of your high wisdom before perpended, that his Holiness would do nothing which might offend the Emperor, unless he first determined himself to adhere to your Highness, and the French King, and so to declare himself, containing himself no longer in neutrality, which he will not do: nor, the state of the affairs here considered, it were for his weal so to do, unless the Leagues otherwise proceeded, than they yet do; or that his Holiness would determine himself to leave these parts, and establish his See in some other place, for as much as here being, he is daily in danger of the Imperial's, like as we have signified by our other letters.

‘His Holiness is in great perplexity, and agony of mind, nor can tell what to do; he seemeth in words, fashion, and manner of speaking, as though he would do somewhat for your Highness, and yet, when it cometh to the point, nothing he doth: I dare not say certainly, whether it be for fear, or want of good-will, for I were loth to make a lie of him, or to your Highness, my Prince, Sovereign, Lord, and Master. Finally, I perceive this by the Pope, and all other here, that so your Highness cause were determined there by my Lords Legates, they would be glad thereof; and as I think, if the Emperor would make any suit against that which shall be done there, they would serve him as they now do your Highness, and so drive off the time; for they seem to be so minded, as in this cause they would suffer much, but do very little.

‘Wherefore, if my Lord Campegius will set a-part all other respects, and frankly promise your Highness to give sentence for you, then must be your Highness remedy short and expedite; nor shall there want wit by another means, to meet with such delays, as this false counterfeit breve hath caused. For with these men here, your Highness shall, by no suit profit, which thing I write unto your Highness, as of my most bounden duty I ought to do, there shall every day rise new devices, and none take effect, but long delays and wasted time; wherefore, doing what I can yet to get the best, although we be fully answered therein, I shall do what I can to get the commission amplified as much as may be, and at the least, to extend to the reprobation of the brief if I can, for I dare promise nothing to your Majesty at this man's hands; and that which shall be

obtained, if any be obtained, shall be, according to your Highness pleasure, sent by Mr Bryan.

‘And whereas your Highness, in your gracious letters directed to me, and my colleagues, marvelleth that I have not, ere this, advertised the same, of such Bulls as your Majesty willed me to impetrate here; I thought verily, that for as much as the same be, to be impetrate at the Pope's hand; and that we signified unto your Majesty, by our letters of the Pope's great sickness; and how we could not have access unto the same, that it had been superfluous for me in my letters, to make any mention of the said Bulls, signifying unto your Highness now, that having those matters, as it becometh me to have in good remembrance, I have not yet broken with the Pope's Holiness in them, nor thought good to interrupt the prosecution of your Highness matter, with the pursuit of those, saving that I spake a word to the Pope's Holiness, *de Ecclesiis Cathedralibus*; and his Holiness said, nothing could be done, till the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor be recovered.

‘In other things I speak not, for our audience with the Pope's Holiness hath been so scarce, that we thought it little enough to spend the same in your Highness principal matter. And to advertise your Highness what Counsel is here conducted, for the defence of your Majesty's cause, the same shall understand, that this court, as it hath suffered in all other things, so it is also much appeyed in learned men; and of them that be, we dare not trust every one, *ne Causa Majestatis vestrae illis denudata*, they should, *prodere illam Adversariis*, wherefore, counselling as yet only with two, the one called Dominus Michael, the other Dominus Sigismundus; we perceived nothing to be solicited openly on the other side; and that there, as yet, hath been no need to dispute openly, have communicated your Highness matter to no more. And as for that article, *Quod Papa non possit dispensare*, the Pope himself will hear no disputations in it; and so he might retain your Highness good mind, he seemeth not to care for himself, whether your Highness cause be decided by that article or no, so he did it not; but surely it appeareth, as a man may gather, by his fashion and manner, that he hath made his account no further to meddle in your Highness matter, neither with your Majesty, nor against the same, but follow, that shall be done by his Legates there.

‘Wherefore, if my Lord Campegius would promise your Majesty to give sentence frankly and apertly, having *propitium Judice*, I would trust, being there, with such consultations, as I should bring from hence, to say somewhat to this breve there, *Apud illos Et ista est sacra anchora Majestatis vestrae*; for from hence shall come nothing but delays, desiring your Highness not to shew this to my Lord Campegius, nor my Lord's Grace.

‘Mr Gregory sendeth presently unto your Highness, the promise made by the Pope's Holiness, concerning your Highness cause, at such time as I went to Venice, for his cause, which promise in the first three words, viz *Cum nos justitiam ejus causæ perpendentes*, &c. doth make as much, and more, for the maintenance of that, shall be done in your Highness cause; then if the commission decretal, being in Cardinal Campegius's hands, should be shewed, and this your Highness, at your liberty, to shew to whom of your Council, it shall please your Grace, thinking, in my poor opinion, that it were not the best, therefore, to move the Pope in that matter again, in this adverse time. I most humbly desire your Majesty, that I may be a suitor to the same, for the said Mr Gregory, so as by your gracious commandment, payment may be made there, to his factors, of such diets as your Highness alloweth him; for omitting to speak of his true, faithful, and diligent service, which I have heretofore, and do now perceive in him here, I assure your Highness, he liveth here sumptuously and chargeably to your Highness honour; and in this great scarcity, must needs

be

his cause before the Legantine Court. Upon his return he had the Archdeaconry of Norfolk bestowed on him by Bishop Nyx, of Norwich, for whom he had obtained some favours from the Pope. He was installed March the first 1529 (w), and this, so far as appears, was his first preferment in the Church; but in the State his growth was quicker, for the King having constant need of his service, and not esteeming it proper to use it while he belonged to another, took him from his old Master Cardinal Wolfey, and declared him Secretary of State (x). In this situation he was considered as having a large share in the management of all affairs, and was particularly advised with by the King, when Cardinal Campegio declared that the cause was avoked to Rome, and that himself and his colleague could proceed no further (y). An accident furnished the King with the means of extricating himself out of the many difficulties into which this behaviour of the Pope's had thrown him, for which he was indebted to the shrewd advice given by Dr (afterwards Archbishop) Cranmer (z), as he was indebted for that to Dr Gardiner, who introduced him [H]; and by this, and this only, contributed to his old patron's ruin. As soon as the King saw a way open for the conclusion of his business, without the assistance of the Cardinal, he delayed no longer making himself sensible of his displeasure. Whence it arose, is variously and inconsistently related by our Historians; but, without recurring to deep and uncertain motives, we may be satisfied with this, that when Henry saw his Minister had either concurred with the Court of Rome in duping him, or was in reality duped most ungratefully and egregiously by that Court himself, he determined to trust him no longer, but to make him

(w) Registr. Nor-wich.

(x) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

(y) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 71.

(z) Strype's Life of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 4.

' be driven to extremity, unless your Highness be a gracious Lord unto him in that behalf.'

This letter is dated the twenty-first of April, which must have been in the year 1529; but before it came to the King's hands, he had written a long dispatch to Gardiner, which is still preserved. The orders for his return to England, were communicated to him, and to Sir Francis Bryan, in a long dispatch by Cardinal Wolfey, who tells the former, what has been hinted in the text, that his presence was absolutely necessary at home, the King being unwilling to commence his suit before the two Cardinal Legates, without having his advice; and therefore, there is reason to believe, that he left Italy some time in the month of May, or it may be in the latter end of April (21). He was succeeded by Dr Bennet, who was also a creature of the Cardinal's, and who was particularly charged to spare no pains, in moving the compassion of the Pope, by shewing him plainly, that the welfare or ruin of the Cardinal of York, depended upon the success, or want of success, in the King's suit for a divorce (22).

[H] *Who introduced him.* There are some writers, who ascribe the introduction of Cranmer to the King's knowledge, to Fox entirely; and whoever was inclined to flatter Gardiner's memory, would suffer this to pass; for certainly, the manner in which he introduced him, was very unworthy; Bishop Burnet, after John Fox and others, relates it thus (23). 'Dr Cranmer, being forced to fly out of Cambridge, from a plague that was there, and having the sons of one Mr Cressly, of Waltham Crof, committed to his charge, he went, with his pupils, to their father's house at Waltham. There he was, when the King returned from his progress, who took Waltham in his way, and lay a night there. The harbingers having appointed Gardiner and Fox, the King's Secretary and Almoner, to lie at Mr Cressly's house, it so happened, that Cranmer was with them at supper. The whole discourse of England being then about the divorce, these two courtiers, knowing Cranmer's learning and solid judgment, entertained him with it, and desired to hear his opinion concerning it. He modestly declined it, but told them, that he judged it would be a shorter and safer way, once to clear it well, if the marriage was unlawful in itself, by virtue of any divine precept: for if that were proved, then it was certain that the Pope's dispensation could be of no force, to make that lawful, which God had declared to be unlawful. Therefore, he thought that, instead of a long fruitless negotiation at Rome, it were better to consult all the learned men, and the universities of Christendom; for if they once declared it in the King's favour, then the Pope must needs give judgment, or otherwise, the Bull, being of itself null and void, the marriage would be found sinful, notwithstanding the Pope's dispensation. This seemed a very good motion, which they resolved to offer to the King; so next night, when he came to Greenwich, they proposed it to him, but with this

' difference, that Gardiner had a mind to make it pass for their own contrivance, but Fox, who was of a more ingenuous nature, told the King from whom they had it. He was much affected with it, so soon as he heard it, and said, had he known it sooner, it would have saved him a vast expence, and much trouble, and would needs have Cranmer sent for to Court, saying, in his coarse way of speaking, *That he had the saw by the right ear.* So he was sent for to Court, and being brought before the King, he carried himself so, that the King conceived an high opinion of his judgment and candour, which he preserved to his death, and still payed a respect to him, beyond all the other churchmen that were about him; and though he made more use of Gardiner in his business, whom he found a man of great dexterity and cunning, yet he never had any respect for him. But for Cranmer, though the King knew that in many things he differed from him, yet for all his being so impatient of contradiction, he always revered him.'

This last observation of the Bishop's, is, perhaps, a little too refined, since it was impossible to know what were the real sentiments of King Henry, farther than they are discovered to us by facts; and these speak pretty equally in favour of Cranmer and Gardiner. They were both countenanced, employed, and preferred, and both were sometimes checked and frowned upon by their master; he had this in his temper, which no body better understood than Gardiner, as we shall see hereafter. They were both guilty of inexcusable compliances, to preserve their credit with that haughty and hally Prince, which Cranmer did to the last; and how Gardiner came to lose it we shall enquire. At present, it may be convenient to give some account of what is asserted in the text, that the bringing Cranmer to the King, proved Wolfey's ruin, as to which, it must be confessed, that our histories are silent, but it appears thus. All the world expected his disgrace, upon the avocation of the King's suit to Rome, which, however, did not happen; and Bishop Burnet very well observes, that the Cardinal himself began to be cured of his apprehensions, when he saw that the King's countenance was not altered towards him; and that those who were most familiar with that Monarch, preserved their respect to him. But when, to use the King's coarse expression, he had once *got the saw by the right ear*, he no longer temporized with the Cardinal, but ordered his Attorney-General, Christopher Hales, to file an information against him in Michaelmas-term; sent for the Great Seal, and ordered him to retire to his house at Ather, which belonged to his Bishoprick of Winchester. It is therefore plain, from a comparison of dates, and of facts, that the King's receiving and embracing Cranmer's counsels, was the true source of the Cardinal's disgrace, the King being then persuaded, that he had no farther need of him.

(21) By comparing his Letters from Rome, with the matters he transacted at his return.

(22) Extracts of his Letters may be found in Strype.

(23) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 79, 80.

a) Hollinshed,  
Stowe, Baker.

him in some measure the victim that might satiate popular resentment, and stifle those clamours raised amongst his subjects in different parts of the kingdom (a). This tempest broke with such fury on the head of this devoted Minister, that his misery became as much the subject of amazement, as his prosperity had ever been. In this distress he had recourse to his old servant the Secretary, and, though some have insinuated the contrary, he met with as sincere returns of gratitude and friendship, as he could desire or expect [1]. The year

[1] *As he could desire or expect.* There is a great deal to be met with in secret history, in relation to the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, as well as of the strange calamities into which he fell; and his misfortunes are, by many, attributed to the resentment of Mrs Anne Boleyn, which, however, there is some cause to doubt. Great Ministers have always bitter enemies, who earnestly wish, and would willingly work, their destruction; but it does not follow from thence, that they accomplish what they have wished and worked for, even when it falls out; for it may and often does happen, from other secret causes, in respect to which, they have no power, and of which, sometimes, they have not the least knowledge. It has been shewn, in the former note, that the King thought he had no farther need of this Minister; and whoever looks closely into the history of Henry the Eighth, will perceive that it was his ruling maxim, to promote men whom he might use, to protect them while he could use, and to give them up when they were of no further use. He was not entirely satisfied, that the destruction of Wolsey's person could promote his designs, and therefore he spared him; and as he saw further, that the fall of his Minister, would be considered as a point of importance in other kingdoms, as well as his own; he was willing to see how far the Cardinal's interest reached, and whether the Court of Rome, for which he had done so much, might not be inclined to do something for him; and this induced the King to take so much care of his life, when, through the agitation of his spirits, he fell into a dangerous illness at Asher (24).

(24) He sent his own Physician, Dr Putts, to attend him, and by him sent kind messages and presents.

It is very rare in such cases, for Ministers to find friends, more especially amongst those, who, in point of fortune, depend upon the master with whom they are in disgrace. Thomas Cromwell, then Secretary to the Cardinal, distinguished himself by adhering steadily to his master, and soliciting stoutly for him at Court; in respect to this, all our histories agree, and commend him for it, as he deserved. But they do not tell us, to whom he applied himself at Court, though at that time, he was not of a rank to have any admittance to the King, though his conduct, in this respect, recommended him afterwards to his favour, as a man of abilities, spirit, and fidelity. Dr Gardiner was then Secretary of State, in the King's Council, and one of his most active Ministers. To say nothing of his having been bred and raised by Cardinal Wolsey, the then state of affairs, and the situation of that once great man, were points that must have fallen under his notice; and whoever had an inclination to look into his history, must necessarily be curious to know how he acted in so delicate a conjuncture; and whether ambition, and self-interest, so much took up his heart, as to leave no room for gratitude or pity. It might have been surmised, that considering his former condition, and his station at this time, that he was the person to whom Cromwell had recourse, in favour of his unfortunate master, that he solicited his suits, and procured him those gleams of royal clemency and compassion, that broke through all the obscurity of his misfortunes, to a degree, that revived the envy and the malice of his enemies. But the silence of our greatest Historians, and the character commonly given to Stephen Gardiner, would have prevented any conjecture of this kind, from gaining the least degree of belief. However, the indefatigable Strype (25), who had no talent for inventing or interpolating history, and who very honestly communicated to the public all he knew, has effectually settled this matter; and the reader will be pleased to see a part of his evidence in his own words, founded not upon obscure hints, or upon memoirs of uncertain authority; but upon Cardinal Wolsey's own letters; and facts, that will admit no dispute.

(25) Memorials,  
Vol. I. p. 114.

In the mean time, he employed those few friends he had, to intercede with the King, and to make as good a conclusion of his troubles as they could. He

had two that stuck close to him, viz. the aforesaid Thomas Cromwell, and Dr Stephen Gardiner, Secretary of State. This latter he plied with his letters, the bearer whereof was Cromwell, whom he called *his trusty friend*. After he had got free of the articles drawn up against him in Parliament, by the means of Cromwell, the King appointed, to come to some conclusion of the Cardinal's business, and to determine what was to be done concerning him. This Secretary Gardiner signified to him in writing, and likewise the time when he supposed it might be, namely, within a week, or thereabouts: and likewise told him, that he would not fail to write to him the particulars. The Cardinal impatient to know the issue, and not thinking the Secretary swift enough in his information, above a week being now past, could take no rest till he heard from him the sum of what had past concerning him. And therefore in a letter sent by Cromwell, most earnestly begs the Secretary in much meanness of spirit, *As he tendered his poor life, and at the reverence of God, and that holy time, he would send him his letter, appealing also to his pity, knowing in what an agony he was, and that he would not only deserve towards God, but bind him thereby to be his continual headsmen.* And so ended from Asher. Written, those are his words, *with his rude hand and sorrowful heart.* Subscribing himself *T. Carli's Ebor. miserrimus*, The most miserable Thomas, Cardinal of York. This was written in Christmas holidays.

Soon after Cromwell returned from the Secretary with this message to the Cardinal. *That the King moved with pity of the Cardinal, and commiserating his lamentable condition, prest with extreme poverty as well as sickness of body and mind, had committed the ending of his troubles to the Secretary, and some others of the Privy Council, and that to be done with all the haste that might be. And that he should have a pardon drawn up in the most full and ample form, that his own Counsel could devise.* Upon this message he soon dispatched a letter to the Secretary, importing, that this favourable order of the King, he was more sensible of and thankful for, *because it proceeded from himself, out of a gracious remembrance of him: for which he accounted himself most bounden, to serve and pray for the preservation of his most royal Majesty: thanking God, that he, the Secretary, had occasion given him to be a solicitor and setter forth of such things, as should conserve his end.* *That in the making and compounding whereof, his assured trust was, that he would shew the love and affection which he bore towards him.* He earnestly intreated him, to whom he, the Cardinal, had been an old lover and friend, that he would so declare himself in the managing of his business, that the world might perceive that by his good means, the King was the better good Lord unto him; and that now coming newly in a manner into the world, there might such respect be had unto his degree, old age, and long service, as might be to the King's honour, and the Secretary's praise; which would, as he said, undoubtedly follow, if he obtained his benevolence towards him. And men would perceive, that it was by his wisdom and dexterity, that he was relieved and holpen in his calamity. At the reverence therefore of God, he prayed him that was his refuge, to set to his hand, that he might come to a laudable end and repose. And that he would see that he might be furnished after such a sort, that he might end his short time and life to the honour of Christ's Church and his Prince. Promising withal to requite his kindness in such a manner, as he should have cause to think his pains to be well employed. And so referring him to his trusty friend Cromwell, to whom he desired him to give firm credence, he concluded, at Asher with the trembling hand and heavy heart, of his assured lover

year ensuing opened with the most important service, at least as his Master conceived it, that had been as yet rendered him by Dr Gardiner, and which nevertheless does more honour to his abilities than his virtue; and this was to manage the University of Cambridge, so as to procure their declaration in the King's cause, after Dr Cranmer's book should appear in support of it (b). This, in conjunction with Dr Fox, he accomplished, tho' not without much artifice and address, as his own letter shews [K], which sufficiently demonstrates that men, and even great bodies of men, have been much the same in all ages.

(b) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 5, 6.

After

and breadstman — Soon after, viz. February the twelfth, the King sealed his pardon, and three days after restored him the Archbishoprick of York, and sent him money, upwards of six thousands pounds, besides plate, and furniture for his house and chapel. Which favours pretty well recovered the Cardinal, while he remained still at Ather, and by the King's leave removed thence to Richmond.

But his enemies now thought him too near the Court: so they prevailed to get him removed to his Diocefe of York. In the month of September Anno 1530, he came to Cawood-castle near York, so the Lord Herbert (26); but before he came hither, I find him in the months of July and August at Southwell (27), a manor of the Archbishop's, where he made some stay. Here the Cardinal recommended unto the Secretary, one who had the title of Provost of Beverley, the Governor of a religious house, situated in his Diocefe. His state, it seems, was in some hazard. Whereupon the Cardinal espousing his cause, and probably to make himself popular upon his first coming into his Diocefe, desired the Secretary that he would use his interest for him to the King, and bring him into his presence. This the Secretary did accordingly, receiving the Provost as coming from the Cardinal, humanely and lovingly, and introducing him into the King's Highness presence. Whom the King received, and shewed him, that he was his good and gracious Lord, and admitted and accepted him as his Orator and Scholar. For this the Cardinal from Southwell thanks him much, intreating him to continue his good favour towards the said Provost, and to take him into his patronage and protection. The Cardinal now found a great change in his revenues and incomes, which were sinking very low, in comparison of what they had been. So that he laboured under want. This made him write in the month of July to his friend the Secretary, to take the opportunity to excite the King to some liberality towards him *That he would remember the poor state and condition he stood in, and to be a means to the King's Highness for his relief; whereby he would not only as he said, deserve thanks of God, but also declare to his perpetual laud and praise, that he being in authority, had not forgotten his old master and friend.* This is all the language of those times and of those letters, much more to the same purpose the reader may find in the same place; but this being enough to our point, we shall not detain him any longer.

[K] As his own letter shews. We are told by the Lord Herbert of Cherbury (28), who had read this letter, and had a very just notion of the business, and of the means by which it was carried, what the reasons were, that occasioned the King more trouble in obtaining the declarations of his own Universities in his favour, than of many others in foreign parts, and more especially of the difficulties that were met with at Cambridge. He says, that there were two parties in the University, that united together in opposing the King's desire; that is, those who were really against the divorce, as a thing they apprehended to be unjust; and those, who, independent of that motive, were zealous for the Popish religion, and disliked whatever had a tendency to promote the Reformation, or, as it was styled in those times, the new opinions. The reason that the latter party were so much alarmed, was, because they saw those they opposed, with Cranmer at their head, eager for this declaration; and the strength these united parties had in the University, being well known to Cranmer, we need not at all wonder, that the King was so uneasy about it; or that he considered the service in procuring it, even in the manner it was procured, as a thing of the greatest consequence. Let us now come to the letter (29), which will shew, that the King had intrusted his concerns in the hands of very capable agents.

VOL. III. No. 176.

February 1530,

from Cambridge.

To the King's Highness.

PLEASETH it your Highness to be advertised, that arriving here at Cambridge upon Saturday last past at noon, that same night and Sunday in the morning, we devised with the Vice-Chancellor, and such other as favoureth your Grace's cause, how, and in what sort to compass and obtain your Grace's purpose and intent, wherein we assure your Grace, we found much towardness, good-will, and diligence in the Vice-Chancellor, and Dr Edmunds; being as studious to serve your Grace as we could wish or desire: nevertheless, there was not so much care, labour, study, and diligence employed on our party by them, ourself, and other, for attaining your Grace's purpose, but there was as much done by others, for the let and impeachment of the same; and as we assembled, they assembled; as we made friends, they made friends, to let that nothing should pass as in the University's name, wherein the first day they were superiors; for they had put in the ears of them, by whose voices such things do pass *multas fabulas*, too tedious to write unto your Grace.

Upon Sunday at afternoon were assembled, after the manner of the University, all the Doctors, Bachelors of Divinity, and Masters of Art, being in number almost two hundred: in that congregation we delivered your Grace's letters, which were read openly by the Vice-Chancellor. And for answer to be made unto them first, the Vice-Chancellor calling apart the Doctors, asked their advice and opinion; whereunto they answered severally as their affections led them, *& res erat in multa confusione.*

Tandem they were content. Answer should be made to the questions by indifferent men: but then they came to exceptions against the Abbot of St Benet's, who seemed to come for that purpose; and likewise against Dr Reppes and Dr Crome, and also generally against all such as had allowed Dr Cranmer's book; inasmuch as they had already declared their opinion; we said thereunto, that by that reason they might except against all; for it was lightly, that in a question so notable as this is, every man learned hath said to his friend, as he thinketh in it for the time, but we ought not to judge of any man, that lieth more to defend that which he hath once said, than truth afterward known. Finally; The Vice-Chancellor, because the day was much spent in those altercations, commanding every man to resort to his seat apart, as the manner is in those assemblies, willed every man's mind to be known secretly, whether they would be content with such an order, as he had conceived for answer, to be made by the University to your Grace's letters, wherunto that night they would in no wise agree. And forasmuch as it was then dark night, the Vice-Chancellor continued the congregation till the next day at one of the clock; at which time the Vice-Chancellor proponed a grace, after the form herein inclosed, and it was first denied: when it was asked again, it was even on both parties, to be denied or granted; and at the last, by labour of friends, to cause some to depart the house, which were against it, it was obtained in such form, as the schedule herein inclosed purporteth, wherein be two points which we would have left out; but considering, by putting in of them, we allured many, and that indeed they shall not hurt the determination for your Grace's part, we were finally content therewith.

The one point is that where it was first, that *quicquid major pars*, of them that be named, *decreverit*, should be taken for the determination of the University. Now it referred, *ad duas partes*, wherein we suppose shall be no difficulty. The other point is, that your Grace's question shall be openly disputed, which

(26) In his Life of Henry VIII.

(27) There is a distinct account of all the stages in his journey, in Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 914.

(28) Life of Henry VIII.

(29) Cotton. V. B. 13.

After this great exploit, as it was then thought, his ascent in the Church was marvellously quickened. In the spring of the year 1531, he was installed Archdeacon of Leicester (c), resigning that of Norfolk, which he held before; and, towards the close of the month of September ensuing, he also resigned that in favour of his coadjutor Dr Edward Fox, who became afterwards Bishop of Hereford (d). In the month of October he was incorporated at the University of Oxford (e), and November the twenty-seventh 1531, he was consecrated Bishop of Winchester (f), contrary to what many writers assert, that he was not promoted to this See till about three years after (g). On the fifth of December following, the temporalities were restored (h), which is a sufficient proof that the former is the right date. Dr Gardiner, it seems, was not apprised of the King's intentions, who would sometimes rate him soundly, and at the instant he bestowed it put him in mind of it. *I have, said he, often squar'd with you, Gardiner (a word he used for those kind of rebukes), but I love you never the worse, as the Bishoprick I give will convince you (i).* He sat with Dr Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, when that prelate pronounced the sentence of divorce against Queen Katherine, or rather declared her marriage with the King null and void, May the twenty-third 1533 (k). The same year he was sent over to Marseilles, that he might have an eye to the interview between the French King and the Pope, from whence his master suspected some detriment might spring; and there he intimated the appeal of Henry VIII. to a General Council, in case the Pope should pretend to proceed in his cause (l); and he did the like on the behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who made a particular application to him for that purpose [L]. Upon his return to England, he

(k) Burnet's Reformat. Vol. I. p. 131.

(l) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. WAS

' which we think to be very honourable; and it is agreed amongst us, that in that disputation, shall answer the Abbot of St Benet's, Dr Reppes, and I, Mr Fox, to all such as will object any thing, or reason against the conclusion to be sustained for your Grace's part. And because Mr Doctor Clys hath said, that he hath somewhat to say concerning the Canon Law, I, your Secretary, shall be adjoined unto them for answer to be made therein.

' In the schedule, which we send unto your Grace herewith, containing the names of those who shall determine your Grace's question, all marked with the letter (A), be already of your Grace's opinion, by which we trust, and with other good means, to induce and obtain a great part of the rest. Thus we beseech Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royal estate.

Your Highness's

Most humble subjects and servants,

STEPHEN GARDINER,  
EDWARD FOX.

The Grace purposed and obtained, Feb. 1530.

*Placet vobis ut*

A Vicecancellarius.

*Doctores,*

A Salcot, *The Abbot of St Benet's,*  
Watson,

A Repps,  
Tomson,  
Venetus, *de isto bene speratur,*

A Edmunds,  
Downes,

A Crome,

A Wygan,

A Boston.

*Magistri in Theologia,*

Middelton,

A Heynes,  
Myllent, *de isto bene speratur,*

A Shaxton,

A Latimer,

A Simon,  
Longford, *de isto bene speratur,*

Thyxtel,

Nicols,

Hutton,

A Skip,

A Goodrich,

A Heth,

Hadway, *de isto bene speratur,*

Dey,

Bayne,

A A Duo Procuratores,

Habeant plenam facultatem & auctoritatem, nomine totius Universitatis, respondendi Literis Regiæ Majestatis in hac Congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius Universitatis definiendi & determinandi quæstionem in dictis literis propositam: Ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum presentium inter se decreverint, super quæstione proposita in iisdem habeatur, & reputetur pro Responsione, Definitione & Determinatione totius Universitatis, & quod liceat Vicecancellario, Procuratoribus & Scrutatoribus, literis super dictarum duarum partium definitione & determinatione concipienda sigillum commune Universitatis apponere, sic quod disputetur quæstio publice & antea legatur coram Universitate absque ulteriori gratia desuper petenda aut obtinenda.

*Your Highness may perceive, by the notes, that we be already sure of as many as be requisite, wanting only three; and we have good hope of four, of which four if we get two, and obtain of another to be absent, it is sufficient for our purpose.*

[L] *To him for that purpose.* We have this passage, together with the Archbishop's letter, from an unexceptionable author, who, having mentioned this interview, proceeds thus (30), 'Gardiner, Bishop of Winton, about this time, and upon this occasion, was sent Ambassador to the French King, and Bonner soon after followed him to Marseilles, where Gardiner, at the interview between the French King and the Pope, now was. For the King, and the Council, apprehended some mischief to be hatching against the kingdom by the Pope, who was now inciting the Emperor, and other Princes, to make war upon us. And indeed he had vaunted, as the Lord Herbert declares, that he would set all Christendom against the King. And the Emperor, in discourse, had averred, that, by the means of Scotland, he would avenge his aunt's quarrel. The Archbishop, in this juncture, had secret intimation of a desire to excommunicate him, and interdict his Church. Whereupon, as the King, by Bonner, November the seventh, had made his appeal from the Pope to the next General Council, lawfully called, so by the King and Council's advice the Archbishop soon after did the same: sending his appeal with his proxy, under his seal, to Bonner, desiring him, together with Gardiner, to consult together, and to intimate his appeal in the best manner they could think expedient for him. And this letter he wrote by the King's own commandment. It was not the hand of the Archbishop, nor of his Secretary. So I suppose it was drawn up by some of his own lawyers, and is as followeth.

*In my right hearty manner I commend me to you. So it is, as you know right well, I stand in dread, least our Holy Father, the Pope, do intend to make some manner of prejudicial process against me and my Church. And therefore, having probable conjectures thereof, I have appealed from his Holiness to the General Council, accordingly as his Highness, and his Council, have advised me*

(30) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 22.

was called upon, as other Bishops were, not only to acknowledge and yield obedience to the King as Supreme Head of the Church, but to defend it; which he did, and this defence, or court sermon, he published; and this is that celebrated piece of his, intituled, *Of true Obedience*. His pen was made use of upon other occasions, and never declined vindicating the King's proceedings in the business of the divorce, the subsequent marriage, or throwing off the dominion of the See of Rome, which writings of his then acquired him the highest reputation (*m*). In the next year 1535, he had some dispute with Archbishop Cranmer, on account of his visiting his diocese; upon which occasion there appeared a good deal of heat on both sides (*n*). When he went over again to France, to resume his embassy, he had the ill luck to differ with another Archbishop of Canterbury, as he afterwards became, Dr Reginald Pole, then Dean of Exeter, whom, as King Henry's bitterest enemy, he prevailed on the French King to remove out of his dominions, whence those distastes grew which afterwards became publick (*o*). While he was thus employed, Cromwell demanded his opinion about a religious league with the Princes of Germany; which, on that bottom, he dissuaded, and advised making an alliance grounded on political motives, and strengthened by subsidies, which he thought would last longer, and answer the King's ends better (*p*). In 1538, he was sent Ambassador, with Sir Henry Knevit, to the German Diet, where he is allowed to have acquitted himself well in regard to his commission; but either fell into some suspicion, or was in danger of having something fastened on him, in respect to his secret correspondence with the Pope, which at that juncture might have been his ruin (*q*) [*M*]. His being so often, and so much, absent from the Court, as it gave him a great knowledge of foreign affairs, so it kept him from having any hand in several transactions which did no great honour to that reign, such as the divorce and death of Queen Anne Bolleyn, the prosecution of Sir Thomas More, and bringing Bishop Fisher to the block: It is however asserted, that tho' he was clear of these, yet he instigated other severities, and was the principal author of all the cruelties committed upon Hereticks, as they were then called; which, being a matter of great consequence, the reader may expect should be more clearly discussed. The only way of doing this, will be to consider a few of those sanguinary proceedings, in which he is said to have had the chief hand; for this will shew us what credit is due to the general suggestion, that persecution was the great object of his counsels. Amongst these, the first that occurs is the case of Lambert (*r*), who was burnt for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament, and which is commonly attributed to the virulent spirit of the Bishop of Winchester, and with what reason the reader will discover in the notes [*N*]. The statute, commonly called the Six Articles, and which it must

(*m*) Tanner. Bib. lioth. Britanico-Hibernica, p. 308.

(*n*) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 33.

(*o*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 275.

(*p*) As appears from his own letter, preserved by Collier.

(*q*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 274.

(*r*) Bale, Fox, Burnet.

*me to do. Which my appeal, and procuracie, under my seal, I do send unto you, herewith desiring you right-heartily to have me commended to my Lord of Winchester, and, with his advice and counsel, to intimate the said provocation, after the best manner that his Lordship and you shall think most expedient for me. I am the bolder thus to write unto you, because the King's Highness commandeth me thus to do, as you shall, I trust further, perceive by his Grace's letter: nothing doubting in your goodness, but, at this mine own desire, you will be contented to take this pains, though his Highness shall perchance forget to write unto you therein. Which your pains and kindness, if it shall lie in me in time to come to recompence, I wol not forget it with God's grace. Who preserve you, as well as myself. From Lambeth the twenty-seventh day of November.*

THOMAS Cantuar.

[*M*] *Might have been his ruin.*] We have this story thus told by Mr Strype (31). 'About the year 1538, a Diet was held at Ratibone, whither King Henry sent Bishop Gardiner and Sir Henry Knevit, his joint Ambassadors: where also was Contarini, a Legate from the Pope. This Legate brought letters from the Pope to Winchester, and, going away suddenly, desired an Italian Merchant, named Lodovico, to go to Winchester, and to hasten his answer to the Pope's packet, for that the carrier was ready to depart in a day or two. This Lodovico soon after meeting one Wolf, Steward to Sir Henry Knevit, prayed him that he would tell the English Ambassador what the Legate desired. Wolf told him there were two Ambassadors, and asked him which. He said he knew not that: but he said it was a Bishop, whom he stiled Reverendissimo. This, Wolf discovered to Mr Chaloner, Sir Henry Knevit's Secretary. And him Wolf carried to Lodovico, that there might be another witness besides himself; and then pumped him so in Chaloner's company, that he again spake of it. This whole matter was fully related by these

two persons to Knevit. And he sent secret notice of it to the King. The King thought fit, at that time, to put it up; and sent word to Knevit and the Bishop, who had words together about this, that they should both unite and mind his business.'

This was Sir Henry Knevit's explanation of the matter; but the Bishop of Winchester gave it quite another turn, he said that there was poison in his dish, which he explained by suggesting that Lodovico was suborned to set this story on foot, of which he complained to the Emperor, and the man was imprisoned. All our Histories of Henry VIII, forbid us to believe that he would wink at a minister's betraying him; it is much more probable, that he understood the thing thoroughly, and advised his ministers wisely to make use of the keennes of their wits in the discharge of their duty, and not to the prejudice of each other. But tho' this tale was harmless in one reign, it proved hurtful in another; one who owed his bread and being to the Bishop, and who came to the knowledge of it by being his Secretary, gave it in evidence when the Protector first picked, and those who came after maintained, a quarrel with the Bishop of Winchester, in the time of Edward VI (32); and this has very unaccountably helped it to credit ever since, tho' surely suspicions slighted by King Henry deserve none; had there been any thing in it, he would not have been afterwards employed in affairs of the greatest importance, both foreign and domestick.

[*N*] *In the notes.*] It is allowed on all hands, that the case of this unfortunate person, was, in all respects, the most extraordinary that happened throughout this reign, in which there were so many, and such strange, prosecutions. Let us hear the account that Bishop Burnet gives of it (33). 'One John Nicholson, alias Lambert, was then questioned by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He had been Minister of the English company at Antwerp, where, being acquainted with Tindal and Frith, he improved that knowledge of Religion which was first infused in him by Bilney: but Chancellor More ordered the Merchants to dis-

(32) In the evidence at what is called the Bishop's Trial when deprived.

(33) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 252.

(31) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 274.

must be owned was the law on which many were put to death, is attributed to his contrivance, and said to have been passed by his influence, having been warmly opposed, both by the Archbishop, and the Vicegerent Cromwell (s); but those who alledge he had no credit with the King, and was little beloved by the people, cannot expect an implicate faith to attend such an assertion. That he was principally concerned in drawing it, and that he was very earnest in promoting it in the House of Lords, in conjunction with the Duke of Norfolk, and other Lords Spiritual and Temporal, those must have but little knowledge in English History who will attempt to deny. It was not long after this, that Robert Barnes (t) fell under persecution, and, in the issue, was condemned to be burnt; who, because

(s) Fuller, Bur-  
net, Collier.

(t) See his article  
in Bayle.

‘ mis him; so he came over to England, and was  
‘ taken by some of Archbishop Warham’s officers, and  
‘ many articles were objected to him. But Warham  
‘ died soon after, and the change of Councils that fol-  
‘ lowed, occasioned his liberty. So he kept a school  
‘ at London, and hearing Dr Taylor afterwards preach  
‘ of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, he came  
‘ to him upon it, and offered his reasons why he could  
‘ not believe the doctrine he had preached: which he  
‘ put in writing, digesting them into ten arguments.  
‘ Taylor shewed this to Dr Barnes, who, as he was  
‘ bred among the Lutherans, so had not only brought  
‘ over their opinions, but their temper with him: he  
‘ thought that nothing would more obstruct the pro-  
‘ gress of the Reformation, than the venting that doc-  
‘ trine in England. Therefore Taylor and he carried  
‘ the paper to Cranmer, who was at that time also of  
‘ Luther’s opinion, which he had drunk in from his  
‘ friend Osiander. Latimer was of the same belief.  
‘ So Lambert was brought before them, and they stu-  
‘ died to make him retract his paper: but all was in  
‘ vain, for Lambert, by a fatal resolution, appealed to  
‘ the King. This Gardiner laid hold on, and persuaded  
‘ the King to proceed solemnly and severely in it.  
‘ The King was soon prevailed with, and both interest  
‘ and vanity concurred to make him improve this op-  
‘ portunity for shewing his zeal and learning. So let-  
‘ ters were written to many of the Nobility and Bishops  
‘ to come and see this trial, in which the King intend-  
‘ ed to sit in person, and to manage some part of the  
‘ argument. In November, on the day that was pre-  
‘ fixed, there was a great appearance in Westminster-  
‘ Hall, of the Bishops and Clergy, the Nobility, Judges,  
‘ and the King’s Council, with an incredible number of  
‘ spectators. The King’s guards were all in white, and  
‘ so was the cloth of state.’

All this is taken upon the credit of Fox, who like-  
wise informs us, that, as Lambert had advanced ten (34)  
arguments in defence of his opinion, the King resolved  
that these should be answered by ten Bishops, appoint-  
ing Cranmer to solve the first of Lambert’s objections,  
which was, *The impossibility of Christ’s body being in  
two places*; and Fox makes it a great crime in the  
Bishop of Winchester, that he interposed to assist Cran-  
mer in the debate; however, the King himself had the  
greatest share in the triumph, for he so affrighted the  
poor man with the sternness of his looks, and the rough-  
ness of his language, that, at length, wearied out with  
the debate, he said, *he would submit himself to the King’s  
clemency*; upon which Henry ordered the Lord Crom-  
well, as his Vicegerent, to read the sentence by which  
this tragedy was ended, Lambert being appointed to  
die on the ninth of October 1538. Fox says, that, in  
the morning before he suffered, he was carried to the  
Lord Cromwell’s house, who most humbly asked him  
forgiveness.

Another writer, no way inclined to favour Popery or  
Bishop Gardiner, gives quite another turn to this whole  
affair, for he represents it thus (35). ‘ John Lambert,  
‘ alias Nicholson, bred in Cambridge, had lately been  
‘ much persecuted by Archbishop Warham, about some  
‘ opinions he held against the corporal presence in the  
‘ Sacrament. And now being fallen into fresh troubles  
‘ on the same account, to make the quicker work (fol-  
‘ lowing the precedent of St Paul appealing to Cæsar)  
‘ he appeals to the King. Who having lately taken  
‘ upon him the title of the *Supreme Head of the Church  
‘ of England*, would shew that *head had a tongue* could  
‘ speak in matters of Divinity. In Whitehall the place  
‘ and day is appointed where an *Act Royal* was kept,  
‘ the King himself being the *Apponent* and Lambert the  
‘ *Answerer*; and where his Highness was worsted or

‘ wearied, Archbishop Cranmer supplied his place, ar-  
‘ guing, tho’ civilly, shrewdly against the truth and  
‘ his own private judgment. Was not this worse than  
‘ keeping the cloaths of those who killed St Stephen,  
‘ seeing this Archbishop did actually cast stones at this  
‘ Martyr, in the arguments he urged against him? Nor  
‘ will it excuse Cranmer’s cowardice and dissimulation,  
‘ to accuse Gardiner’s craft and cruelty, who privily  
‘ put the Archbishop on this odious act; such Christian  
‘ courage being justly expected from a person of his  
‘ parts and place, as not to be acted by another con-  
‘ trary to his own conscience. I see not, therefore,  
‘ what can be said in Cranmer’s behalf; save only, that  
‘ I verily hope, and stedfastly believe, that he craved  
‘ God’s pardon for this particular offence, and obtain-  
‘ ed the same on his unfeigned repentance. And be-  
‘ cause that mens faults are commonly seen in the glass  
‘ of their punishment, it is observable, that as Lambert  
‘ now was burnt for denying the corporal presence, so  
‘ Cranmer now, his opponent, was afterwards con-  
‘ demned, and died at Oxford for maintaining the  
‘ same opinion; which valour, if sooner shewn, his  
‘ conscience had probably been more clear with-  
‘ in him, and his credit without him, to all poste-  
‘ rity.’

Here the charge, with respect to Gardiner, is en-  
tirely changed; for he is accused not of giving ill coun-  
sel to the King, but of making a tool of the Archbi-  
shop; quite contrary to the relation of Fox, and very  
unlikely to be true, since they were not friends. But  
this imputation is nothing in comparison of the load  
laid upon the Archbishop, and this too without any  
cause; for, as Mr Strype has very clearly shewn in the  
life of that prelate (36), he sincerely believed the real  
presence at that time, and did not change his opinion  
till about the close of King Henry’s reign, or a little  
after.

It would take up too much room to produce Strype’s  
account of this matter, who has preserved the original  
argument of the Bishop of Chichester against Lambert;  
from whence it appears, that Fox is mistaken in many  
particulars, for instead of *ten* there were but *eight*  
arguments advanced by Lambert, and of these the first  
was answered by the King, so that there were but seven  
left to the Bishops. Upon the whole we may see, that  
Ecclesiastical Historians, of all others, are to be read  
with great caution, as being too much addicted to suffer  
their own conjectures to supply the want of materials,  
and this sometimes at the expence of the highest charac-  
ters; as of Cranmer’s, by Fuller, for want of consider-  
ing duly the progress made by that great prelate, in  
detaching himself by reasoning and reading, from the  
errors in which he was bred. Yet, in the main,  
Dr Fuller seems to be in the right as to the true motive  
of this transaction, which was the King’s vain affecta-  
tion of displaying his authority as *Supreme Head* of the  
*Church*, to which Cromwell, Cranmer, Gardiner, per-  
haps all, more or less unwillingly, were obliged to bow.  
At least it is apparent, that the Bishop of Winchester  
had no hand in the seizing, or examining, this man;  
on the contrary, he was brought before Cranmer, and,  
by his *appeal* from him to the King as *Supreme Head*  
of the Church, he made that method of proceeding  
necessary; the advising of which, Bishop Burnet,  
from Fox, imputes to Gardiner, whose guilt, in this  
business, seems to have been no greater than that of the  
rest; and yet leaves it great enough too, since it was  
extremely hard to proceed in a matter of such exceed-  
ing difficulty, with such celerity and severity, in those  
more especially who contended themselves for the right  
of a free inquiry, which this method was plainly calcu-  
lated to destroy.

(36) Memoirs of  
Archbishop Cran-  
mer, p. 255.

(34) Acts and Mo-  
numents, Vol. II.  
p. 396.

(35) Fuller’s  
Church Hist. p.  
229.

because he shewed particular spleen against Bishop Gardiner, and was first committed to prison for want of respect to him in a sermon, he is surmised to have been the author of all his sufferings, and the person by whose power that unfortunate Friar was at length brought to the stake, which is mentioned as a second instance of his good will to persecution [O]. There is no doubt, that, in the course of this reign, the Bishop of Winchester must have done many things against his inclination, and several against his conscience. He was obliged to take a share in the divorce of Anne of Cleves, which was none of the most honourable; and he was likewise obliged to bear a part in that of Queen Katherine Howard, which, considering his attachment to that most noble family, could be no very pleasing employment (u). But in these, and other compliances, he had many companions, and the excuses made for them by some great pens, may serve for him; or the reader will pass sentence as he pleases, since we have no intention to disguise faults, but to disclose truths. Upon the death of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge 1540, which preferment was very acceptable to him (w). He still preserved his Mastership of Trinity-Hall; and it was well he did preserve it, since,

(u) Strype, Fuller, Burnet.

(w) Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 119.

[O] *Of his good will to persecution.*] There was certainly a very strange spirit prevailing at this time among all ranks of people, and this was a bitterness against each other, in respect to religious opinions, which led them to be busy in persecuting others, at the very time that themselves were flying in the face of those doctrines which had the sanction of the law on their side. In this state of things, it was impossible for those who held high stations in the Church, to avoid odium, because the very people who complained of persecution, when they felt it, complained as loudly of indulgence, whenever it was extended to others. These are plain and natural observations founded on facts, and which nothing can more fully prove, than the story now before us. ' This Barnes, says my author, had formerly been in trouble, upon the score of his preaching and opinion. During Wolsey's Ministry, he had reflected in a sermon at Cambridge, upon the Cardinal's port and equipage (37). The Cardinal told him, this state and magnificence could not well be dispensed with by a person in his station; that it was necessary to support his character, and the reputation of the government. Barnes not reaching this reason, was unwilling to retract his invective: but Gardiner, the Cardinal's Secretary, and Fox, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, being his friends, prevailed with him to give satisfaction, and abjure some opinions charged upon him. He was afterwards, in 1536, delated upon other articles, and in danger of being burnt; but counterfeiting himself lunatick, got off into Germany. Here he made an acquaintance with Luther, Melancthon, and other Divines. He was likewise known to the Duke of Saxony, and the King of Denmark. Fox, Bishop of Hereford, Ambassador at Smalcald, sent him into England, where he was kindly entertained by Cromwell. By his interest, the correspondence with the Germans was in some measure kept up. He was first employed in the business of the King's marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleve. But this Lady's person proving unacceptable, was, it may be, one occasion of Barnes's disgrace. But other accidents concurred to Barnes's misfortune. This year, 1540, in Lent, Bishop Bonner appointed him, Gerrard, and Jerom, to preach at St Paul's Cross; this it seems, was done as a mark of respect, and to oblige Cromwell; but Gardiner sent Bonner word, he intended himself to preach at St Paul's Cross on Sunday. In his Sermon, he spent some strokes of satire against the new teaching: complained that the Devil had taught some people to throw off confession, fasting, and other instances of discipline and penance. About three weeks after, Barnes took the same text, but spent his discourse in maintaining the opposite doctrine. Besides this, he gave himself the liberty of making some bold indiscreet reflections upon Gardiner's person. He played upon his name, and brought a jingling comparison or two, which were short both in sense and breeding. Gerrard and Jerom preached much the same doctrine, but without falling foul upon any person. Jerom had been charged with preaching against the magistracy, but he explained himself to a very defensible and honest meaning. He affirmed, That if the laws of Princes, are consistent with those of God Almighty, we are bound to obey them; but in case the Prince is

(37) Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 182.

wicked, and commands a contradiction to Revealed Religion, when this happens, we are to submit and suffer, and not apply to the expedient of resistance. To return to Barnes: though Gardiner seemed to bear the affront with great temper and neglect, his friends thought it necessary to solicit for reparation. To this purpose they complained to the King of Barnes's intemperate language; how ill he had used Gardiner, who was both a great Prelate and a Privy-Counsellor. Fox reports one circumstance otherwise, and faith, Gardiner complained to the King himself. But let this be as it will, Barnes was reprimanded for his misbehaviour, and ordered to ask the Bishop of Winchester's pardon. They were likewise to argue the point of Justification. Upon this article, Barnes had maintained, *That though God requires us to forgive our neighbour, as a condition of forgiveness from him, yet God must forgive us first, before we forgive our neighbour; for else, it would be sinful to forgive our neighbour: For St Paul tells us, Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.* By this foreign and uncatholic construction of the text, it appears, Dr Barnes was none of the greatest Divines. The next day, Gardiner and Barnes had another conference: at the conclusion, the latter made his submission, asked the Bishop's pardon, and desired to be under his instructions. The Bishop very frankly passed over the former affront, entertained Barnes as his companion, and offered him a pension of forty pounds a year. Barnes accordingly went to the Bishop's house: but hearing the people talk to his disadvantage, and discouraging with some men of learning, he grew weary of this close correspondence, and disengaged with the Bishop. The King was displeased with Barnes's management; and ordered him, Gerrard, and Jerom, to renounce their opinions. They promised satisfaction, and made their recantation. But this, it seems, was but a force upon their judgment; for they retracted their recantation in the pulpit. Upon this, they were sent to the Tower, and attainted of heresy in Parliament. On the thirtieth of July, they were brought to Smithfield, with three others of a different persuasion, Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel. These were attainted for owning the Pope's Supremacy, and denying the King's. One of each was put upon a hurdle; the Papists were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and the other three burnt. This was an odd spectacle, and looked like fanciful severity. Infomuch, that a Frenchman who was there, being surprised at the conduct of the Government, told his friend in Latin, *They had a strange way of managing in England; for those who were for the Pope, are hanged, and those against him burnt.* At his death, this Barnes behaved with great courage and constancy, forgave the world in general, and the Bishop of Winchester in particular, if he had any hand in his death; which implying a doubt in him at that time, and in those circumstances, it will not be easy to find any evidence to render this matter certain to us; and therefore a famous writer (38), than whom none was more a friend to liberty, or less inclined to palliate persecution, after reading the proceedings against Barnes, which his friends took care to send into Germany, lays no blame upon Bishop Gardiner at all.

(38) Bayne, in his article of BARNES (1622 & 7).

in the next reign, this in most peoples opinion preserved the foundation. As he was elected Chancellor of the University without influence, he was very assiduous in his office, that he might conciliate the affections of it's members, and did all he could to assist them with his interest at Court, which, when he had done any great service, was very good. Certain it is, that whatever power or preferments his compliances obtained under this Monarch were dearly purchased, since they were held in continual hazard, and imbittered with violent storms of royal resentment; which, though, as this Prelate himself says, he knew how to sustain without sinking, must nevertheless be exceedingly distasteful [P]. In some conjunctures too we are satisfied they filled him with many apprehensions, and, tho' he might be dextrous in sometimes shifting off the King's ill humours, yet at others, how great or how alert soever his spirit might be, he was forced to bear slights with patience, and even submit to very

[P] *Be exceedingly distasteful.* Though Cromwell and Gardiner had been both bred in the same family, and both derived their preferment from the display of their abilities in Cardinal Wolsey's service; yet when Cromwell, though he came later into the King's favour, gained the ascendant, they could never agree together, which will be the less strange, when we consider, that they acted upon very different maxims; Cromwell being desirous to place his safety and prosperity in being always of the same side with the King, in which, perhaps, he followed his old master; but Gardiner, taught by the example of that master, thought it better to lean upon the law than the King; by which, if he did not make his court so well, yet certainly he carried his point better. Amongst other disputes they had, the Bishop has left us one, in a letter of his to the Duke of Somerset, which is worth the knowing, and it cannot be better told than in his own words (39). 'The Lord Cromwell had once put in the King's, our late Sovereign Lord's head, to take upon him to have his will and pleasure regarded for a law; for that he said was to be a very King; and thereupon I was called for at Hampton-Court; and as the Lord Cromwell was very stout, come on my Lord of Winchester (quoth he), for that conceit he had, whatsoever he talked with me, he knew ever as much as I, Greek or Latin, and all. Answer the King here, quoth he, but speak plainly and directly, and shrink not, man: Is not that (quoth he) that pleaseth the King, a law? have ye not the Civil Law therein? (quoth he) *Quod principi placuit*, and so forth, (quoth he) I have somewhat forgotten it now: I stood still, and wondered in my mind, to what conclusion this should tend; the King saw me musing, and with earnest gentleness, said, Answer him whether it be so or no? I would not answer my Lord Cromwell, but delivered myself to the King, and told him, I had read indeed of Kings that had their will always received for a law; but I told him the form of his reign, to make the laws his will, was more sure and quiet, and by this form of government ye be established, quoth I, and it is agreeable with the nature of your people: if ye begin a new manner of policy, how it will frame no man can tell; and how this frameth ye can tell, and would never advise your Grace to leave a certain, for an uncertain. The King turned his back, and left the matter after, till the Lord Cromwell turned the cat in the pan afore company, when he was angry with me, and charged me, as though I had played his part.' Some other particulars there are in the same reign, curious in themselves, and the more so, as coming from him, a person of great sagacity, and who made no vulgar observations. As they are in reality part of his personal history, and written with his own pen, we will be bold to insert them, speaking to the same great person he says in his letter. 'Whether the King may command against the Common Law, or an Act of Parliament, there is never a Judge, or other man in the realm, ought to know more by experience of that the Lawyers have said, than I. First, my Lord Cardinal had obtained his Legacy, by our late Sovereign Lord's request at Rome; yet being, it was against the laws of the realm, the Judges censured the offence of premunire, which matter I bore away, and take it for a law of the realm, because the Lawyers said so, but my reason digested it not. The Lawyers, for the confirmation of their doings, brought in a case of my Lord Typtoft, an Earl he was, and learned in Civil Laws, who being Chancellor, because in execution of the King's Commission, he of-

(39) Extracted from the Letters of the Bishop of Winchester to the Protector Somerset, published by John Fox, in his *Acts and Monuments*.

fended the laws of the realm, he suffered on Tower-Hill; they brought in the examples of many Judges that had fines set on their heads in like cases, for transgression of the Laws, by the King's commandment, and this I learned in this case. Since that time being of the Council, when many proclamations were devised against the carriers out of corn; when it came to punishing the offenders, the Judges would answer, it might not be by the Laws, because the Act of Parliament gave liberty, wheat being under a price: whereupon at the last, followed the Act of Proclamations, in the passing whereof were many large words. When the Bishop of Exeter and his Chancellor, were by one body brought into a premunire; I reasoned with the Lord Audley, then Chancellor, so far as he bad me hold my peace, for fear of entering a premunire myself: but I concluded, that although I must take it as of their authority that it is Common Law, yet I could not see how a man authorized by the King, as since the King's Majesty hath taken upon him the Supremacy, every Bishop is, that man could fall in a premunire. I reasoned once in the Parliament-House, where was free speech without danger, and there the Lord Audley, Chancellor, then to satisfy me, because I was in some secret estimation as he knew, though art a good fellow, Bishop, quoth he, look the Act of the Supremacy, and there the King's doings be restrained to spiritual jurisdiction; and in another Act, no Spiritual Law shall have place contrary to a Common Law, or an Act of Parliament. And if this were not (quoth he) the Bishops would enter in with the King, and by means of his supremacy, order the Law as you listed; but we will provide (quoth he) that the premunire shall never go off your heads. This I bore away there, and held my peace.' But as there was little fair weather abroad in those days, the courtiers were not always sure of avoiding foul by their keeping at home. The Bishop himself tells us, that the King could be very angry, and would then talk very loud, very probably too his language was but coarse, since many samples there are of that sort in his history; this had a great effect upon those that were about him, and kept them ever in a state of deep humility, in which, without doubt, Gardiner differed but very little from the rest; but the King letting him into the secret, that he could look sour and talk rough without meaning much harm, he ever after bore those fallies with much less anxiety. The thing happened thus, the Earl of Wiltshire and Dr Gardiner had been joined in some affair of consequence, which had not been managed so as to give the King satisfaction, upon which he treated Gardiner, in the presence of the Earl, with such a storm of words as quite confounded him; but before they parted, the King took him into his chamber, and told him, that he was indeed very angry, yet not particularly with him, though he had used him so, because he could not take quite so much liberty with the Earl. Bishop Gardiner thenceforward could stand a royal rattling pretty well, or, to use his own words to the Duke of Somerset, *He folded it up in the matter, and bore it patiently.* The King had another practice, which he called *whetting*, and this in effect was scolding with pen and ink; the Bishop says, that when some of the courtiers saw letters to him in this stile, they looked upon him as undone, while himself was under no such apprehensions, knowing the King to be a wise Prince, and who, after thus venting his anger, would remember past services, and be more ready to do an old servant a good than an ill turn, after giving him such correction. [2] 70

very disagreeable supplications and expressions of deep humility, and great sense of his own failings, directly contrary to the conviction of his own conscience and understanding [Q]. In the time of King Henry, these were indispensable conditions of ministerial greatness; nor was there any such thing as enjoying court favours, without being exposed also to threats and frowns. Bishop Gardiner felt these, as Cranmer and others did alternately, living now in the sunshine, and by and by in the shade, or rather under a cloud. But, in the latter end of the King's life, the prospect grew darker than ever. In 1544, if we may rely on the credit of John Fox (x), who assures us he had what he relates from one Morrice, who was Secretary to Archbishop Cranmer, this Prelate had a very narrow escape from the greatest danger to which he was ever exposed in his whole life. He had a Secretary, and a relation, one German Gardiner, who is said to have been much in his favour, and who had distinguished himself by his conferences with John Frith the martyr, an account of which he published. This young Clergyman being suspected in the matter of the King's supremacy, a prosecution was commenced against him, and, his obstinacy being great, he was executed as a traitor March the seventh 1544. The enemies of the Bishop, and, as Fox lays, the Duke of Suffolk particularly, suggested to the King, that it was very likely, notwithstanding all he had written, that he was of his Secretary's opinion, and that, if he was once in the Tower, matter enough might be found against him; on which his Majesty consented to send him thither. But the Bishop, having intelligence of this, went immediately to the King, submitted with the utmost humility, confessed whatever his Majesty charged him with, and, to the no small disappointment of his enemies, by complying with the King's humour, and shewing the deepest concern for his real or pretended failings, obtained his full pardon. Yet, after this, we may

(x) Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 646.

[Q] *To the conviction of his own conscience and understanding.* As long as this article may seem, our great care has been to make it as short as it was possible, consistent with perspicuity, truth, and such authorities as are requisite to support the facts mentioned therein; without which it must be confessed, that there is very little credit due to the histories and memoirs of these times, which bear on all sides such visible marks of partiality and prejudice, that nothing is to be depended upon, where there is not a degree of evidence produced proportionable to the importance of what is asserted.

(40) Memorials, Vol. I. p. 215.

Mr Strype (40), who has preserved the following letter, thinks it was written about the year 1535, and he gives us this account of the occasion of it. The King, it seems, was desirous that the Clergy of all ranks should acknowledge, that all the powers they had were derived from him, as the supreme head of the Christian Church in his dominions. Against this doctrine somebody had written a book, with which the King was offended; and, as the Bishop of Winchester had both preached and written much to his satisfaction, in the support of his supremacy, he sent him this book, with orders to answer it. But, upon the perusal of it, this Bishop, whom we find often represented as one so complaisant that the King could require nothing from him which he was not ready to perform, not only declined writing such an answer as was expected, but professed himself of the same opinion with the author of that book. It is no wonder at all, that, to a Monarch of Henry's disposition, this disappointment should appear in a very bad light, or that he should testify his dislike in very strong terms. This it seems he did, and sent the Bishop of Winchester word of it by his Almoner Dr Fox, as Strype conceives. The Bishop knowing his Master's temper well, and not caring to meet the tempest of his anger by a personal apology, thought fit to write him the following letter, which is produced to shew the real sentiments of the man, and that he was not always so servile, or so willing, an instrument of the King's will, as we find him sometimes represented. In stating this fact without the letter, we must have left the reader in much uncertainty; but now having that before him, he may judge for himself, and form a true decision of the fitness, or unfitness, of this Prelate's behaviour upon so important an occasion.

Cotton Library, Cleopatra. E. 6.

MY duty remembered to your Majesty, with all lowly humility and reverend honour. For as much as letted by disease of body, I cannot personally repair to your Highness presence, having heard, of your Grace's Almoner, to my great discomfort, what opinion your Highness hath conceived of me. I am compelled, by these letters, to represent me unto the same, lamenting and wailing my chance and fortune, to have lost, beside my deserts, as much reputation in your Grace's heart, as your Highness, without my

merit, hath conferred unto me, in estimation of the world. And if I comforted not myself with remembrance of your Grace's goodness, with whom Veritas semper vincit, & fortis taderet & vitæ. I know in myself, and can never forget your Grace's benefits, your Highness notable affection toward me. I know my duty and bond to your Highness. How much I desire to declare, in outward deeds, mine inward knowledge, God knoweth, and I trust your Highness shall know. But, in the mean time, for want thereof, thus I suffer, and know no remedy but your Highness goodness, to expend what I have done, what I should have done, and what I may do; and not to be discontent, though, in correcting the answer made, I believed, so great a number of learned men affirming it so precisely to be true, that was in the answer alledged concerning God's law. Especially, considering your Highness book against Luther, in mine understanding, most plainly approveth it. The book written in your Grace's cause, and translated into English, seemeth to allow it. And the Council of Constance, condemning the articles of Wycklif, manifestly decreeth it. The contrary whereof if your Grace can now prove, yet I, not learned in Divinity, ne knowing any part of your Grace's proves, an, I trust, without cause of blame in that behalf. When I know that I know not, I shall then speak thereafter. It were pity we lived, if so little expressing our love to God in our deeds, we should abuse his name and authority to your Highness displeasure, of whom we have received so many benefits. On the other part, if it be God's authority to us allotted, tho' we cannot use it condignely, yet we cannot give it away. And it is no less danger to receive than to give, as your Highness, of your high wisdom, can consider. I am, for my part, as I am bound, most desirous not only to do what may be done to your Highness contentation, but also applicable to learn the truth what ought to be done. Trusting your Majesty will finally take in good part, that I think that true for which I have so good grounds and authorities, until I hear stronger grounds and reasons to the contrary. I shall most gladly confer with any of your Grace's Council in this matter. And, in the mean time, daily pray to God for knowledge of his truth, and preservation of your Majesty in much felicity; alway most ready and desirous, to do as becometh

Your most humble Subject,

Most bounden Chaplain,

And daily Bedeman,

STEPHEN Winton

[R] At

may suppose, provoked by such usage, for, as Fox states it, one cannot avoid seeing it was a design to destroy him at any rate, he thought of refining upon this invention, and of turning their own artillery upon his adversaries. In short, he is said to have dipped very deep in a plot against Archbishop Cranmer, which was discovered and dissipated by the King, who left all his enemies to his mercy, and, amongst the rest, the Bishop of Winchester; but he forgave them (y). After this, the King opening himself to Bishop Gardiner, upon some suspicions he entertained of his last Queen Katherine Parre, as inclined to Heresy, he so far improved these jealousies as to prepare a paper of articles against her, which the King signed, and it was agreed to send her to the Tower; but Chancellor Wriothisly, who was entrusted with this paper, dropped it out of his bosom, and it was immediately carried to the Princess. She so wrought upon the King's affections, as to dispel his suspicions; and this brought severe reproaches upon the Chancellor, and the King's resentment against the Bishop grew so strong that he would never see his face afterwards (z). One has, however, some reason to wonder, that when John Bale wrote his article of Queen Katherine Parre, in which he celebrates her learning, piety, and zeal for true religion, at the time all parties were living, and when any thing against the Bishop of Winchester would have been well received, he should say nothing of this iniquitous contrivance (a). Nor is it less strange, that, when matter was sought much farther back to charge him with, this should not be remembered in the proceedings at his deprivation under the succeeding reign. We need not wonder, if, standing in this light with the King, when drawing towards his latter end, he left him out of his will, and did not appoint him one of the Counsellors to Prince Edward, as he once intended. Sanders alledges another reason for this, which was, that Gardiner, taking some favourable opportunity, persuaded the King to restore the supremacy to the Pope, either by a solemn declaration in Parliament, if there was time to call one; or by an authentick act of his own, if there was not; which would sufficiently manifest his intention. In this respect, the King, as he tells the story, soon after changed his mind; and thence proceeded his enmity to Gardiner (b). But all is pure fiction, for Bishop Gardiner himself, in a sermon before King Philip and Queen Mary, mentions some such thoughts in the King during the Northern rebellion; and, had there been a grain of truth in it, no doubt would have mentioned his inclination at this time. Besides, there actually was a Parliament then in being, which was dissolved by his death. Some other reasons were assigned for the King's excluding him in his testament, which will be mentioned at the bottom of the page [R]. Whatever usage he might meet with at any time from his master, he shewed, upon all occasions, very high respect for his memory, and ever spoke and wrote of him with much deference; and tho' Fox treats him very coarsely on that head, yet others have thought there was in it as much of prudence as of gratitude. Upon the accession of King Edward VI, Archbishop Cranmer, being earnest in

(y) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 124.

(z) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 345.

(a) Bale Script. edit. 1548, 4to. fol. 238.

(b) Schismat. Anglican. p. 209.

[R] *At the bottom of the page.* All that is said of the Bishop of Winchester's contriving to thrust Queen Katherine into the Tower, is taken from John Fox; nor are there any distinct marks, by which the time when this happened can be certainly known. At the time when the King went to France, in his last expedition, the Bishop of Winchester was intended to be one of his executors (41); but, after that, when the King's will came to be drawn afresh, he was left out without the privy, as it seems, of any of the Council. Sir Anthony Brown, it is said, twice moved the King to put his name again into his testament, but without effect; and the King said, *if he was one, he would trouble them all, and they would never be able to rule him*; it is also reported, that, when the King saw him once with some of the Privy-Counsellors, he shewed his dislike, and asked What he did there? He was answered, that the Bishop came to inform him of a benevolence granted by the Clergy; upon which the King called him immediately to deliver his message, and, having received it, went away. Yet, for all this, the Bishop himself, in one of his letters to the Protector, puts him in mind of a commission in which he was named, amongst others, in the very last year of the King's life; so that whatever the King's distaste was, it must have been sudden; and there is nothing so probable, as that his acquaintance with, and attachment to, the Norfolk family, might be the cause. The King knew this very well, and, having determined to reduce the power and authority of that family, as well as to take off the heads of it, it was a very easy and a very natural consequence of that resolution, to remove the Bishop of Winchester from being one of his executors, whom he knew to have great obligations, and a very warm friendship, for the Duke of Norfolk and his son. Bishop Burnet (42), after discussing this point, gives us to understand, that this second will laboured under a strong

imputation of forgery, grounded upon this circumstance; that though it was prepared by the King's direction, yet he delayed signing it so long, that, at length, he became unable, and then his stamp was put to it by the direction of some about him, when the King was either dying or dead. It is very certain, that, in Queen Elizabeth's time, Mr Maitland, Secretary to Mary Queen of Scots, suggested this on the behalf of his mistress, as a thing positively testified by Lord Paget, and desired that some persons of great quality, who were then living, might be examined to this point (43). This was considered, in those days, as a matter of great consequence; for if it could have been fully proved, the will must have been regarded as invalid; because, upon the testimony of one Clark, that he put the stamp to the instrument which regarded the Duke of Norfolk's attainder, that was in full Parliament declared to be void; and the statute that gave the King power to limit the succession by his will, declared expressly the form in which such a will should be executed. But however these affairs stood, they were kept as impenetrable secrets upon the King's demise, the will being then taken not only for a legal and authentick piece, but as the very foundation of the new government. All these facts came out afterwards by degrees, and in consequence of a great variety of accidents. Paget deserting his old master Winchester, attached himself to the Protector Somerset, and was examined as a witness against the Bishop, afterwards falling under the Duke of Northumberland's displeasure, for having had so large a share in the confidence of the Protector (44); he was very severely treated, and, tho' this seemed to be afterwards passed over, yet when Queen Mary came to the throne, he laid open every thing that had been done during the former reign, and this transaction about the will amongst the rest.

(43) The original Letter was in the hands of the famous John Evelyn, Esq;

(44) See the Bishop's Trial in Fox.

(41) Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 647.

(42) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 349.

in carrying on the great work of Reformation, to which he found the Protector Somerset well inclined, laboured all he could to gain the Bishop of Winchester to a concurrence, or at least to an acquiescence (c). But this wary Prelate thought, or seemed to think, that, by making too much haste, all might be spoiled; and opposed his sentiments at least; to those of the Protector, and all his Council. He suggested, that the ruling maxim in a minority was to keep things quiet, and alledged this could never be done if any signal alterations were attempted in Church or State. On this principle he dissuaded the war with Scotland, as a measure necessarily attended with much hazard and a vast expence (d). The Protector received his advice civilly, and wrote answers to his letters, still remaining, with much decency and moderation. But, notwithstanding this, things went on according to the plan laid down by the Archbishop, who formed a design of having a royal visitation by commissioners, who might see the condition of every diocese, encourage the progress of reformed religion, remove and discredit superstition, and one in each list of these Commissioners, being a Clergyman, was directed to preach sound doctrine (e). The wisdom of the Archbishop, in framing this scheme, was certainly great; and yet Winchester no sooner had intelligence of it, than he set up objections. In the first place, he doubted it's legality, as it was to countenance innovations; in the next, he thought it imprudent, as it would disturb the order of government in Church and State; and lastly, he thought it impolitick, as all things must be done in the King's name, and by his authority as Supreme Head of the Church, at a time when he, being a child, could know nothing of these things; and his uncle the Protector, being at the head of an army and absent, could know very little more of them; so that in the opinion even of the meanest people, this would weaken that great prerogative which King Henry had assumed, and on the due use of which all reformation must depend (f). Sir John Godsalue, one of the Visitors (but not for the diocese of Winchester), having heard of the Bishop's discourses, and, having a very sincere regard for him, wrote to him, desiring him to be more discreet, and not run the manifest hazard of ruining himself and losing his Bishoprick. Bishop Gardiner sent him an answer highly commended by Bishop Burnet, and which is inserted in the notes to shew the temper of the man in these times, and how very able he was in casting the fairest colour imaginable on all his opinions and actions (g) [S]. In all probability, this answer

(c) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. at the entrance of the second Vol.

(d) Taken from the Bishop's letter, published by Fox.

(e) Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 146, 147, 148.

(f) Bishop Gardiner's Letters in Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(g) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 36.

of

[S] *On all his opinions and actions.* It is very singular, that this, being a private letter, should remain and be preserved to our times. Bishop Burnet says, that it has the most of a Christian, and a Bishop, in it, of any thing he had seen of Gardiner's; he adds too, very judiciously, that it has no less of a Patriot, and therefore he resolved not to suppress it, tho' it was on the other side. But, from this letter, it cannot be shewn that the Bishop of Winchester was on the other side, for there is nothing of Popery in this letter, or indeed in his whole opposition; what he had in his heart no man can say; but either he was sincere in penning this epistle, or he was the most finished dissembler in the world (45). It is true he changed afterwards, and we shall consider how far he changed when we come to that period of his life, from the testimony of writers who did not at all flatter him. But now to the letter, which runs thus.

MR GODSALVE, after my right hearty commendations, with like thanks for the declaration of your good mind towards me (as you mean it), although it agreeth not with mine accompt, such as I have had leisure to make in this time of liberty, since the death of my late Sovereign Lord, whose soul Jesu pardon. For this have I reckoned that I was called to this Bishoprick, without the offence of God's law or the King's in attaining of it. I have kept my Bishoprick these sixteen years, accomplished this very day that I write these letters unto you, without offending God's law or the King's in the retaining of it, howsoever I have of frailty otherwise sinned. Now if I may play the third part well, to depart from the Bishoprick without the offence of God's law or the King's, I shall think the tragedy of my life well passed over, and, in this part, to be well handled, is all my care and study now how to finish this third act well; for so I offend not God's law nor the King's, I will no more care to see my Bishoprick taken from me, than myself to be taken from the Bishoprick.

I am by nature already condemned to die, which sentence no man can pardon, nor assure me of delay in the execution of it; and so see that of necessity I shall leave my Bishoprick to the disposition of the Crown, from whence I had it, my household alio to

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break up, and my bringing up youth to cease, the remembrance whereof troubleth me nothing. I made in my house at London a pleasant study that delighted me much, and yet I was glad to come into the country and leave it; and as I have left the use of somewhat, so can I leave the use of all to obtain more quiet; it is not loss to change for the better.

Honesty and truth are more leese to me, than all the possessions of the realm; and in these two, to say and do frankly, as I must, I never forbore; yet, and in these two, honesty and truth, I take such pleasure and comfort, as I will never leave them for no respect, for they will abide by a man, and so will nothing else. No man can take them away from me but myself, and if myself do them away from me, then myself do undo myself, and make myself worthy to lose my Bishoprick, whereat such as gape might take more sport than they are like to have at my hands.

What other men have said or done in the homilies I cannot tell, and what homilies or injunctions shall be brought hither I know not; such as the printers have sold abroad, I have read and considered, and am therefore the better instructed how to use myself to the Visitors at their repair hither, to whom I will use no manner of profection, but a plain allegation, as the matter serveth, and as honesty and truth shall bind me to speak; for I will never yield to do that should not be seem a Christian. Bishops ought never to lose the inheritance of the King's laws, due to every Englishman, for want of petition. I will shew myself a true subject, humble and obedient; which repugneth not with the preservation of my duty to God, and my right in the realm not to be enjoined against an Act of Parliament: which mine intent I have signified to the Council, with request of redress in the matter; and not to compel me to such an allegation, which, without I were a beast, I cannot permit; and I were more than a beast, if, after I had signified to the Council truth and reason in word, I should then seem in my deeds not to care for it.

My Lord Protector, in one of such letters as he wrote to me, willed me not to fear too much; and indeed I know him so well, and divers others of my Lord of the Council, that I cannot fear any hurt at their

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their

(45) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 36.

of the Bishop's proved the cause of that Prelate's first imprisonment, which was in all respects extraordinary, and out of the common forms of justice (*b*). He was sent for, when in London, to attend the Council, three weeks before the Visitors came into his diocese; and because he would not promise to receive the homilies, and pay obedience to whatever the King's Visitors might require, the Council, notwithstanding his close reasoning the point as to its consistency with law, and his earnest entreaty to give him a little space to consider, committed him close prisoner to the Fleet (*i*). He was there, as we see by his letters and petitions, very strictly kept, and very indifferently used; which must have been by order, since John Fox has marked on the margin of one of his applications for redress, that the Warden of the Fleet was his friend (*k*). It is probable the Archbishop consented to this, but it is impossible he should contrive it; being a very deep, tho' a most unjustifiable, stroke of policy. The Bishop held the visitation, as directed by the instructions, illegal without an Act of Parliament; but, being confined, he could not hinder that visitation going on; and, remaining close in the Fleet during the whole session (tho' a Lord of Parliament), he could give no opposition to those bills, which were calculated to make the things lawful which he had objected to as illegal (*l*). When all this was done, he was discharged like a common malefactor, under colour of the King's general pardon, tho' never charged judicially with any offence (*m*). The very dates prove these facts; he was committed September the twenty-fifth, the Parliament assembled November the fourth, was prorogued December the twenty-fourth, and he was set at liberty before the close of that year 1547. Besides this, all that we have advanced is supported by unquestionable authorities (*n*) [T]. In the course of this imprisonment, it came out, that the famous

(*b*) Fuller, Heylin, Burnet.

(*i*) Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. p. 3.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 9. on a Letter from Bishop Gardiner to the Duke of Somerset when Protector.

(*l*) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 36.

(*m*) Strype's Memorials.

(*n*) Holinshed, Stowe, Strype.

' their hands, in the allegation of God's law and the King's; and I will never defame them so much to be seen to fear it. And of what strength an Act of Parliament is, the realm was taught in the case of her that we called Queen Anne; where all such as spake against her in the Parliament-House, altho' they did it by special commandment of the King, and spake that which was truth; yet they were fain to have a pardon, because that speaking was against an Act of Parliament. Did you never know, or hear tell, of any man, that for doing that the King, our late Sovereign Lord, willed, devised, and required, to be done; he that took pains, and was commanded to do it, was fain to sue for his pardon; and such other also as were doers in it; and I could tell who it were; sure there hath been such a case, and I have been present when it hath been reasoned.

' That the doing against an Act of Parliament excuseth not a man even from the case of treason, altho' a man did it by the King's commandment. You can tell this to your remembrance, when you think farther of it; and when it cometh to your remembrance, you will not be best content with yourself, I believe, to have advised me to venture the breach of an Act of Parliament, without surety of pardon, although the King command it; and were such indeed as it were no matter to do it at all. And thus I answer the letters with worldly civil reasons, and take your mind and zeal towards me to be as tender as may be; and yet you see, that the following of your advice might make me lose my Bishoprick by mine own act, which I am sure you would I should keep; and so would I, as might stand with my truth and honesty, and none otherwise, as knoweth God, who send you heartily well to fare.'

[T] *Is supported by unquestionable authorities.*] There is not, to say the truth, but very few writers amongst our Ecclesiastical Historians that have taken upon them to justify these proceedings; but on the other hand, none of them go to the bottom, except Bishop Burnet (46), who speaks very clearly and candidly of this whole affair. 'On the twenty fifth of September, says he, the Council being informed that Gardiner had written to some of that board, and had spoken to others many things in prejudice and contempt of the King's visitation, and that he intended to refuse to set forth the homilies and injunctions, he was sent for to the Council. Where being examined, he said, he thought they were contrary to the word of God, and that his conscience would not suffer him to observe them. He excepted to one of the Homilies, that it excluded charity from justifying men, as well as faith. This he said was contrary to the book set out in the late King's time, which was afterwards confirmed in Parliament, in the year, 1542; he said further, that he could never see one place of scripture, nor any an-

cient Doctor that favoured it. He also said, Erasmus's Paraphrase was bad enough in Latin, but much worse in English; for the translator had oft, out of ignorance, and oft out of design, misrendered him palpably, and was one that neither understood Latin nor English well. He offered to go to Oxford to dispute about Justification with any they should send him to, or to enter into conference with any that would undertake his instruction in town. But this did not satisfy the Council. So they pressed him to declare what he intended to do, when the visitors should be with him. He said, he did not know; he should further study these points, for it would be three weeks before they could be with him, and he was sure he would say no worse than that he should obey them, as far as could consist with God's law and the King's. The Council urged him to promise that he would without any limitation, set forth the Homilies and the Injunctions, which he refusing to do, was sent to the Fleet. Some days after that, Cranmer went to see the Dean of St Paul's, having the Bishops of Lincoln and Rochester, with Dr Cox, and some others with him. He sent for Gardiner thither, and entred into discourse with him about that passage in the Homily, excluding charity out of our justification, and urged those places of St Paul, *That we are justified by faith, without the works of the Law*: He said, his design in that passage, was only to draw men from trusting in any thing they did, and to teach them to trust only to Christ. But Gardiner had a very different notion of Justification. For as he said, infants were justified by Baptism, and penitents, by the Sacrament of Penance; and that the conditions of the justifying of those of age, were charity as well as faith, as the three estates make a law all join together; for by this simile, he set it out in the report he writ of that discourse to the Lord Protector, reckoning the King one of the three estates (a way of speech very strange, especially in a Bishop and a Lawyer). For Erasmus, it was said, that though there were faults in his Paraphrase, as no book besides the Scriptures, is without faults, yet it was best for that use they could find, and they did choose rather to set out what so learned a man had written, than to make a new one, which might give occasion to more objections, and he was the most indifferent writer they knew. Afterwards Cranmer, knowing what was likely to work most on him, let fall some words as Gardiner writ to the Protector (47), of bringing him into the Privy Council, if he would concur in what they were carrying on. But that not having its ordinary effect on him, he was carried back to the Fleet.'

He afterwards gives the remainder of the story thus. But notwithstanding all his letters, yet he continued a prisoner till the Parliament was over, and then by

(47) In his Letter printed in the 2d. Vol. of the Acts and Monuments, edit. 1647.

(46) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 36, 37.

state book of religion, published by authority, under the title of *The Erudition of Christian Man*, was compiled chiefly by Bishop Gardiner (o). By comparing this with the religious systems in the reign of Edward VI, the difference may be seen between his notions and those of Cranmer; and from hence we may discern the probability of his being in earnest in his declarations, without supposing, as almost all writers do, misled therein by the Papists themselves, that in his heart he was a bigot to Popery. The Archbishop was once as well pleased with the book beforementioned as any body, and had recommended it as strenuously; but now having changed his mind as to the real presence, he was not unwilling the world should know its true author; and Gardiner, being touched with his insinuations, replied very eagerly in defence of his book (p) [U]. Upon his obtaining his liberty, the Bishop went down to his diocese, and there was so far from creating any trouble or disturbance, that he was remarkably active and diligent in giving obedience, and seeing that it was given, to the laws concerning religion (q); but those who had a dislike to him, would not suffer him to be long at quiet. They were no sooner informed of his returning to town, than they procured an order for him to come before the Council, where he was roughly treated, and then directed to keep his house till he gave satisfaction, which was to be done in a sermon preached before the King and his Ministers, in a publick audience; for the matter of which, he was directed as well what he should not as what he should say, by Sir William Cecil (r). On St Peter's day the Bishop did accordingly preach, but was so far from giving satisfaction, that the very next day, June the thirtieth 1548, he was sent to the Tower, and continued there a prisoner during all that reign (s). It was very near a year, notwithstanding repeated applications, that he continued there, without having scarce any notice taken of him, his Chaplain having admittance but once when he was ill, and then restrained because his life was not thought in danger (t). When the Protector was deposed, or some small time before, he had hopes given him of his release, and from those it is likely who could have done it if they had judged it proper (u). But finding himself deceived, he took the freedom of applying himself by letter to the Council, of which we have probably a true, tho' certainly a very unpolished, account from honest John Stowe (w); who likewise tells us very plainly why he published it, which in effect was because he saw that no body else would [W]. When the Duke of Somersset, tho' removed

(o) See this point cleared in the notes [U] and [LL].

(p) Always insisting however that it had the sanction of the King's authority.

(q) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 71.

(r) See the Bishop's account of this matter at large in Fox.

(s) Stowe, Strype, Burnet.

(t) So stated by himself to the Council.

(u) See the article of DUDLEY (JOHN) Duke of Northumberland.

(w) Annals, p. 600.

' the Act of Pardon, he was set at liberty. This was much censured as an invasion of liberty; and it was said, those at court durst not suffer him to come to the house, lest he had confounded them in all they did. And the explaining justification with so much nicety in Homilies that were to be read to the people, was thought a needless subtilty. But the former abuses of trusting to the acts of charity that men did, by which they fancied they bought Heaven, made Cranmer judge it necessary to express the matter so nicely, though the expounding those places of St Paul, was as many thought, rather according to the strain of the Germans, than to the meaning of these epistles. And upon the whole matter, they knew Gardiner's haughty temper, and that it was necessary to mortifie him a little, though the pretence on which they did it, seemed too slight for such severities. But it is ordinary, when a thing is once resolved on, to make use of the first occasion that offers for effecting it.'

[U] *In defence of his book.* While the Bishop was under this confinement, the Archbishop of Canterbury sometimes wrote to him, and, as Strype tells us, proposed to him, employing a part of his time in writing Homilies, which he declined; but it was in one of these conferences, that the dispute to which we refer, happened, the same author tells it in the following words (48).

' During his being here, which was not long, there past some letters between the Archbishop of Canterbury and him: He had urged to the Archbishop, the state of religion in King Henry's days; from which, he and the Clergy and the Council, did begin so much to vary, Winchester reminded him of the King's book as he called it, established by Parliament. But the Archbishop in his answer, told him, that he indeed called it so, and that the King was seduced; and that he the Archbishop knew by whom he was compassed in that book.

But Winchester sharply replied to him. ' That the book was acknowledged by the Parliament as the King's book, and that the Archbishop himself, commanded it to be published in his diocese as the King's book. And that if he thought it not true, he ought to think his Grace would not, for all the Princes christened in the world, have yielded unto. And he threatened the Archbishop, that if he made this mat-

ter more public, and charged the late King with being seduced, he would vindicate his master, as one of his old servants. And whereas the Archbishop had advised him to bethink himself of his present condition, lying now in prison; Winchester replied to this with seemingly much satisfaction: how himself was arrived to that haven of quietness, without the loss of any notable tackle, as the mariners say, which he said, was a great matter as the winds had blown, and with a little flea biting, conveyed to an easy state. He advised, that seeing King Henry died so so honourably and so much lamented, and was concluded to be received to God's mercy; the realm should not be troubled during the King's minority, with matters of novelty, there being so many other things for the King's Counsellors to regard.'

[W] *That no body else would.* Whoever will take the pains of examining our Ecclesiastical and Civil Histories, will see how little care is taken to fix the dates relative to these transactions, which are only to be recovered from the original papers that are still preserved. By comparing them, the reader will perceive, that the Bishop of Winchester never sat in any one of King Edward's Parliaments; and notwithstanding this flagrant injustice, we do not find so much as a single word said of it in the articles against the Protector Somersset, tho' it was not only of more moment than many things alleged in them, but was also a fact which he could not possibly deny. It is indeed affirmed in the following account, and we have some notices of it elsewhere, that the Earl of Warwick, and some of the rest of the cabal, gave Gardiner assurances of his liberty; but when they found themselves able to act without him, they made no scruple of forgetting or breaking that promise, from a just foresight, that he would give the same opposition to their measures he was inclined to have given to those of the Duke.

But let us hear Stowe (49), who very seldom puts original papers into his Annals, and takes care, when he does, that they shall be equally curious and important, thus then he writes. ' Now when the Duke of Somersset was first apprehended, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, then being prisoner in the Tower (as before ye have heard) was borne in hand, he should be set at liberty; in hope whereof, he prepared him new apparel for that purpose, thinking

(49) Annals, p. 600.

verily

removed from his high office, found means to come again into power, and to be called to Council, this affair of Bishop Gardiner was brought once more on the carpet, and the Duke and others, by virtue of an order of that Board, went to confer with him in the Tower June the ninth 1550 (x). It was proposed that he should make a submission for what was passed, should testify his approbation of all that had been done in religion since he had been laid aside, and that he should promise obedience for the future. The two last points Winchester readily consented to, and actually signed all that was expected from him; but refused his assent to the first, insisting upon his innocence. Much sollicitation there was, with what intent one cannot say; at last the Bishop, perceiving they rose in their demands, told them roundly he would do nothing in a prison; and that he did not seek either favour or pity, but justice (y). On the nineteenth of July he was brought to the Council, and being asked whether he would subscribe the last articles or not, he answered in the negative; and it was thereupon declared to him, that his Bishoprick should be sequestred; and, if in three months he did not comply, they would go still farther (z). Fuller confesses, in case he was innocent, he was in the right not to acknowledge himself guilty (a); and Heylin seems to think, those who had now to do with him, would not have been satisfied let him have subscribed what he would (b). Strype, out of respect to Cranmer, approves the whole proceeding, as Fox applauds it; but Bishop Burnet, having undertaken to state the matter impartially, does it accordingly, with that clearness which the evidence of the fact demands [X]. When the three months were fully expired, and the Bishop remained in the same

(x) See King Edward's Journal, inserted in the second Vol. of Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat.

(y) See the Proceedings against him in Fox.

(z) Strype's Memorials.

(a) Church Hist. cent. XVI, p. 400.

(b) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 99.

‘ verily to have come abroad within eight or ten days; but when he was forgotten, and nothing said unto him by the space of one month after, he thought it good to put the Lords in remembrance by his letters; wherein, after commendations had unto them, he wrote as followeth: I have continued here in this miserable prison now, one year, one quarter, and one month, this same day that I write these my letters, with want of air to relieve my body; want of books to relieve my mind; want of good company the only solace of this world; and finally, want of a just cause why I should have come hither at all. More of this letter came not to my hands, but that the Lords took it in good part, and laughed very merrily thereat, saying, he had a pleasant head; for reward whereof, they gave him leave to remain still in prison five or six weeks after, without saying, or sending any word to him; which when he considered, then he wrote to them this letter following. After my due commendations to your good Lordships: Howsoever the time is stolen from you with the multitude of businesses, and variety of matters wherewith ye be travelled; whereby ye rather want time, as I suppose, than be glutted with it; yet with me, being alone comfortlesse in this miserable prison, the time passeth more sensibly; and as the grief groweth in length, so it bringeth more encombrance and travell with it. And being now the time of Parliament, whereof I am a member, in my degree called unto it by writ, and not cut from it by any fault, but only by power kept here; it is a double calamity to be detained in prison by so intolerable wrong, and excluded from this assembly, so much against right. I have suffered the like in the late Lord Protector's time, against all reason, which God hath given you power now to reform; and among many other things, which in his time wrythed amisse, no one thing, as I suppose, was of worse example, ne more prejudicial to the good order of the high Court of Parliament, which is the direction of all mens lives, lands, and goods in this realm, than to allow for a precedent, that any one man being member thereof, might, without cause, be excluded, and so letted to parlee there his mind in publick matters for the wealth of the realm, and such other private causes as do occur. If the strength of the Parliament be not impaired by wrong in one, because right consisteth not in number, it shall be at the pleasure of him that ruleth, to do the same in me, whereby others may take more harm than I, as experience hath shewed in such examples. But I know it becometh me not to reason the strength of that court, ne the order of it; the Lawyers of this realm know that, and to their knowledge I submit my judgment, and take for good that they allow. But this I dare say, when religion is entreated in a general Council of Christendome, if the rulers of the Council let any man's repaire thither, that hath right to

‘ be there; whatsoever is there concluded, is in the laws of the world abroad, taken of no force by excluding of one member wrongfully, that should furnish the body, which I write unto your Lordships for the good opinion I have of you, trusting that ye intend not to uphold or follow the late Lord Protector's doings, by wrong, but so fashion your proceedings, as they may agree with justice at home, and seem agreeable to reason to others abroad, being so assured of mine innocency, that when your Lordships shall hear what can be said against me and mine, answer thereunto, there shall appear cause why I should have had praise, thanks, and commendations of the late Lord Protector (if truth, honesty, and due obedience might look therefore) and no cause of trouble or displeasure at all, so wrongfully have I been tormented in this prison, so boldly dare I speak to you of my cause, with such an opinion and estimation of your wisdoms, which I know and reverence, as I ought not, ne would not vainly hope to abuse you with words, but upon certain confidence of your indifferencies; verily I trust that ye will deem and take things in such sort, as being plainly, and truly opened, shall appear unto you by matter indeed. In consideration whereof, I renew my suit unto your Lordships, instantly requiring you, that I may be heard according to justice, and that, with such speed, as the delay of your audience give not occasion to such as be ignorant abroad of my matter, to think that your Lordships allowed, and approved the detaining of me here. Which without hearing my declaration, I trust ye will not but have such consideration of me, as mine estate in the Common-Wealth; the passing my former life amongst you, and other respects do require; wherein you shall bind me, and do agreeably to your honours and justice: the free course whereof you have honourably taken upon you to make open to the realm without respect, which is the only establishment of all Common-Wealths; and therefore the zeal of him was allowed, that said, *Fiat justitia & ruat mundus*: signifying, that by it, the world is kept from falling indeed, although it might seem otherwise in some respect, and some trouble to arise in doing it. And this I write, because in the late Lord Protector's time, there was an insinuation made unto me, as though I were kept here by policie; which, with the violation of justice, took never good effect, as I doubt not of your wisdoms ye can and will consider, and do therefore accordingly; for the effectual execution whereof, I shall not fail to pray Almighty God for the preservation and increase of your honours. From the Tower.

‘ Thus much concerning these letters have I thought good to set down, for that I find not the same otherwise extant, in large discourses of the said Bishop's writings.’

[X] With that clearness which the evidence of the facts demands.] Before we come to the account of this

same sentiments, a resolution was taken to proceed judicially against him, in order to deprive him of the See of Winchester, and what other preferments he had under the authority of the King's commission, in which the Archbishop presided. These Commissioners began their proceedings December the fifteenth, and ended them February the fourteenth following (c), having had in all two and twenty sessions, when the grand affair was finished, and the Bishop deprived for irreverence to the King's authority; though but a few months before they had condemned the abuse of that authority, by those in whose hands it then was. It was added, that he was disobedient to the King's orders and instructions in ecclesiastical affairs; tho' he twice subscribed his approbation to all that was already done, and promised never to disclose any future scruples he might have but to the Privy-Council. As a further aggravation of his offences, it was suggested that he refused to confess his faults, and

(c) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 223, 224, 225.

this matter given by Bishop Burnet, whose authority in these points must be decisive, as nothing could induce him to treat these subjects as he does, but a due respect for truth, which every historical writer ought to prefer to every other consideration; it is necessary to observe, that he is entirely mistaken as to the time of the King's sending to the Bishop, in which he supposes Fox to have erred, and all this from a notion, that, upon his submission, the Protector might have been prevailed with to set him at liberty; whereas, in truth, the offers that were made him, came from the Protector's enemies, who, it has been suggested, made very great use of the Bishop of Winchester's head and hand, in bringing their design to bear; inasmuch that a certain author says (50), the original of the articles against him which he confessed, and upon which he was deposed, or rather the draught of those articles, was in Winchester's own hand-writing. But be that as it will, the King's own Journal very fully shews (51), that the first message sent from him to Gardiner, was June the ninth, 1550, when the Bishop had been, within a few days, two years in prison. These points being premised, let us hear our right reverend author.

(c) Mr Strype asserts this from his own acquaintance with the hands of these times.

(51) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 150.

' When the Book of Common-Prayer was set out, the Lord St John, and Secretary Petre, were sent with it to him, to know of him, whether he would conform to it or not; and they gave him great hopes that if he would submit, the Protector would sue to the King for mercy to him. He answered, that he did not know himself guilty of any thing that needed mercy: so he desired to be tried for what had been objected to him, according to law. For the book, he did not think that while he was a prisoner, he was bound to give his opinion about such things; it might be thought he did it against his conscience to obtain his liberty; but if he were out of prison, he should either obey it, or be liable to punishment according to law. Upon the Duke of Somerset's fall, the Lord-Treasurer, the Earl of Warwick, Sir William Herbert, and Secretary Petre, were sent to him: Fox says this was on the ninth of July, but there must be an error in that; for Gardiner in his answer says, that upon the Duke of Somerset's coming to the Tower, he looked to have been let out within two days, and had made his farewell feast; but when these were with him, a month, or thereabout, had passed, so it must have been in November the former year. They brought him a paper, to which they desired he would set his hand. It contained, first a preface, which was an acknowledgement of former faults, for which he had been justly punished: There were also divers articles contained in it, which were touching the King's supremacy, his power of appointing or dispensing with holidays and fasts; that the Book of Common Prayer, set out by the King and Parliament, was a most christian and godly book, to be allowed of by all Bishops and Pastors in England; and that he should, both in sermons and discourses, commend it to be observed; that the King's power was compleat now, when under age, and that all owed obedience to him now, as much as if he were thirty or forty years old; that the six articles were justly abrogated, and that the King had full authority to correct and reform what was amiss in the Church, both in England and Ireland. He only excepted to the preface, and offered to sign all the articles, but would have had the preface left out. They bid him rather write on the margin his exceptions to it, so he writ, that he could not, with a good conscience, agree to the preface, and with that excep-

tion, he set his hand to the whole paper. The Lords used him with great kindness, and gave him hope, that his troubles should be quickly ended. Herbert and Petre came to him some time after that, but how soon is not so clear, and pressed him to make the acknowledgement without exception; he refused it, and said he would never defame himself; for when he had done it, he was not sure, but it might be made use of against him as a confession. Two or three days after that, Ridley was sent to him, together with the other two, and they brought him new articles. In this paper, the acknowledgement was more general than in the former: It was said here in the preface, that he had been suspected of not approving the King's proceedings, and being appointed to preach, had not done it as he ought to have done, and so deserved the King's displeasure, for which he was sorry: the articles related to the Pope's Supremacy, the suppression of abbeys and chantries, pilgrimages, masses, images; the adoring the Sacrament; the communion in both kinds; the abolishing the old books, and bringing in the new book of service, and that for ordaining of Priests and Bishops; the compleatness of the scripture, and the use of it in the vulgar tongue; the lawfulness of Clergymens marriage; and to Erasmus's Paraphrase, that it had been on good considerations ordered to be set up in Churches. He read all these, and said, he desired first to be discharged of his imprisonment, and then he would freely answer them all, so as to stand by it, and suffer if he did amiss, but he would trouble himself with no more articles while he remained in prison, since he desired not to be delivered out of his troubles in the way of mercy, but of justice.

' After that he was brought before the Council, and the Lords told him, that they fate by a special commission to judge him, and so required him to subscribe the articles that had been sent him. He prayed them earnestly to put him to a trial for the grounds of his imprisonment, and when that was over, he would clearly answer them in all other things: but he did not think he could subscribe all the articles after one sort, some of them being about laws already made, which he could not qualify; others of them being matters of learning, in which he might use more freedom: in conclusion, he desired leave to take them with him, and he would consider how to answer them. But they required him to subscribe them all, without any qualification; which he refused to do. Upon this, the fruits of his Bishoprick were sequestred, and he was required to conform himself to their orders within three months, upon pain of deprivation; and the liberty he had of walking in some open galleries, when the Duke of Norfolk was not in them, was taken from him, and he was again shut up in his chamber.

' All this was much censured, as being contrary to the liberties of Englishmen, and the forms of all legal proceedings. It was thought very hard to put a man in prison upon a complaint against him, and without any further enquiry into it, after two years durance, to put articles to him. And they which spoke freely said, it favoured too much of the Inquisition. But the Canon Law not being refused, and the King being in the Pope's room, there were some things gathered from the Canon Law, and the way of proceeding *ex officio*, which rather excused, than justified this hard measure he met with. The sequel of this business shall be related in it's proper place.

and submit himself to the King's mercy; tho' he alledged first his innocence, which entitled him to receive from the King's justice what it was supposed he ought to accept as his mercy; and next, that he was not sure of this mercy if inclined to submit, but had reason to fear this confession might be made a ground for conviction, where he knew there was a defect of evidence. He complained that those who committed him were to be his judges, and consequently their own; that he was charged for disobedience to some of them, who in this case were prosecutors as well as parties and judges; and that the whole was the contrivance of men who had been long his enemies, and who, after failing in many schemes, hoped to prevail in this, to his destruction (d). But as a particular detail of this matter would detain us too long, so some curious points, supported by unquestionable evidence, will be found at the bottom of the page [Y]. It is no wonder that the Romanists dwell so much on these proceedings, or that they are so slightly passed over by some of our own Historians, because they are apparently indefensible upon any constitutional principles, and can only be excused in the lump, by alledging that all was done to gratify a party; lay open the rich Bishoprick of Winchester to be canton'd amongst Clergy and Laity, so that Dr Ponet had only the title and two thousand marks a year, instead of being possessed of the temporalities as his predecessors held them; and to keep an old man fast in prison, whom they knew not how to manage out. For this, if considered in any other light, was by no means reconcilable to law of any kind, much less to any notions of liberty; since in effect it was delivering up both Church and State into the hands of a few ambitious and avaricious men (e), who, when they had trampled on others, fell out amongst themselves about the spoil, and, by the natural consequences of their irregular administration, made way for their own destruction in the issue; as at the very time it revived the cause of Popery, and the hopes of Papists [Z]. Bishop Gardiner himself very prudently laid the

(d) See the Proceedings in his case.

(e) Sir John Hayward's Hist. of Edward VI.

[Y] Will be found at the bottom of the page.] It is very probable, that having once determined to deprive him of all his preferments for his contempt, they began to consider what that contempt was, and framed an order about it, expressed in such terms as they judged convenient, which was to pass for the order upon which he was committed, and be made the foundation of all their subsequent proceedings. This is indeed a very strange fact, and to which no credit could be given, if it was not reported by Bishop Burnet, from the Council Book, where he discovered it by the orders being signed *Bedford*, amongst other Counsellors; but that noble peer recollecting that he had not his title at the time the order was dated, struck it out again, and subscribed *J. Russel*; we have from the same writer, a short but very satisfactory account of the proceedings in that great cause, upon which though Collier makes some remarks, yet he does not treat the point so fairly or so fully as Bishop Burnet, whose words are these.

There was a commission issued out (52) to the Archbishop, the Bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, Secretary Petre, Judge Hales, Griffith and Leyson, two Civilians, and Goodrick and Gofnold, two Masters of Chancery, to proceed against Gardiner, for his contempt in the matters formerly objected to him. He put in a compurgation, by which he endeavoured to shew there was malice borne to him, and conspiracies against him, as appeared by the business of Sir Henry Knevet, mentioned in the former part, and the leaving him out of the late King's will, which he said was procured by his enemies. He complained of his long imprisonment without any trial, and that articles of one sort after another were brought to him, so that it was plain, he was not detained for any crime, but to try if such usage could force him to do any thing that should be imposed on him. He declared, that what order soever were set out by the King's Council, he should never speak against it, but to the Council themselves; and that though he could not give consent to the changes before they were made, he was now well satisfied to obey them, but he would never make any acknowledgement of any fault. The things chiefly laid against him were, that, being required, he refused to preach concerning the King's power when he was under age; and that he had affronted preachers sent by the King into his diocese, and had been negligent in obeying the King's injunctions, and continued after all so obstinate, that he would not confess his fault, nor ask the King mercy. His crimes were aggravated by this, that his timely asserting the King's power under age, might have been a great means for preventing the rebellion and effusion of blood which had afterwards

happened chiefly on that pretence, to which his obstinacy had given no small occasion. Upon this, many witnesses were examined, chiefly the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Wiltshire and Bedford, who deposed against him. But to this he answered, that he was not required to do it by any order of Council, but only in a private discourse, to which he did not think himself bound to give obedience. Other witnesses were also examined on the other particulars. But he appealed from the Delegates to the King in person. Yet his Judges on the (\*) eighteenth of April, gave sentence against him; by which, for his disobedience and contempt, they deprived him of his Bishoprick.

(\*) It should be the 14th of Feb.

It is to be observed, that Gardiner always insisted, that these proceedings in the King's minority, would produce such disturbances; that the King's supremacy had been sworn to, but that the Council's supremacy was a new point, and this it was which he declined preaching to the people. But it was not deprivation alone that would content Gardiner's enemies, more especially since by his protestation he shewed plainly that he did not despair of having this matter reviewed, and therefore they went farther, as Strype tells us (53), and on the next day the Council made the following order, which he transcribed from the book. 'For as much as it appeared he had at all times before the judges of his cause, used himself unreverently to the King's Majesty, and slanderfully towards his Council, and especially yesterday, being the day of his judgment given against him, he called his Judges hereticks and sacramentaries, they being there the King's Commissioners and of his Highness's Council; it was therefore ordered by the whole board, that he should be removed from the lodging he hath now in the Tower, to a meaner lodging, and none to wait upon him but one by the Lieutenant's appointment, in such sort, as by the resort of any man to him, he have not the liberty to send out to any man, or to hear from any man. And likewise that his books and papers be taken from him and seen; and that from henceforth, he have neither pen, ink, nor paper, to write his delectable purposes, but be sequestered from all conferences, and from all means that may serve him to practise any way.' But in process of time, very probably the rigour of this order might be dispensed with.

(53) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 225.

[Z] Revived the cause of Popery, and the hopes of Papists.] This, though a matter little regarded by modern writers, is in reality a thing of great consequence, in respect to the history of those times. Contemporary writers on both sides agree, that these proceedings of King Edward's Ministers had this effect, and that those who were bigotted Papists, shewed their joy

(52) Hist. of the Reform. Vol. II. p. 165.

the weight of the whole on the Delegates who deprived him, and, by protesting and appealing to the King, shewed plainly that all the hopes of redress he had lay in the Crown, and must spring from the exercise of that supremacy to which they represented him as an enemy. He could not, however, avoid seeing, as he was a consummate statesman, that the Politicians made tools in this transaction of the Prelates, and were making large steps towards such a depression of the Church, as would make it entirely dependant on the Crown and it's Ministers, with such a shew of it's antient privileges as might enable those who commanded it to have an uncontrollable power over the legislature, which, how plausibly soever it may be defended by such as have an interest in it at the time, will be ever esteemed a dangerous thing by intelligent and impartial persons. Our ecclesiastical Historians have been most of them aware of this (f), but unwilling to own it, because they were afraid it might reflect on some of the great men amongst our first Reformers; whereas in truth nothing can do them so much service as setting this fact right, and shewing they were outwitted by persons who pretended zeal for the Reformation, and yet had no religion, or were Papists in their hearts. It is no wonder that they were not politicians, much less is it criminal; on the contrary, their simplicity, in this respect, is their true and best excuse. All the blame that can be justly laid upon them, is, that they ever suffered themselves to be drawn into schemes, the bottom of which they could not understand, or foresee the consequences (g) [AA]. All the remaining part of this reign Bishop Gardiner remained in the

(f) Fuller, Heylin, Burnet, Strype, Collier.

(g) Remarks on the Hist. of the Reformat. p. 31. same

joy and satisfaction at these prosecutions. They drove some of the ablest and greatest men out of the Church, as Gardiner, Tonstall, and Day, who had shewn themselves very well affected to some of the principal points of the Reformation; and who, if they had gone on complying as they would have done, would in time have both strengthened themselves and drawn in others (54). Gardiner particularly had declared himself on the point of Supremacy very fully; which they took the most effectual method to make him repent; he had acknowledged, that though men were married, they might continue Priests, though, for prudential reasons, he thought that the marriages of Clergymen should be discouraged, that they might live the better, and exercise greater hospitality out of their revenues. He was a strenuous advocate for the real presence in the sacrament, yet disclaimed Transubstantiation, and was for the communion in both kinds. He wrote against treating images irreverently, but justified the taking them away upon due proof of their being abused. In reference to Justification, he declared himself clearly on his death-bed, but professed it ought to be taught with caution to the people, to prevent their falling into fanaticism and running away with a notion, that if they believed in Christ, they might be saved, though they did not live like Christians. Sir John Harrington (55) therefore had reason to say, that he was a *Catholic Protestant*, or a *protesting Catholic*, that is, he had given such proofs of his willingness to adhere unto and proceed in the Reformation; that if he had not been treated as he was, he might have been highly serviceable; whereas by these severe, and in some respects irregular, proceedings, King Edward's Ministers actually provided instruments for Queen Mary, who otherwise might have found none, and furnished a colourable pretence for what was afterwards done against themselves.

Another injury that the Protestant Religion received, was in the spoiling the Bishopricks, which were thus rendered vacant, which was either done under colour of the King's authority, or by the persons who accepted them; and this countenanced the clamours of the Papists, that all was done out of temporal views, and that men pretended a quarrel to the doctrines, that they might get at the lands of the Church. If there had been no cause given for these complaints, if the Bishop of Winchester had been encouraged to proceed as he did immediately after he came out of the Fleet, in officiating as the law directed (56), and preaching the King's authority to remove what was amiss in the ceremonies and discipline of the Church, and the great men had shewn themselves as zealous Protestants in their lives, as they were in their professions, without carving for themselves estates out of what belonged to the Bishops fees, which had not been done in the time of Henry the Eighth, and which it was both unwise and unsafe to do in the time of a minority, all the troubles the nation suffered might have been avoided; the young King's uncles, and perhaps the young King himself, might have lived much longer; the unjust at-

tempt to alter the succession, the consequences of which were so fatal to many noble and not a few innocent persons, would never have been thought necessary (57); and the Reformation would have been so effectually established, that even the ecclesiasticks would have been against alterations.

[AA] Or foresee the consequences.] There is not any period in the English History, where one who searches for truth, finds himself more at a loss which road to take, than in the short reign of Edward the Sixth; and the reason is, because most of our Historians have written systematically, and have laboured to reduce all the characters they met with, into such forms as might make them best suit with their respective plans. In some we find the Protector Somerset represented as one of the wisest, best, and mildest governors this nation ever had (58), and brought to an untimely end by the artifices of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who is made one of the greatest monsters that ever lived. In others, that Duke is represented as a weak man, whom Dudley governed till he had made him do so many exorbitant and unpopular things, as shewed him unfit to be trusted longer with the administration, and then took the government upon himself (59). The truth of the matter is, they were both ambitious men, and both laboured to support their power by gratifying their dependants.

As for these dependants, whatever there might be of piety and true religion in some few of them, yet the major part were governed only by their interests, and would support any man or any scheme by which these might be promoted. Somerset began to make free with the Church, and by that means raised fortunes for himself and his family, in which he persisted, when he came a second time into favour, and took up the thread of the Bishop of Winchester's prosecution, just where he dropped it when deposed from his Protectorate. In this he was supported by Northumberland and the rest of the Council, who had views of the same kind, and they shewed great respect to Cranmer and the Divines he brought into the Church, because they found them men easily over-reached, and who thought they did no wrong in obeying whatever directions came to them from the Crown. Some likewise were really of opinion, that large revenues and a considerable measure of temporal power, were hindrances to their ministry, and were therefore the less uneasy in making such concessions as they apprehended would best bind the great men to keep out Popery; but it is certain they had no jealousy that many of these potent courtiers, and particularly those of Northumberland's faction, were very far from having any hearty concern for that faith which they professed; and consequently preferred getting estates at the expence of the Church, to the making provisions for the security of the Church, which they pretended to leave to the management of Cranmer and his friends, only that they might serve themselves of him and them at particular conjuncture, without troubling themselves much about futurity.

(57) See Hayward, Godwin, Heylin's Accounts of this reign.

(58) See Holinshed, Burnet, Strype.

(59) See Hayward's Edward VI.

(54) This was once Archbishop Cranmer's opinion.

(55) Brief View of the State of the Church of Eng. p. 43.

(56) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 71.

same state, that is, a close prisoner in the Tower, and yet not so strictly kept, at least all the latter part of the time, as the order of Council seemed to require; for certain it is, that, in this space, he not only wrote many controversial pieces, but also composed variety of Latin poems, and translated into verse several beautiful passages in the books of Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Job, and other poetical parts of the Old Testament (*b*). He also kept up his spirits all that time, and was wont to say very confidently, as either believing it or desiring to be thought to believe it, that he should live to see another turn, and another Court in which he should be as great as ever (*i*). On the death of King Edward no doubt he foresaw that turn was near, notwithstanding the new Court set up in his neighbourhood for that unfortunate Lady, Queen Jane. On the nineteenth of July 1553, Queen Mary was publicly proclaimed by that very Council which the day before owned the right of her competitor, and gave her the coarse and injurious title of Bastard of Henry VIII (*k*). On the third of August the Queen made her solemn entry into the Tower, when Bishop Gardiner, in the name of himself and his fellow-prisoners, the Duke of Norfolk, the Dukes of Somerset, the Lord Courtney, and others of high rank, made a congratulatory speech to her Majesty, who gave them all their liberties (*l*). On the eighth of the same month he performed, in the Queen's presence, the obsequies for the late King Edward, whose body was buried at Westminster, with the English service, by Archbishop Cranmer, the funeral sermon being preached by Bishop Day (*m*). On the ninth, Bishop Gardiner went to Winchester-House, in Southwark, after a confinement of somewhat more than five years (*n*). On the twenty-third he was declared Chancellor of England, tho' his patent did not pass till the twenty-first of September (*o*). On the first of October he had the honour of crowning the Queen (*p*), and on the fifth of the same month he opened the first Parliament in her reign (*q*). By this time he was in possession again of his academical honours; for as at the beginning of his misfortunes the University of Cambridge elected in his place the Duke of Somerset, and on his fall the Duke of Northumberland; so when he fell they rechose the Bishop of Winchester for their Chancellor, and restored him also to his headship of Trinity-Hall, then possessed by Dr Mowse (*r*). At this juncture, the Bishop of Winchester, either thro' the Queen's esteem for, and confidence in, him; or, as some suggest, tho' without any great evidence, thro' the recommendation of Charles V, was possessed of a larger compass of Civil and Ecclesiastical power, than any English Minister ever enjoyed, except Cardinal Wolsey; and in his management of this, in all its various branches, tho' taken from so long an imprisonment, and labouring under the weight of so great an age as seventy, his bitterest enemies must allow he gave indubitable marks of superior talents (*s*). If contriving to accomplish, and that in a short time, things so great and difficult as to sur-

pass

(*b*) Tanner, Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 309.

(*i*) Lloyd's Worthies.

(*k*) Godwin's Annals, 1553.

(*l*) Stowe's Annals, p. 613.

(*m*) Hollinshed, p. 1089.

(*n*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 20.

(*o*) Pat. I. Mar. p. 8.

(*p*) Cooper's Chronicle, Part iii. p. 361.

(*q*) Godwin's Annals.

(*r*) Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 132.

(*s*) Remarks on the Hist. of the Reformat. p. 39.

(60) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 163.

One cannot help looking with some surprize upon the conduct of Archbishop Cranmer in this business. Strype shews, from the Council Book, that he presided, and was very active in the Bishop of Winchester's deprivation, and for the trouble therein, received four hundred marks (60). He was particularly objected to by Winchester as his personal enemy, and both before and after, was engaged in a controversy with him about the sacrament. Bishop Burnet, makes an apology for him, which deserves to be considered. 'He was, says he, naturally a man of bowels and compassion, and did not love to drive things to extremities; he considered that men who had grown old in some errors, could not easily lay them down, and so were by degrees to be worn out of them. Only in the proceedings against Gardiner and Bonner, he was carried beyond his ordinary temper. But Gardiner he knew to be so inveterate a Papist, and so deep a dissembler, that he was for throwing him out, not so much for the particulars objected to him, as upon the ill character he had of him. Bonner had also deceived him so formerly, and had been so cruel a persecutor upon the statute of the six articles, and was become so brutal and luxurious, that he judged it necessary to purge the Church of him. And the Sees of London and Winchester were of such consequence, that he was induced, for having these well supplied, to stretch a little in these proceedings against those dissembling Bishops.'

If these were really the maxims upon which he acted, they were certainly very indifferent ones, whether considered in the light of Christian prudence, or of civil policy. For to assume a power of judging of men's hearts, contrary to their declarations and subscriptions, which were all that the law required; and to think that such a construction could justify a legal deprivation, is not very reconcilable to religious principles, and with respect to maxims of policy, such proceedings were still worse, because they esta-

blished the most dangerous precedents, and left every thing open to the will and pleasure of such as were invested with power, as those who abetted this prosecution afterwards felt to their cost. But the truth of the matter seems to be, that Archbishop Cranmer was not either a great lawyer, or a profound politician, which induced him to follow the sentiments of others, of whose abilities he had a good opinion, to which perhaps, he might be the more inclined from the rectitude of his own intentions, and from a charitable apprehension, that other men were as upright as himself, in which, not in this instance only, but in many others, he was sadly deceived.

For, in reality, he was the dupe of the Great in this business, and while he flattered himself that they assisted him in his views for the Church, he was in fact doing theirs at the expence of the Church. The Duke of Somerset had besides the Admiral, another brother, Sir Henry Seymour, to whom he was desirous some good estate might come; and therefore Dr Ponet, who was raised to the See of Winchester upon the deprivation of Gardiner, was hardly warm in it, before he conveyed to this Sir Henry Seymour the stately palace of Marwel, with the lordship and park belonging thereto, and also that of Twyford. There was another nobleman too, the Earl of Wiltshire, afterwards Marquis of Winchester, who had a good stroke at the lands of this See, Bishop Ponet conveying to him the palace, park, and manor of Waltham, with some good farms in the neighbourhood (61). But unluckily for these able politicians, Gardiner survived, recovered his dignity, and recovered also to his See, these and other lands granted away during the time it was taken from him. This scheme was carried still farther, upon depriving Dr Cuthbert Tonstall, of the Bishoprick of Durham, the Bishoprick itself being dissolved (62), with intent to raise a vast temporal estate to the great man who then ruled all, but this likewise proved abortive by the death of King Edward.

(61) Heylin's Hist. of the Reformat. p. 101. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 273. See also note [MM].

(62) Fuller, Bur-

pass all mens expectations, be, as the world seems agreed they are, sure signs of superior talents [BB]. The Queen is said, by most of our Historians, to have recommended three great points to the Bishop of Winchester's care, with equal concern, all of which were attended with almost equal difficulties; the first was, the clearing the legitimacy of her birth, and annulling the divorce of her mother; tho' this was apparently bastardizing her sister, and presumptive successor. The next was, restoring the old religion, and reconciling the nation to Rome, in the same manner as before her father's desertion. The third was, obtaining the consent of Parliament to her marriage with Prince Philip; which was so unpopular, that the former House of Commons prepared an address to the Queen not to marry a foreigner (t). Amongst all the secret and open obstacles, which were not a few, that our Minister had to overcome in the prosecution of these measures, none probably gave him more trouble than getting over his own dislike to every one of them. The procuring the divorce was the first service he rendered the father; and now reversing this divorce, and branding all who had been concerned in it, was the first service required by the daughter. He

(t) See Strype and Burnet.

[BB] *Be sure signs of superior talents* ] It may perhaps be truly said, that Gardiner was the wisest and most fortunate, as Cecil was the worthiest and most steady, of English Ministers. The greater part of Queen Mary's reign was full of uneasiness and misfortunes, but neither began till after the death of the Bishop of Winchester, whose administration was a perfect triumph, which must not be understood over his enemies, for that would be false as well as fulsome flattery; but over all the obstacles he met with, and never Minister met with greater. August the third, 1553, he was discharged from his imprisonment, and took his seat in the Queen's Council, where he was Prime-Minister from the time he entered it, though he was not declared Chancellor till about three weeks after, and had not his patent before the time mentioned in the text. He was a man of such comprehensive parts, that every thing was present to him; and, which is still more extraordinary, whatever he did, was so done, that it looked as if he attended to nothing else.

He saw the kingdom in great confusion, and the Queen surrounded by an army, but he loved not standing forces, and besides her coffers would not afford it; he disbanded them therefore, and provided for the Queen's security by paper. He penned first a proclamation for quieting people's minds in respect to the disputes in Church and State, forbidding the abusive words Papist and Heretick, speaking fair to both parties, and prohibiting any rash acts of loyalty, by injuring those who had been concerned in supporting Queen Jane. To prevent despair, and to give a high idea of the Queen's clemency, a pardon was granted to the Duke of Suffolk, who had persuaded his daughter to take the title of Queen, after he had been four days in the Tower. The Bishop of Winchester had a conference also with the Duke of Northumberland, who it is said told him, he was desirous of living, if it were in a mouse-hole; to which the Bishop replied, that instead of a mouse-hole, he would be glad to spare him one of his palaces, but that he would do well to prepare for the worst; it is reported that he interceded for him to the Queen, but she was not inclined to spare him, and indeed it could not be expected (63).

That the people might not be too much alarmed with the execution of that nobleman, and some of his followers, or conceive harsh ideas of the new reign, there issued about that time two proclamations, one for the regulation of the coin as far as it could be regulated, with a promise of what amendment should follow in that respect; the other for remitting a tax granted to King Edward (64), and though in itself this was a very acceptable act of grace, yet it was sensibly lightened and improved by the manner of doing it; the Proclamation setting forth, that she graciously considering the good wills, forwardness, and hearty dispositions of her true loving subjects, always heretofore exhibited to the aid and succour of the commonweal, with their proper substance and goods, when the service, the necessity and honour of the realm had so required, as well in the times of her father and brother, but especially since the time of her vocation to the crown, in the defence of her royal person, against the malicious force of the most arrant traitor Sir John Dudley, late Duke of Northumberland, and his complices: notwithstanding it was well known to the multitude of her said good

subjects, how by the evil government of the realm in those late years, especially since the said Duke had borne rule, the treasure of the same was marvellously exhausted; and she now presently charged with payment of notable great sums, being the debts of her said brother the King, partly due to divers of her servants and subjects, and partly to certain merchant strangers and others; which for her own honour, and the honour of the realm, she determined, by the help of God, truly to discharge, content, and pay in times convenient and reasonable. That yet having a special mind to the weal of her subjects, and accounting their loving hearts and prosperity as her own weal, and the chiefest treasure that she desired next the favour and grace of God; and having a full assurance in her said subjects, that if the state, the cause and honour of the realms should so require, they would at all times hereafter, exhibit their semblable service, though in the latter session of the said Parliament, holden in the time of the said King Edward, towards the payment and discharge of the said notable debts were granted, two sixmes and two fiftens, and one subsidy of four shillings in the pound, to be raised and levied of the manors, lands, and tenements; and two shillings eight-pence of the goods and chattles of her subjects, which grants were now due unto her by the same act, and would discharge one great piece of the said debts. Her Majesty of her mere grace and great clemency for the relief and succour of her said good subjects, had freely for her, her heirs and successors, pardoned and remitted to them the said subsidy of four shillings the pound, and two shillings eight pence the pound. Trusting her good subjects would have loving consideration thereof, whom she required heartily to bend themselves wholly to serve God to his glory, with continual prayer for the honour and advancement of her grace and the commonweal. There is no doubt made, that these proclamations were drawn by the pen of Bishop Gardiner, who by this means, in some measure, removed the jealousies that had been conceived of Queen Mary, and established in the minds of the common people at least, a firm hope, that, in matters of property, the Queen would be both punctual and just to her subjects, and gentle and moderate in her demands from them.

The same prudent dexterity was visible in the conduct of the first Session of the first Parliament in that reign, in which there passed but one publick and two private bills, all three acts of grace (65). The first was for abolishing those laws passed in the reign of Henry the Eighth, by which new treasons were enacted, and under colour of which, as this law for repealing them recited, several persons of high rank had been condemned and put to death for words, or for very slight and doubtful offences. Of the two private bills, one was for restoring in blood, Lord Edward Courtney, whom the Queen had created Earl of Devonshire; and the other for restoring in like manner, the Lady Gertrude Courtney, widow of the Marquis of Exeter, executed in the reign of King Henry, and these matters dispatched, both houses were prorogued on the twenty-first of October, for a few days, that it might be said in this first Session of her first Parliament, the Queen had done all for, without demanding any thing from, her people.

(65) Godwin, Burnet, Strype.

(63) Burnet, Strype, Richard's Father Persons's Warn-word, p. 43

(64) Copied from the Proclamation.

He had also assisted, promoted, and defended, the King's supremacy, which made way for all that followed, as much or more than any in the kingdom, and had the reputation also of penning what was published in defence of that Prince's marriage with Anne Bolleyn, and all that happened thereupon, which was now to be condemned as null and illegal. Besides, so far as we are guided by unquestionable authorities, this seems to have been going greater lengths than he intended; for hitherto he had not entered into correspondence with the Pope, or done any thing in ecclesiastical affairs but in virtue of the Queen's supremacy, an authority more agreeable to his system of Divinity than that of the Roman Pontiff; but in that particular the Queen was inflexible; and her passion as strong to relinquish this title to the Pope, as her father's ambition was to take it from him (u). The Spanish match crossed the mind of Winchester, as much as it did that of the nation; he foresaw the many troubles would follow from it, and that the Queen would enjoy none of that felicity with which she flattered herself in the prospect. But he well knew what a temper she inherited from her parents, and that she would find ministers enough to carry into execution all that she proposed; he knew of how great importance this was to the kingdom, and that the manner of doing these things was almost as material as the points themselves, since, if any means could be found to mitigate their malignity, it must be by a proper regulation of the conditions attending them (w). Upon this consideration therefore, joined to a sense of his own danger from what was passed if a new revolution happened, he resolved to remain where he was, and employ his utmost skill to render the measures of Queen Mary's reign as beneficial to herself, and as little burthensome to her people, as in their nature they could be; tho' it is certain he was not able to prevent all the evil, or do all the good, he could wish (x). The Convocation being assembled, he procured such questions to be moved there, as he judged conducive to the change he proposed to make; yet went no farther than declaring the Real Presence in the Sacrament, which made way for reviving the old service on the twenty-first of December (y). In Parliament he went the same pace, repealing, by a single law, nine acts passed in the reign of King Edward, all respecting religion; by which those who were of that religion, countenanced by Henry VIII, became as safe as they could wish, and even the grossest Papists were out of danger, yet not restored to power (z). The Queen's legitimacy was established, the divorce declared null and void, the whole fault being thrown upon Archbishop Cranmer, against all truth and justice, since Gardiner had to the full as great a share therein as he, tho' now Chancellor of England and Prime-Minister, while the other was attainted of high-treason, by a bill passed this session; but to make that venerable Prelate some amends, upon an humble letter acknowledging his fault in the business of Queen Jane, he received a pardon (a). These extraordinary changes were wrought rather by address and fair speeches, than by violence or corruption, though some of our writers say the contrary. As to force, the Queen, a few guards excepted, had none; and her case as to money was the same, tho' the Bishop of Winchester was a frugal Minister (b). But what seems to put corruption out of the question in this Parliament, is, that, after all, the members could not be brought to relish the Queen's marriage to Don Philip, and therefore, the Chancellor advised the dissolving this Assembly before the close of the year. And thus two of the three great points were accomplished [CC]. But much

(u) Fox, Fuller, Heylin.

(w) Collier, Strype, Burnet.

(x) Sanders, Persons.

(y) Journal of the Convocation.

(z) Remarks on the Hist. of the Reformat. p. 47.

(a) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer.

(b) Fuller, Heylin, Strype.

[CC] *And thus two of the three great points were accomplished.* According to the character of Queen Mary, as it stands in Bishop Burnet's History, we find zeal for religion was the ruling inclination of her mind; and that the first purpose after her accession, was restoring the old worship, in which she was sure of being supported by many of the nobility, clergy, and gentry; and it is highly probable, that the Bishop of Winchester shewed as much willingness thereto as any of the rest. The question however is, how far he meant to go, and whether his true design was to bring back the whole of Popery, or only to reduce things to the state in which they were at the death of King Henry. If we trust to what most authors have written, we must believe that the former was his great view, as well as that of his mistress; but if we examine his actions, which is the surest way of judging of a wise man's sentiments, we shall see reason to conclude, that he aimed at the latter; it is acknowledged, that he disliked the coming of Pole into England; it is certain that he procured nothing to be done, either in the Convocation or the Parliament, that went farther than his old master's regulations; and it is likewise owned, that when the Queen sent Pole an account of the great things, which as she apprehended had been carried for her, in the second session of her first Parliament, he was far enough from seeing those things in that light that she did (66). He complained, that in the act for repealing her mother's divorce, there was no notice taken of the insult offered to the See of Rome; nor in the other act, re-

pealing the laws of King Edward, any provision made for returning again to the obedience of the See of Rome. May we not then doubt, whether Gardiner ever intended it?

Before this Parliament was called many things had been done, and the Queen had issued various commissions, as supreme head of the Church, and this title was also used in the writ for calling the Parliament, though afterwards laid aside. It is also said, that Bishop Gardiner caused Pole's journey into England to be stopt, that he suggested receiving him with the title of the Pope's Legate, was hurrying on things too fast, and that he procured from the Emperor Charles the Fifth, some intimations of the same kind, which disposed Queen Mary to listen altogether to his advice, instead of receiving Italian Counsels, against which she had been cautioned by his Imperial Majesty. Upon these motives, Pole became, and continued, his enemy, as long as they continued together in the world. It is however very true, that our Bishop altered his conduct afterwards, that he received this Cardinal as the Pope's Legate, with the highest marks of honour, that he preached a famous sermon at Paul's Cross (67), upon the reconciling of the nation to the Pope; and if he was not the author, had at least a great share in that bloody persecution which ensued against the Protestants. Against these accusations there is no defending him, and yet some things may be said in alleviation of his offences.

He made no great haste in restoring Popery, or in calling Cardinal Pole as the Pope's Legate; he did not

(67) Of which some account will be given.

(66) So he expresses himself in a Letter to the Queen, in which he warns her to beware of preferring motives of Policy to motives of Religion.

express

much greater difficulties were to be surmounted before the third could be brought to bear. The marriage treaty was left entirely in the hands of Bishop Gardiner, and it is allowed he managed it very dextrously. He made use of the great reluctance shewn by the last Parliament, to procure such articles as might secure the nation against the ambition of Philip and his Spaniards; and foreseeing expences might follow upon this match, notwithstanding the hard bargain he had made, he procured, as is said, half a million sterling from the Emperor, to facilitate the approbation of a new Parliament. But while these preparations employed those in the cabinet, such as abhorred this match were contriving very formidable measures for it's disappointment. Sir Thomas Wiat of Kent, and Sir Peter Carew of Cornwall, laid the plan of a deep and dangerous insurrection, in which the unfortunate Duke of Suffolk had just share enough to bring his own head, and, which was much more to be regretted, the heads of Lady Jane and her husband Lord Guilford Dudley, to the block. The whole scheme miscarried by the ill management, and, to say the truth, the want of honesty in the Chiefs (c). Sir Peter Carew declared before the time fixed, and was easily subdued; this forced out Sir Thomas Wiat before he was ready. Yet he was very near carrying his point, and might have carried it if he had used less artifice; but he carried his declarations of duty to the Queen so high, that those who were in the first digestion of his enterprize were afraid to join him; so that at length his forces were broken, and he surrendered. Sir George Harper betrayed the whole conspiracy, and explained all the secret correspondencies on which those who embarked in it had depended (d). Sir Thomas also behaved meanly, and talked of discoveries to save his life. When he found that was impracticable, he recanted, and denied the truth of what he had said: But, notwithstanding this, some persons of the highest rank suffered deeply, either by his perfidy or pusillanimity; and it is one of the heaviest charges against the Bishop of Winchester, that he gave credit, or seemed to give credit, to these informations (e) [DD]. All insurrections,

(c) Burnet, Collier, Echard.

(d) Stowe, Hollinshed, Speed.

(e) Burnet, Collier, Strype.

express any great violence in the beginning of his administration, and is said to have testified some indignation against Bonner, for the pleasure he took in pursuing hereticks. We shall have occasion hereafter to discuss the point of his cruelty more at large, yet here it may not be amiss to observe, that in the years 1553, 1554, when he was in the zenith of his power, there was not one burnt, and in the last year of his life, there were fewer burnt than in any year of that reign. That he did return to Popery again is not to be denied, but it seems to have been when he had no other choice to make, so that he took up with this, because he could not get a better religion; for if there be any thing clear or certain with regard to his sentiments in these matters, he thought the ceremonies and discipline of the Church ought to be under the direction of the State, and that Princes might waive their Supremacy if they thought fit, for the sake of what was stiled unity in the Church.

That he had really no way to avoid doing what he did, will appear clearly from hence; that on the one side, he had the furious Papists, not his friends, who insinuated that he was more a Statesman than a Bishop, and to be esteemed rather as a Politician than a Prelate; while the Protestants, and more especially the exiles, took every possible method to expose him, inventing many things to his prejudice, as for instance, at the beginning of the Queen's reign, that she was with child by him (63), which however improbable, as he was above seventy, and she near forty, made much disturbance; and by the translating the piece he had written for the King's supremacy, and other treatises, not at all consistent with the cause of the Church and the Court of Rome. He was therefore, with some of his brethren, obliged to swim with that stream to which they had given strength enough to carry them out of their depth. In this respect therefore he deserved to be stiled a dissembler, and the more so, because upon his death-bed, when he had least reason to dissemble, he shewed his repentance of many things, and declared for Justification by Faith, against works as will be shewn hereafter.

[DD] That he gave credit, or seemed to give credit, to these informations.] There was, as there commonly is against all Prime Ministers, a very high spirit of resentment against the Bishop of Winchester; he was represented as the author of the Spanish match, as the betrayer of his Queen and country, and as one who had sold his country to strangers. Whereas in making the match, he submitted to the Queen's will, who thought she could not be safe, even upon the throne, without the protection of some potent foreign Prince. In settling the terms, there is no doubt at all, that this prelate set them so high as that Philip himself, as great a

Politician as he was, found it impossible to pick a hole in them; and in reference to the treasure, the nation was at that time much exhausted; the Spaniards in pursuit of their projects, were scattering their money through all Europe; and as the Chancellor had been obliged to cry Philip up for a great, a rich, and a magnificent Prince, he thought it not amiss that some of the money should be scattered here, and that with his person, the English should see a little of his treasure. Those that rose under Sir Thomas Wiat, when they came into Southwark, rifled the Bishop's study, tore all his books to pieces, so that in Winchester Close, people might walk up to their knees in papers (69). This however was an open testimony of resentment; but William Thomas, Esq; who had been Clerk of the Council to King Edward, and a great favourite of his, is said to have formed a design against this Prelate's life; however that was, he was convicted and executed, as having been one of the principal conspirators (70). A little before Sir Thomas Wiat died, he was examined by Secretary Bourn, before the Earl of Devonshire, in respect to what he had charged him with, in reference to his design; but at his death, he declared him innocent (71). There were some aspersions also very falsely thrown upon the Lady Elizabeth, who came into a great deal of trouble, was sent prisoner to the Tower, and examined by the Bishop of Winchester, who is reported to have been her great enemy, and to have let fall some strange speeches, which were thought to refer to her, such as, *We may shake off the leaves, and lop the branches; but if we do not destroy the root, the hope of Hereticks, we do nothing.*

However, her innocence and her fortitude preserved her, and after her sister's marriage, King Philip is said to have interposed on her behalf, in hopes, as some say, of marrying her after the decease of her sister; but as others with greater probability affirm, from a motive of policy; foreseeing, that if she was removed, the Crown, as things then stood, would descend to Mary Queen of Scots, who being married to the Dauphin of France, that must have proved a great check to the Spanish designs (72), and to the project of universal Monarchy which Philip had formed very early; yet these are but conjectures, and it is very remarkable, that Mr Camden, who no doubt had the best information, and could have no reason to conceal any thing he knew, refers the expression about the root and branches, to Dr John Story (73), who was afterwards executed for High-Treason in Queen Elizabeth's reign; ascribes her persecution in it's greatest violence, and when to secure her life, she was forced to make profession of the Popish religion, to Cardinal Poic, without so much as once mentioning the Bishop of Winchester's name;

(69) Stowe's Annals, p. 619.

(70) Bale de Script. Part ii. p. 110. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 175.

(71) Hollinshed, Stowe, Speed.

(72) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 287. Godwin's Annals.

(73) Introd. ad Annal. regn. Eliz.

insurrections, when suppressed, are useful to those against whom they are raised, more especially when managed by men of parts and dexterity. None knew better how to procure, or to use, advantages, than the Bishop of Winchester; and he so well managed mens hopes and fears, with every other help he had, that when the Queen's second Parliament met, April the second 1554, it very soon appeared he might prevail on them to give a sanction to his measures, whatever they were. The terms of the Queen's marriage, as he settled them, met with very little opposition; and as for making severe laws against Hereticks, it is allowed the Bishop had no other trouble than to restrain them, which in several instances he did. His own and the wiser Bishops zeal, not flaming near so high as that of this House of Commons (f). In the whole of his conduct thro' this Parliament, over which he had as much influence as Minister ever had, there was nothing done that was either unworthy of his station, or injurious to his country; on the contrary, foreseeing that some who had access to the Queen might make an ill use of her confidence, and engage her, by plausible promises, to countenance things every way beneath her, and dangerous to her subjects, he procured this to be put out of her power, by a short law drawn by his direction, as may be seen more at large in the notes [EE]. But when the great measures

(f) Godwin, Burnet, Heylin.

name; so that notwithstanding what is said in Holinshed, and other writers; there is good reason to doubt whether this Prelate went any farther in these matters than his duty and the Queen's temper; who, as Camden very truly says, though a mild and benevolent Princess, bore her sister no good will, might require. In this however it is hard to decide, as there might be a great deal, and not without authority, alledged on both sides.

[EE] As may be seen more at large in the notes.] In the former part of his life, this Prelate, upon more occasions than one, had taken upon him to express a great zeal for the Laws, and a very warm concern for the constitution of his country. But it very often happens, that Patriots preferred forget their former professions, endeavour to explain them away, or, it may be, retract them, and act in direct opposition to them: This was not the conduct of Gardiner, the best and most candid of our Historians being his judges. They very fairly admit, that he shewed himself through the whole course of his administration, a good Englishman (74), and one as careful to preserve his country from becoming a province to foreigners, or his countrymen from being enslaved by an undue extension of the prerogative, as any minister we ever had; it would be easy to prove all this by a train of numerous quotations, but as these would necessarily take up a great deal of room, and as this article has already swelled into a great extent, we will content ourselves with producing two passages from a modern author (75), who has abridged within a narrow compass, what Bishop Burnet, and other Ecclesiastical Historians have written at large, from our records and other authentic testimonies.

(74) Fuller, Burnet, Heylin.

(75) Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 318, 320.

' In the managing of this treaty Gardiner had a principal share, for he was the oracle of the Council Board, as having thirty years experience in affairs, and a great knowledge of the Courts of Christendom and of the state of England. In drawing the articles of the marriage he had a double design, one was to have them so framed, as they might easily pass in Parliament; and the other was to exclude the Spaniards from having any share in the government of England, which he designed to hold in his own hands. Accordingly it was agreed, that the government and gift of places, should be entirely in Queen Mary; and though Prince Philip was to be called King, named in all writs, and his image put on the coin and seals, yet the Queen's hand alone was to give authority to every thing without his; no Spaniard was to be capable of any office; no change was to be made in the law, nor was the Queen to be required to go out of England against her will, nor might their issue go out of England, but by the consent of the nobility. The Queen was to have a jointure of forty thousand pounds a year out of Spain, and twenty thousand pounds out of the Netherlands. If the Queen had a son, he was to inherit Burgundy and the Netherlands, as well as England; and if Philip's son died, he was to inherit all the Spanish Dominions. If the Queen had only daughters, they were to succeed to her crown, and have such portions from Spain, as were usually given to Kings daughters. Prince Philip was to have no share in the government

after her death, and the Queen might still keep up the League with France, notwithstanding this match.

' On the second day of April, a new Parliament met, which was the second in this reign, but the most considerable members were before corrupted by Gardiner (\*), who gave them pensions, some two hundred, and others a hundred pounds a year for their voices. The first act that passed was declaratory, that all the prerogatives and limitations which by law belonged to the Kings of England were the same, whether the crown fell into the hands of a male or female. The real meaning of this was little known, some feared there was a pernicious design in it; and, that it being declared that she had all the authority of any of her progenitors, it might be inferred that she, by this, could pretend to a right of conquest, and like William the Conqueror, seize on the estates of the English. But it was so conceived, that the Queen was put under the same limitations, as well as acknowledged to have the same prerogatives with her predecessors.

(\*) See note [M22].

' The secret of this Act was afterwards discovered: a projecting man, who had served Cromwell, and had been deeply engaged in the Lady Jane's affair, and the late insurrection, by making a timely application to the Emperor's Ambassador obtained his pardon; and for amends, he offered a project to the Ambassador, that the Queen should declare, that she succeeded to the crown by the Common Law, but was not bound by the Statute Law, which only obliged Kings, and not Queens, by which she might pretend to be a conqueror and rule at pleasure, and by that might restore both religion and the Abbey Lands without any restraint. This was brought to the Queen by the Ambassador, who begged of her to keep it very secret. She disliked the paper, yet she sent for Gardiner, and charged him to give her his opinion of it sincerely, as he would answer to God for it at the great day. He read it carefully, and told her, it was a most pernicious contrivance, and begged of her not to hearken to such platforms, which might be brought her by base sycophants. Upon that she burnt the paper, and ordered the Ambassador to bring her no more of such projects.

' This gave Gardiner sensible apprehensions of the mischiefs that Spanish counsels might bring upon the nation, and therefore he procured the forementioned Act to be made, by which the Queen was as much bound by the Statute Law as her predecessors. He also procured an Act to be passed, ratifying the articles of the marriage of the Queen, with very strong clauses for keeping the government entirely in the Queen's hands, so that Prince Philip might not take it upon him as Henry the Seventh had done, when he married the heirs of the House of York: for as that King set up a title in his own name, and kept the government in his own hands, so the Spaniards began now to derive a descent from John of Gaunt, father to Henry the Fourth, which caused Gardiner to be the more cautious in this matter; and it must be acknowledged, that the preserving the nation out of the hands of the Spaniards, was almost only owing to his care and wisdom (\*). In this Parliament several

(\*) This is Bishop Burnet's observation.

measures aimed at were once adjusted, the Chancellor supposing that what remained for accomplishing the whole of the Queen's plan, might be compassed more effectually after the marriage, the Queen on the fifth of May came to the Parliament, and, having given her consent to fifteen bills, dissolved that Assembly (g). All obstacles to the marriage being now removed, and the circumstances of the House of Austria making it necessary to hasten it, King Philip put to sea, and arrived towards the close of July at Southampton, escorted by a considerable fleet, which however was obliged to pay homage to that of England in the narrow seas; such was the temper of those times, and the vigour of that administration (h). He proceeded with a numerous train of nobility from Southampton to Winchester, where he was received, and splendidly entertained, by the Bishop; on St James's day, the tutelary Saint of Spain, he was by that Prelate solemnly married to the Queen in the cathedral, the Emperor Charles V. resigning to him the kingdom of the two Sicilies, and many nominal sovereignties, upon the marriage (i). In his way to London the King took Windsor, where he was installed Knight of the Garter, and made his entry into this capital on the eleventh of August 1554, with prodigious magnificence, and, like all new Princes, with universal acclamations (k). The Chancellor well knowing this fair weather would not continue long, resolved to avail himself of it while it lasted, and therefore called a new Parliament about the middle of November the same year. A very little after the session begun Cardinal Pole came into England, not much to the real good liking either of the King or Chancellor. But the Queen being set upon it, and the new House of Commons having the same bigotted spirit with the old one, a solemn deputation was sent to fetch him over, Lord Paget and Sir William Cecil being two of the Commissioners. His attainder, in the reign of the late King Henry VIII, was reversed with as much facility as it was made, and with much the same consideration (l). To prevent his falling into the same inconveniency that Wolsey had done, he had a licence, under the Queen's broad seal, to execute his functions as the Pope's Legate. When these advances had been gradually made, a supplication was presented from both Houses to the King and Queen, that the nation might be reconciled to the See of Rome; which being granted November 30, 1554, the request of both Lords and Commons was signified, in the presence of their Majesties, to his Holiness's Legate, by the Lord High-Chancellor the Bishop of Winchester; when the Cardinal, after a long oration, solemnly absolved them, and received the People of England once more into the bosom of the Catholick Church (m). By these gradations all things were brought back to their old situation; and the sanguinary laws, for repressing what they called Heresy, revived and carried into execution. Thus the Bishop of Winchester paid the full price of his exaltation to the Ministry, and obtained, in spite of all difficulties, all that the Queen had desired (n). But the joy ensuing on this was quickly troubled by the bloody persecution set on foot in almost all parts of the kingdom (o), whether by the advice, and with the entire concurrence, of the Bishop of Winchester, as many Historians affirm, it is but just should be more largely discussed [FF] than the bounds of this

(g) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III.

(h) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.

(i) Godwin, Stowe, Speed.

(k) Godwin's Annals.

(l) Strype, Fuller, Burnet.

(m) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II.

(n) Heylin, Fuller, Burnet.

(o) Fox's Acts and Monuments.

\* several other bills were prepared against the Lollards, and for the six articles, but none of them passed, nor nothing material was enacted, besides a confirmation of former attainders, and the restoration of the Bishoprick of Durham. So the Parliament was dissolved on the twenty fifth day of May.

[FF] *It is but just, should be more largely discussed* ] We have more than once touched this matter of the wrong imputations upon this Bishop, for his cruelty to the Protestants, and promised to speak of it more at large. It is fit this promise should be executed, the rather, because in most of our histories, his character is represented as very odious in this respect. In the first place we shall observe, that there is a double charge against him, that he was the author of the Doctrine of Persecution in Queen Mary's reign; and next, that he was active and zealous in carrying this doctrine into execution; with respect to the former it is very positively asserted, that when Pole advised the Queen to rely upon fair means for bringing men back to the Romish Church, to reform the lives of the Clergy, and to take other steps of the same mild nature; Bishop Gardiner opposed this, and prevailed so far, as to bring the Queen to consent, that the weapons of the Law, rather than the arguments of the Gospel, should be employed to reduce Hereticks to the Catholick Church. This, Bishop Burnet having transcribed from others, adds, that *this advice proceeded from his own abject and servile spirit* (76).

With respect to particulars, he is charged to have condemned Dr Robert Farrar, Bishop of St Davids, who was burnt with great cruelty in Wales; the like accusation we find with respect to Dr John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, with this aggravating circumstance, that it proceeded from private resentment for

what Hooper had done against him in the former reign. To him, is chiefly ascribed the burning Father Latimer, once Bishop of Worcester, and Dr Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London; and he is farther said to have been a persecutor of Archbishop Cranmer, with a view of getting into his Archbishoprick; and that it was no better motive than this, which afterwards engaged him to protect and prolong that prelate's life, in order to defeat the views and expectations of Cardinal Pole, and thereby gain time for himself to equal him in one, to deprive him of another, and to supplant him in a third dignity, by procuring from Pope Paul the Fourth, a Cardinal's hat with the Legantine Power, and his nomination to the See of Canterbury, which would indeed have rendered him not equal only, but superior to his master Wolsey. Besides these, there are many lighter imputations, such as his driving abroad the Dukes of Suffolk, and other Protestants of distinction, by his menaces, and threats; and his expressing the most violent resentment against the exiles in general, though he well knew that they only fled to be out of the reach of his severity.

After reporting fairly what has been asserted, in order to render the portrait of this great man as hideous and deformed as it is possible, we are obliged in justice to consider what may be said in extenuation, both of the general and particular charges, and in doing this, we shall content ourselves with appealing to the common sense and candour of the intelligent and attentive reader, and the authorities of Protestant writers; for as to the Papists, they exceed as much on the other hand, and bestow upon him praises as little consistent with truth, as the flaming invectives of some of his enemies, so that no man of an impartial disposition, can ever prevail upon himself to give an implicit belief to either. It is

this narrative will allow. Certain it is, that, to this time, our Prelate had not discovered any thing of this disposition. He is indeed reputed, by many of our Historians, a great dissembler

strange that the Bishop of Winchester should oppose the milder measures of Pole, when he came over veiled with legantine power, considering, that before he had this, that prelate himself was possessed of almost equal authority, which he exercised in quite another manner. We have observed in the text, that the House of Commons in the second Parliament of Queen Mary's reign, expressed a furious zeal for the old religion, and had actually prepared a bill for reviving the old Law of the six Articles, the passing which was prevented by the dissolution of that Parliament when Gardiner was Prime-Minister (77). Of this law the Protestants in general were so much afraid, that John Fox, in the name of the exiles, penned an epistle in Latin to the Parliament, in which he told them they had a Queen, who, as she was most noble, she was ready to listen to sound and wholesome counsel; and that they had a Chancellor too, who, as he was learned, so he was not of a rough nature, if uninfluenced by the counsels of others. His own words are very elegant and pathetick, *Porro, habetis ad hoc Reginam, ut Nobilissimam, ita ad sana & salubria quaeque obsequacem Principem. Habetis & Cancellarium, ut doctrina praestabilem, ita natura non improbum, siquorum absint concilia.* He goes on to insinuate, that as among animals there are some born to create trouble and mischief to the rest; so there wanted not of mankind, a race by nature turbulent and cruel, and formed to disturb and destroy, by their intrigues, both Church and State. It was from them therefore that Fox and his associates then dreaded those mischiefs that afterwards followed. But it is strange logick to infer, that because Bishop Gardiner, by a hasty dissolution of that Parliament, prevented that bill from passing, therefore he was the author of cruel counsels, and not the person, who by an Act of another Parliament, had the power of persecuting put into his hands.

Before the proceedings of the Protestant Bishops for religion, the Popish Prelates, who were to persecute, went not to Westminster, or Winchester House, but to Lambeth (78), where they received their instructions, and all the bloody things that were afterwards done, were done by commissions from the person, who is said to have given those mild counsels; and it is acknowledged, even by Bishop Burnet, who makes Gardiner the author of these cruelties, that he grew very soon weary of them, and refused to have any farther hand in them, reproaching Bonner for his butcher-like disposition, in pursuing them as he did (79). Would it not have been natural in Bonner and his associates to vindicate the Cardinal and themselves, by recriminating; and if they had done so, is it possible that the world should not have heard of it? besides, in another proceeding, when the prisoner charged the Bishops with misleading the Queen, and drawing her against her will to these severe courses, they very roundly asserted the contrary, and that themselves were rather compelled by her (80).

Indeed whatever is said from John Fox, of Gardiner's giving cruel advice, is in a good measure contradicted by what Strype delivers from the authority of records, and of the directions from Lambeth before-mentioned, which it is necessary we should produce for our own justification (81). 'In these instructions, there are several strictures, that make it appear, Pole was not so gentle towards the Hereticks (as the professors of the Gospel were then stiled) as is reported, but rather the contrary, and that he went hand in hand with the bloody Bishops of these days. For it is plain here, that he put the Bishops upon proceeding with them according to the sanguinary laws lately revived, and put in full force and virtue. What an invention was that of his, a kind of Inquisition, by him set up, whereby, not a man might escape, that stood not well affected to Popery? I mean, his ordering books to be made and kept, wherein the names of all such were to be written, that in every place and parish in England were reconciled; and so, whoe'er were not found in those books, might be known to be no friends to the Pope, and so to be proceeded against. And indeed, after Pole's crafty and zealous management of this reconciliation, all

that good opinion that men had before conceived of him vanished, and they found themselves much mistaken in him, especially seeing so many learned and pious Gospel Bishops and Ministers imprisoned, and martyred under him, and by his commission. Info-much, that now people spake of him, as bad as of the Pope himself, or the worst of his Cardinals.'

We will now proceed to the particular charges. As to Dr Robert Farrar, the account given of him by Bishop Godwin, who lived in those times, and knew well what he wrote, is this (82). 'He was a man of a rigid temper and rough behaviour, which drew on him much trouble, even in King Edward's days, and was now perhaps his destruction: for having been preferred to that dignity by the Duke of Somerset, after his death, this good and learned man, by the unhappy moroseness of his manners, which even bordered upon arrogance, raised against himself accusations. Two of these, who were Bishops afterwards under Queen Elizabeth, easily prevailed with the faction against Somerset, to get Farrar imprisoned. Thus being in custody at Queen Mary's accession to the throne, he was brought before the Bishop of Winchester, and 'tis very probable, that by a little temper in his answers, and a discreet regard to the times, he might have saved himself, without wrong to his integrity, from the hands of bloody men, as several had done, who were not engaged in the cause of Lady Jane, nor had any other way affronted the patrons of Popery, whose flight was therefore connived at, or if they were taken, they were soon discharged again, at the intercession of their friends. But Farrar, sway'd by his natural severity, and ungoverned passion, gave such bold and provoking answers to the Bishops, that it is not to be admired it went so hard with him.' It is therefore his commitment only, that is to be attributed to the Bishop of Winchester; for as to his trial, conviction, and the terrible cruelties afterwards exercised on him, they are to be placed to the account of Dr Morgan, Bishop of St Davids; however, from the foregoing account, it appears, that Bishop Godwin, thought with John Fox that Gardiner was not naturally ill tempered, and that a little civility, which certainly is not incompatible with Christianity, might have opened a passage to this Prelate to escape the flames.

In reference to Bishop Hooper, we are told by Strype (83), that he was extremely hated by Gardiner, not only as an earnest reformer of religion, but for having been one of the witnesses against him in the time of King Edward. For this, it is said, that he was exceedingly ill used in prison. Bishop Godwin gives another account of this matter; he says, that he had been very instrumental in procuring Bonner's deprivation (84), and adds, *which now probably proved his ruin*; it is very likely from hence, that Mr Strype put Gardiner for Bonner, and though he tells us afterwards, that he transcribed the circumstances he mentions from a letter of Bishop Hooper, in which he stiles Gardiner, God's *enemy and mine*; yet as that letter is not placed in his appendix, we have no opportunity of seeing whether Gardiner is there mentioned by name, or whether the person to whom that character is given, is not left to be discovered from circumstances, which point us not to Gardiner, but to Bonner. It cannot however be denied, that the Bishop of Winchester sat in judgment upon this Prelate, in the church of St Mary Overs, near his own house, but then he sat as a Commissioner, with twelve other Bishops; and though Mr Strype does not insist upon what was said by any of the rest, yet he admits that Winchester both offered a pardon, and laboured all he could to convince Hooper, that nothing dangerous to his conscience, was expected from him; which proposition he rejected with great disdain, and the Bishop of Winchester, as his commission obliged him, pronounced sentence.

In this, without doubt, he acted severely, and against the sentiments of humanity; but as things were circumstanced, it is not easy to see how he could act otherwise, or how the blood of Bishop Hooper, lay more at his door, than that of the other Bishops, or the blood

(77) Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 320.

(78) Collier's Church Hist. Vol. II. p. 379.

(79) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 304.

(80) See the Hist. of John Rogers's martyrdom in Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(81) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 346, 347.

(82) Life of Queen Mary, p. 349.

(83) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 179.

(84) Life of Queen Mary, p. 349.

dissembler (*p*); but in this acted quite another part. In all publick transactions he professed himself always of the same opinion with the Council, and did not aim at screening himself from popular odium, by putting on a cloke of moderation. But, in all the trials, where, by virtue of Cardinal Pole's commission, he was obliged to be, he was exceedingly assiduous to shew the prisoners, that, in the matter of the Real Presence, which was most insisted on, they might easily save their lives, by complying with subscriptions drawn in very general terms; till, by foul language, they convinced him that he had to do with men who were as little to be wheedled as frightened out of their principles (*q*). This surely proves that he was not desirous of severities, or persecuted for the sake of gratifying a cruel temper, or to revenge past injuries (*r*). And that such Protestants as were of milder natures, and content to reserve themselves for better times, when driven to distress were well received by him, and not barely screened but encouraged and protected, without offering any violence to their consciences farther than locking them up, and committing the key to the custody of their own discretions, I may very safely affirm is a point out of dispute (*s*) [GG]. But now, after the coming of Cardinal Pole, it is not impossible that

(p) See Fox's Acts and Monuments.  
And Fuller, Burnet, and Strype's from him.

(q) As in the cases of Farrar, Hooper, and Latimer.

(r) Imputed to him by Fox and others.

(s) Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith.

the

of others put to death under colour of Heresy, in the time of Henry the Eighth; at the doors of such Bishops, as afterwards changed their sentiments, and became Martyrs for the same opinion that those held, whom they formerly condemned. These were dismal and dreadful times, when a zeal, that was certainly not according to knowledge, prevailed strongly in the minds of men, and induced them, under the colour of promoting the Gospel, to act exactly in the same manner as the Jews did against those who first preached it. It may however be inferred from hence, that being a vice of the times, it ought not, with peculiar vehemence, to be ascribed to any particular man. Bishop Gardiner, to be sure, had his share in these barbarous proceedings, yet he had but his share, and ought not therefore to bear all the reproach.

Bishop Burnet says, that by this time he was convinced, severity would not do, and that refusing to meddle any more with condemnations, he left them to Bonner (85). Yet it was some months after this, that Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford; with which, the Bishop of Winchester, is by the same writers, reported to be highly pleased, and to have been so eager to receive the news, that he delayed his dinner till the post came in (86); which how well founded a report it is, we shall hereafter have occasion to enquire. In the mean time let it be observed, how the same writers vary this man's character, he had borne five years imprisonment in the reign of King Edward, besides the loss of his Bishoprick and all his other preferments, rather than stoop to make a submission; and yet his advising these cruelties, is ascribed to his servile and abject temper, apt to be wrought on by the same means. Then he becomes a brutal persecutor, taking pleasure in the miseries and misfortunes, not only of his fellow creatures, but of some who had been his intimate acquaintance; yet the acts, or judicial proceedings, plainly prove, that he took all the pains in his power to persuade those who were tried before him to accept of pardon. At length, it is said, he was thoroughly distasted at persecution, because he saw it did not answer his end; but instead of drawing the people to, drove them from Popery; and yet we find him some months after, having a better stomach to the blood and slaughter of men, with whom he had lived before in intimacy, than to his dinner: this is not only to make him a bad man, but a beast, and those who would be inclined to believe him ever so wicked, will find it hard to reconcile this to his weakness, or that again to the great things which he performed, or the character he had with some of the best and wisest amongst the Protestants.

In respect to Cranmer, all that is said of the Bishop of Winchester's conduct toward him, is upon a supposition of the original author's tergiversity, in judging of that Prelate's thought, and penetrating into the secrets of his heart; for no body has the confidence to say, that he owned he preserved Cranmer's life to spite Pole, or to get possession of his See, to which, by the way, Bishops of Winchester rarely aspire. Let us now hear a few things on the other side. Very soon after King Edward's death, a rumour prevailed, as if the Archbishop had changed his sentiments (87); in answer to which, he drew up a kind of Manifesto, which was published without his consent, by the indiscretion

of his friends. Upon this, he was brought before the Council where Gardiner presided, there he boldly owned the paper, said, he meant to have enlarged and strengthened it, and to have posted it upon the gates of St Paul's. He was, notwithstanding this, discharged, contrary to all men's expectations, but by the Bishop of Winchester's advice; and if the Archbishop had followed the counsel of his friends he might then have withdrawn; we are farther assured, that Gardiner proposed removing him from his dignity, and allowing him a pension for his support in a private state of life. When he was attainted of High-Treason by Parliament, for the share he had in Queen Jane's business, he had a pardon granted him. Such was the treatment of this great Prelate, while Gardiner had the sole direction of affairs; and after this, when the supreme power in Ecclesiastical affairs was transferred to Cardinal Pole, he had still authority enough to preserve the Archbishop's life, and it is allowed that he did preserve it, and there let the matter rest.

As to the Duchesse of Suffolk, what is related concerning her, runs thus (88). 'This lady being most zealous for the Reformation in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, Stephen Gardiner, after that he was restored to his Bishoprick of Winchester, by Queen Mary, sent for her husband in the first year of her reign, and amongst some questions touching his religion, asked, *Whether the Lady, his wife, was now as ready to set up Mass, as she had been to pull it down, when in her progress, she caused a dog in a rocket, to be carried, and called by his name?* whereupon, being advertised by his friends, that the Bishop meant to call the Duchesse, his wife, to an account of her Faith; and foreseeing danger, he procured the Queen's licence to travel beyond sea, under colour of such debts as were due from the Emperor, to the late Duke of Suffolk, his Lady's former husband. And having obtained it, passed the seas at Dover, in June the same year, leaving her behind, who in January following, went disguised from her house in Barbican, and passing to Leigh in Essex, privately took shipping, and after much danger met her husband in the Duchy of Cleves.' If there was any thing harsh in what the Bishop said to Mr Bertie, it must consist in putting him in mind of an action no ways suitable to that great Lady's quality. It is not pretended, that the Bishop of Winchester, either impeded their retreat, or persecuted them after they were abroad; it is true, that some injuries were afterwards offered them, which obliged them to fly, with some hazard to their lives, but this was after the Bishop of Winchester was in his grave.

We are also told, that the Bishop frightened the famous John Fox (89) out of England, at a time, when he was tutor to the Duke of Norfolk's grand-children; but as in this matter, all is ascribed to Fox's own suspicion, though it might be a reason why he did not easily forgive that Prelate, yet it ought not to reflect any stain upon his character. After all, what is here collected remains entirely under the censure of the reader, who in every case, without question, will distinguish which are facts, and which are conjectures.

[GG] *Is a point not to be disputed* There was, without doubt, very great confusion amongst those that had made a figure in the court of King Edward the

(83) Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 1143, 1144.

(89) See the Life of John Fox, written by himself, prefixed to the 2d. Vol. of his Acts and Monuments.

(85) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 304.

(86) Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 323.

(87) Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 304, 305.

the Archbishop of Canterbury being deprived, and he nominated to that See (t), with the legantine authority in his hands, Gardiner might have less weight in ecclesiastical affairs, more especially if, as some say, Queen Mary considered him rather as a Statesman than a Priest, and looked on Pole as a Confessor for religion, and a Saint in morals (u). If this was at all the case, Bishop Gardiner did wisely not to contend with him; for, besides the privilege of his high birth, and his dignity, it was visible enough that he would be supported by a great party amongst the Clergy, and the hot men in the House of Commons, who, by restoring the Pope's supremacy, and reviving the laws against Herefy, had made that cause their own. At least there is something so probable in this, and it accounts so well

Sixth, and who were sincerely Protestants, when they saw Queen Mary fixed upon the throne, and how strong her inclinations were to the Popish Religion. But however, there were some very eminent men, who by behaving with great moderation and decency, preserved themselves from trouble, without making shipwreck of their consciences; and of these, not a few stood indebted for their safety, and something more, to the protection afforded them by the Bishop of Winchester. Amongst these was Sir William Cecil (90), afterwards the great Lord Burleigh, who had been twice Secretary of State, and of whom it was suggested, that he furnished the reasons of policy set forth in his master's will, in favour of Queen Jane. Some troubles he met with, which were not very sharp, but lived afterwards, not only in peace and honour, but might also have been Secretary again if he would have complied; and tho' he declined this, because of the condition, yet it was without incurring the Queen's displeasure, or the loss of Gardiner's friendship, with whom he went over to Calais, in the last year of that Prelate's life, and remained upon perfect good terms with him to the last.

Sir Thomas Smith, who was also Secretary to King Edward, was, by the favour of Gardiner, permitted to live in a state of learned privacy, which he affected, without any enquiry into his religious principles, and with a pension of one hundred pounds a year, which in those times was a considerable sum, for his better support (91), though he had a good estate of his own. Yet both Cecil and Smith had formerly opposed the Bishop one at Court, and the other at the University, but without any thing of rudeness or asperity; which Gardiner was so far from remembering, that he treated them both with the utmost kindness and respect. We may add to these, the celebrated Mr Ascham, another Secretary for the Latin tongue, continued in his office, as indeed he well deserved, and his salary increased by this Prelate's favour, which he fully repaid, by those grateful and elegant epistles to him, that are extant among his works, which do equal honour to both, and which will be read with pleasure, as long as there continues any taste for stile or sentiment. But let us hear how honest Mr Strype represents this matter, with respect both to Smith and Ascham, his words are these (92).

'This must be remembered to this Bishop's commendation, among the many evil things that asperse and blacken his name to this day. Nor must the like favour, or a greater, be forgotten by him, shewn to such another learned and grave Protestant, friend, and contemporary with Smith, I mean Roger Ascham, which I must have leave to mention here. Whom the Bishop of Winchester did not only spare, but called to Court, and preferred to be Secretary of the Latin tongue to Queen Mary. Whom for his learning in the languages, and incomparable faculty of a clean stile and beautiful writing, he greatly loved, and obliged with many benefits. And when Sir Francis Engfield, Master of the Wards and Liveries, a fierce Papist, had often cried out upon Ascham to the Bishop, as an Heretick, and fit to be rejected and punished as such; he never would hearken to him, either to punish him, or remove him from his place. Thus lived two excellent Protestants, under the wings, as it were, of the sworn enemy and destroyer of Protestants, Ascham and Smith, to whom we now return again.'

The same plain spoken writer, in an account he gives us of the adventures of one Underhill, a gentleman of the Band of Pensioners, and a zealous Protestant, has the following passage, which happened when the Queen was going to be married (93). 'Then was there preparing, says he, to go with the Queen to

Winchester: and all the books of the ordinaries were perused by the Bishop of Winchester and the Earl of Arundel, two great Papists, to consider of every man, And one would think Underhill should have hardly escaped now. Sir Humphry Radcliff, Lieutenant of the Band, brought unto them the book of the Pensioners. Which when they overlooked, and came unto Underhill's name, *what doth he here*, said the Earl of Arundel? *I know no cause why he should not be here*, said Radcliffe, who also was secretly a favourer of the Gospel. *He is an honest man, and hath served from the beginning of the Band, and was as forward as any to serve the Queen, in the time of Wyatt's rebellion. Let him pass then*, said the Bishop. *Well*, said the Earl, *you may do so, but I assure your Lordship, he is an arch-heretick.* Thus he passed the brunt.'

This is a strange proof of our author's position, that Bishop Gardiner was a great, that is, a bigotted Papist; and the ingenious Dr Fuller, has no less strange a proof of his being a most invenomed persecutor; perhaps the reader will not be displeased to see that too, thus then our Ecclesiastical Historian writes (94).

'In the diocese of Winchester, consisting of Hampshire and Surrey, I find no great impression from Stephen Gardiner the Bishop, and much marvel thereat. It may be, this Politician, who managed his malice with cunning, spared his own diocese, fox like, preying farthest from his own den; indeed he would often stay behind the traverse, and send Bonner upon the stage; free enough of himself, without spurring, to do mischief, to act what he had contrived. Yea, I may say of Gardiner, that he had an head, if not an hand, in the death of every eminent Protestant; plotting, though not acting, their destruction. And being Lord Chancellor of England, he counted it his honour to flie at stout game indeed, contriving the death of the Lady Elizabeth, and using to say, that it was vain to strike at the branches, whilst the root of all Hereticks doth remain. And this good Lady was appointed for the slaughter, and brought to the shambles, when the seasonable death of this butcher, saved the sheep alive.

'However, as bloody as he was, for mine own part I have particular gratitude to pay to the memory of this Stephen Gardiner, and here I solemnly tender the same. It is on the account of Mrs Clarke, my great-grand-mother, by my mother's side, whose husband rented Farnham-Castle, a place whither Bishop Gardiner retired, in Surry, as belonging to his See. This Bishop, sensible of the consumptionous state of his body, and finding physick out of the kitchen, more beneficial for him than that out of the Apothecaries shop, and special comfort from the cordials she provided him, did not only himself connive at her herefy, as he termed it, but also protected her, during his life, from the fury of others. Some will say, this his curtesie to her, was founded on kindness to himself. But however, I am so far from detaining thanks, from any deserved on just cause, that I am ready to pay them, where they are but pretended due on any colour.' Our Historian is certainly in the right, a good thing done (upon whatever motive) ought to be remembered; men, can judge of men, only by their actions, as to their intentions, they belong to a higher tribunal, and consequently not to us. If once we desert this rule, the reader is at the mercy of the author, it is but suggesting right motives for wrong deeds, and the malefactor becomes a hero, or giving foul colours to fair facts, and the hero is turned into a malefactor.

(t) Collier's Church Hist. Vol. II. p. 371.

(u) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 242.

(90) From Cecil's own Diary.

(91) English Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 333.

(92) Life of Sir Thomas Smith, p. 65.

(93) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 65.

(94) Church Hist. of Britain, cent. XVI. b. viii. p. 17.

well for the subsequent behaviour of the Chancellor, that it certainly deserves to be impartially considered [HH]. Towards the close of the year, it was strongly reported, and indeed generally believed, that the Queen was with child, for which rejoicings were made, and prayers appointed for her safe delivery. The Chancellor made a right use of this wrong notion; he persuaded her Majesty to set several prisoners at liberty, that had been near a year in confinement, and for that purpose went in person to the Tower (w), January the eighteenth 1555, and discharged the Archbishop of York, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir James Crofts, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir Edward Warner, Sir George Harper, Sir William Saintlow, Sir Gawin Carew, Sir Andrews Dudley, William Gibs, Cuthbert Vaughan, *John Harrington, Esqrs.* Mr Tremain, and others. One of these had a little before taken the liberty of expostulating with him very freely, notwithstanding which he had (beyond his expectations perhaps) his liberty amongst the rest. His son has given us, an account of this adventure, some passages (x) relating to Bishop Gardiner very well worth notice [II].

(w) Stowe's Annals, p. 616.

(x) Harrington's Brief View of the State of the Church of Eng. p. 43.

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[HH] *Deserves to be impartially considered*] There is nothing more manifest in this reign, than the great change of measures which followed, after the coming over of Cardinal Pole, and the nation's submitting again to the Papal authority. It was upon this, that the persecution began, in virtue of a law passed the same session, with that for reversing the Cardinal's attainder, and restoring the Pope's supremacy. Cardinal Pole has the credit of absolving the Parliament, and the nation, as it were freely, and at the first word; but the truth is, that it was against his will. He was desirous, that the kingdom should remain under an interdict, till all who had received holy orders irregularly, or had otherwise offended the Church, should be reconciled, which Gardiner over-ruled; and in consequence of this, such of the Clergy as complied, continued in their functions, without any new ordination; this does not very well agree, either with Pole's proposing moderate measures, or Bishop Gardiner's opposing them (95).

Whoever looks closely into the History of that reign, and depends only upon facts, will find that the Bishop of Winchester's authority, was very far from being uncontroled after the coming of Cardinal Pole, and his having the Queen's ear, and of this he gave himself some intimations, and that too in publick. He observed at one of the trials, that returning to the obedience of the See of Rome, was almost the unanimous act of the House of Commons, one member only opposing it, and that was Sir Ralph Bagnall, who publickly and plainly declared, that it was a thing to which he could never consent (96). Bishop Gardiner, by doing this, gave the Parliament the credit of those proceedings, which were the natural consequences of being reconciled to Rome, and which, in justice, ought to be ascribed to that reconciliation. At Rogers's tryal, when the prisoner imputed his sufferings to the advice the Bishops had given the Queen, Bishop Gardiner said, as has been before observed, that the Queen went before him in those counsels, appealing for the truth of this to all the rest, who affirmed it likewise. Rogers said, they might well vouch one for another (97), which was boldly and sensibly spoken. Yet from hence it appears, that the Chancellor had no inclination to pass for the author of those measures; and it is acknowledged, that he began to grow quickly weary of being the instrument of them, at the time, it is very probable, that the generality of the world ascribed them to him; for we are told, that Philpot conceived some hopes of life, upon the demise of this Prelate (98), which occasioned Bonner's saying, *What, now the Chancellor is dead, you think there will be no more burning, but you'll find the contrary*, which proved very true. Yet some say, that Bonner himself grew tired; however, the prosecutions went on to the very last week of the Queen and Cardinal's lives. Who then were the instigators?

King Philip took care to purge himself, and a Spanish Friar, who preached publickly before him, told the people, the Bishops did not extract this doctrine of fire and faggot from the Gospel. It is not easy to conceive upon what motive the Bishops should be general in their inclinations to these severities, and in truth, many of them were not; those that were, did it in compliance with the Court and the Queen, certainly shewed what she misunderstood to be zeal for the Catholick Religion, and from which she might have been diverted, as well

as she had been in the beginning of her reign, if those who had her ear then, had been of the same sentiments with the Bishop of Winchester, who is allowed to have conducted all things in the first years of her government, when there were none of these severities.

Besides, Bishop Burnet is very express, that the Emperor was averse to the Cardinal's coming, and hindered it as long as he could; he assigns the reason, for that he was afraid of precipitating things, and having recourse to harsh measures, which were entirely against that Monarch's inclinations (99). While these suggestions had weight with the Queen, moderate measures were pursued; after the Cardinal came over, they were laid aside, one would think this should confirm the Emperor's opinion (100). But Pole made a great shew of moderation, affected to speak with much tenderness and compassion, and never took any share himself in this persecution, except issuing the commissions, under which all those severities were acted. Let us then consider what are the maxims of Italy in such cases; let us remember, that after Gardiner's death, at least, none had so much influence with the Queen as he, and let us reflect, that in the Court of Inquisition, that court which is the most dreadful, and therefore the most detested, the language is as merciful and mild, as the practice bloody and cruel. If we look into all these circumstances attentively, and weigh them maturely, we shall find, that they afford a kind of evidence at least as strong as that of one writer's transcribing another, with respect to the Bishop of Winchester's advice, without producing so much as one private paper, or publick record to prove it.

(99) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 259.

(100) Godwin's Annals.

He complied with the Queen in compassing the reconciliation with Rome, that reconciliation produced a perfection; in that light, he was the author of it, but perhaps in no other, and though at first sight this may be considered as very favourably spoken of the Bishop of Winchester's memory, yet it will be found, and so it ought to be understood, a very indifferent excuse at bottom; he knew, from reason and experience, the spirit of that Church, and he ought, in pity to his countrymen, and in justice to his country, to have kept the Queen his mistress from that step, which put her into a road of stumbling, from whence it was impossible for her to recover.

[II] *Very well worth notice.*] The person hinted at in the text, is Sir John Harrington, of Kelston, who wrote for the use of Henry Prince of Wales, a kind of supplement to Bishop Godwin's Catalogue of English Bishops, and gives us therein an account of Bishop Gardiner's sending his father to the Tower, for carrying a letter to Queen Elizabeth, and obliging that Princess to discharge his mother for being a Heretick; but notwithstanding this, the reader will find he was no bitter enemy to that Prelate, but rather inclined to treat him, as a gentleman should, with impartiality and candour. Thus he writes (\*), after transcribing some of the hard things that had been said of Gardiner, by the Martyrologist Fox and others.

(\*) Brief View of the State of the Church of Eng. p. 46, 47, 48.

' Yet that I speak not at all in passion, I must confess, I have heard some as partially praise his clemency and good conscience, and namely, that he was cause of restoring many honourable houses overthrowen by King Henry the Eighth, and in King Edward's minority. The Duke of Norfolk, though Mr Fox saith, that Gardiner made him stay long for his dinner one day, yet both he and those descended of him,

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(95) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 401.

(96) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 204.

(97) See his Case in Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(98) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 328. Archdeacon Philpot's account of his own troubles in Fox's Acts and Monuments.

The three months next ensuing, Bishop Gardiner was employed in carrying the laws lately revived against Hereticks into execution, and sat often (to his eternal disgrace), by virtue of a commission from Cardinal Pole as the Pope's Legate, at Winchester-House in South-wark, to examine such as were brought before him (y). Yet we are told that he soon grew weary, and would proceed no farther; upon which this cruel and invidious task was put upon Bonner; neither was it long before he grew relax, till quickened by orders from the Council, and other measures (z). The Queen, or it may be the Chancellor, foreseeing that sooner or later the nation might be obliged to take part in the war between the Emperor and the French King if it continued, it was resolved to send over Commissioners, of the highest rank, to a sort of congress that was to be held at Calais, in order to mediate a peace (a). Cardinal Pole went over on behalf of the Pope; the Bishop of Winchester, the Lord Arundel, and Lord Paget, on the Part of the Queen of England (b). They departed May the eighteenth 1555, and while they were employed in this negotiation the Pope died, and the Queen wrote most pressing letters to her Commissioners, to engage the powers with whom they were treating to consent that Cardinal Pole should be raised to the Papal Dignity (c). But neither in this, or any thing else, could her Ministers succeed; and therefore, after a fruitless stay of some weeks, at a great expence, returned upon the twenty-sixth of June (d). During the Chancellor's absence, the great seal was put into the hands of William Marquis of Winchester (e); and from the Council-books it appears, good use was made of it for stirring up the Persecution; for quickening of which, writ after writ was issued, and letters directed to the Nobility and Gentry, as well as Clergy, exciting them to give their attendance, with their servants, at the burning of Hereticks (f); so that we see this cruel flame raged most when the Bishop was abroad, and grew still higher after his death. Upon his coming home he declared plainly he would have no farther hand in severities, and therefore those apprehended in his diocese were removed into that of London, and so put under the jurisdiction of Bonner (g), who in a short time fell off again, and had fresh reprimands from the King and Queen for his relaxation and lenity. We may, from these instances, perceive that some made their court to the Queen by promoting those cruel proceedings, and that they were neither pressed, nor could be impeded, by the Bishop of Winchester (b). In matters of government his influence was still without diminution, and according to his advice a Parliament was summoned to meet in October (i); for it was one of his maxims, to have short sessions and frequent Parliaments. He had projected some additional security for Church and Abbey lands, which, by a well-timed address

(y) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 231.

(z) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 311.

(a) Stowe's Annals, p. 626.

(b) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 310.

(c) From the Queen's Letter on this occasion.

(d) Cecil's Diary.

(e) Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1286.

(f) Strype, Burnet, Collier.

(g) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 315.

(h) Remarks on the Hist. of the Reformat. p. 191.

(i) Godwin's Annals.

' were beholden to him, with the House of Stanhope's, and the Lord Arundel of Warder; and I have heard old Sir Mathew Arundell say, that Bonner was more faulty than he, and that Gardiner would rate at him for it, and call him afs, for using poor men so bloodily; and when I would maintain the contrary, he would say, that my father was worthy to have lain in prison a year longer, for the faucy sonnet he wrote to him from out of the Tower; which sonnet, both because it was written in defence of Queen Elizabeth, and because, if I be not partial, it is no ill verse for those unrefined times, and toucheth the matter I enforce; I will here set down, pre-supposing, that in the eleven months before, he had sent him many letters and petitions full of reason, that could not prevail for his liberty. The distressed prisoner writeth this rime:'

## I.

At last withdraw your cruelty,  
Or force the times to work your will;  
It is too much extremity,  
To keep me pent in prison still.  
Free from all fault, void of all cause,  
Without all right against all laws.  
How can you doe more cruel spight,  
Than proffer wrong and promise right?  
Nor can accuse nor will acquight.

## II.

Eleven months past and longer space,  
I have abid your divelish drifts;  
While you have fought both man and place,  
And set your snares with all your shifts;  
The faultlesse foot to wrap in wile,  
With any guile by any guile:  
And now you see that will not be,  
How can you thus for shame agree,  
To keep him bound you can set free?

## III.

Your chance was once as mine is now,  
To keep this hold against your will;  
And then you sware you know well how,  
Though now you sweare, I know how ill.  
But thus the world his course doth passe,  
The Priest forgets a Clerk he was;  
And you that then cry'd justice still,  
And now have justice at your will,  
Wrest justice wrong against all skill.

## IV.

But why doe I thus coldly plaine,  
As if it were my cause alone;  
When cause doth each man so constraîne,  
As England through hath cause to moane?  
To see your bloody search of such,  
Whom all the earth can no way touch,  
And better were that all your kind,  
Like hounds in Hell with shame were shrin'd,  
Then you had might unto your mind.

## V.

But as the stone that strikes the wall,  
Sometimes bounds back on th' hurler's head;  
So your foul fetch, to your foul fall,  
May turn and noy the breast that bred.  
And then such measure as you gave,  
Of right and justice look to have.  
If good or ill, if short or long,  
If false or true, if right or wrong,  
And thus till then I end my song.

dress from the Convocation to the Cardinal, which he put into his hands himself, he had in some measure preserved to all who possessed them; and this project was afterwards brought to bear by his friend Mr Secretary Petre (*k*). October the twenty-first 1555, he opened the session with a judicious speech, and was there again on the twenty-third, which was the last time of his appearing in that Assembly (*l*). Towards the close of this month he fell ill, and continued to grow worse and worse to the thirteenth of November 1555, when he departed this life, about the age of seventy-two (*m*). As to the time of his decease the dispute is not great about it, but the manner of it is far from being settled [*KK*].

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[*KK*] *But the manner of it is far from being settled.* In those times, such was the eagerness and heat of most writers, that scarce any extraordinary person went to his grave without a prodigy. In that great Chronicle which goes under the name of Holinshed (101), tho' in the latter editions there was much added by Abraham Fleming, we have the following passage inserted from John Fox, and the reason that we take it from thence, is because this Chronicle being chiefly consulted by the abridgers of English History, the substance of this passage has been often retailed to the world for an undoubted truth.

During this session of Parliament, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England, died at his house called Winchester-Palace, beside St Mary Overies in Southwark, the ninth day of November, whose corpse was shortly after solemnly thence conveyed to his church of Winchester, and there buried. The manner of whose death why should I blush to blaze as I find it by report. One Mistress Monday, being the wife of one Master Monday, Secretary some time to the old Lord Thomas Duke of Norfolk, a present witness of this that is testified thus, openly reported in the house of a worshipful citizen, bearing office in this city, in words and effect as followeth. The same day when as Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer suffered at Oxford, being about the nineteenth day of October, there came to the house of Stephen Gardiner the old Duke of Norfolk, with the aforesaid Monday, his Secretary above named, reporter hereof. The old aged Duke there waiting and tarrying for his dinner, the Bishop being not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time till three or four of the clock at afternoon. At length, about four of the clock, cometh his servant posting in all possible speed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the Bishop what he had heard and seen, of whom the said Bishop diligently enquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man that fire most certainly was set unto them, cometh out rejoicing to the Duke. Now, faith he, let us go to dinner; whereupon they being set down, meat immediately was brought, and the Bishop began merrily to eat: but what followed: The bloody tyrant had not eaten a few-bits, but the sudden stroke of God his terrible hand fell upon him, in such sort as immediately he was taken from the table, and so brought to his bed, where he continued the space of fifteen days, in such intolerable anguish and torments, that all that mean while, during those fifteen days, he could not avoid, by ordure, or urine, or otherwise, any thing that he received; whereby his body being miserably inflamed within, who had inflamed so many good martyrs before, was brought to a wretched end. And thereof, no doubt, as most like it is, came the thrusting out of his tongue, so swollen and black with the inflammation of his body. A spectacle worthy to be noted, and beholden, of all such bloody burning persecutors. But whatsoever he was, seeing he is now gone, I refer him to his Judge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death, and manner thereof, I would they which were present thereat would testify to us what they saw. This we have all to think, that his death happened so opportunely, that England hath a mighty cause to give thanks to the Lord therefore; not so much for the great hurt he had done in times past, in perverting his Princess, in bringing in the six articles, in murdering God's Saints, in defacing Christ's sincere religion, &c. as also, especially, for that he had thought to have brought to pass in murdering also our noble Queen that now is. For whatsoever danger it was of death that she was in, it did no doubt proceed from that bloody Bishop, who was the cause thereof. And

if it be certain, which we have heard, that her Highness being in the Tower, a writ came down from certain of the Council for her execution, it is out of controversy that wilie Winchester was the only Dedalus and framer of that engine. Who no doubt in that one day had brought this whole realm into woful ruin, had not the Lord's most gracious Council, thorough Master Bridges, then the Lieutenant, coming in haste to the Queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented Achitophel's bloody devices. For the which thanks be to the same our Lord and Saviour, in the congregation of all English churches, amen.

There are many exceptions to the truth of this account, which, in common justice to this Prelate's memory, ought to be mentioned. Mr Strype very justly observes, that both the time and place of his death are mistaken; since he did not die on the ninth, but on the thirteenth of November, at two in the morning; neither did he die at Winchester-House, but in Westminster (102). Yet Mr Strype does not observe another mistake, which is that of the day when Latimer and Ridley suffered at Oxford, which was not on the nineteenth of October, but on the sixteenth; so that here is at least a week gained towards making the judgment more probable. Then the suppression of urine is expressly said to have continued fifteen days; whereas, according to his manner of stating it, it must have lasted one and twenty at least; and had the story been true, and the dates rightly placed, it must have lasted twenty-seven.

This, however, is not all; the Bishop of Winchester, as Chancellor, opened the new Parliament on the twenty-first of October, and was there again on the twenty-third, a week after the death of the two martyrs; at whose death it is not likely he should rejoice, if what Heylin says be true, that he studied to prevent it (103). One of the exiles abroad, who laboured to expose Gardiner all in his power, charges him with straining his authority, in offering Latimer a pardon without the knowledge of the Queen or Council (104). But to come closer to the point, the old Duke of Norfolk, who waited so long for his dinner, as his Secretary reported, who waited with him, died in the month of September 1554, that is, thirteen months before this transaction happened (105). His death was a thing of great notoriety, the Queen and Court, out of respect to his memory, going into mourning. One would think that Fox might have known this as well as another, since he lived long in that Duke's family, and went abroad but a very little before his death.

In reference to the latter part of this account, it may not be amiss to observe, that the honest and impartial Historian John Speed, who was furnished with the best materials from some of the most considerable persons in this kingdom, ascribes the ill usage of the Princess Elizabeth, and the advice given to take her off, to the Lord Pagett (106); and asserts, that King Philip was ever after dissident of him, and those of his party. A certain Popish writer does indeed pretend to let us into the secret of the affair; he says, that Sir Thomas Wiat's plan for an insurrection, was sent to the Lady Elizabeth in a bracelet; that this was discovered by the Bishop of Winchester, but that he pushed it no farther than to persuade her to submit herself to the Queen. But the silence of Camden, in the account he gives of her sufferings before her accession to the Crown, as to all these facts, leaves them not a little doubtful.

It must be acknowledged, that Fox is not the only author that has given the manner of his death the air of a judgment, for John Bale (107) goes even farther than he, affirming that he was informed by a letter

(\*) From an original letter of Mr Crych, to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

(102) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 270.

(103) Hist. of the Reformat. p. 227.

(104) New Book of spiritual Physick.

(105) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 200, 201. Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 320.

(106) Chronicle, p. 823.

(107) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 221.

wrote

(1) Strype, Burset, Collier.

(2) Furnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 320.

(301) Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1130.

He died at the royal palace of Whitehall, about one in the morning; and about three the same morning, his body was carried over to Winchester-House, from whence the funeral was performed (*n*). His death was a great loss to the Queen his mistress, who found no Minister that could manage her affairs so well, or keep her on so good terms with her Parliaments, from whom, during his administration, she received nothing, but lived upon the settled ordinary revenue of the Crown, with some help it may be from the treasure brought over by King Philip. But this course was speedily altered, and from that hour dissatisfaction and complaints began (*o*). The Clergy had also a great loss in him; they depended much on his wisdom, and no less on his experience, but most of all on his caution and due regard for the law, by which they might be kept out of the reach of a premonition; nor did he deceive their expectations in this, taking care while he lived that Cardinal Pole should do nothing within this realm, but by authority under the broad seal of England as well as that of St Peter (*p*). Those who were affectionate to that government had a great loss in him, for he kept things together; and, by steering steadily and keeping a good countenance, preserved a degree of respect which can never be preserved where there is a fluctuation of Councils. His pen also was of no small use, since in polemical writings he was inferior to none of his contemporaries, and with one party (few have it with more) had a high reputation for learning from the many books he had penned, of which something will be said at the bottom of the page [LL]. The freedom taken in displaying this character

wrote out of England, 'that his disease was *hydrops acidus & prodigiosus scabies*, a sharp dropsy and prodigious leprosy, taken, as was commonly reported, by drinking or whoredom. For he had indulged much to both those vices in his life-time. In his sickness he stunk like a jakes, his breath not to be endured, his body distended, his eyes distorted and turned inwards; during his illness he spake little but blasphemy and filthiness, and gave up the ghost with curses in his mouth, in terrible and unexpressible torments, &c.' He likewise adds, that he left thirty thousand pounds in ready money behind him, besides plate and rich furniture.

Dr Thomas Cooper, who was himself Bishop of Winchester in Queen Elizabeth's time, and published his Chronicle within five years after Gardiner's death, sets it down simply, and without any of these strange circumstances (108). He charges the death of Latimer and Ridley expressly upon Cardinal Pole; and tho' he gives a very particular account of the ill usage of the Lady Elizabeth, yet he does not ascribe it in the least to Gardiner. Dr Francis Godwin, Bishop of Hereford (109), assures us that he died of the Gout. Dr Fuller (110), as we have seen, ascribes his end to a consumption. In a book compiled by the direction of Archbishop Parker (111), he is also said to have died of the gout or rheumatism; the lower parts of his body being mortified, smelt very offensively. We are told by Bishop Burnet (112), 'he had great remorse for his former life; and Day, Bishop of Chichester, coming to him, and comforting him with the assurance of justification through the blood of Christ, he answered him he might speak of that to him, or others in his condition, but if he opened that gap again, and preached that to the people, then farewell all together. He often repeated those words, *Erravi cum Petro, sed non flevi cum Petro*; I have erred with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter.'

[LL] *At the bottom of the page*] It is, without doubt, a very difficult task to attempt giving the reader an account of the writings of this Prelate; some few of them indeed were published with his name, and concerning them there is no dispute. Others are without any name, and yet there are good reasons to induce us to believe they fell from his pen; and others again have the names of other men set before them, tho' they were in reality penned by this Bishop. We will, however, handle the matter as well as we can, and give the reader as just and as correct a catalogue of his writings, as the best enquiry we could make has put in our power.

The first piece made publick by our author, was his treatise *De vera Obedientia*, i. e. Of true Obedience, Lond. 1534, 1535, 4to. at *Hamburgh* in 1536, 8vo. with Bishop Bonner's epistle prefixed, in which several strong things are contained against the Pope's supremacy, and in support of the King's divorce from Queen Katherine. We have before told the reader the nature of this work, which induced the author to speak rather as an Orator than as a Logician; yet some of his

arguments are not easily answered, tho' delivered with great plainness and moderation. He suggests, that the policy of the Church, in every kingdom, was partly spiritual and partly temporal; that, with respect to the former powers, they came from God; and for the latter, since they could not be executed without the consent, so it is impossible they should come but from the Civil magistrate. He urges, that Princes lose their sovereign dignity if they are not supreme in all causes over their subjects, and that therefore their supremacy makes a part of their sovereignty; when therefore novelty is objected to this doctrine, he says it goes no farther than this, that a new term is employed in speaking of an old right. He positively asserts, that St Peter's supremacy cannot be proved by Scripture; that the Bishoprick of Jerusalem was yielded by him, and the rest of the Apostles, to St James, the brother of our Lord; and that if, on particular occasions, St Peter acted as chief of the Apostles, it was owing to the deference they had for his extraordinary conduct and courage, which being personal qualities, could not convey any right to his successors. In the close he puts an objection against himself, it might be said there was no agreement between his book and his practice; he had undertaken to press obedience, and failed notoriously in that branch of his duty. He had engaged his subjection to the Court of Rome, sworn submission to the Pope and his successors, and solemnly obliged himself to defend the privileges and jurisdiction of the Apostolick See. He received his episcopal character by the Pope's consent, and was consecrated by his mandate; and yet, after all these ties and assurances, he has ventured to write against his supremacy, and renounce him in the most publick manner. To take off the imputation of falsehood and perjury, he observes, that an engagement against *right* is by no means *binding*. For an oath was never intended a bond of iniquity, and a bar against repentance. He illustrates his case by a husband's marrying a second wife, living the former, whom after the best enquiry he concluded dead. Thus he continued undisturbed in his second marriage: and when his first wife returned from a foreign country, and challenged him for her husband, he denied the relation. But after she had made out her claim by legal proof, he lived with her again, and dismissed the second. This instance the Bishop applies to his own case. He thought the Pope's authority unquestionable at first, and submitted accordingly. But when truth appeared he found himself mistaken, and therefore ought not to be charged with breach of faith for altering his measures. There were many other editions of this work, and a translation into English, printed abroad in Queen Mary's time, by one Dr Turner, with a most vindictive preface before it; as also some additions, with intent to expose the Bishop's inconsistency, who had now submitted again to the Pope.

*Palinodia dicti libri*; that is, *A Retraction of the foregoing Work*; when or where published we cannot say.

(n) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 229.

(o) Godwin, Heylin, Strype.

(p) Memorials, Vol. III.

(108) Chronicle, fol. 371.

(109) De Præfultibus Angliæ, p. 237.

(110) Church Hist. Cent. XVI. p. 17.

(111) Antiquit. Britan. Eccles. p. 511.

(112) Hist. of the Reformat. col. xi. p. 320.

character from the evidence of facts, and supporting what is advanced by the clearest authorities, might in some degree dispense with our offering to sum up at the close what has been

*A necessary Doctrine and Eradition for any Christenman, set furthe by the Kynges Majestie of England, &c. Lond by Thomas Birthelet, 1543; this, as we have said before, was published with roval authority; and Mr Strype, in giving us the history of this peece, which was the system of religion in King Henry's time, allows the Bishop of Winchester but a very small share in it; yet, in King Edward's time, Archbishop Cranmer was for yielding him the whole merit of the work; and his report was so much credited, that John Bale put it into the catalogue of our author's writings, in which he has been followed by Bishop Tanner; yet there is a passage in the declaration, concerning the life and actions of the Archbishop, written by his Secretary Mr Morris, still preserved in Bennet College Library at Cambridge (113); which is not very consistent with this account, and which is reported here only to shew how very difficult a thing it is to come at certainty, with respect to matters of fact, even from those who one would think must have been best acquainted with them.*

(113) This Declaration is a very curious piece, and deserves to be printed entire.

'At what time, says he, the book of articles of our religion was new penned. For even at that season, the whole rabblement, which he took to be his friends, being Commissioners with him, forsook him, and his opinion and doctrine. And so leaving him post alone, revolted altogether on the part of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. As by name, Bishop Hethe, Shaxton, Day, and all other of the meaner sort. By whom these so named were chiefly advanced and preferred unto dignities. And yet this sudden inversion, notwithstanding God gave him such favour with his Princee, that book altogether past by his assertion against all their minds. More to be marvelled at, the time considered, than by any reason to compass how it should come to pass. For then would there have been laid thousands of pounds to hundreds in London, that he should, before that Synod had been ended, have been shut up in the Tower, beside his friend the Lord Cromwell. Howbeit, the King's Majesty having an assured and approved assurance, both of his deep knowledge in religion, and fidelity both to God and him, suspected in that time other men in their judgments, not to walk uprightly nor sincerely. For that some of them swerved from their former opinions in doctrine: and having great experience of the constancy of the Lord Cranmer, it drove him all along to join with the said Lord Cranmer, in the confirmation of his opinion and doctrine against all the rest, to their great admiration.' When the Bishop of Winchester was in Germany, with the title of Ambassador from King Henry VIII, he had several conferences with the learned Bucer, upon different points, which afterwards occasioned warm writings on both sides, some of which were published, and others not.

In the year 1550, Archbishop Cranmer published a book intitled, 'A Defence of the true and Catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, with a Confutation of sundry Errors concerning the same: grounded and established upon God's holy Word, and approved by the Consent of the most ancient Doctors of the Church.' In this book he mentioned the Bishop of Winchester by name, as one of the greatest writers amongst the Papists; with which this Prelate was so much offended, that he thought himself obliged to write an answer, as he did under this title, *An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholick faith, touching the most blessed Sacrament of the altar, with the Confutation of a book written against the same: which was printed abroad in 1551, and the Bishop of Winchester endeavoured to make the world believe, that his writing this book was one great cause, or rather the principal cause, of the severe proceedings against him; which, however, was peremptorily denied by the Archbishop, who not long after published another piece, under the following title, 'An Answer, by the Reverend Father in God Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, unto a crafty and sophistical Cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of*

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'Law, late Bishop of Winchester, against the true and godly Doctrine of the most holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ. Wherein is also, as Occasion serveth, answered such Places of the Book of Dr Richard Smith, as may seem any thing worthy the answering. Also a true Copy of the Book written, and in open Court delivered, by Dr Stephen Gardiner; not one Word added or diminished, but faithfully in all points agreeing with the Original.' To this, Gardiner replied in Latin, under the feigned name of Marcus Antonius Constantius, a Divine of Lovain, giving his book the following title, *Confutatio cavillationum, quibus, sacrosanctum Eucharistiae Sacramentum, ab impiis Capernaitis impeti solet.* Printed at Paris 1552. This piece he composed while a prisoner in the Tower, which is the reason of our affirming that the order for debarring him the use of pen, ink, and paper, must have been relaxed; and to this the Archbishop, during his own confinement, wrote a large and copious answer, which he did not live to finish.

Bishop Gardiner managed this controversy also against Peter Martyr, and others who espoused Cranmer; and it was for these writings of his, that he was in those days magnified by the Papists, as a most zealous Catholick; and disliked and dreaded by those of the Church of England, as a warm and irconcilable enemy; whereas, in truth, he admitted the Communion to be given in both kinds, and, being allowed to put his own sense upon the words, would have subscribed to what was established about the Sacrament. After the accession of Queen Mary, finding himself attacked with the utmost violence and virulence by several of the exiles abroad, and particularly by Dr Turner (114), who wrote several treatises on purpose to expose and abuse him; as Dr Poynt likewise did, who succeeded him in the title of Bishop of Winchester, when he was deprived, to which he wrote replies, and is also said to have corrected at least, if he did not compose, Dr Martyn's book against the married Clergy.

(114) See his article in Bale and Tanner.

He likewise preached two very remarkable sermons in that reign: the first, November the thirtieth 1554, at Paul's Cross, to a very numerous audience, in which he placed the new opinions, as he called them, in a very bad light, attributing to them all the extravagant and unjust things that had been done under the reign of King Edward. In this sermon he took shame to himself, and acknowledged that he had erred too as well as the rest, with a great deal more to the same purpose. In the second part of his sermon he gave a high character of King Philip, whom he represented as a prudent, gentle, and temperate Princee, exhorting the people to behave well towards him, by which they might gain him, and all that he had brought with him; which some say alluded to his money that had been carried publickly to the Tower, in order to ingratiate him with the populace. Thus much is certainly true, that, by the marriage articles which Gardiner framed, that Princee was allowed to bring what riches he pleased into the kingdom, but was restrained from carrying out specie, bullion, or jewels.

The Bishop's second sermon was likewise preached at Paul's Cross, on the second of December following, on account of the nation's returning to communion with the See of Rome. His text was (\*), *Knowing the time that it is now high time to awake out of sleep, &c.* From these words, amongst other things, he observed that when King Henry VIII. was pressed with a rebellion in the North, he resolved to return the Pope his Supremacy. But this resolution came to nothing *The hour was not yet come.* For had the matter gone forward under such circumstances of difficulty, some would have said the King had been over awed into justice. After this, Gardiner and Knevet were sent Envoys to the Emperor, to request his mediation for bringing the Pope and the King to a good understanding, and to smooth the way for renewing the former correspondence between them: *But the time was not yet come:* For the juncture might have made the King's return misunderstood, and interpreted his compliance to reasons of State. In the beginning of King Edward's

(\*) Rom. xiii. 11.

been in a great measure insisted on thro' the whole article. But the length of it (how absurd soever that may seem) will not suffer such an omission, least an unwary reader should take his sense from a part, and not from the whole; which on that account it is necessary, as well as expedient, should be contracted into one point of view, and therefore in the notes, his conduct in different stations is clearly and candidly, tho' not copiously, stated [MM].  
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reign the business of reconciliation was moved, but neither was that *a proper time*: For the King being then a child, he could not have had a share in the submission. In short, he told them this was the time which Providence seemed to have reserved for so great a blessing.

There are likewise extant, in the first edition of Fox's Acts and Monuments, several letters of the Bishop of Winchester's to the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, with the Duke's answers to some of them; as also other letters of his, to different persons; we might add to these, several other little pieces; but to avoid prolixity, and in order to bring this long article to a speedy close, we will refer the curious reader to Bishop Tanner's accurate catalogue, with this observation only, that whereas he mentions two penitent letters to Archbishop Cranmer, published by Strype, as if they were written by the Bishop; that is plainly a mistake, for they were written by *William Gardiner*, one of the Prebendaries of Canterbury, who, about the year 1543, was engaged in a base design of aspersing the Archbishop, for which he seems to have been very penitent (115). It is not impossible that this man's name might occasion other mistakes, and prove the handle for objecting to the Bishop of Winchester, his being so deeply concerned in the several plots formed about that time against the Archbishop.

The letters of the Bishop of Winchester, to Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Cheke, against the new pronunciation of the Greek language, are most of them extant; in which it was Roger Ascham's opinion, that tho' these learned Knights shewed themselves better critics than our Prelate, yet his letters manifested a superior genius, and were chiefly liable to censure, from his affecting to enter farther into a dispute of this kind than was necessary for a person of his dignity. On the whole it may be truly affirmed, that if he had not entered into business so early, or had not been so much employed as he was in political affairs, he might have established a great reputation for his knowledge in polite literature, which was certainly very extensive; and so much a master he was of foreign affairs, that in the latter part of King Henry's reign they were compelled to consult him, tho' unwilling to confide in him.

Under Queen Mary he shewed his great abilities in this science so highly useful to Ministers, by his masterly conduct in the management of the Spanish match, and by his keeping the friends of King Philip, so long as he lived, from involving the English nation in a war with France, against which he had expressly provided in the last article of the marriage treaty. It is also believed, that notwithstanding he could not prevail with Queen Mary to retain the title of *Supreme Head* of the Church, or prevent her submitting to the See of Rome; yet he gave her such notions of her own rights, and of the necessity of opposing Papal encroachments, as induced her, after his death, to act with so much spirit as she did, when an attempt was made to send over a Legate who was unacceptable to her, merely because her politicks happened not to be very consistent with those of the Court of Rome at that juncture; tho' in all probability, had he survived, that quarrel would have been prevented, since it was owing to the Queen's deserting his maxim, and embracing her husband's foreign interests against her own.

[MM] *Clearly and candidly, though not copiously, stated.*] The only certain way of collecting men's characters, is from their actions; it is true, these are not always uniform, but neither is the mind of man, we must take them as we find them, and be content to follow the evidence they give, instead of suborning them to testify to the notions we have conceived. If we consider Stephen Gardiner in this light, we must allow him great parts, since he raised himself, and that to the highest stations. We must also own, that he had many good qualities, not only because it is impossible that he

should have rose without them, but because the proofs we have seen, are such, as will not suffer it to be disputed. He was learned himself, and a lover of learning and learned men; he was grateful to his master Wolsey in distress; to the memory of his royal master Henry VIII, when he was dead; to the Duke of Norfolk, when himself was exalted to power. He was of a generous and liberal disposition, kept a good house, and brought up several young men, some of which, became afterwards Statesmen, Peers, and Privy-Counsellors, Secretaries of State, and Chancellors. He had courage, which enabled him to stand against all his enemies, in the time of King Henry, and bore him up through a long course of misery and misfortunes in the succeeding reign, neither did it forsake him in the last period of his life, since, in point of vigour, as well as prudence, his administration is as conspicuous as any in our records, and the more so, since from the day of his death his mistress's affairs went wrong, and the publick confusion became so great, as to break that Princess's heart, the force and credit of the nation being long before broken.

He had great address in conciliating the minds of men, which plainly appeared by that attachment which some of the greatest Statesmen in all respects, had to his personal advice for almost forty years together, as well as by his interest with foreign Princes, of which he availed himself upon all occasions. But his greatest virtue was publick spirit, which he shewed in maintaining the rights of his College, preserving the revenues of his See, and, above all, in preventing the projects of Philip from taking place, circumscribing the power of the Queen, when he found it might be dangerous to the constitution, and obliging Cardinal Pole, to accept a commission under the Great Seal, for executing his Legantine Power, by which the Papal authority, when restored, was still in a condition of restraint.

He had his vices, and his bad qualities too, for what man, what Minister, has them not? His envy appeared in his crossing the designs of Cranmer, in the reign of King Henry, and if he really drew the articles against the Protector Somerset, it is a proof that he was vindictive. He had certainly a great measure of pride, and his ambition was boundless, to which, if we add what most writers bestow upon him plentifully, a refined dissimulation, we shall perhaps have a tolerable notion of the dark, as well as the bright side of this character. As to his religion, he seems to have been more a Protestant than a Papist in his principles, but with a great regard to the authority of the Church, from whence arose his unwillingness to reform hastily; he considered the mass of the people as grossly ignorant, and therefore he thought that some allowances were to be made them, from an apprehension, that if they were suddenly taught to contemn what they had long revered, it might render it very difficult to make them revere any thing; Cranmer was honest and open, hated priestcraft and superstition; Gardiner was close and circumspect, afraid of novelties, and suspicious that anarchy would ensue from affording a premature countenance to foreign opinions; this difference in their sentiments, had, as might well be expected, a strong influence on their fortunes, exposed Cranmer to sufferings, and Gardiner to misrepresentations.

To enter more thoroughly into his merit, let us consider him in the University, the Church, and the Court, since in the different scenes of his life, he was in some measure supreme in all. He loved an academical life, had a true notion of it's advantages, and was very desirous of promoting them to the utmost extent of his power. Dr Fuller, speaking of Trinity-Hall (116), ranges the great men produced by that foundation, in four classes, Masters, Benefactors, Writers, Bishops, and we find Gardiner's name in every one of them. The Duke of Somerset, when Protector, would have had him resigned that house into the hands of the crown, giving

(115) Tanner's Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 309. Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, in the Appendix, p. 69, 70, 71.

(116) Hist. of Cambridge, p. 43.

The fashion of those times allowed more to exterior expressions of funeral sorrow than ours, and by entertaining the eyes of the vulgar with a lugubrious spectacle (9) of a great man's last journey, impressed on their minds a greater degree of reverence than could be wrought by

(9) Stowe's Aasult, p. 627.

giving out, that from his affection to the Civil Law, he was inclined to erect a College for promoting that study, and to endow it with the revenues of that foundation, and of Clare-Hall. 'Most politick Gardiner, says my author, not without cause, suspecting some design or casualty might surprize the interval between the dissolution of the old, and the erection of this new foundation, civilly declined the motion, informing his Grace, that the way to advance the study of the Law, was by promoting the present professors of that faculty (now so generally discouraged) and not by founding a new College for the future students thereof, seeing Trinity-Hall alone, could breed more Civilians than all England did prefer according to their deserts.' This, as the same writer observes, cost Gardiner his mastership, but saved the foundation.

He was no less tender of the privileges of the University as Chancellor, than of the welfare of that Hall of which he was Master; this fully appears from Ascham's letters to him, even when the Protector had supplanted him in that office, so much the University depended upon his friendship, when necessity obliged them to deprive him of his power (117). Upon the turn of the times, and his coming again into that office, he purged it thoroughly, turning out all the masters except two, yet some kind things made amends for this, if there was any injustice in it, for Queen Mary made a considerable grant to Trinity College, and the Chancellor, by the help of his Vice-Chancellor, and another famous instrument of his, Dr Andrew Perne, preserved that seat of the Muses from the flames of persecution. Cardinal Pole, who succeeded Gardiner, and was Chancellor at once of both Universities, began his administration at Cambridge, by burning the dead bodies of Martin Bucer, and Paul Fagius, which had remained quiet in their graves during Gardiner's time, though Bucer was his old opponent; yet our Historians say, Gardiner was a furious persecutor, and Pole a very moderate man, to which we should have no exception, if he had burnt only dead bodies.

As Bishop of Winchester, we find him always very considerable; he was able to do much in Convocation, and more in Parliament. Such as are disposed to see with their own eyes, and not trust to the reports of Historians, will find abundant proofs of this, by resorting to the remains of the journals of both assemblies that are still preserved; and the further evidence of this is the extraordinary care that was taken to exclude him from both, during the whole reign of King Edward. In this those who loved the Reformation concurred, as fearing his abilities, and the courtiers assisted therein, as being thoroughly acquainted with his resolution. They knew that no Sec in England afforded richer plunder than Winchester; and they knew in that point, that no Bishop in England was more inflexible than Gardiner, but being once heaved out, they made no doubt of cutting many pretty estates out of the lands of this Bishoprick; and we have elsewhere shewn that in this they were not mistaken; but as this is a point of very great consequence, and as at the beginning of this article, we gave the reader Gardiner's picture drawn by the hands of his successor, Bishop Poynt; so here we will give a detail of Bishop Poynt's administration, as Mr Strype (118) has drawn it from records, which will shew what those apprehensions were, that made Bishop Gardiner so stiff in his opposition, and what concessions the great men in power exacted for the countenance they gave to the Reformation, to which we may in a great measure ascribe the turn that happened upon the accession of Queen Mary.

In the month of May, 1551, when Ponet was made Bishop of Winchester, after the deprivation of Gardiner, a great alienation was made of the lands and revenues anciently belonging to that Bishoprick, according as it was required of the said Ponet, when he first came to the See, or rather conditionally to his preferment thither. Then he passed away to the King, the manors of Marden, Twiford, Marwel, Waltham, &c. in the county of Southampton, and divers other lands, lordships, tenements, rents, &c.

and, in effect, all the temporalities of that rich Bishoprick. And to make all sure, letters were dispatched to the Dean and Chapter, to confirm the grant of the said Bishop, by their full consent and seal of the Chapter, as in that case, by the order of the laws, is required and accustomed. Then did the King give to the Bishop and his successors, in consideration of the said Bishop's surrender, a great many rectories, as that of Bremmer, and of the Chapel of Charford and Hale, and the rectory of Regborn, in the county of Southampton, and divers other lands, to the value of two thousand marks, to be held in *liberam elemosynam*, and to take the profits from Michaelmas last. He granted him moreover, for some recompence for all this taken away, that his first fruits, which before were charged in the King's books, at three thousand eight hundred eighty-five pounds, three shillings, three pence half-penny farthing, should be now reduced to two thousand marks, and that for his tenths, from henceforth he should be taxed at two hundred marks and no more, to be paid yearly; that he should have ten years space to pay his first fruits in; that bonds should be taken for payment from the Bishop only, without sureties to be bound with him: and that all the bonds and writings for the first fruits of his former Bishoprick, viz. of Rochester, should be delivered him up, which the King forgave him. And for the putting all this into effect, a warrant was issued out to the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Council, and to all others being officers of the court of First Fruits and Tenths. The King also gave him a licence to enter into his Bishoprick, and to take the profits thereof, without paying any thing therefore, notwithstanding a statute made in that behalf, in the twenty-sixth of Henry the Eighth, the import whereof was, that no spiritual person should enter upon his benefice before he had paid the first fruits, or given bond and security to pay them. A pardon also was granted him of all pains, penalties, and sums of money that might be forfeited and due to the King, for entering into the Bishoprick of Rochester, contrary to the said statute. The King soon gratified his servants with the lands and manors of this Bishoprick, viz. To Sir John Gates, the manors of Sutton, Ropley, &c. in Southampton and Surry, of the yearly value of one hundred forty five pounds, nineteen shillings, nine pence half-penny. To Sir Philip Hoby, the manors of Marden, &c. in the county of Southampton, of the yearly value of eighty-seven pounds, eighteen shillings, seven pence. To Sir Andrews Dudley, the manor of Witney, &c. of the yearly value of one hundred eighty pounds, seven pence half-penny farthing. To Sir Henry Seymour, lands to the yearly value of one hundred eighty-six pounds, four pence. To William Fitz-Williams, the manor of High Clere, &c. to the yearly value of eighty-four pounds, seven shillings, three pence. To Henry Nevyle, the manor of Margrave, &c. to the yearly value of one hundred fourteen pounds, eighteen shillings, ten pence. Sir Thomas Wroth, had also an annuity of one hundred pounds. And for the further confirmation of this alienation made by the Bishop of Winchester, it was thought requisite to have it allowed and consented to by the Dean and Chapter under their seal. Whereupon, in August, a letter was sent to Sir John Mason, Knight, that he should repair to Winchester, and to agree with the Bishop to meet them there at a certain day, and to cause all the Canons, Prebendaries, and others whom it concerned, to assemble in the Chapter-House, for confirming the said lands before Michaelmas next, and to advertise the Council the next day, that order might be given to the King's learned Counsel to be there at the same time. And a letter was sent to this Bishop, in behalf of the City of Winchester, namely, to take order, that the city and citizens, and their successors, might be freed from their suits and services heretofore made to that court, called the Palm Court, and all other liberties he had to the same, clearly exonerated and discharged

(117) Ascham's Epistolæ.

(118) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 272, 273, 274.

by words. As this is a point not altogether unworthy of observation, and as we rarely find ceremonies of this kind so clearly, so circumstantially, and so methodically set down as these are, we judged it not altogether amiss to give them a place in the notes, as a sort of feature of that age, when there was more attention paid to Sight than to all the rest of the Senses, and more money bestowed, and more diligence used, in setting out such a solemnity, than without such a detail as this could be easily imagined [NN]. Many intrigues were

‘ discharged by his sufficient writing under his seal, and confirmed by the Chapter Seal according to his promise.’

We see that it was not either doctrine or ceremonies that produced Gardiner's deprivation, he would have consented to the one, and complied with the other, though at the same time he professed, that more alterations were made than he could approve; but spoiling his Bishoprick was a thing to which he would never have yielded. He judged the Christian Church with the supremacy placed in the crown, to be a necessary part of the English constitution, and for that reason was for preserving it; and when he afterwards recovered this See, he made use of the law to recover it's revenues. But how right soever his conduct might be in this respect, his compliances were certainly wrong in the reign of Queen Mary, because he acted contrary to his own knowledge. However he might solve to himself the restoring the Papal power, and reviving the sanguinary laws, without which, it could not be supported; it is impossible to justify him, nor will any honest and ingenuous man attempt it; but that he acted in many things unwillingly, and under that necessity which he had brought upon himself and the nation, by complying with Queen Mary's bigotry, is apparent enough from his actions, which though they excuse him in some instances from cruelty, yet that very excuse demonstrates, that he acted against his principles, in procuring that power for others, which was executed with such unchristian rigour and severity.

Some of our Historians urge in favour of Cardinal Pole, that he was under no necessity of putting Cranmer to death, in order to come at the Archbishoprick, since that was conferred upon him by the Pope (119), before the burning of his predecessor. If this was really so, then the suggestion that Bishop Gardiner preserved Cranmer's life out of spleen to Pole, and from private views, must be also ill-founded, and his preservation of him as long as he lived, may be therefore referred to a better motive. But still, his reconciling the English nation to the obedience of the Sec of Rome, which was plainly his act and deed, is as indefensible as ever. Whatever compassion he might have as a man, he shewed little of the piety or prudence of a Christian Bishop in that action, the worst without all doubt of his whole life, though not the worst spoken of, even by Protestant Historians.

His behaviour as a Minister of State in the reign of Henry, is far from being unexceptionable. His soliciting the divorce from Queen Katherine, at home and abroad; his carrying Cranmer to the King, applauding his advice, and taking upon himself to carry it into execution at Cambridge, if done contrary to his sense of things, as there is great probability it was, cannot be either defended or excused. His reversing all this, by an Act of Parliament, and throwing the whole odium upon Cranmer; Bishop Burnet says (120), shewed he had lost all sense of shame, and a man must want either conscience or understanding, who does not think so. His advising Queen Mary to acts of lenity at her entrance on the government, was certainly very commendable. His soliciting her to restore what the crown had taken from several noble families, such as Norfolk, Arundel, Stanhope, and Hungerford, and the provision for restoring in blood, the Earl of Devonshire, and the son of the Duke of Somerset, highly laudable; his excluding foreign influence from English Councils, and his preventing a Spanish Prince from being placed on the English throne, were essential services to his country; his attention upon all occasions to the spirit of the constitution, in preference to every thing, and particularly, both to royal and ministerial power, is worthy of praise and of imitation.

It might be thought a strange omission, if we should say nothing of the charge that was brought against him of corrupting Parliaments, as it is mentioned by several

eminent Historians, but the asserting boldly, or transcribing a fact, often is no kind of evidence. We find nothing of it in the earliest Historians, who wrote in the succeeding reign; and there is nothing brought to justify it, excepting what has been said of King Philip's bringing over a large sum in ready money. As to the Parliament, particularly insisted upon, which is the second of the Queen's reign, and as to which it is surmised; that he gave pensions to several of the members; there is a matter of fact that strongly contradicts it, and it is this, that this Parliament did not continue full two months, meeting on the second of April, and being dissolved on the twenty fifth of May. Now it is natural to believe, that if this Minister's influence, which was indeed very great, had been built upon corruption, he would have continued that Parliament; for it is not the custom of those who give wages, to be content with such short service, more especially when a Parliament was again called the very same year. Besides the Spanish money was not then arrived.

We may add to all this, that our Prelate had less occasion to bribe, because he asked no supplies. It is usual to wet the sucker, before the hand is applied to the pump, but it would be a mere waste of water, if there was no intention of pumping. The Ministers who followed him in that reign, stood in need of that vile expedient, and practised it, but they steered by other maxims than Gardiner had done, and knew not the art of managing Parliaments, by beginning with Constitutional Bills, and thereby putting them in a good humour, or of being contented with a moderate share of success, and not pushing too many government points at once, which were the principal arts he used.

In this respect he was perfectly happy, that he died before he found himself under the necessity of altering his conduct, or of forfeiting the reputation he had acquired by unwarrantable compliances. We are now at such a distance from the time in which he lived, and are possessed of so many publick and private papers, that open to us the whole circle of his conduct, at the same time that all partiality or prejudice is, or ought to be, removed, that we may look on ourselves as free, as well as competent judges of it. To this, if the pains taken in the present article, shall any way contribute, it will fully answer the only end for which they were taken, by recommending a critical examination of our History, with an unbiassed regard to truth and the constitution.

[NN] *Could be easily imagined.* In all probability, the reason of removing the Bishop's corps so hastily, was to have it in the proper place where these funeral honours might be paid, since at the Court, where he died, it would have been very improper. By five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, his bowels were buried before the high-altar, in the parish church of St Mary Overy's; at six, the knell began, and a *Dirge* and *Mass*, all the bells continuing to ring till seven at night. November the fourteenth, began the knell again; there was then a hearse adorned with four branches of gilt candlesticks, two white branches, and three dozen of staff torches. The choir was hung with black, and coats of arms and escutcheons, *Dirge* sung that evening; the next day, *Mass* of *Requiem* was sung by Dr Bonner, Bishop of London, many Prelates, Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen being present; after which Dr White, Bishop of Lincoln, ascended the pulpit, and preached the Funeral Sermon, this over, they went to Winchester palace to dinner. The same day in the afternoon, was *Dirge* sung in every parish in London, with a hearse and ringing of bells, and the next day a *Mass* of *Requiem* and prayers, according to the fashion of those times. On the twenty-first of the same month, about noon, began the knell, when the body was brought to the church of St Mary Overy's, attended by all the Bishops who were in town, and by a great number of the Clergy; the Bishop of London performed the funeral Service, and wore his Mitre;

(119) Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 391.

(120) Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 254.

were set on foot at Court, on this great Prelate's death, about filling his places, which occasioned some delay in disposing of them. The great seal was in the mean time put into the hands of Sir Nicholas Hare, Master of the Rolls, and on Newyear's-day following given to Dr Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York (*r*). In the Chancellorship of Cambridge he was succeeded by Cardinal Pole (*s*), who had some inclinations to have held his Bishoprick of Winchester too *in commendam*; but at length it was given to Dr White, Bishop of Lincoln, the modest Cardinal contenting himself with a pension of one thousand pounds a year out of the revenue, for the support of his dignity (*t*). As to the Mastership of Trinity-Hall, Dr Mowse, who took it as a good Protestant in King Edward's time, was now become so good a Catholick as to take it again in Queen Mary's time; and in the days of Elizabeth had a Prebend of York bestowed upon him, being once more become a Protestant (*u*). As to the private estate of Bishop Gardiner, he disposed of it by will, of which his two old friends (*w*), Sir Anthony Brown, Viscount Montacute, and Dr Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, were the executors.

(*r*) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 321.

(*s*) Catalog. Cantabrig. Cantabrig.

(*t*) Godwin, de Praeful. Angliae, p. 237.

(*u*) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 400, 401.

(*w*) Godwin, de Praeful. Angliae, p. 237.

Mitre; before the corps, went the King at Arms in his coat, and five banners of his arms, and four images wrought with gold and jewels. On the morrow were said three Masses; one of the Trinity, one of our Lady, and one of *Requiem*; after which, the company repaired to dinner at Winchester Palace, and the body was deposited in a vault, till it could be carried to Winchester. On the twenty-fourth of February following, were the obsequies of this Prelate celebrated after the following manner. In the afternoon, began the knell at St Mary Overies and ringing. After that began the *Dirge*. A pall of cloth of gold, and two white branches, and two dozen of staff torches burning, and four great tapers. The Lord Montacute, the chief mourner, and the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, Sir Robert Rochester, Comptroller, and divers other attendants in black, and many black gowns and coats. And the morrow, Mass of *Requiem* and offering done, began the sermon; and so Mass being done, all repaired to a dinner at Lord Montacute's. At the gate, the corps was put into a chariot with four horses all covered with black. Over the corps, an image resembling the deceased, with his mitre on his head, with five gentlemen, bearing five banners of his arms. Then followed an hundred men in gowns and hoods. Then two Heralds in their coat-armour; Mr Garter and Rouge Croix. Then came men riding, carrying of torches burning, in number sixty, about the corps all the way. Then came the mourners in gowns and coats, to the

number of two-hundred, afore and behind; and ceasing, and there they had a great torch given them. And so through every parish till they came to Winchester. And as many as came to meet them, had money given them. And a *Dirge* and Mass at every lodging (121). All these needless ceremonies being over, the corps was interred according to the Bishop's last will, as Bishop Godwin tells us, on the north side of the high altar in the Cathedral, in a tomb answerable to that of Bishop Fox, on the other side (122). Many poetical compositions, both in Latin and English, were published on the demise of this great Prelate; the most bitter invectives against him, may be found in Bale, who seems to have taken particular pleasure in the abuse of him; on the other hand, Mr John Morwen, who was fellow of Corpus-Christi College in Oxford, wrote an elegant Latin Poem in honour of his memory, in which there are many facts, as well as much panegyric. Sir John Harrington, whom we have before mentioned, deals very fairly by him and the publick, by preserving a poem highly in his commendation; and that piece, according to the custom of those times, reversed into a most outrageous satire. It had been well, if authors on both sides had confined their partiality and their prejudice, to poetical compositions only, and left history untainted with them, we should then have been able to have made this article much shorter, as well as more satisfactory. E

(121) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 229, 230. — p. 285, 286.

(122) De Praeful. Angliae, p. 237.

GARTH (Sir SAMUEL), a genuine son of Apollo, as he was at once an excellent Poet, and a very learned as well as successful Physician. He was descended from a good family in Yorkshire, and after he had passed through his school education, he was removed to Peter-House in Cambridge, where he is said to have continued till he was created Doctor of Physick, July the seventh 1691 (*a*). His first examination before the Royal College of Physicians, was on the twelfth of March 1691-2, and he was admitted Fellow June the twenty-sixth 1692 (*b*). In 1696, he zealously encouraged the speedy erecting the Dispensary, being an apartment in the College for the relief of the sick poor, by giving them advice gratis, and dispensing medicines to them at low rates (*c*). This work of charity having exposed him, and many other of the most eminent Physicians, to the envy and resentment of several persons of the same Faculty, as well as Apothecaries, he ridiculed them with peculiar spirit and vivacity, in his admirable poem called THE DISPENSARY, in six canto's; which, tho' it first stole into the world a little hastily and incorrect, in the year 1699, yet bore in a few months three impressions, and was afterwards printed several times, with a dedication to Anthony Henly, Esq; and commendatory verses by Mr Charles Boyle, afterwards Earl of Orrery, Colonel Christopher Codrington, Thomas Cheek, Esq; and Colonel Henry Blount (*d*). This poem raised our author a very just, as well as prodigious, reputation (*e*) [*A*]. This poetical

(*d*) From the correct edit. in 1710. 8vo.

(*e*) Pack's Miscellanist, p. 103.

[*A*] *As prodigious reputation*] There are two things remarkable with respect to this admirable poem of our author's, the first, that it is in itself a most beautiful and elegant composition; the second, that it was written to support a most generous and charitable design. In order to make the reader perfectly master of the reasons upon which that scheme was founded this poem was written to recommend: the judicious author in his preface, advises him to read a little piece, written by

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the directions, and published by the order, of the College of Physicians, then common, and in every body's hands, though now become very scarce and hard to be met with, which cannot therefore but be very acceptable to the reader, as without it, one of the best poems in our language, can be but very imperfectly understood. The title of this performance was,

*A Short Account of the Proceedings of the College of Physicians, London, in Relation to the Sick, Poor, &c.*

24 D

Since

and skill in his profession, his agreeable conversation, and unaffected good humour, procured him vast practice, and gained him the friendship and esteem of most of the nobility and

Since it hath been the fate of many good undertakings, though in themselves highly beneficial to the publick, to miscarry and come to nothing, not so much by the *open opposition* of interested and designing persons, as by their *private insinuations* and *mis-representations*, whereby they prepossess the people to their own great hurt and damage; that the like misfortune may not befall the charitable design now set on foot by the *College of Physicians, LONDON*, for the relief of the *poor sick* in and about this great city and suburbs; we have thought it necessary to give a short historical account of the rise and progress of this matter, whereby we hope it will appear, that this undertaking, as it was several years since begun, before there were any differences or misunderstandings, either amongst ourselves, or with the Apothecaries, upon no other ground but the commiseration of the deplorable condition of the poor sick, especially poor house-keepers, not usually taken care of by the parishes; so also, that the same hath been ever since carried on with the same honest intention: and we doubt not, but a work so advantageous to the sick poor, and so honourable to this city, will in the same manner be shortly finished, and brought to its utmost perfection.

To omit therefore what has in former times been attempted of this nature by our predecessors, of whose early charity we have several instances recorded in our annals; the first step we find tending directly to this purpose, is a vote of the College in their publick meeting, July the twenty-eighth, 1687, to this effect. 'It was this day appointed and ordained, by the unanimous vote of the college, that all the members thereof, whether Fellows, Candidates, or Licentiates of the said college, shall give their advice gratis, to all their sick neighbouring poor, when desired, within the city of London, or seven miles round.'

This order being carried by several of the Members of the College to the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen; they, August the twenty-third, 1687, did by Dr *Betts*, one of our Elects, return the College thanks, for this their charitable order, with this farther request to the College, that they would explain themselves, as to whom they meant by *poor*? which they did, by declaring, that all those should be esteemed *poor*, that brought certificates under the hand of the Rector, Vicar, or Curate of the parish wherein they dwelt, of their being such.

An account of this was by the respective Aldermen sent to each ward. But partly by the industry of some persons, with whose private gain it was not so consistent, and especially by reason of the high prices of medicines, above the purchase of poor house-keepers, it was for that time stilled. Which the College perceiving, and desirous that so good an intention to so many poor people might not be frustrated, several methods for the removing this obstruction, were proposed at their general meetings, as the expending all the fines of the College, in providing physick for the poor, and the like: and at last they came to this resolution, which was past into an order, August the thirteenth, 1688, viz.

'The College having considered, that the charitable vote, which formerly passed for prescribing to the poor gratis, hath not had the effect intended, by reason of the great prices they are obliged to pay for their medicines, have this day unanimously voted, that the laboratory of the College be forthwith fitted up, for preparing medicines for the poor, and also the room adjoining for a repository.' And the College further gave a power to those members who would subscribe to this charitable work, to choose a committee from among themselves, who should order what compositions and simples should be kept at the College for the benefit of the poor, and manage the whole affair as they thought fit.

It was expected, that upon this order, the Apothecaries, (rather than the College, should make medicines themselves) would have so far concurred in this charitable work, as to have borne their part therein: and that as we had freely offered our pains to prescribe for the poor for nothing, so they would have given them

their pains also in furnishing them with necessary medicines at the intrinsic value, or at least, for some small profit. But instead of that, several amongst them set themselves, by all the art and industry they were capable of, to frustrate the whole design; and finding no method so promising, as to stir up a party among ourselves to oppose our proceedings, they fell to intriguing with several of our own members, who were too easily lured off to serve the Apothecaries interest, for their own private advantage. And from this cause, as we have too much reason to believe, have chiefly sprung the unhappy differences that are still fomented among us.

But notwithstanding all the discouragements we met with from those of our own members, who contrary to all the obligations of honour and conscience, constantly discovered to our adversaries, whatsoever passed in the College relating to this design, and exposed to them, the names of such as were promoters thereof, that they might be kept out, as far as in them lay, from all patients, where they should be proposed, and themselves brought in; these, and several other difficulties, were, though after a considerable time intervening, at last broke through, and the College proceeded to enforce their former order, by another of the eighteenth of March, 1694, to this effect. 'Whereas in the year 1687, there was an order made, by the unanimous consent of the College, obliging every member thereof to give his advice gratis, in their respective parishes in the cities of London and Westminster, and suburbs thereof, to all poor sick, as should be recommended to them for such, by the Rector, Vicar, or Curate of the said parishes, by certificate under their hands, which said order was presented to the city: now we judge it necessary, that the said order be again presented to the Lord-Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council, and do hereby again, require strict obedience from all our members, to the aforesaid order.' And a committee was then chosen by the College, to take care of the managing this matter to the best advantage of the designed charity, consisting of the Elects, Censors, and eight Fellows, whereof five to be a committee.

This order was accordingly presented to the Lord-Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council, June the eighteenth, 1695. Upon which, the Common-Council did nominate, appoint, and choose Sir *John Moor*, Sir *William Hedges*, and Sir *Joseph Smart*, Aldermen; Mr *Darvile*, Mr *Ballow*, Mr *Egglestone*, Sir *Edmund Wiseman*, Mr *Rieber*, and Mr *Palsfreman*, Commoners; whereof, any one of the said Aldermen, and two of the said Commoners to be a committee, to return the thanks of that court to the College of Physicians for such their order, and with them, to consult how to improve the advantage proposed by the said college, for the relief of the said poor inhabitants.

July the twenty-fourth. The Committee of the city and College met, where the thanks of the Lord-Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council, were returned to the College of Physicians, for their charitable order.

The Committee of the College, delivered in a list of the names of all their members, with the places where they lived, which was desired by the city to be printed.

Then the committee of the city made several proposals or queries, as first, who should be recommended as fitting objects of this charity? secondly, who should be the persons that should make up the Physicians prescriptions in the several wards and parishes of the city? thirdly, who should prize the medicines prescribed by the Physicians bills?

After which, they, with the College Committee, passing over the first proposal, which was sufficiently answered by the College's order, proceeded to debate the second and third, and came to this resolution, that some Apothecaries should be found out, who should supply the poor with medicines, at such rates as should be adjudged reasonable by the Physicians in or near the several parishes, which the committee of the city earnestly recommended to the Physicians to take care of, and promised that they would do the same on their part.

Upon

and gentry, and indeed of all ranks, of both sexes. Within the same period he gave a distinguishing instance of his profound knowledge in his profession, his perfect acquaintance with Antiquity, and correct taste in Roman eloquence, by a most admirable Latin oration, pronounced before the Faculty in Warwick-Lane, September the seventeenth 1697 (f), 10 *(f) Oratio laudans*  
*the great satisfaction of the audience, and his own reputation, as the College Register testi-*  
*ties. Pieces of this kind are often composed with peculiar attention to the phrase, the*  
*turn of the periods in the speaking, and their effect upon the ear; and tho' these advan-*  
*tages were by no means neglected in Dr Garth's performance, yet the sentiment, the spirit,*  
*the stile, manifested all their beauty in print, and the applause with which it was received*  
*by it's hearers, was echoed by those who perused it [B]. Upon the death of the famous*  
 Dryden,

*1720, in Aetibus*  
*Collegii Regalis*  
*Med. Lond. 17<sup>o</sup>*  
*Septembris, habita*  
*à Sam. Garth.*  
*C. l. Reg. Med.*  
*Lond. Soc. Lond.*  
*1697, 4to. p. 16.*

Upon this, the Committee of the College, applied themselves with great diligence to answer the said desire of the City committee; and after some time, found out several honest and charitable Apothecaries, who very cheerfully and readily embraced the offer, and at the solicitation of the Physicians, entered into this following subscription. *We whose names are here under written, are willing to furnish the poor within our respective parishes, with medicines, at such rates as the Committee of Physicians shall judge reasonable, witness our hands.* Which subscription we have now by us, but for the subscribers sakes, do not divulge their names.

When the Committee of the College had got a sufficient number of Apothecaries to furnish all the Wards of London, they acquainted the Committee of the City therewith, requesting them at the same time, that they would, for their encouragement, endeavour to have an act passed in the Common-Council, to excuse those charitable Apothecaries from any troublesome office.

Then the Committee of the City, did desire the College Committee to get a farther addition to their former order, whereby the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor, or any of them, might, as well as the Ministers, recommend, by certificate, fit objects of charity; as also, that all hired servants, and apprentices to handicraftmen, should be reckoned as objects of charity, which the Committee of the College promised to endeavour.

Now the College thought they had surmounted all difficulties, and had attained their end: but the Apothecaries Company having got knowledge of our meeting with a Committee of the City, did not only draw up and present a paper to the Committee of the City, tending wholly to frustrate the charitable ends of our design, which was sufficiently answered article by article, by the Committee of the College, (copies of both which are annexed to this piece) but also hearing that the Committee of Physicians had gotten Apothecaries enough to supply this charity, they were extremely alarmed, and presently called a Hall, wherein, partly by threatening to impose upon them the most troublesome and expensive offices of their company, and partly by charging them upon this compliance with the Physicians, with breach of their oaths to their company, they affrighted most of these Apothecaries from this undertaking, as if their oath obliged them not to do any thing charitably.

September the fourth, 1695. The College made such addition to their order, as the City Committee had desired. At which meeting, the College did likewise approve and confirm all that had been done by their Committee, giving them thanks for the care and trouble they had already taken, and desiring them to proceed and perfect this charitable work, owning and declaring all that the Committee had done, to be the act of the College, and not the act of six or seven men, as some had industriously, though falsely, given out; and that the College would accordingly stand by their Committee in what they had done.

At the next meeting of the Committees, the addition by the College to their former order, desired by the City Committee, was delivered to them, who were much pleased therewith. Then they proceeded to consider who should prize the medicines. And the College Committee was content, because they would avoid every thing that might obstruct this designed charity, that the Master and Wardens of the Apothecaries Company should do it every year, and afterwards bring it to the President and Censors of the College for their approba-

tion, but even this was also opposed by the Apothecaries Company.

Thus it appearing, that the Apothecaries were resolved to obstruct this charity in every particular, the City Committee asked the Physicians then present, whether their College would provide medicines for the poor at reasonable rates, if the Apothecaries should refuse so to do? to which they answered, that they believed, rather than so charitable a design should fail, the College would undertake it, and promised that they would propose it at their next publick College meeting.

Hereupon, the City Committee being fully satisfied with the Physicians answers to their proposals, and with their sincerity in transacting this whole affair with them, as also, that the methods offered by them, were the most proper for obtaining the end proposed, drew up a report accordingly of the whole matter, which the Chairman, Sir William Hedges, offered to read at the next Common-Council; but some affair that required a quicker dispatch intervening, it was put off for that time, and this happening at the latter end of the year, the Common-Council was not long after of course dissolved, and another chosen, in which, several of the then Committee were left out, which probably was the cause that this report was never after called for.

The matter resting thus, and the College being in expectation to hear from the City, they did nothing farther in it till December the twenty-second, 1696, when a proposition was made in the publick College, for a subscription by the Fellows, Candidates, and Licentiates, for carrying on this charity; which being therein approved, about nine or ten only dissenting, a subscription to the effect following, was immediately made.

*Whereas the several Orders of the College of Physicians, London, &c.*

But this order being annexed to the preface to the Dispensary, it is unnecessary to transcribe it here.

[B] *By those who perused it.*] There is so great a difference between the harmony of Prose and Verse, and that turn of thought which makes a great Poet or an accomplished Orator, that it rarely happens the same genius inspires both, at least in an equal degree. Cicero, who was not heard by his contemporaries with greater applause than his works are now read with admiration, attempted Poetry without success; and the same thing might be said of others, if it were decent to name them after Tully. Yet it must be confessed, that some of our own Poets have written Prose with equal skill and delicacy; as for instance, Dryden, Pope, and Garth. But it was the peculiar excellence of the latter, that not in his own language only, but in that of ancient Rome, he delivered himself with equal eloquence and spirit. A short instance of this, from the oration of which we are speaking, shall suffice (1).

(1) *Oratio laudans*  
*1720, &c.*

*Plura dicerem ut artis Apollineae laudibus nequaquam deessent, verum ista omitto, ne multa hac occasione non ita pridem audita recensere videar. De medicorum itaque dignitate & titulis, qui certiores fieri velint Foesium & alios consulant. Sed in ea nos indicimus loca & tempora, quibus ipsa aegrotat medicina. Ars siquidem omnibus aliis utilissima, sibi suisque prodesse nescit, dum plus Pseudomedicis quam morbis laborat Anglia. Quot & quales sint isti, programmata parietibus affixa movent indices. Ille circumsoraneus in plateis equo insidens, dentes evellit; ille, domi certis horis satuos expectat; Alter Matulus inspicit, & ubi morbum non invenit, facit; Alter, turbam in unum Funambuli ope convocatum, venit, videt, in confertissimam catervam irruit, & horrendam edit fragorem. Non autem telis vulnerat ista Agyrtarum colluvies, sed Theriacam quaedam agis perniciosa,*

Dryden, in May 1701, by a very strange accident his burial came to depend on the piety of Dr Garth, who caused the body to be brought to the College of Physicians, proposed and encouraged, by his generous example, a subscription for defraying the expence of the funeral (g); and, after pronouncing over the corps, before it set out from Warwick-Lane, a suitable oration, attended the solemnity to Westminster-Abbey, where at last the remains of that great Man were decently interred. For this most memorable act of tenderness and respect, those who loved the person, or who honoured the parts of that excellent Poet, expressed much gratitude to Dr Garth. He was one of the most eminent members of a famous society called the *Kit Kat Club*, which consisted of above thirty noblemen and gentlemen, distinguished by their excellent parts, and their very zealous affection to the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover (b). October the third 1702, he was elected one of the Censors of the College of Physicians. In respect to his political principles, he was open and warm; and, which was still more to be valued, he was steady and sincere. In the time of Lord Godolphin's administration, no body was better received of his rank than Dr Garth, and no body seemed to have a higher opinion of the Minister's integrity and abilities, in which he had however the satisfaction of speaking with the publick. But in 1710, when things began to wear another aspect, and that noble person had an opportunity of distinguishing his own friends from those of his power, it could not fail of giving him sensible pleasure to find Dr Garth amongst the first, and to receive the tribute of his MUSE on that situation of his affairs, which would have struck a flatterer dumb (i). But there wanted not some to whom this remarkable testimony of gratitude was by no means pleasing, and therefore the Doctor's lines were severely criticized (k), in a certain paper engaged in the service of the new Ministry; but instead of sinking the credit either of the verses or the Poet, they added to the reputation of both, by exciting the judicious Joseph Addison, Esq; to write in their defence (l) [C]. He was also in particular favour and esteem with the Duke of Marlborough, whose disgrace, and voluntary exile abroad, he lamented in a fine copy of verses (m). In 1711, he wrote a dedication for an intended edition of Lucretius, addressed to his late Majesty, then Elector of Brunswick, which has been justly

(g) Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 59.

(b) Hist. of the Stuarts, Vol. II. p. 479.

(i) See this elegant Poem in note [C].

(k) Examiner, No. VI.

(l) Works, Vol. IV. p. 331.

(m) Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. II. p. 402.

*ciosâ, non pyrio, sed pulvere nescio quo exotico certat, non globulis plumbeis, sed pilulis æque lethalius interficit. O genus hominum, si quod aliud sceleratissimum! totam urbem invadunt isti homicidæ, sed an imperitiâ an impunitate majori incertum; pro pudore, audacia, pro sagacitate inscitia, pro integritate improbitas hodie, ut olim viget. Huic pesti ut occurreret Henricus octavus regum augustissimus, & sanitati subditorum religiosè consulens, collegium hoc quamplurimis immunitatibus ad rem medicam moderandam stabiliendamque donavit. Henrici ad exemplum Edwardus sextus, Maria & Elisabetha reginæ, Jacobi, Carolique duo, nullum officii genus ad emolumentum nostrum spectans, omisere: multa insuper Mariæ & Arabellæ Stuartæ ex regio sanguine oriundis debemus; Lumleo Baroni, summæ, eo tempore, autoritatis etiam multa; nec minora marchioni Dorcestriæ, Collegii hujusce regalis socio, viro etiam animi dotibus quam natalium splendore clariori. Neque nos fugiant societatis nostræ & alia ornamenta, Linacrus nemque Atkinsus, Readus, Meverellus, Foxus, Gulstonus, Pagettus, Bidgodsius, Pamannus, precipuè vero Harveyus & Hamæus: ingenti virtute & doctrinâ fuere ambo, sed indole paulum diversâ: Harveyus benignitate clarus habebatur, morum simplicitate Hamæus: ille humanitate festivâ probatus fuit, huic augusta gravitas dignitatem dedit; Alterius lenitas, alterius stabilitas celebratur.*

Which has been translated thus,

‘ More I might say, as there is no want of materials, in commending Apollo’s art; but I omit them, that I might not seem on this occasion to affect delivering such things as were not sufficiently known before. Of the dignity and titles of Physicians, let those who would know more consult Foefius and others. But at present, let us speak of places and times in which medicine itself is sick. This art, of all others the most useful, knows not how to help itself; while rather from mock Physicians, than diseases, this country suffers. What, and what sort of people they are, the rubrick’d walls at the corner of every street will inform you. Here an Operator, mounted on his pyed horse, draws teeth in the streets; another is fo obliging, as to be at home at certain hours to receive fools; another pores in urinals, and if he finds no disease there, he makes it; another still, draws together a crowd by the help of rope-dancing; he comes, he sees, then rushes forth upon the multitude,

‘ and murders without mercy. Yet not with weapons do these swarms of mountebanks inflict wounds, but with some nostrum more dangerous than any weapon; not with plain gun-powder, but with some strange foreign dust they charge their packets; not with leaden bullets, but with pills as mortal, they do their business. O race of men, of all others the most wicked! thro’ the whole city these homicides spread their terror, whether with more ignorance or impunity it is hard to determine; instead of modesty, impudence; instead of sagacity, stupidity; instead of integrity, wickedness; now, as of old, flourishes. To check this plague, Henry VIII, a most august Prince, and religiously tender of the health of his subjects, established this College, and fortified it with many privileges, that it might regulate and preserve the art of Physick. Moved by the example of Henry, Edward VI, the Queens Mary and Elizabeth, James, and both the Charles’s, omitted nothing that might prove beneficial to the Faculty; much also we owe to Mary and Arabella Stuart, whose veins were enriched with royal blood; much to the Lord Lumley, in his time a person of great authority; nor less to the Marquis of Dorchester, himself a Fellow of this Royal College, and a man still more distinguished by the virtues of his mind than by the splendour of his birth. Neither are we to seek for many other ornaments in this our Society, such as Linacre, Atkins, Read, Meverel, Fox, Gulston, Pagett, Bidgod, Paman; but above all, Harvey and Hames, both of great virtue and learning, but of different dispositions, Harvey distinguished by benignity of mind, Hames by simplicity of manners; the former was endeared to all by his chearful humanity, the latter attracted respect by a becoming gravity; the one justly celebrated for his lenity, as the other for his firmness.’

The whole of the oration is equally beautiful, but more especially the warm, pathetick, and sublime panegyrick on King William, too copious to be transcribed, and too fine to be curtailed in an abstract; in a word, tho’ all the orations spoken before this learned body do honour to the learning of this nation, yet none, in point of sentiment or of eloquence, ever exceeded this of which we are speaking.

[C] To write in their defence.] In order to judge both of the Criticism and of the Defence, it will be requisite first of all to read the Poem to which they refer,

justly admired as one of the finest pieces of Latin written in our times. On the accession of that Prince to the throne, he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him by his Majesty, with the Duke of Marlborough's sword (11). He was likewise made Physician in Ordinary to the King, and Physician-General to the army. As his known services procured him a great interest with those in power, so his humanity and good nature inclined him to make use of that interest rather for the support and encouragement of men of letters who had merit, than for the advancement of his own fortune, his views in that respect having been always very moderate. He lived with the Great in that degree of esteem and independency, and with all that freedom which became a man possessed of superior genius, and

(11) Chronological  
Diary for A. D.  
1714, 1715, p. 12.

refer, more especially as it is very short, and as it may be very well supposed written suddenly, and at least as much from the author's propensity to Patriotism as Poetry.

To the Earl of Godolphin.

*Whilst weeping Europe bends beneath her Ills,  
And where the sword destroys not famine kills.  
Our illc enjoys by your successful care,  
The pomp of peace amidst the woes of war.  
So much the publick to your prudence owes,  
You think no labours long for our repose.  
Such conduct, such integrity are shown,  
There are no coffers empty but your own.  
From mean dependance, merit you retrieve;  
Unask'd you offer, and unseen you give.  
Your favour, like the Nile, increase bestows;  
And yet conceals the source from whence it flows.  
So seiz'd your passions are, we find no frown  
If funds oppress not, and if commerce run,  
Taxes diminish'd, liberty entire,  
These are the grants your services require.  
Thus far the state-machine wants no repair,  
But moves in matchless order by your care.  
Free from confusion, settled and serene;  
And, like the universe, by springs unseen.  
But now some star, sinister to our prayers;  
Contrives new schemes, and calls you from affairs.  
No anguish in your looks, nor cares appear,  
But bow to teach th' unpraclis'd crew to steer.  
Thus like some victim no constraint you need,  
To expiate their offence by whom you bleed.  
Ingratitude's a weed in ev'ry clime;  
It thrives too fast at first, but fades in time.  
The God of day, and your own lot's the same;  
The vapours you have rais'd, obscure your flame.  
But tho' you suffer, and a while retreat;  
Your globe of light looks larger as you set.*

The criticism upon these verses was published in a letter to the Examiner, for Thursday September the seventh 1710; and the author of it observes (2), that there does not appear either Poetry, Grammar, or design, in the composition of this poem. 'The whole,' says he, 'seems to be, as the sixth edition of the *Dissertary* happily expresses it, a strong unlabour'd impotence of thought. If we examine it by the new test of good Poetry, which the Doctor himself has established *pleasing at first blush*, has this piece the least title even to that? Or if we compare it with the only pattern, as he thinks, of just writing in this kind, Ovid, is there any thing in *De Tristibus* so wild, so childish, so flat? What can the ingenious Doctor mean? Or at what time could he write these verses? Half of the poem is a panegyric on a Lord Treasurer *in being*, and the rest a compliment of condolence to an Earl that has *lost the staff*. In thirty lines his patron is a river, the *primum mobile*, a pilot, a victim, the sun, any thing, and nothing. He bestows increase, conceals his source, makes the machine move; teaches to steer, expiates our offences, raises vapours, and looks larger as he sets. Nor is the choice of his expressions less exquisite than that of his similes. For commerce to run, passions to be seiz'd, merit to be retrieved from dependance, and a machine to be se-

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rene, is perfectly new. The Doctor has a happy talent at invention, and has had the glory of enriching our language by his phrases, as much as he has improved medicine by his bills.

But to be more particular:

*And where th' sword destroys not (says our Panegyrist)  
famine kills.*

'I could wish the verse would have allowed of the word *plague* or *pestilence*, for I suppose that is what the author means. I have heard of the *plague* at Dantzick, but what part of Europe *famine* rages in I know not. Why won't *physick* stand here? It is better sense, runs as well. What the *pomp* of *peace* is, I as little comprehend as how it can be enjoyed amidst the *woes* of *war*.

*Such conduct, such integrity are shown;  
There are no coffers empty but your own.*

'Since there is little *poetry* in this couplet, I wish there were more *truth* in it. Some coffers I have heard were *empty* three weeks ago, and if they are not so *still*, the nation is more obliged to the Doctor's *unpraclis'd crew* than to the *experienced pilot*.

*Unask'd you offer.*

'A great discovery! I always thought, till now, he that was *asked* might be said to *give*, but not properly to *offer*. The malicious part of the world, will, I doubt, be apt to observe, that this sentence, as it stands here, is as true in fact as it is exact in language.

*Your favour, like the Nile, increase bestows.*

'If the beauty of the simile is to be judged of by the frequent use which the Poets of all ages have made of it, scarce any can come in competition with the Doctor's river. The Nile on these occasions, is as trite as the stories of *Icarus* and *Pbaeton*. I remember I used it when I was about twelve in a *new-year's-gift* to my uncle, and was heartily ashamed of it a year after. A school-boy can no more miss the Nile, than a *French* author when he dedicates to the *Grand Monarch* can live without the *sun*, that other simile in which the Doctor rejoices.

—— some star, sinister to our prayers,  
*Contrives new schemes.*

'*Alii legunt*, five stars which makes this passage intelligible. I have often heard Astrologers talk of a sort of influence that stars have upon human affairs, but I know of no stars but those in Mr *Bickerstaff's* constellation that ever contrived schemes, and those too were erected under no very *benign aspect*.

'My Lord's care, he tells us, is to teach the *unpraclis'd crew* to *steer*. By crew we are to understand the Lords of the Treasury. A very civil expression! But as to the sense of it, what affinity is there between crew and steering. Is *steering* the business of the *whole ship's crew*? This is a true image of the *whig* scheme, where every man is his *own pilot*.

'If we read the next two lines, we shall find these people have wounded him; and yet, like the best natured victim imaginable, he needs no constraint to

24 E

expiate

(2) Examiner,  
No. VI.

the most valuable talents. He was not so haughty as to be above being obliged, and he had a fund of gratitude and good sense, which induced as well as enabled him to oblige them in return.

‘ expiate their offences. All this is what the *French* call *gallimatias*, and what the English critics term *nonsense*. But what follows? For whom you bleed. Bleed? What is the Devil in the Doctor, to mention such a word, and give so unlucky a *hint*? I hoped that this point had been so well guarded, that here could be no farther need of an *act* of security.

*The God of day, and your own lot's the fame.*

‘ A hundred pound for a genitive case, as old *Busby* used to cry out upon such an occasion.

‘ But to go on from Grammar to decency. Of this happiness of *Great Britain*, is any part ascribed to the *Queen*? To this machine, which moves so like the universe, does the royal hand give any turn? Methinks he might at least allow her Majesty as much as his friends did in the coronation medal, *Vicem gerit illa*. But, as the Poet observes,

*Ingratitude's a weed of ev'ry clime.*

‘ He will give me leave, in my own turn, to observe, that in *Don Sebastian* it is

*Ingratitude's the growth of ev'ry clime.*

‘ What occasion was there of altering a verse he thought fit to steal? This is being a mere *Banditti* in Poetry, to rob and murder too. But who is to be charged with this ingratitude? The whole body of the nation did indeed wish the Treasurer out, but it was her Majesty only that could displace him. Such are the compliments which the *Crown* receives from this *anti-monarchical* academy. Excellent Poets! dutiful Subjects!

‘ I could give you many more observations upon the beauties of this sublime panegyric, if I had my *Longinus* by me. It has been corrected, I find, twice or thrice already; and if the author corrects it once more, I am so well acquainted with his lucky performances that way, that I do not doubt but I shall be tempted to write to you again upon the same subject. He will not be like himself, if he does not shift his patron as well as his phrases; and it will not surprize me at all, if the next edition the poem should come out inscribed to the late Treasurer of Ireland.’

In the Medley, or Whig Examiner, published September 14, 1710 (3), this criticism was roundly replied to, with all the wit and spirit, and with all the critical skill and judgment, for which it's excellent author was so famous. ‘ The design, says he, of this work, is to censure the writings of others, and to give all persons a re-hearing, who have suffered under any unjust sentence of the Examiner. As that author has hitherto proceeded, his paper would have been more properly intitled the Executioner, at least his examination is like that which is made by the rack and wheel. I have always admired a critic that has discovered the beauties of an author, and never knew one who made it his business to lash the faults of other writers, that was not guilty of greater himself; as the hangman is generally a worse malefactor, than the criminal that suffers by his hand. To prove what I say, there needs no more than to read the annotations which this author has made upon Dr Garth's poem, with the preface in the front, and a riddle at the end of them.’

Mr Addison concludes that paper with these words. ‘ Before I take my farewell of this subject, I shall advise the author for the future to speak his meaning more plainly. I allow he has a happy talent at dog-grel, when he writes upon a known subject; where he tells us in plain intelligible language, how *Syrisca's* ladle was lost in one hole, and *Han's Carvel's* finger in another; he is very jocular and diverting; but when he wraps a lampoon in a riddle, he must consider that his jest is lost to every one but the few merry wags that are in the secret. This is making darker satires than ever *Persius* did. After this cursory view

of the Examiner's performance, let us consider his remarks upon the Doctor's. This general piece of raillery, which he passes upon the Doctor's considering the Treasurer in several different views, is, that which might fall upon any poem in *Waller*, or any other writer who has diversity of thoughts and allusions; and, tho' it may appear a pleasant ridicule to an ignorant reader, is wholly groundless and unjust. I do likewise differ from the Examiner upon the phrases of *passions being poised*, and of *the retrieving merit from dependence*, which are beautiful and poetical.

‘ It is the same cavilling spirit that finds fault with that expression of the *pomp of peace*, among woes of war, as well as of offering unask'd. As for the *Nile*, how *Icarus* and *Phaeton* came to be joined with it, I cannot conceive! I must confess they have been formerly used to represent the fate of rash ambitious men, and I cannot imagine why the author should deprive us of those particular similes for the future. The next criticism upon the *stars*, seems introduced for no other reason but to mention Mr *Bickerstaff*, whom the author every where endeavours to imitate and abuse. But I shall refer the Examiner, to the *Frog's* advice to her little one that was blowing itself up to the size of an ox.

——— *Non si te ruperis, inquit,  
Par eris* ——

‘ The allusion to a *victim* may be a *gallimatia* in French politics, but is an apt and noble allusion to a true English spirit. And as for the Examiner's remarks on the word *bleed*, tho' a man would laugh to see impotent malice so little able to contain itself, one cannot but observe in them the temper of the *Banditti* whom he mentions in the same paper, who always murder where they rob. The last observation, is upon the line *ingratitude's a weed of ev'ry clime*. Here he is very much out of humour with the Doctor, for having called that the weed which Dryden only terms the growth of ev'ry clime. But, for God's sake, why so much tenderness for ingratitude? But I shall say no more. We are now in an age wherein impudent assertions must pass for arguments, and I do not question but the same who has endeavoured here to prove that he who wrote the *Dispensary* was no Poet, will very suddenly undertake to shew that he who gained the battle of *Blenheim* was no General.’

It is not impossible that our author himself might have in view this criticism, and some other compliments of the like nature, when, at the close of his preface to the translation of *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, he takes occasion to deliver himself in a manner equally suitable to the case of that Roman Poet, and of his own. His words will bear reading, even after those of Mr Addison's.

With all those wond'rous talents, he (*Ovid*) was libell'd in his life-time, by the very men who had no other excellencies but as they were his imitators. Where he was allowed to have sentiments superior to all others, they charged him with theft; but how did he steal, no otherwise than like those that steal beggars children, only to cloath them the better.

'Tis to be lamented that gentlemen still continue this unfair behaviour, and treat one another every day with most injurious libels. The Muses should be ladies of a chaste and fair behaviour; when they are otherwise they are Furies. 'Tis certain that *Parnassus* is at best but a barren mountain, and it's inhabitants contrive to make it more so, by their unneighbourly deportment; the authors are the only corporation that endeavour at the ruin of their own society. Every day may convince them, how much a rich fool is respected above a poor wit. The only talents in esteem at present, are those of *Exchange-Alley*; one tally is worth a grove of Bays; and 'tis of much more consequence to be well read in the tables of interest, and the rise and fall of stocks, than in the revolutions of empires.

return. His poem intituled CLAREMONT (*o*), addressed to the present Duke of Newcastle, will survive the noble structure it celebrates, and remain a perpetual monument of its author's learning, taste, and great capacity as a Poet, since in that short work there are innumerable beauties, and a vast variety of sentiments easily and happily interwoven, the most lively strokes of satire being intermixed with the most courtly panegyric, at the same time that there appears the true spirit of enthusiasm, which distinguishes the works of one born a Poet, from those of a witty or learned man, that has arrived at no higher art than that of making verses. His knowledge in Philosophy, his correct taste in Criticism, and his thorough acquaintance with Classical Literature, appear with all the advantages that can be derived from an exact but concealed method, an accurate tho' flowing style, and a language pure, natural, and full of vivacity, in the preface that he prefixed to a translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, which would have been sufficient to have raised him an immortal reputation, if it had been the only product of his pen [*D*]. It has been attributed by some

(*o*) Printed in the fifth Vol. of Dryden's Miscellanies.

[*D*] *The only product of his pen.*] It is generally allowed by the critics, that Ovid is the most learned of the Latin Poets, perhaps we might be justified in saying, that he is not exceeded in this by any of the authors in his own language, either in verse or prose; but with all this learning, he has a most lively imagination, and writes with wonderful harmony and perspicuity. These singular and surprising excellencies joined perhaps to his tender inclinations, and that inimitable manner, in which he has described the softest passions, recommended him peculiarly to our author's study and regard. There was a great resemblance in their humours, their manners, and their poetry, and perhaps, it was from a consciousness of this, that Sir Samuel interested himself so much on behalf of this Roman bard. He dedicated to the Lady Louisa Lenos, afterwards Countess of Berkeley, an English translation of his epistles; he addressed likewise, his Art of Love, to the Earl of Burlington; and now, after translating a part, he prefixed a preface to the whole of his Metamorphoses.

A preface, which may be considered as a model in its kind, since it serves not only to give an idea of the work which follows it, and points out its principal beauties; but shews farther, the uses of his poem, and how it may be read to most profit. If we regard it in this light, his preface is in reality, a short but excellent commentary, which enables the reader to enter into the spirit and genius of his author, to understand his meaning, to apprehend the moral of his fables, and to feel the force of those fine reflections which are every where scattered through his writings. In the very opening of that short piece, he vindicates his author and himself, from an imputation that has fallen but too commonly upon Physicians and Poets. He observes, that Ovid had a discerning notion of the gravitation of bodies, and that there can be no arbitrary principle in mere matter; its parts cannot move, unless they be moved, and cannot do otherwise when prest on by other parts in motion; and therefore, says he, it is evident from the following lines, that Ovid strictly adhered to the opinion of the most discerning Philosophers, who taught, that all things were formed by a wise and intelligent mind:

*Iussit, & extendi campos subsidere valles,  
Fronde tegi sylvas,*

It may be, he carries it a little too far, in saying, that *the Fiat of the Hebrew law-giver, is not more sublime than the Iussit of the Latin Poet.* After explaining his philosophy with much learning and judgment, he comes next to consider him in his poetical capacity; and to shew how far he has been justly censured by the critics, and how much he has been frequently injured for want of being understood. He suggests, and he brings the author's own authority from another of his works to prove it, that this great performer never received his last hand, but went into the world, even in his own opinion, in some measure unfinished; but as he very justly remarks, the variety with which he feasts his reader, ought certainly to compensate for some trivial inaccuracies. 'Here, says he, are the hurries of a lover; a search and penetration into nature, for the Philosopher; fluency of numbers, and most expressive figures for the Poet; morals for the serious, and

'pleasantries for admirers of points of wit.' Where an author labours to please all, all ought in justice, to come with an inclination to be pleased. He compares this writer with Virgil, and though he confesses the comparison very unequal, yet he shews, that tho' Ovid be mostly, he is not always inferior. In reference to many subjects, his education and breeding enabled him to enter deeply into them, and with these advantages, his genius gave him a power of treating them with such strength, and yet with such facility, as perhaps leave him without any rival.

Ovid deserves as much praise for saying a great deal in a little, as censure for saying a little in a great deal. None of the classic Poets had the talent of expressing himself with more force and perspicuity. Sir Samuel gives some instances of this, and goes on. Ovid never excels himself so much, as when he takes occasion to touch upon the passion of love, all hearts are in a manner sensible of the same emotions, and like instruments tuned unisons, if a string of any of them be struck, the rest by consent vibrate. The fable of Byblis, shews how touchingly the Poet argues in love affairs, as well as those of Medea and Scylla.

The two last are left by their heroes, and their reflections are very natural and affecting. Ovid seemed here to have had Virgil's passion of Dido in his eye, but with this difference, the one had conversed much with ladies, and knew they loved to talk a great deal; the other considered no less, what was natural for them to say, than what became them to say. Virgil has through the whole management of this rencounter, discovered a most finished judgment. Æneas, like other men, likes for convenience, and leaves for greater. Dido, like other ladies, resents the neglect, enumerates the obligations the lover is under; upbraids him with ingratitude; threatens him with revenge; then by and by submits, begs for compassion, and has recourse to tears. Nor does the genius of Ovid more exert on the subject of love, than on all others.

In the contention of Ajax, Ulysses's elocution is most nervous and persuading. Where he endeavours to dissuade mankind (Book xv. of his Metamorphoses) from indulging carnivorous appetites in his Pythagorean Philosophy, how emphatical is his reasoning. Through the whole texture of this work, Ovid discovers the highest humanity, and a most exceeding good nature. The virtuous in distress are always his concern, and his wit contrives to give them an immortality with himself. He seems to have taken the most pains in the first and second book of the Metamorphoses, though the thirteenth abounds with sentiments most moving, and with calamitous sentiments introduced with great art. The animated thoughts, and lively images of this poem are numerous. None ever painted more to the life than our author, though several grotesque figures are now and then seen in the same group. The most plentiful season that gives birth to the finest flowers, produces also the rankest weeds. Ovid has shewn in one line the brightest fancy, sometimes in the next, the poorest affectation.

Ovid was much too fond of trivial witticisms, which are more to be wondred at, because they were not the fashion of that age, as puns and quibbles are of this. Virgil, as I remember, is not found trifling in this manner above once or twice. With regard to Ovid's diction, he observes, that a great many of his lines end with monosyllables, and more indeed than seems consistent

some to a certain indolence of temper, but with more justice certainly may be referred to his prudent and sound judgment, that he did not write more, but chose rather to rest his reputation upon a small number of fine things, than to risque it by undertaking many. Yet tho' all his works would scarce make a moderate volume, it may be truly affirmed that we find in them a greater variety of sentiments than in almost any writer of his time (*p*). His epigrams for the glasses of the Kit Kat Club, are bold, lively, and free, abounding with that vivacity which constitutes extempore wit; whereas the DISPENSARY and CLAREMONT, shew the whim to have possessed a cool and regular judgment, which enabled him to make a proper use of his warm imagination. His poems to the Earl of Godolphin, and the Duke of Marlborough, are serious and sententious; and yet his epilogue to Cato, and many other lighter pieces, shew that he was a great master of humour. One circumstance might very probably contribute to the real value of his works, as well as to his universal reputation; and that circumstance was this, that his hand and his heart went always together. He became very early acquainted with some of the wisest and wittiest, as well as some of the ablest and greatest, men in the kingdom, to whom he steadily adhered in all their fortunes; which, as it did him deservedly great honour, so it turned, in the end, as it usually does, not a little to his advantage. But in justice to his memory it must be observed, that tho' he was zealous for and constant to his party, yet he was very far from having that narrow and malignant spirit which induces men to hate those who differ from them in sentiments. He was indeed, and his writings speak it, as free from this pernicious quality as any man that ever lived; and he felt the just consequences of it, since he was beloved, esteemed, and admired, by the best men of all parties [*E*]. The truth is, that he had as many amiable

(*p*) His Writings have been lately published together by Mess. Tonson, &c.

sistent with the majesty of heroic verse. When lines, (continues he) are designed to be *sermoni proprioeres*, this liberty may be allowable, but not so, when the subject requires more sonorous numbers. Virgil seems to endeavour to keep up his versification to an harmonious dignity; and therefore, when fit words do not offer, with some ease he'll rather break off in an hemistich, than that the line should be lazy and languid. He well knew how essential it was in poetry to flatter the ear, and at the same time was sensible, that this organ grows tired by a constant attention to the same harmony, and therefore he endeavoured now and then to relieve it by a cadence of pauses, and a variation of measures.

Those that are most conversant in classic poetry, must be sensible that Virgil has been much more solicitous than Ovid, to keep up his lines to an easy and musical flow; but though the critics charge the latter with breaking through prosody and grammar, and allowing himself too often the licence of græcisms. I take this censure to be only an arrogant pedantry in the grammarians, and groundless in itself; but though it were true, I dare be confident, it is full as just upon Virgil. Certainly no-body can imagine, but that these two celebrated authors understood their own tongue better than the scrupulous grammarians of after-ages, who are too dogmatical and self-sufficient, when they presume to censure either of them for not attending strictly enough to Syntax and the measure of verse. The Latin tongue is a dead language, and none can decide with confidence on the harmony or dissonance or the numbers of these lines, unless they were thoroughly acquainted with their pauses and cadence. They may indeed pronounce with much more assurance on their diction, and distinguish where they have been negligent, and where not finished. There are certainly many lines in Ovid, where he has been downright lazy, and where he might have avoided the appearance of being obviously so, by a very little application.

Ovid's allegories are either physical or natural, moral or historical. Of the first kind, is the fable of Apollo and Python: in the explanation of this, all the Mythologists agree, exhalations and mists, being the constant effects of inundations are here dissipated by the rays of the Sun. Of the second kind, are Acteon torn to pieces by his own pack of dogs; and Erichon starved by the disease of hunger. These two allegories seem to signify, that extravagance and luxury end in want. Of the third, is the story of the rape of Europa. History says, she was daughter to Agenor, and carried by the Candians in a gally, bearing a bull in the stern, in order to be married to one of their Kings, named Jupiter. As to Ovid's being censured for being too free with the characters of his Gods, it must be considered, that what appeared an absurdity in our Poet, is not so much his own fault, as that of the times before him.

The character of the Gods in the old heroick age, represented them unjust in their actions, mutable in their designs, partial in their favours, ignorant of events, scurrilous in their language; some of the superior hierarchy, treating one another with injurious brutalities, and are often guilty of such indecencies and misbehaviour, as the lowest of mortals would blush to own. The commentators may endeavour to hide some absurdities in the Iliad, under the veil of allegories; but the reader, that considers the whole texture of that poem, will find that the author's meaning, and their interpretations, are often as unlike, as the imaginary heroes of his time are to the real ones of ours. Ovid was so far from paying a blind difference to the venerable name of his Grecian predecessor, in the character of his Gods; that when Jupiter punishes Andromeda for the crimes of her mother, he calls him *injustus Ammon* (Metamorph. Book iv.) and takes commonly an honourable care of the decorum of the Godhead, when their actions are consistent with the divinity of their character. His allegories include some religious or instructive moral, wrapt up in a familiar perspicuity, and the reader cannot fail of observing how many lessons of morality Ovid has given us in the course of his fables. To conclude, the poem of the Metamorphoses has been the ample magazine which has furnished the greatest Poets of the following ages with fancy and allusions; and the most celebrated Painters with subjects and designs.

[*E*] *By the best men of all parties.*] We find in the Dispensary, and indeed in all the writings of Sir Samuel Garth, a strict regard paid to merit, and due praises given to men of very different parties; the following lines, to avoid numerous quotations, will sufficiently prove the truth of what is here advanced.

*In sense and numbers if you would excel,  
Read Wycherley, consider Dryden well:  
In one, what vigorous turns of fancy shine!  
In th' other, syrens warble in each line.  
If Dorset's sprightly muse but touch the lyre,  
The Smiles and Graces melt in soft desire,  
And little loves confess their amorous fire.  
The gentle Isis claims the ivy crown,  
To bind th' immortal brows of Addison:  
As tuneful Congreve tries his rural strains,  
Pan quits the woods, the list'ning fawns the plains,  
And Philomel in notes like his complains.  
And Britain since (\*) Pausanias was writ,  
Knows Spartan virtue, and Athenian wit.  
When Stepney paints the god-like acts of Kings;  
Or what Apollo dictates, Prior sings,  
The banks of Rhine, a pleas'd attention show,  
And silver Sequana forgets to flow.*

(\*) Written by a Nobleman; brought on the Stage by Capt. Southerne, who dedicated to Anthony Henly, Esq;

amiable qualities to recommend him, as could be well found in one person. He was a general scholar, without the least tincture of affectation or taint of pedantry. Humane in his profession, and not more ready to visit than to relieve the necessitous. His conversation was free and sprightly, his wit flowing and agreeable, and always tempered by affability and good nature. He was censured for his love of pleasure, and under some suspicion in respect to his religious principles (g); with respect to the former, it would be easier to excuse than to defend him; and in regard to the latter, some who knew him intimately have thought that he was injured; and indeed it is not easy to conceive, how a man blessed with so much good sense, and so solid an understanding, should err in matters of such high importance, and which so nearly concerned his own peace. He died after a short illness, which he bore with great patience, January the eighteenth 1718-19, and was buried on the twenty-second of the same month, in the church of Harrow on the Hill, in the county of Middlesex, in a vault which he had caused to be built for him and his family (r), leaving behind him an only daughter, married to the Honourable Colonel William Boyle, a younger son of the Honourable Colonel Henry Boyle, who was brother to the late, and uncle to the present, Earl of Burlington (s).

We have already seen how warmly Mr Addison defended our author's writings, when they were attacked merely upon a principal of party; and it would be no difficult thing to cite, many compliments to him, or on his writings, from some of the greatest men his age produced; but what follows, will abundantly answer our intention.

Lord LANDSDOWNE, on Dr GARTH's illness.

MACHAON sick! in every face we find,  
His danger is the danger of mankind;  
Whose art protecting, nature could expire,  
But by a deluge, or the general fire.  
More lives he saves, than perish in our wars,  
And faster than a plague destroys repairs;  
The bold carower and adventurous dame,  
Nor fear the fever, nor refuse the flame,  
Safe in his skill from all restraint set free,  
But conscious shame, remorse, or piety.

GASCOIGNE (Sir WILLIAM), Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in the reign of King Henry IV. was nobly descended, of a very antient and numerous family, which has been seated some hundred years in Yorkshire; where, and in other parts, it appears to have flourished in very honourable distinction, at least from the Conquest. As the name is derived from Gascony in France; as it appears in the roll of *Battle-Abbey* (a), among those who entered this Kingdom with William the Norman, and as one of his ancestors, brought hither by King Henry II, was, in right of his wife Eleanor, Duke of Gascon (b), it has been thought that the family was not fixed here, more early than in the former, as it might not be more illustriously so, before the latter of those Kings; yet its first entrance may not have been with the earliest of these, but it might be more antiently settled here, than in either of those reigns; as many, out of families long inhabiting this island, who, wearied with Harold's Usurpation, went over to join the Conqueror, and being entered in that roll, after their return, appear as then first entering the nation with him (c); and as other eminent progenitors have been traced thereof, up to the Saxon times, in some of the elaborate pedigrees, which have been preserved therein; or who, at least, were then, at the Conquest, of Saxon names and lineage; tho' the name of Gascoigne appears not annexed to them, because surnames were not customary, or hereditary among us, till after the entrance of the said William the Norman (d), and then it was common for local names, especially of French derivation, to swallow up those that were personal. The family thus descending through, or engrafted with, different nations, may help us to account for the different ways of spelling its name. For tho' we have here, in the head or title of this article, preferred that orthography, or spelling thereof, which is now, and has long been, most established and received, as we generally find it in our most antient law-books, and as his descendants retain it to this day; yet hath it been written, as some antiquaries of his own county have observed (e), from very authentic precedents, more variously than perhaps any other among us [A]. It has also been observed from his pedigree, that the

[A] His name has been more variously written than perhaps any other among us.] Surnames are subject to mutation, according to the caprice, not only of strangers, but their owners themselves. Tho' many are for retrenching every redundant letter, and making names correspondent, with the language of the times, to the most graceful, or convertible manner of stile or speech, and so as they may be rendered most smooth, easy and familiar, to speaking and writing, reading and remembrance: yet others will pride themselves in retaining every mark of antiquity in their names, as the most concise cognizance, and genuine testimony in them, both

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Sire of all arts, defend thy darling son,  
Restore the man, whose life's so much our own,  
On whom like Adam the whole worlds reclin'd,  
And by preserving GARTH, preserve mankind.

The celebrated Mr Pope, in a letter to a friend, gives the following account of our author's death, his sense of it, and his own opinion of the character he deserved. 'The best natured of men, says he, Sir Samuel Garth, has left me in the truest concern for his loss. His death was very heroical, and yet unaffected enough to have made a Saint or a Philosopher famous. But ill tongues, and worse hearts, have branded even his last moments, as wrongfully as they did his life with irreligion. You must have heard many tales on this subject; but if ever there was a good Christian, without knowing himself to be so, it was Dr Garth (4).' This letter is dated Dec 12, 1718; and his free and candid sentiments of this great man, as they are infinitely better, so will they probably last much longer, than any monumental history.

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(g) Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 259.

(4) Pope's Works, Vol. VI. p. 99.

(a) Stowe's Annals, edit. fol. 1615, p. 106.

(b) Memoirs of the family of Gascoigne, communicated by a descendant thereof.

(c) Dr Fuller's Church Hist. fol. 153.

(d) Camden's Remains, edit. 4to. 1614, p. 110, &c.

(e) Mr Hopkinson's Pedigrees of the Yorkshire gentry, Mr and Mr Thoresby's Antiq. of Leeds, more particularly cited in the next note.

of reverence and authority, how inelegant soever to the eye or ear, in themselves; or upbraiding of poverty in others; and urge, they may be found upon consideration, to be less disguised in their obsolete orthography, than in any modern masquerade. Besides, ignorance as well as willfulness, is so much greater, in spelling the names of particular persons erroneously, than the general words in a language, that it is no wonder the greatest pseudography is most often propagated therein; especially of such families as, having been eminently and fruitfully dispersed through different countries, have had their names subject to the different impressions of their sever-

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christian name of William has been preserved from the Conquest so successively in the heir or eldest son of the family, that the like in others is rarely to be met with; there being no fewer than fifteen *Williams*, of whom six or eight were Knights, in a lineal descent; that is, seven before this Sir William the Judge, who was the eighth lineal heir by whom that christian name was borne; and it was preserved also as regularly in his eldest descendents, for seven generations after him, as may be more particularly seen in the note subjoined [B].  
The

ral dialects. From some of these, or such like motives, many instances of such diversity or transposition, in spelling of names may be accounted for. Dr Thomas Tenison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, has quoted five or six authors, who have differently written the name of Sir Gervas Elwis, tho' neither of them right (1): and Dr Fuller observes, in his *Discourse upon the Alteration of Surnames*, that the name of Villiers, has been written, in their old evidences, fourteen several ways (2). Yet in a volume of the principal families in Yorkshire, whereof divers transcripts having been made, it is well known among the gentry of that county (3), we have observed this name of Gascoigne is still more variously spelt; and Mr Thoresby has printed no less than nineteen variations thereof, as they have been distinguished out of the old deeds and records, by those who have laboured most extensively in the pedigree of this family: and, as he has transmitted them, they stand thus (4). Gaskin, Gauvain, Gascoigne (5); Gascoigne, Gascoigne (6); Gascoyn (7), Gascun, Gasken; Gaskyn, Gaskun, Gaston (8); Gastone, Gastoyne (9); Gastoyne, Gasquin, Gasquyne; Gawken, Vascon and Guascogn. But there are two or three different spellings more, that have been occasionally used, as the true name, not wantonly studied for the sake of variety, and are not here, in that list mentioned: one whereof, may appear as ancient or authentic as most of them; and that is written, de Gasquone; another is Gaskoigne; as may hereafter more particularly occur. But these various readings are all now, chiefly reduced, either to Gascoigne, after the shorter sound of the French; or Gascoyne, to smoothen the spelling, and keep the sound of the diphthong open, after the broader manner of the English pronunciation; tho' in current speech, it is more briefly sounded Gaskin.

[B] *Fifteen Williams successively, in a lineal descent, as may be seen in the note.* Certain surnames have been most frequently preserved, and devolved through divers families, as from other occasions, so chiefly in memory of some eminent ancestors who bore them; as that of Frederic, in the Tilneys; Everard, in the Digbys; Marmaduke, in the Constables, Wyvils, &c. or in respect to such Princes or Potentates, who had conferred honours upon some branches thereof: and, as in regard to others, so to the Williams in particular. The name of *William* is of German original, and was used with us in the Saxon times; though it was not in such vogue or request, till the establishment here of William the Conqueror. It is a compound word; and as *Helm* signifies *Defence*, in the German tongue, according to Martin Luther, and *Kenhelm*, defence of kindred (10), so *Willy*, *Villi* or *Billi*, with the Germans, like *Poly*, before several names among the Grecians, signifies *Many*; and consequently *Wilhelm*, now mollified into *William*, *Much Defence*, or *Defence of Many*: though, as some Etymologists have derived the *Willow* tree from its *Willingness* to grow (11), others have turned *William* into a *Willing Defender* (12). In several families, which had any dependence upon the Conqueror, and his line, especially those who had received grants of pardons, privileges, offices, lands, or feignories, his name was thus transmitted, and became so predominant, among those of eminent rank, that, as our last cited Antiquary has recorded, upon a certain festival day, in the court of King Henry II, when Sir William Saint John, and Sir William Fitz-Hamon, two special officers, had commanded that none, *but of the name of William*, should dine in the great chamber with them, they were accompanied with, *an hundred and twenty Williams, all Knights* (13). And as many of these, in grateful remembrance of those Princes, who had conferred honours, promotions, or estates upon them, or their ancestors, had their royal names engrafted on their own, to spread and survive in themselves and posterity; so it is probable, from what may hereafter appear, that for

such like favours, the like commemoration was preserved, with such constant and singular gratitude, in this of the *Gascoignes*. Among other names derived from, or revived in memory of, our most famous Princes, that of Henry, but more especially of Edward, has also been very numerous; infomuch, that Dr Plot has taken notice of it as very observable (14); that there were nine Sir Edwards successively in the Family of Littleton, of Pillaton Hall, but of this of the *Gascoignes*, as we said before, there were no fewer than fifteen *Williams*, of whom six or eight were Knights, in a lineal descent; that is, seven before, and seven after the celebrated Sir William Gascoigne, the Chief Justice; tho' as some of our Antiquaries and Heralds have truly observed, there may be an inconvenience herein; and if a man should be forced to prove his descent, this identity of names, would be apt to perplex or confound it, and make it hard to prove the donor and the donee in *formedon*, or distinguish the one from the other (15). The most copious pedigree we have in print, of this family, is that extracted by Mr Ralph Thoresby, from a very extensive one, which was lent him in the year 1696, by John Gascoigne, of Parlington, Esq; the father of Sir Edward Gascoigne, Bart. of *Nova Scotia*. It is drawn out in sixteen large sheets or skins of parchment, curiously illuminated, and attested by Sir Henry St George, Norroy. In this extract, Mr Thoresby traces not the *Gascoignes* so high as Ailricus, a noble Saxon of this family, who was banished by the Conqueror, and has omitted most of the females and younger branches (16): nevertheless his extract appears considerably copious, and begins, if not so high as the Conquest, but few degrees below it, as it contains a line of *seven descents* before the Judge; and all of them, as we observed, are named *William*. Of the *four* first, the wives are not mentioned. The *fifth*, was William Gascoigne of Harwood; who married Elizabeth, the heir of W. Bolton. The *sixth*, is called *Sir William Gascoigne*, in one account (17), though not mentioned as a Knight in this pedigree; and he, by Mansfield, or Matilda, if it should be translated Maud, daughter of John de Gawketorp, had William Gascoigne of Gawthorp; who by Agnes his wife, had five sons and two daughters; that is to say, 1. This *Sir William Gascoigne*, the Chief Justice. 2. Nicholas. 3. Richard. 4. Thomas; and 5. John, a Clerk: the daughters were, Anne, married to Sir Robert Constable; and Elizabeth, to John Aske of Oldroppe. The Chief Justice was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Alexander Mowbray (18), of Kirdlington, Esq; by whom he had one son, *Sir William Gascoigne*, as Walsingham calls him, of Gawthorp, a brave commander in the wars of France under King Henry V (19), who, by Jane, daughter and heir of Sir Henry Wyman, had *Sir William Gascoigne* of Gawthorp, High-Sheriff of Yorkshire, 20 Henry VI; who by Margaret, daughter of Thomas Clarell, Esq; and relict of John Fitz-Williams, had four sons, and five daughters; the first whereof was, *Sir William Gascoigne*; another was named John, of Thorp on the Hill, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir William Swillington of Thorp, and was ancestor to the *Gascoignes* of Thorp: that Sir William, by Joan, Daughter of John, the son of Sir Ralph Nevil, of Oversley in Warwickshire, had *Sir William Gascoigne* of Gawthorp; to whom, at the death of the said John, in 1482, when Sir William was aged thirty years, fell Oversley, Merton-Boteler, with other Lordships or Manors, in the said county of Warwick; which were sold by the fourth descendent from this, who was Nevil's heir, to Thomas Lord Cromwell; by whose attainder they escheated to the Crown (20). That Sir William was created Knight of the Bath at the Queen's coronation in the third, not the first, of King Henry VII (21), Anno 1487; and marrying Margaret, Daughter of Henry Piercy, the third Earl of Northumberland, had by her

(1) See his *Baconiana*, 8vo. 1679, p. 9.

(2) Worthies of Eng. fol. 51.

(3) A Collection of the Pedigrees and Descents of several of the Gentry in the West-Riding of the County of York: By Mr John Hopkinson of Lofthouse, near Leeds, MS. 4to. 1666. With Continuations and Additions, by Rich. Thornton and Ralph Thoresby, Esqrs. Further of the original author, see Mr Francis Drake's *Antiq. of York*, in the Preface.

(4) Thoresby's *Antiq. of Leedes*, fol. 1715, p. 178.

(5) So most often in the records, reports, &c. and so as we remember written by Mr Rich. Gascoigne the Antiquary.

(6) So by Fuller in his account of the Judge, but in others of the family as we spell it.

(7) It was Gascoyne in the fenestral inscription at Harwood: so also in Clem. Maydestone: and so by one or more branches of the family, to this day.

(8) So in the old title of Dr Gascoigne's MS. *Life of St Jerom*.

(9) So in Hall's *Chronicle*, anno. 3. Rich. III. fol. 44.

(10) Camden's *Remains*, edit. 4to. 1614. p. 77.

(11) John Mintheu's *Guide to Tongues*, fol. 1627.

(12) Camden's *Remains*, p. 90.

(13) Idem, as he cites it from the authority of Robt. Montensis, under the year 1173.

(14) Dr Robt. Plot's *Nat. Hist. of Staffordshire*, fol. 1686. p. 271.

(15) Vide Sampson Erdeswick's *Survey of Staffordshire*, &c. 8vo. 1717. And Camden's *Remains*, p. 49.

(16) Thoresby's *Antiq. of Leedes*, fol. 176, 178.

(17) *Memoirs of the Gascoigne family*, MS. as above.

(18) So the printed Pedigree in Mr Thoresby. And in the *Eng. Baronetage*, edit. 8vo. 1741. Vol. 1V, p. 336. He is called Roger Mowbray in the MS. *Memoirs of the Gascoignes* before mentioned, and said also to have been a Chief Justice. But in Dugdale we find none of the name later than John Mowbray, a Justice of the Common Pleas, 1360. However it was thought, by this marriage, that Judge Gascoigne was related to Tho. Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, in an old Vol. of genealogical tables among the MSS. of the late Peter Le Neve, Esq; Norroy.

(19) Tho. Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* fol. 402. No. 40. E. Hall, &c.

(20) Dugdale's *Antiq. of Warwickshire*, 2d. edit. fol. 1730. Vol. I. p. 557.

(21) Idem, Vol. II. p. 3, 6.

The family was possessed of lands in various parts of that county, particularly in *Bingley, Sykested, Osselay, Plumpton, Abhyrforth, Ledwoodhouse, Allerton by the water,* and other manners

her Sir *William Gascoigne*, who was twice married; to Alice, daughter of Sir Richard Froynel, and after, to Margaret, daughter of Richard Lord Latimer; by both whom he had issue, and by the first, *Sir William Gascoigne* of Gawthorp (\*), who was High-Sheriff of Yorkshire, the eleventh of Henry VII: he married first, Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Fitz-Williams; and afterwards, Lady Lucy, daughter and heir of John, Marquis of Montacute: by the former Lady, he had *William Gascoigne*, Esq; besides two sons, who died issueless, and three daughters. The said William, by his wife Beatrice, daughter of Sir Richard Tempelst, had four sons, who died young, and Margaret his sole heir; in whom this line terminated; she married Thomas Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouse in Yorkshire, Esq; in 1552 (22), and brought a great estate into that family. The said Thomas, was Sheriff of Yorkshire in the 24th of Eliz and had by this wife, four daughters, and one son, who was Sir William, the father of Thomas, the first Earl of Strafford. Thus we have given the eldest descendents from the Chief Justice, by his first Wife. His second, was Joan, daughter of Sir William Pickering, Knight, and relict of Sir Ralph Graystock, Baron of the Exchequer (23), by whom he had a son, James Gascoigne, of Cardington, in Bedfordshire. Dr Fuller has mentioned and distinguished, from good authority, a younger brother of Gawthorp House, named William Gascoigne, who was, long after that James, settled at Cardington nigh Bedford, by marrying the inheritrix thereof. He was Sheriff of Bedford and Bucks, the 22 Henry VII, and again the 7th and 9th of Henry VIII. He was also knighted by this King, and Comptroller of the Household to Cardinal Wolley (24).

Nicholas Gascoigne of Lasingcroft, next brother to the Chief Justice, was, by his wife Mary, the daughter of Sir Hugh Underhow, father of several children; and ancestor of others, who married into the families of Beckwith, Vavasour, Ardington, Ingleby, &c. From him was descended John Gascoigne of Lasingcroft, who died in 1557; and left, among other children, John, his third son and heir, of whom hereafter; and George Gascoigne, Esq; (25) first of Oldhirst, who by Mary, daughter of John Stokesley, was father of Sir Nicholas Gascoigne of Surry, who was knighted in 1603, and died in 1617; also of Richard Gascoigne, Esq; the celebrated Antiquary, and other children. This Richard was born at Sherfield, near Brentwood in Essex, Anno 1579, as he left it written in a note with his own hand, on the title page of a book which was part of his own library (26). He was educated at Cambridge, whether in St John's College, we are not sure; but in that University he made others eminent for their learning besides himself. He was famous among the Historians and Antiquaries, for his manuscript Collections, before the year 1622; and as Sir Robert Cotton, St Low Kniveton, Mr W. Lisle, the Saxon Antiquary, of Wilbrougham in Cambridgeshire, besides others, imparted of their greatest curiosities to him; so was he no less communicative of his own choice and invaluable collections, to several who were cultivating the like studies with himself (27). Nor spared he to employ his interest, with such of his friends, who could best forward their productions to the publick. Soon after Mr Dugdale was first brought to London by Sir Simon Archer, in 1638, and recommended by Sir Henry Spelman, to Mr Roger Dodsworth, Mr Gascoigne, who had great acquaintance with Sir Christopher, afterwards the Lord Hatton, a noble encourager of these studies, so effectually introduced Mr Dugdale to this worthy patron, that he was not only made welcome, with all expressions of kindness, but actual readiness to promote his labours (28); which turned greatly to the benefit and advancement thereof. Wherefore, Dugdale, afterwards recording some particulars we have before spoken of, relating to the descendents of Nicholas Gascoigne of Lasingcroft, brother, as we observed to the Chief Justice, and their alliance with the Wentworths, has gratefully added these words, 'Nor must I forget that, likewise from the same stock, is also sprung my special friend, Richard

Gascoigne, late of Branham Biggen, in the county of York, Esq; a gentleman well worthy of the best respects from all lovers of antiquities; to whose good affections and abilities in those studies, his own family and several others of much eminency, allied thereto, are not a little obliged (29).' He was related, as we have said above, to the Wentworth family, by the marriage into it of a female heir; and as she enriched it with a large estate, so did he, with no small portion of honour; by reviving, from his own extraordinary treasury of antiquities, such a numerous generation of the most eminent ancestors therein. Some copy of this copious; and accurate work, was made by Dr Johnson, as appears among the voluminous collections he gathered for the *Antiquities of Yorkshire* (30). For these, and other respects, Mr Gascoigne was much esteemed in the Strafford family; as by Thomas, the first Earl, so also by his son William, after his death, Earl of Strafford, at Wentworth Woodhouse. His picture was there preserved, representing him with a fresh healthy complexion, in his very old age, when his head was reverently silver'd over with grey hairs. It is a half length, sitting in a chair; attir'd in a white damask gown, flowered with black; and in his hand, an old parchment deed or charter, folded up, with a broad seal of yellow wax appendant: but if it could cover the posthumous treatment of it's original's memory, as gracefully as it does it's length and breadth of the waincot, it would surely then be a most honourable ornament. Several printed books were also preserved in the Library there, as hath been in some others, relating to the History and Peerage of England, the Antiquities of the Counties, and Monumental Inscriptions in the Churches, wherein any pedigrees or descents of noted families are mentioned; which were many of them laboriously corrected, and enlarged with marginal notes, and additional tables of Genealogy, written in the fine, fair, little hand, of the said Richard Gascoigne. By which we may perceive, he spent much of his long life, especially the latter part, in these Studies. What family he had, is but briefly mentioned. We find in the printed pedigree, that he was, or had been married, to the daughter of Mr Colles, or, as others seem to have corrected it, Collet (31): and there was an old gentleman of this name, in the reign of K. Charles I, who was chief Clerk, or Deputy Keeper of the Records, in the Tower of London, under Sir John Burroughs (32); but we know not that this was the father of his wife, nor what issue Mr Gascoigne had by her. Though he was often at the Universities, at York, and at London, searching the libraries, archives, and offices of record; or at the seats of his learned and honourable friends, augmenting his antique collections from their family records; as Mr Henry Pencers of Baddesley had also gathered part of his many volumes of Antiquities from the living, as well as the dead, yet his own dwelling, or proper abode, was at Bramham Biggin in Yorkshire; where it is thought he died; and, as we compute, about the year 1638; having seen some books, with his writing and illustrations in them, so late, as within one or two years of that time (33); when he must have been aged near fourscore. As for his vast magazine of most valuable and venerable antiquities, which once filled the rooms of a tall stone-tower, their dusty dormitory, or long unmoleted asylum, and what became of them; to many original charters, patents, deeds, and other evidences, some in the Saxon character; so many rolls of pedigree, creations, successions; court-rolls, and others of limned portraits, from old illuminated manuscripts, fenestral paintings, and monumental effigies, with their inscription, arms, &c. besides his infinite extracts, as well from ancient registers, ledgers, couchers, visitations, obitals, wills, elcheats, and all sorts of other records, as from the painful researches of many other antiquaries, which enabled him, so expertly to make, as well all those additions and improvements in the printed books of Heraldry, Genealogy, Topography, &c. aforesaid, as to draw out the many volumes from them, in manuscript, which he did, of our most eminent families, especially in Yorkshire, even throughout

(\*) Quere, Which Sir William Gascoigne of Yorkshire relieved so many, with a rare medicine he had for the Eyes; in Dr William Bulleyn's Bulwark of Defence against Sickness, &c. fol. 1562. p. 47.

(22) Historical Collections relating to the Lineage, Actions, and Character of The Earl of Strafford, MS.

(23) So the printed Pedigree; but Sir William Dugdale mentions Henry de Graystock, made Baron of the Exchequer, Oct. 6. 1358. and no other of the name in his Chron. Series.

(24) Fuller's Worthies in Bedfordshire, fol. 125.

(25) Quere, Whether this is a different person from that Geo. Gascoigne, Esq; who was a Lawyer, Soldier, and eminent Poet, in Q. Elizabeth's reign; who lived and died, as A. Wood says, at Watthamstow in Essex, in Octob. or Nov. 1578. And whether both are different from another of the name we meet with, in an old Tract intitled, A Remembrance of the well employ'd Life, and goodly end, of Geo. Gascoigne, Esq; who deceased at Stamford in Lincolnshire, Oct. 7. 1577. By Geo. Whetstones, Gent. an eye-witness of his godly and charitable end in this world, 4to. then printed.

(26) Everard. Dygbeius, De Arte Notarii; Libri du., 4to. 1577, &c.

(27) As may be seen among the MSS. of Mr Roger Dodsworth, at Oxford. Also those of Dr Nathaniel Johnson, &c.

(28) Memoirs of Sir William Dugdale's Life, before his Hist. of St Paul's Cathedral, ed. t. fol. 1716. p. 6. 7. Also A. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. in Fasti. fol. 9.

(29) Dupin's Antiqu. of Warwickshire, 2d. edit. fol. 1730. Tom. II. p. 357.

(30) That Copy is intitled, A Transcript of a large Volume of the Pedigree of the most noble Family of Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouse in Yorkshire. Composed by Mr Richard Gascoigne, a learned Antiquary. Catal. Libror. Manucriptor. Anglie et Hibernie. fol. Oxon. 1697. Tom. II. fol. 102.

(31) The Baronetage of Eng. Vol. IV. p. 337.

(32) The Life of Sir William Dugdale, as before.

(33) Mr Gascoigne's elaborate Emendations and Enlargements of the Pedigree, &c. in W. Burton's Description of Leicestershire, fol. 1622. preserved in Jesus College Cambridge, appear in almost every page. And in a fair Transcript which has been made in another copy of that book, it may be seen, p. 31, that they were written by Mr Gascoigne in the Year 1636. Many of these notes are also preserved in Mr Dodsworth's MS. Collections, at Oxford.

(f) Memoirs of the Gascoigne-family, MS. as above.

mannors (f); but their principal feat was at *Harwood*, till Sir William Gascoigne, grandfather to the Chief Justice, married Maude the daughter and heiress of John de Gawthorp; from

the alphabet; each volume being distinguished by a letter thereof: what became of all this inestimable treasure, I say, except those alphabetical volumes, more happily estranged; and by what innovating, intimidating, or other infatuating, and misconceived motives, they met with a most undeserved fate, from whence it was least to be expected, being all, without distinction, wilfully sacrificed to the no less undistinguishing flames, as it is elsewhere observed (34), about seventy years after the death of their learned and worthy collector, it might be more tedious than agreeable, in this place, more amply to relate. However, thus much may be said, of what has been thought thereof, that, whatever similitude may appear in the action, there was a great disparity between the motives to that sacrifice, and those, whereby our famous Whittington (35) is said to have testified his generous loyalty, and gratitude, for the honours he had received; when, in his costly *Fire of Spices*, far less precious, less profuse, than that of those *Antiquities*! further to brighten, and enrich the fragrant flame, he made a burnt-offering of those manuscript obligations, whereby his princely benefactor had engaged himself to restore the treasures wherewith he had been intrusted (36). All we have more to observe here, of this learned Antiquary, is that, whether it was a different person, or not, of the same name and family, whose genealogy is preserved in one of our publick libraries (37), we have not been yet certified. The third son and heir of John of Lasingcroft before mentioned, and uncle to this Richard was John Gascoigne of Parlington, Esq; who by Maud, the daughter of William Arthington of Castley, Esq; had besides younger sons John Gascoigne of Lasingcroft, Parlington, and Barnbow, the eldest; who was created Baronet of *Nova Scotia*, by King Charles I. And this Sir John Gascoigne, dying May 3, 1637, his eldest son, by his lady, Anne, Daughter of John Ingleby, Esq; was Sir Thomas Gascoigne, Baronet, of Elmet in the *West-Riding* of Yorkshire; who, being above eighty-five years of age, very deaf, and superannuated, in February 1679, was indicted at the King's-Bench-Bar Westminster, for high-treason, upon the evidence of Robert Bolron, and one Mowbray, his servants; the former of whom, had been sued on his bonds for debt to Sir Thomas, and ejected from his farm for default of rent; and the latter also discarded, and disgraced, for defrauding his said master of money: yet one or both pretended to have been, notwithstanding, engaged by him in a conspiracy, to destroy the King, for a large sum of money, and bring in the Popish Religion (38). The Chief Justice Scroggs, left the Court, when he saw the malicious contrivance detecting, and the evidence against Sir Thomas likely to be invalidated: and though the other Judges would have bias'd the Jury, to find him guilty; yet, these, seeing how exceptionable the witnesses against him were, and how improbable, that Sir Thomas should shew so little favour to those, at whose mercy it was pretended, he had trusted his life, now so much endanger'd by the spirit of revenge, and avarice in them, upon such prospects especially as they had of reward, for their accusation, the said Jury brought him in *Not Guilty*: And 'tis remarked, as an instance in this trial, of the new witnesses of the plot, which were then rising every day, that if a servant had cheated, or robbed his master, he would ward off the prosecution, by swearing him into the conspiracy (39). But History might accommodate us with more agreeable particulars, of some succeeding descendants in this line of the Gascoignes of Lasingcroft, Parlington, and Barnbow, were it to be continued down to Sir Edward Gascoigne, Baronet, beforementioned; whose benefactions to the Cathedral Church of York, are recorded by the historian of that city (40); or those other gentlemen of merit and distinction, who are now living; among whom we shall only mention, John Gascoigne, Esq; Rear-Admiral, the present chief of one branch of the family; to whom, and to another John Gascoigne of London, Esq; who is related to the alderman of this city, of the same name, we here make our grateful acknowledgement, and return of thanks, for the favour of their communications, relating to this article of the

Lord Chief Justice. The next line, of the Judge's second brother, Richard Gascoigne of Hunslet, Esq; is but short (41). He is distinguished in the records, to have been Marshal of the Exchequer, by the grant for life, of Thomas, Earl of Kent (42). Some of our old writers pretending to give us the names of his father and mother, have mistaken both (43). He married, according to the pedigree, Anne, daughter and coheir of Henry Ellis, Esq; and dying in 1422, left a son named Thomas, and two daughters, Alice and Elizabeth: the first was married to Sir Thomas Nevil, Knt. and the second to Sir John Everingham. That Thomas was bred at Oriel College in Oxford, and became a learned Doctor of Divinity; famous both abroad and at home. In 1434, he was Vice-Chancellor, and in 1442, Chancellor of that University, which he resign'd about three years after (44). He was the author of many books, all written in Latin it seems; at least, the titles of them are all in that language. Some ancient copies of them are preserved in many Libraries; but we meet with none that have been ever printed. The most considerable of them are, *An Epistle of the Proceedings at the Council of Florence*, in Trinity College Library at Cambridge; his *Narrative of the Decollation of Archbishop Scrope*, among the manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; his *Life of St Jerom*, in the Library at Magdalen College, in that University; his *Complaint against the Election of the Archbishop of Canterbury*, in 1443, among Bodley's MSS. and besides three or four more, upon scripture arguments (45), his *Theological Dictionary*, in Lincoln College; the largest, most noted, and most cited of all his works. Among the additions to one of our old Historians, set forth by the late Mr Thomas Hearne, he has given us an extract, or collection in several pages, of such particulars in this Dictionary, as are most enriched with historical intelligence (\*). As for the author, there is a letter written to him by Wolfard Kober, in 1456, preserved among the manuscripts in Baliol College, Oxford; and, as appears in the pedigree, he died on the 13th of March 1457, but in other accounts, that he was flourishing three years later (46): And as for the Judge's two youngest brothers, Thomas and John, beforementioned, we have already said as much of them, as we have met with. But, whereas there was one Sir Bernard Gascoigne, who has been looked for in this pedigree, and thought to have been inadvertently omitted, we shall, to prevent any further misapprehension, here briefly shew, how likely it is, that he had no right of admittance therein. This Knight, having the reputation of being well acquainted with the German interest, and policies, was employed by King Charles II, in the quality of his envoy to the Imperial Court at Vienna, in order to negotiate a match, which was then proposed between his Majesty's brother, James, Duke of York, and the Archduchess of Inspruck. While Sir Bernard resided there, in the Emperor's court, he wrote an historical and political discourse upon the German Empire, which he then sent over in a letter to King Charles; and it was, in the beginning of the late Queen Anne's reign, set forth in print (47). There were also published at the same time with it, among other state papers, written by several other persons, the epistolary correspondence which was held by Henry Bennet, Lord Arlington, then Secretary of State, with Sir Bernard Gascoigne, on the occasion of the said match. They consist of about thirty letters in number, and contain some reasons and arguments to be used, or directions to be followed, in that negotiation, by the said Sir Bernard Gascoigne (48). But the ingenious editor of these papers, in his prefatory discourse prefixed to them, gives us to understand, that the said *Description of Germany*, was writ by no countryman of ours, and consequently, as we presume, unalied to the English family of Gascoignes before spoken of; for where he has given some character of it, in regard to the phrase or diction in which it is written, he confesses that, 'The style thereof is somewhat obscure or harsh; which ought to be pardoned, says he, in a foreigner, as Sir Bernard Gascoigne was, being a *Florentine* by birth; but, adds he, the importance and faithfulness

(41) See Thoresby's Antiq. of Leeds, concerning Hunslet, and this Rich Gascoigne, who bought it: And of it's succeeding Possessors, p. 175.

(42) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. VIII. anno 1398, p. 44. De Officio Marecalli Angliæ Concessio.

(43) J. Pits, De Leedes. Brit. Scriptor. p. 651.

(44) John Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. fol. 1716, p. 442, 447. It is said that De Gascoigne was also Chancellor of the Church of York afterwards, in 1452, in Mr Drake's Eboracum, p. 567, fo that Dr W. Langton might succeed him. Vide Le Neve, as before, p. 318. And Athen.

Oxon. Vol. I. p. 22.

(45) Mentioned in Bale, Pits, &c.

(\*) Vide Walt. de Hemingford, Hist. de Reb. Gestis Edward. I, II, III, edente Tho. Hearno. 2 Tom. 8vo. Oxon. 1731, p. 509.

(46) Bale, Pits, &c.

(47) Intituled, A Description of Germany; it's Government, Manner of assembling Diets; Ceremony of electing and crowning the King of the Romans: With an Account of their present Imperial Majesties Household; together with the Genealogy of all the Imperial Princes of the Empire. By Sir Bernard Gascoign, sent to King Charles II. in the Year 1672. 63 pages, 8vo.

(48) They are intituled, Letters from my Lord Arlington to Sir Bernard Gascoign, Resident at the Imperial Court of Vienna: Wherein the whole Affair of the intended Marriage of the young Archduchess of Inspruck and the Duke of York, is laid open and discovered. Dared from Whitehall, in 1671 and 1672.

(34) Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ, Vol. III. 8vo. 1744. p. 23.

(35) Who was Judge Gascoigne's contemporary, and died about 9 years after him.

(36) The Pedigree of the famous Sir Richard Whittington, thrice Lord-Mayor of London, among the MS. Collections of Rodney Fane, Esq; late of Colechester in Essex. Some mention is also made of this Spice-Fire, in an old Hist. of Sir Rich. Whittington, printed 4to. in black letter, without date.

(37) See the Descendent of Rich. Gascoigne, of Sutil Hall in Yorkshire, 1568, among the Heraldical MSS. in the Ashmolean Library at Oxford. There are other Pedigrees of the Gascoignes, among Mr Dodsworth's Collections.

(38) See the Trial of Sir Tho. Gascoigne, Bart. for high-treason, in conspiring the death of the King, the subversion of the government, and alteration of religion, on Wednesday Feb. 11, 1679, at the Bar of the King's-Bench, before the Right Hon. Sir William Scroggs, Lord Chief Justice, and the rest of the Judges of that Court, fol. 1680. Reprinted in the State Trials the last edit. Vol. III.

(39) Mr Salmon's Abridgment of the State Trials, fol. 1738, p. 333.

(40) Mr Drake's Antiquities of York, fol. 519.

(g) Idem. Of the manor and seat of Harwood castle, the antiquities there, the marble and alabaster tombs for the Gascoignes, &c. in Harwood Church, and the venerable chapel at Gawthorpe-hall, &c. See Thoresby's Antiq. of Leeds, p. 135. And Bish. p. Gibbon's Camden, in Yorkshire.

(h) Dr Fuller's Worthies of Eng. in Yorkshire, p. 199. 'From the information of Mr Rich. Gascoigne, descended from the Judge, an accomplished Antiquary in Record-Hereditary.'

(i) See Dugdale's Origines Juridicales, edit. fol. 1671, p. 308.

(j) Idem, in Chronica Series, p. 55.

(k) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. VIII. p. 49. Pro Henrico de Lancaſter, Duce Herefordæ, de Attornato.

(l) Sir John Hayward's first part of the life and reign of King Henry IV, &c. 4to. 1599, p. 52.

(m) See Sir Rob. Cotton's Abridgment of the Records in the Tower of London, published by W. Prynne, Esq; edit. fol. 1687, p. 375. lit. 37. and p. 387. lit. 37.

from which time this place became their chief seat of residence (g). That Sir William's son William, married Alice, the daughter and coheir of Nicholas Frank, Esq; by whom he had this Sir *William Gascoigne*, the Chief Justice, their eldest born; besides the sons and daughters whom we have mentioned in the preceding note. At Gawthorp, in the said parish of Harwood, between Leeds and Knarsborough, it is credibly attested that this Chief Justice was born (h), and, as it has been computed, in the middle of King Edward III's reign, about 1350, or not much later. He was afterwards a student of the Law in the Inner Temple, as our last quoted author informs us; but Sir William Dugdale has given us a sculpture of his arms, from one of the windows in Grays Inn-Hall, importing him to have been a member of that Society (i). He grew so eminent in his profession towards the latter end of King Richard II, that he was made one of the King's Serjeants in September 1398 (k). And how much esteemed he was by his successor, for his knowledge and fidelity in the transaction of the most intricate and important affairs, as well relating to his own rights as those of the kingdom, may be inferred from several instances. For, on the eighth of October in the same year, he was nominated by King Richard, with others, in a commission of Agency, procured by the said Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford (l), soon after King of England, when he was going into banishment. These letters patent, which were so granted to Duke Henry at his departure, whereby Gascoigne, and the Duke's other General Attorneys, were empowered to prosecute his causes, and sue livery of any Inheritance, which, during his exile, might fall to him, as that of his father John of Ghent did, and whereby his homage was respited for a reasonable fine, were, as one of our Historians has truly observed, revoked by King Richard (m), as it appears from the Parliament rolls on the eighteenth of March following, the said grant being judged unlawful by his Parliament; and when Duke Henry, the next year, ascended the throne, that revocation was judged unlawful by his Parliament, and made one of the articles for deposing King Richard (n); so that the said King's ineffectual endeavours to extinguish the Duke's greatness, did but augment it, to his own destruction; as the general Histories have related. From the first year of this King Henry IV, who began his reign in September 1399, to the latter end of it, we meet with the abstracts of Gascoigne's opinions, arguments, distinctions, and decisions, as well before he was Chief Justice as after, very frequently recited, among those of other sages of the Law, in our old books of Reports (o), many whereof are distinguished, and recommended, by the brief remarks of their learned editor, as very notable, or worthy of observation, and may give good lights into our old law cases; especially the more choice, nice, or intricate causes, then canvassed or agitated in our courts of justice; with the various opinions, abilities, and characters, of those who presided in them; and have been long so well esteemed to yield many precedents of good authority, that some famous Judges, and others learned in the laws, have taken much pains, of summaries as they are, to render them still more succinct (p). And as some remarks, critical or historical, have been made, by one of our most industrious Antiquaries, upon the antient administrators of justice, whose sentiments and judgments are recorded in these books, some character or distinction, according to the title of his performance, may be expected to appear, of Judge Gascoigne therein (q); but whether such distinction or character is there preserved, we have not now the opportunity of information. It appears from very good authority, that he was Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, so early at least as the second year of King Henry IV, or 1401; tho' there has been some little disagreement upon that head [C]. And now, the nation being embroil'd with dangerous commotions,

(o) See the Year Books, Part VI, throughout this reign.

(p) Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's Abridgment, &c. 2 Vols. fol. 1565. Sir Rob. Brook's Grand Abridgment, fol. 1573, &c.

(q) Sir W. Dugdale's Observations upon several persons learned in the law, extracted from the Year-Books; among his MSS. in the Ashmolean Library.

faithfulness of the relation, will, I hope, make sufficient compensation for the deficiency of the language; and certainly cannot be unwelcome at this conjuncture, when England has so visibly an interest 'in the affairs of Germany (49).' When the said Sir Bernard Gascoigne returned from his embassy into England, he took shipping at Dunkirk; and one of the passengers who came over with him, was Mrs Aphra Behn, the ingenious poetess. It is asserted by the writer of her life, that in the course of their voyage, they all saw a surprising *Phænomenon*, whether formed by any rising exhalations, or descending vapours, shaped by the winds, and irradiated by refracted lights, is not explained; but it appeared, through Sir Bernard's telescopes, in a clear day, at a great distance, to be, or to resemble, a fine, gay, floating fabrick, adorned with figures, festoons, &c. At first they suspected some art in his glasses, till at last, as it approached, they could see it plainly without them; and the relater is so particular in the description, as to assert that it appeared to be, a four-square floor, of various coloured marble; having rows of fluted and twisted pillars ascending, with Cupids on the top, circled with vines and flowers, and streamers waving in the air. 'Tis added, of this strange visionary, if not romantic or poetical pageant; for fancy is an architect, that can build castles in the clouds,

as well by sea as land; that it floated almost near enough for them to step out upon it; as if it would invite them to a safer landing, than they sought by sailing; or portended that the one should be as dangerous and deceitful as the other: for soon after the calm which ensued, there arose such a violent storm, that they were all shipwreckt, but happily in sight of the land; to which, by timely assistance, they all got safe (50).

[C] There has been some little disagreement upon that head.] John Stow is manifestly mistaken in suggesting that this Chief Justice, appeared no sooner on the King's Bench than the sixth year of King Henry the Fourth's reign (51). And Dr Fuller, in correction of him, has asserted, as from good authority, that Gascoigne was made Chief Justice of that Bench, on the first of November in the first year of that King (52), wherein he is also mistaken; for it is manifest in the Parliament Rolls, that Sir Walter Clopton, was then Chief Justice of this Bench, from that remarkable incident of his taking the confession of John Hall, who was concerned in that most wicked and formal murder of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, by smothering him between two feather beds, in the Prince's Inn, or English Prison, as some call it, at Chelms, according to the secret direction of King Richard (53). This confession was taken, and the said malefactor executed, on the

(50) See the Life of Mrs Aphra Behn, prefixed to her Novels, &c. See the 6th edit. 1713.

(51) Stow's Annals, edit. fol. 1616. s. 142. col. 2. in the Margin.

(52) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkshire, p. 109. Ex Origin. de 1510 anno, Benedetto a. R. 52.

(53) See Sir Rob. Cotton's Abridgment of the Records in the Tower of London, fol. 1617. among the Pleas of the Crown, anno 7. Hen. IV. p. 109. &c.

(49) See Michelina Aulica: or, A Collection of State Tracts, &c. collected by Tho. Brown, 8vo. 1702. See more of this Sir Bernard, in News from the New Exchange, &c. 4to. 1650 and 1731, p. 18. A Word, in Esop, Vol. II. p. 50. c. 1. Fin. A known rierd to the English nation.

commotions, by the friends of the late King Richard, and other enemies of King Henry, we find among the records, that, in July 1403, together with Ralph Nevil Earl of Westmorland, this Judge Gascoigne, and others, are commissioned by the said King, to issue their power and authority, for levying and assembling forces in the counties of York and Northumberland, of what state, degree, or condition soever, against the insurrection of Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland (r). In the fifth year of King Henry, which is one part in 1403 the other in 1404, when an erroneous judgment, which had been given against Roger Deyncourt, touching a manor in Warwickshire, was, upon examining the process and record, reversed by this Chief Justice; and he gave a transcript of it, under his own hand, to the Clerk of the Parliament; as also, a *scire facias* to the said Roger, returnable in the next Parliament; we observe in the printed abstract of this record, the Chief Justice is distinguished by the title of Sir William Gascoigne (\*), expressing him to have been at that time a Knight; tho' from some remarks of other writers, which we have mentioned in the note directed to in the next year of that King's reign, it should seem that he was not knighted till then. On the 25th of April 1405, we find the said Earl of Westmorland, William Gascoigne, and others, also appointed, by letters patent, with full power and authority, from King Henry, to treat with the rebellious abettors of the said Earl of Northumberland; that they, paying their fines, might be received to mercy: and there was a proclamation issued by the King to the same purpose, at Pontefract, the next day (s). Soon after, in the same year, when Archbishop Scrope, with others, was taken in arms against the King, and his Majesty would have had Judge Gascoigne pronounce sentence of death directly upon him, he maintained the law so incorruptibly, with regard to the ecclesiastical privileges, which the Archbishop himself had charged the King with violating, and so inflexibly refused to pass such sentence, in the illegal and irregular manner required, that he incurred the King's high displeasure for that refusal, tho' for his integrity he gained great applause [D]. But when the heads of that insurrection were cut

(r) See the *Loyal Martyr: or, the Life of the most Rev. Father in God Rich. Scroop, Archbishop of York, cruelly put to death by King Henry IV, for adhering to his rightful Sovereign. With the articles by him exhibited against the aforesaid intruding King,* 8vo. 1722.

(r) Rymer's *Fœdera*, Tom. VIII. p. 319. De *Hom'ibus Defensabilis Congregandis*.

(\*) Sir Rob. Cotton's *Abridgment of the Records in the Tower of London*, fol. 1657. anno. 5. Hen. IV. p. 429.

(s) Rymer, as before, p. 394.

(54) Sir William Dugdale's *Summons of the nobility to the Parliaments, &c.* fol. Lond. 1685. p. 360.

(55) The words in the Report are 'W. Gascoigne, audonques Chief Justice, fait en le Place en le Common Banke: et dit,' &c. See in the *Year-Books*, Part VI. *Les Reports des Cafes en Ley, que furent Argues en le temps de Hen. IV. et Hen. V.* fol. 1679. anno 2. Hen. IV. p. 24.

(56) Dugdale's *Chronica Series*, as before, p. 54. Ex Pat. 2. Hen. IV. p. 1. M. 28.

(57) The Articles of the Pierces against the King, are extant in *Hall's Chron.* anno 3. Hen. IV.

(58) Speed quotes Judge Fortescue's Assertion of the King's death also in these words.

(59) See Archbishop Scrope's Articles against the King, in *Wharton's Anglia Sacra*, Tom. II. p. 362. collated with the *Contin. of Peter de Ickham's MS. Hist.* in the *Lambeth Library*.

(60) *Tho. Walsingham's Hist. Angl.* fol. 375. Et *Yp'digma Neustriae*, p. 565.

(61) *Memoirs of the Gascoignes*, MS. as before.

the 28th of November, in the first year of that King, or 1399; and, on the third of October, in 1400, we find the said Sir Walter Clopton, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, called to Parliament (54); but after that, and he had sat about twelve years on this bench, we hear no more of him; for, in one of the volumes of old *Reports* before referred to, it appears, under the *second year* of King Henry IV, that Gascoigne was then Chief Justice, as it seems, of the King's Bench; and also that he sat, or had set, sometimes, in the Common Pleas; whether before Sir William Thyrning was advanced thereto, in the foregoing year, or during that Judge's extraordinary engagements in the renunciation and deposition of King Richard, or upon any other special causes, does not appear (55): but in Sir William Dugdale's *Tables of Juridical Succession*, it is asserted, against, or under, the year 1401, that William Gascoigne was constituted Chief Justice of the King's Bench, on the 15th of November (56); which is near two months in the *third year* of King Henry: so that Judge Gascoigne is promoted to this seat, above a year too soon, in Doctor Fuller, and at least three years too late, in John Stow.

[D] *Though for his integrity he gained great applause*] As the Earl of Northumberland at his insurrection, exhibited articles against King Henry, before the battle of Shrewsbury (57): So now after it, Archbishop Scrope also issued his. They contain many heavy charges against him; as, of perjury, falshood, oppression, tyranny, usurpation, so especially, of causing King Richard, after fifteen days and nights perishing with hunger, thirst and cold, in Pomfret Castle, to be murdered; or as the Archbishop says, put at last, to a most vile death; hitherto altogether unknown to our kingdom (58), but, by the Grace of God, no longer to be concealed (59): so that, starving seems to be but one part of his sufferings, and the other, not to have been disclosed in History: for as to the assassination of Sir Pierce Exon, it seems romantic, and but a copy of the motives which Archbishop Becket's assassins received from their Prince. Archbishop Scrope had a stronger power than the King, and might have overcome his army, if his own credulity in the treacherous pretensions of his adversary, had not betrayed him; being ensnared, or deluded by the Earl of Westmorland, to enter into a parley, and disband his forces, from a feigned approbation of his articles (60), and seeming revolt to his party; then was the Archbishop arrested by him, and taken prisoner at Shipton More (61); and the King, knowing that the House of Lords had lately, in taking the Earl of Northumberland's case from the

Judges under their cognizance, cleared his insurrection of treason, on account of his submission (62), and judged it to be only a trespass, punishable by fine and ransom, did not care to bring this case of the Archbishop's before that Judicatory (63); but resolving to have him put to death for high-treason, would, when the Archbishop was brought to his manor house at Bishopthorp, near York, before his Majesty, have obliged Judge Gascoigne to pronounce sentence accordingly upon him as a traitor; but this upright and memorable Judge (64), who was, by no prospect of fear or favour, to be corrupted to any such violation of the subjects rights, or infringement of their laws and liberties, as then established; which suffered no religious person to be brought to a secular or lay-trial, unless he were a heretic, and first degraded by the Church, as the Archbishop had objected against the King, in the case of others (65), absolutely refused to obey the royal command, and said to his Majesty, *Neither you, my Lord the King, nor any liege Subject of your's, in your name, can legally, according to the rights of the kingdom, adjudge any Bishop to death* (66). Whereupon the King, highly incensed against the Judge, commanded Sir William Fulthorp (or Fulford, as Stow and others call him), who might be learned in the Laws (67), but was no Judge, to pronounce sentence against the Archbishop, which he did, that day, being the 8th of June in the year 1405, as aforesaid, from a high throne, or stage, as some call it, erected in the Archbishop's palace, after the most abrupt and extrajudicial manner, without indictment, trial, defence, or any other ceremony; and the Archbishop's tragedy was compleated the same day, in a corn-field without the city walls; being there, according to the King's mandate, beheaded, with Thomas Mowbray Earl Marshall, and others. As for the miracles which are said to have ensued at the place where the Archbishop suffered, upon certain lays of barley, which sprung up next season so fruitfully, tho' they had been all crushed and trampled down by the spectators of his death; and the judgments which befel the King, in those leprous diseases which soon after broke out upon him, as 'tis said to have been testified to master Thomas Gascoigne, Professor of Divinity (68), who was the Judge's nephew; with other such particulars; we leave them where they are to be found, among some who have asserted (69) and others who discredit them (70); and shall only here observe, that Judge Gascoigne's conscience was highly celebrated, for his having no share in the Archbishop's death; and his courage, for resisting so incorruptibly such a temptation to violate the laws of his country. Clement Maydestone

(62) Cotton's *Records*, 5. Hen. IV. p. 426.

(63) *Memoirs of the Gascoignes, &c.*

(64) Mr Fra. Drake's *Eboracum: or, Hist. and Antiq. of the City of York*, fol. 1736, in the *Life of Archbishop Scrope*, p. 438.

(65) In his *Articles*; see the *Life of Rich. Scrope, Archbishop of York*, 8vo. 1722. p. 23.

(66) *Clementis Maydestone Historia de Martyrio Ricardi Scrope Archiepiscopi Eboracensis: In Anglia Sacra*, Tom. II. 1691. p. 370.

(67) *Stow's Annals*, fol. 333. Bishop Godwin, in his *Life of Archbishop Scrope*; and Prince, in that of *Sir William Fulford*, erroneously engage Sir W. Gascoigne with him, in pronouncing this sentence.

(68) *Quære*, If these Miracles, as they are called, are mentioned in the said Dr Gascoigne's MS. Discourse of the Archbishop's Decollation before spoken of.

(69) *C. Maydestone, &c.* as before.

(70) *Edward Hall, &c.*

files

off, it is evident that he soon recovered the King's favour; if now, the same year in which he lost it, he received, as we see it asserted in the last note, the honour of knighthood from him. In April 1408, the Earl of Westmorland, Judge Gascoigne, and others, were further empowered by the King, who is expressed to be fully satisfied of their fidelity and circumspection, to treat with, compound, and offer clemency or pardon to the adherents of the Earl of Northumberland; likewise to receive their fines, and pay them into the Exchequer: and this power for their said treaty, is also dated from Pountfreyt Castle, on the 25th of April, in the year aforesaid (u). Besides the determination of particular causes in the Court of King's-Bench, which may be consulted in the law books, as we before observed, many other publick affairs of the kingdom, of more general or national concern, we may discern the Chief Justice engaged in, to regulate or reform, according to the resolutions and directions of the Parliament; tho' his name does not frequently occur, in such abstracts of their acts and ordinances as have appeared in print: and this may be observed from the beginning of Judge Gascoigne's administration of Justice in that Court. As where, upon a petition of the Commons, that the fees of all the Marshals in every one of the King's Courts, and of the Warden of the Fleet, might be certainly, or expressly, settled and established by authority; the King is said to have appointed, that the Council, Chancellor, and Justices, should take order therein (w). So also, where a judgment had formerly been given in the King's-Bench, in a cause between the late King Richard demandant, and Edmund Bassett deforciant, for certain lands and tenements withheld from him in Somersetshire; and that judgment given against the said Bassett, was, for certain errors, revoked in the said Court, now, in the reign of King Henry, with restitution granted of the premises; tho' no Judge of this Court is mentioned to have reversed that judgment (x); it was late enough in this King's reign for Gascoigne to have then been the Chief Justice there, and to have granted the said restitution. And, when certain Abbots, Priors, Knights, Esquires, and other persons of distinction, who had been wrongfully impeached, by a common perjured evidence in the King's-Bench, for sundry heinous crimes, and suffered imprisonment; when the villainy was detected, that evidence condemned to death, and the guiltless prisoners discharged, by the King's writ; as 'tis expressed to be sent to the Justices of the King's-Bench, it is here likewise manifest, that Chief Justice Gascoigne did then officiate in that seat (y), and might be principally implied, tho' no one Judge is named in the abstract, or any thing else, whereby we might discover which of them was most instrumental in detecting such extensive injustice in the guilty on one side, and promoting such a general deliverance of the innocent on the other; but the names of those who were such benefactors, in this signal relief, are thus passed over, and that of the malefactor, as may be seen, preserved (z). As other instances might be given, in some succeeding years of that King's reign, how little we are able to distinguish what particular share the Chief Justice had in these parliamentary references to a determination in his Court, from the short and general form or manner of those references; or the little we can find determined by him, in what appears among those abstracts under his own name, we shall give but one example more of a case, in which he is thus conjunctively referred to; and that was of great moment to many, as it concerned such a comprehensive reformation of practice in the Law. For the Attorneys being even then grown, by their multitude and male-practice, a publick grievance; an act was now made, in 1410 (a), not only for the reduction and limitation of them, to a certain number for every county, but also for their amendment and correction; as that they should be sworn every term, to deal faithfully and truly by their clients; and in breach thereof, should be imprisoned for a twelvemonth, and make their ransom according to the King's will: also, that the Prothonotaries and Filacers, upon conviction, should endure double penalties: and it being further enacted, that the Justices of both Benches should make this regulation, the Chief Justice Gascoigne must be again allowed his particular, if not a principal part in this general benefit and redress of the said grievance thro' the whole kingdom. Upon this grant of that power to them, is endorsed, *Respectuatur per Dominos Principem, et Consilium* (b): by which we may understand, that the King's eldest son, Henry Prince of Wales, was then President of the Council. It seems the Clerks and Attorneys of both Benches, did afterwards pray for a revocation of this statute, but the motion itself proved that the same was an act, notwithstanding the *Respectuatur* thereon endorsed: however, the Judges of both Benches were appointed further to consult thereupon, as well as more effectually to reform many other mischievous corruptions and irregularities in their Courts (c). But there is another decision committed to our Chief Justice, in this abstract of the Parliament rolls, wherein he is expressly named; and that is, in the case of William Lord Roos of Hamalake, and his complaint against Sir Robert Thirwit, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, in the latter end of November, or beginning of the next month, in 1411 (d), for withholding certain manors

(u) Rymer's Fœdera, as above, p. 520.

(w) Cotton's Records, anno 2. Hen. IV, p. 409.

(x) Idem, p. 408.

(y) Ibid. anno 4. Hen. IV, p. 424.

(z) Idem, ibidem.

(a) Cotton's Records, anno 11. Hen. IV. p. 475. There were but 140 Lawyers and Attorneys in England, temp. Edward I. as appears in a Parliament Roll, anno 20 of his Reign; yet as Chancellor Fortescue says, in little more than 100 years, they increased to about 2000, but afterwards they were reckoned at 10000, and the Courts of Justice above 100, by Lord Coke, in Epil. to 4 Instit.

(b) Cotton, as before.

(c) Ibid. p. 483.

(d) Idem, anno 13. Hen. IV. p. 479.

files the Judge at this time no more than Esquire; which may agree very well with what another Historian observes of his receiving the honour of knighthood this year, the sixth of King Henry IV (71), if we may allow the King's resentment was but short, or that he

was so soon reconciled to him, for such disobedience of his unlawful injunction, as to correspond with his conferring upon him, the same year, such a mark of his favour.

[E] T<sup>6</sup>

(71) Fuller's Worthies, in Yorkshire, as before.

and commons in the county of Lincoln; and for lying in wait, with five hundred men, to apprehend or seize the said Lord. Sir Robert confessed his fault before the King, and offering to abide by the order of two Lords, the complainant's kindred, they made a long award; and further enjoined Sir Robert to make a great feast at Melton le Roos, in the said county; that he should prepare two fat oxen, twelve sheep, two tuns of Gascoigne wine, with other provisions; and then assemble thither, all such Knights, Esquires, and Yeomen, as were his accomplices in this riot; where they should confess their misbehaviour to the Lord Roos, crave his pardon, and make him an offer of five hundred marks in recompence; which the said Lord Roos should refuse, but pardon them, and partake of their dinner, in token of his reconciliation: and it was referred by the arbitrators aforesaid, to Sir William Gascoigne the Chief Justice, to determine the common right between them (e); but to which party he adjudged it, does not appear. It is thought to have been in the latter part of the King's reign, that his son, Prince Henry, indulged himself with some of his corrupt courtiers, in that interval of wild and disorderly frolicks which several authors have taken notice of (f). In the course whereof, as the Chief Justice had before given an extraordinary testimony that no respect of dignity, however supreme, in the King himself, could move him to an undue administration of the Law; so there occurred such a memorable occasion to exert the like resolution against the obstruction of it, in that famous incident of the Prince's being committed to prison by our Chief Justice, now about the latter end of this reign [E], that no act of his, or any other Judge, has been more celebrated by Historians, Poets, and other eminent writers, to succeeding generations. The substance of the story, as here briefly gathered from the most credible accounts, is, that a servant of Prince Henry's being arraigned before Judge Gascoigne, at Westminster, for felony, and the Prince hearing of it, came into Court, commanded him to be unfettered, and offered to rescue him; wherein being opposed, he rushed up to the Bench, with such fury, that,

[E] *The Prince's being committed to prison by the Chief Justice, now about the latter end of this reign.* Tho' we find not the year in which this extraordinary incident occurred, yet we may gather from several circumstances in our old Historians, that those wild excursions which Prince Henry gave into, with some of his dissolute and flattering attendants, were more especially made in the latter part of his father's life. For he was carefully educated, and governed at the University of Oxford, in his green or younger age; and when he came from thence, he was laudably engaged in spiring up his father's armies with his presence, to appease the commotions in the kingdom, as at Shrewsbury and in Wales, even till the flight of Owen Glendour. We may also frequently see him summoned to the Parliament; and how some propositions were there made, that he should be sent with a commission to abide in Wales in the year 1407 (72), for the more effectual suppression there of the rebellion. We may see him likewise mentioned, in some years, as President of the Council; as where, in May 1410, when two of the Counsellors were changed, the Speaker recommended Prince Henry, and his brothers the Lords Thomas, John, and Humphry, to advancement; for which the King thanked him, and promised satisfaction at opportunity (73); and, as it is recorded elsewhere, under that year, the said Lord Thomas was then created Duke of Clarence; the Lord John, Duke of Bedford; and Humphry, Duke of Gloucester (74). Tho' others, from the records, affirm, that the said Lord Thomas of Lancaster was not created Duke of Clarence till two years after, and about eight months before his royal father's death (75). Again we may also find, that on the last of November 1411, the King is prayed, by the Speaker of the House of Commons, Thomas Chaucer, the son of Geoffrey the Poet, in the name of the Commons, to give thanks to the Prince, and others appointed to be of the King's Council in the last Parliament, for well employing the treasure therein granted (76). And yet there is interval or space enough before the King's death, which was more than fifteen months after that, for such a contempt to have been committed in the Court of King's Bench, as might occasion the imprisonment of the Prince. For this assault of the Chief Justice, is agreed upon to have been done, when the Prince was well grown into the years of manhood, and beyond the contrivance of any tutors (77). And it must have been also after he was President of the Council, because the Historians likewise agree that the King, upon the said insult of his Chief Justice, discarded the Prince of Wales from the Council-board, and took his brother Thomas, whom they call Duke of

Clarence at that time, into his room, to the Prince's great reluctance, remorse, and open reproach. If the Prince had been reformed any considerable time before the King died, there would have been no occasion for him to be seen in that strange kind of emblematical dress or disguise at Court; breaking in, as it were, upon the King's retirement, so weak and crazed, or near his latter end, as he appears to have been; and in a blue silk gown, full of black eyelet-holes, with the needles hanging, like so many trickling drops of penitential tears, from every one, by the silk that wrought them; and offering a dagger for the King to kill him, if he suspected his duty or loyalty (78); in order to dissipate the jealousies which he thought had been infused into him, by those traducers who might take advantage from his misconduct towards others, to suggest that he would grow dangerous and disloyal to his father. Besides, if the Prince had, for a good while before the King's death, renounced his irregular and discreditable frolicks, he would also have discharged his loose accomplices or associates in them; but, it seems, he kept them company till he came to the throne; because, not till then, is he said to have summoned and dismissed them; and if it were not so, the reflection would be very improper in Polidore; and all our other Historians who have followed him in it; where they say, This man was he, speaking of the Prince, after he was King Henry V, who made it manifest how necessary and commendable it was, for honours, according to the proverb, to change mens manners (79). In the same sense Christopher Ocland, one of our Latin Poets; and so Shakespear also understood the Historians, where he says of the Prince,

The breath no sooner left his father's body,  
But that his wildness, mortify'd in him,  
Seem'd to die too (80).

And tho' he had in a former play made an anachronism in relation of this incident, or antedated the Prince's violent opposition of the Chief Justice on the Bench, where he speaks as if it was before the suppression of Archbishop Scrope's Infurrection (81); yet afterwards, in the same play, more conformable to historical direction, he describes the Prince to have been so much in the height of his irregularities, and so absolutely unreclaimed from them, till after his father's death, that it is most likely, from the Poet's own representation, this misdemeanor of the Prince's was not long before it.

[F] It

(e) Cotton's Records, as last quoted.

(f) Stow, Speed, &c.

(72) Cotton's Records, anno 8. Hen. IV. p. 452.

(73) Idem, anno 11. Hen. IV. p. 474.

(74) Hall's Chron. anno 11. Hen. IV. p. 30.

(75) Fra. Sandford's Genealogical Hist. edit. fol. 1707. f. 309.

(76) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, anno 13. Hen. IV. p. 479.

(77) Speed, Sandford, &c.

(78) Tho. Otterborne, in Chron. Regum Anglæ, 8vo. 1732. et Tit. Livii Vit. Hen. V. 8vo. 1716.

Also Stow's Annals and Speed's Hist. Baker's Chron. &c.

(79) Pol. Virgil, in Hist. Angl. Sub. Hen. V. Hall's Chron. Edw. Leigh's Observat. on the Kings of Eng. 8vo. 1661. p. 130, &c.

(80) Shakespear's Hen. V. Act. I. Scene I. Also, Christ. Ocland, in Anglorum Prælia, 8vo. 1582. Sub. Hen. V.

(81) Shakespear, in the 2d. Part of Hen. IV. Act. I.

as some say, it was expected he would, or, as others, that he did, strike the Chief Justice; who, nothing disturbed thereat, after some earnest expostulation, upon such interruption of the proceedings, and indignity, in that place, charged the Prince to go directly to the King's-Bench prison, and there, to wait his father's pleasure; but in such venerable, such coercive expressions; wherein the paternal authority of the King, was so enforced by the awful gravity of the Judge, that the Prince's calm submission to that disgraceful punishment, was no less sudden and surprizing, than the outrageous offence had been, which drew it upon him. And when that disturbance, with this commitment, were, by some officious courtiers, so represented to the King, that it might foment his displeasure, he discreetly defeated the ill-will of his informers; and, taking it in the right sense, returned God most joyful thanks, that in this one example, *he had given him both a Judge who could minister, and a son who could obey justice* (g). 'Tis further affirmed, by many creditable writers of this story, that for this, and other irreputable actions, the Prince was removed from the Council table, as President thereof, and his brother, Thomas of Lancaster, then, or not long after, Duke of Clarence, admitted in his place: tho' he was probably restored before the King's death, as we have seen some dispositions to repentance and amendment in the foregoing note, and might find him giving other instances thereof, as well in the general Chronicles, as the particular Histories, written at large, of his father's reign and his own. But as this was an event too extraordinary to escape the embellishment of our dramatic Poets, some of their audience have rather been inclined to think it a poetical invention, than built upon matter of fact; tho' it may be seen upon comparison, that nothing appears in this story upon the stage, except by the heighthning or colouring of the language, but what is founded upon the authority of our Historians, and other grave writers [F]. However, as both

(g) Fuller's Worthies in York-shire, as before. Bishop Gibson's Additions, in his Translat. of Camden's Britannia. edit. Fol. 1722, Vol. II. p. 369, &c.

Poets

[F] *It may be seen upon comparison, that nothing appears in this story on the stage, &c. but what is founded upon the authority of our Historians, &c.* There were two plays in which Judge Gascoigne was brought upon the stage by the Poets in Queen Elizabeth's reign, upon this occasion of his committing the Prince to prison. The first was *the play of King Henry V* (82), a different work from what we have now of Shakespear's under that name, and written some years before it; because Richard Tarlton, the famous Comedian, who died in 1592, acted in it, not only his own part of the Clown, but also that of the Chief Justice; the player who was to have performed the same being absent. In this play the Judge on the Bench was to receive a blow of Prince Henry, who was represented by one Knell, another drole Comedian of those times; and when it was to be done, he struck Chief Justice Tarlton such a swinging box on the ear, as almost fell'd him to the ground, and set the whole house † in an uprore of merriment. When Tarlton the Judge went off, presently after entered Tarlton the Clown; and, according to that liberty wherewith the players in those days were indulged, of obtruding interrogatories of their own, in the midst of their acting, he very simply, and unconcernedly, asked the occasion of all that laughter, like one who was an utter stranger to it. *O!* said another of the actors, *had'st thou been here, thou had'st seen Prince Henry hit the Judge a terrible box on the ear. What, strike a Judge!* quoth Tarlton. *Nothing less,* said t'other. *Then,* reply'd he, *'it must indeed be terrible to the Judge, since the very report so terrifies me, that methinks the blow remains so fresh still on my cheek, that it burns again.* This, it seems, raised a greater acclamation in the house than there was before; and this was one example of that extempore wit or humour, for which Tarlton was so much admired and remembered many years after his death (83). The second play in which our Chief Justice is introduced on the stage, was written by Shakespear (84); but he more judiciously therein, has sunk the action of the Prince's striking the Judge, as an indecorum too gross and disagreeable, into a narrative. Their speeches are too long to be here transcribed intirely; therefore we shall only extract so much of them, as may be necessary to shew how nearly the Poet has followed the sense of the Historians in matters of fact, and only rendered them more lively and emphatical, by a greater variety of argument and aggravation, especially on the Judge's part, in justification of himself. For, as it was not consistent with the integrity of his conduct, in the character of a Chief Justice, to betray that of a malefactor, by any abject apology or repentance; so the Poet has very properly made him declare, before he saw his new Sovereign, the late Prince of Wales, whom he had so indiscrimi-

nately punished as a common offender, that he would never beg a forestalled remission of him, for the power and priviledge he had exerted in right to the honour and prerogative of his office on that occasion. Accordingly, upon the first interview between them, after the said Prince was King Henry V, and he began to expostulate a little upon that rough treatment, the Judge discoursed him so convincingly into a better understanding of the matter, that he perfectly turned the tide of his wild blood, reasoned him into a self-conviction, and into a full reconciliation both to that treatment, and himself who had inflicted it; where the Poet makes the Judge intimate, that his resentment proceeded not from the offence committed against him, but his royal father in him; with whose authority he was invested, in the administration of the law; and while he was upon his publick duty, in the place of his Sovereign, serving his country; or, as the Poet's words are,

*Ch. Just.* Whilst I was busy for the commonwealth,  
Your Highness pleased to forget my place;  
The majesty and power of law and justice;  
The image of the King, whom I presented;  
And struck me, in my very seat of justice:  
Whereon, as an offender to your father,  
I gave bold way to my authority,  
And did commit you. If the deed were ill,  
Be you contented, wearing now the garland,  
To have a son set your decrees at nought;  
To pluck down justice from your awful bench;  
To trip the course of law, and blunt the sword  
That guards the peace and safety of your person:  
Nay more! to spurn at your most royal image,  
And mock your workings in a second body.

Question your royal thoughts, make the case your's,  
Be now the father, and propose a son;  
Hear your own dignity so much prophan'd;  
See your most dreadful laws so loosely slighted;  
Behold yourself, so by a son disdain'd;  
And then, imagine me taking your part,  
And in your power soft silencing your son:  
After this cold consideration, sentence me;  
And as you are a King, speak in your state,  
What I have done that misbecame my place,  
My person, or my Liege's sovereignty?

*King.* You are right, Justice, and you weigh this well  
And I do wish your honours may increase,  
Till you do live to see a son of mine  
Offend you, and obey you, as I did,

(82) Perhaps that intitled *Henry the Fifth, his Victories*; containing the honourable *Battle of Agincourt*, &c. re-printed 4to. 1617.

† Which then was in Bishopsgate street, where the Queen's players often acted.

(83) See Tarlton's *Jests*. 4to. 1611. 62n. C. 2.

(84) *Henry the Fourth*, the second Part: containing his death, and the coronation of Henry the Fifth. 4to. 1600. &c.

Poets and Historians have generally thought it sufficient, in representing the same, to distinguish Judge Gascoigne in it, under his title only of the Chief Justice, without thinking it

So shall I live to speak my father's words;  
Happy am I, that have a man so bold,  
That dares do justice on my proper son:  
And no less happy, having such a son,  
That would deliver up his greatness so,  
Into the hands of Justice! You committed me;  
For which I do commit, into your hand,  
Th' unstained sword that you have us'd to bear;  
With this remembrance; that you use the same,  
With the like bold, just, and impartial spirit,  
As you have done 'gainst me. There, is my hand.—  
You shall be as a father to my youth;  
My voice shall sound as you do prompt mine ear,  
And I will stoop, and humble my intents,  
To your well-practis'd, wise directions (85).

(85) Shakespear's  
second Part of  
Hen. IV. Act 5.

Those who are curious to know how much, or what parts, of these speeches are founded upon truth, may find, that the most material points or particulars in them, which, among the unread part of their auditories, often passed for poetical licence, were, long before this Poet's time, authorized, by good historical and other grave writers. One of them is Sir Thomas Eliot, a gentleman of good credit and distinction, not only for his services to the government under King Henry VIII, but for the learning and virtuous principles he testified in many books, which he set forth for the benefit of the publick. This author, desirous of presenting the said King with the mirror of such an accomplished Minister, Ruler, or Governor as he wished under him, has accordingly drawn a capital piece of such a character; and in one of the chapters, to shew how requisite the virtue of Placability, or a reconcilable disposition, is in such a person, has illustrated the same by an example of this incident, in it's full circumstances, between the Prince and our Chief Justice; which, because it has been very seldom, if ever, perfectly or exactly recited, without abridgment or alteration; and as his book is now grown, from it's great age, very scarce, we shall here revive it entirely, as follows, in the author's own words. 'We lack not of this virtue, says he, domestic examples, I mean of our own Kings of England; but most specially one, which, in myne opinion, is to be compared with any, that ever was written of, in any region or country. (\*) The most renowned Prince, Kyng Henry the fift, late Kyng of Englande, during the lyfe of his father, was noted to be fierse, and of wanton courage. It hapned that one of his servautes, whome he favoured well, was for felony by him committed, arreigned at the Kyng's-Benche; whereof the Prynce beyng advertised, and incensed by light persones aboute him, in furyouse rage came hastily to the barre where his servant stode as a prysoner, and commanded hym to be ungyved, and set at lybertee. Wherat al men were abashed, reserved the Chief Justice; who humbly exhorted the Prince to be contented, that his servaunte moughte bee ordered accordyng to the auncient lawes of this realme; or yf he wolde have hym saved from the rigour of the lawes, that he should obtaine, if he mought, of the Kyng his father, his gracious pardon; whereby no lawe, or justice shulde be derogate. With which answer the Prince nothyng appeased, but rather more inflamed, endeavoured hymselfe to take away his servant. The Judge, confydering the perillous example and inconvenience that mought therby insue, with a valiant spirit and courage, commaunded the Prince upon his allegeance, to leave the prysoner and departe his way; with which common commandement the Prince, being set all in a fury, all chafed and in a terrible manner, cam up to the place of judgement, men thinking that he wold have slaine the Judge, or have done to hym some damage; but the Judge sitting still without moving, declared the majestee of the Kingis place of judgment, and, with an assured and bold countenance, had to the Prince these wordes followyng. Syr, Remember your selfe; I kepe here the place of the King your Sovereigne Lorde

(\*) Here the author's marginal note is, *A good Judge, a good Prince, a good King.*

and Father, to whom ye owe double obedience; wherefore estfoones, in his name, I charge you desyste of your wylfulnesse, and unlaifull enterpryse, and from henceforth be your propre subjects. And now, for your contempte and disobedience, go you to the prison of the Kynges-Bench, wherunto I comytte you, and remayne ye there prysoner, untill the pleasure of the Kyng your father be further knowen. With whyche wordes beyng abashed, and also wondryng at the marvailous gravitee of that worshipfull Justice, the noble Prince, laiyng his weapon apart, doying reverence, departed and went to the Kynges bench, as he was commanded. Wherat, his servantes disdeigning, came and shewed to the Kyng all the holle affayre. Wherat he, a while studienge; after, as a man all ravyshed with gladnes, holding his eyes and handes up towards Heaven, abrayded with a lowde voyce: O mercifull God! Howe much am I bounde to your infynite goodnesse? specially, for that ye have given me a Judge, who feareth not to minister justyce; and also a sonne, who can suffer semblably, and obey justice (86)! Here Sir Thomas remarks, how worthy of being preserved in memory these three persons were. First, the Judge; who, tho' a subject, could so undauntedly execute justice on the heir apparent of the crown: secondly, a Prince; who, in the midst of his passion, could be so suddenly struck, by a grave reproof of his evil example, both with shame thereat, and submission to his reprover: lastly, a King; who could so laudably rejoice, to hear of such disobedience in a son, by such a subject corrected.

In this account it may be observed, that Sir Thomas Eliot does not mention the Chief Justice to have received any blow of the Prince, tho' Shakespear, in the play, does; in which particular he is supported by authors as ancient, tho' in others the Poet seems to have followed him. And notwithstanding that one Historian thinks this account in Eliot rests upon his credit only (87), as to the speeches we suppose, of the Judge, and the King, yet he has not himself over-faithfully quoted the story from him, because he mentions also, as from his authority, the blow given; which as we may see above, is not to be found in this author, tho' that circumstance is asserted by some of our Historians, who wrote as early as himself (88), expressly enough, to justify the recitation; and more particularly afterwards, by an Italian writer of our history (89). And though Judge Gascoigne is not named in the relation of this story, either by these, or several other authors who mention it, (the effect of which silence, or omission, we shall see in the next note) yet no body will doubt the substance of it, and matter of fact, or that he was the Judge by whom the Prince was so committed, who has but read or heard, how early, frequently, and uncontestedly, the Lawyers and Judges themselves, were wont to cite this very case, as a precedent, in other succeeding cases of commitment. We shall here produce but one instance; and that, in the words of Crompton, a grave and learned Counsellor in Queen Elizabeth's reign, which are as follow. WHIDDEN vouche un Case in Temps GASCOIGNE, Cheefe Justice D'Englitierr, que commit le PRINCE (que voile aver pris un Prifoner del Barre in Banco Regis) al prison; que luy obey humblement, et ala auxi a son commandement; in que le ROY grandment rejoice, in ceo quil avoit Justice que oFAST minister justice a son Fils le Prince, et que il avoit Fils que lui obey. Et CATLIN dit in cel case, que il ne usont de monstre in le Bre, pur que ils met pur home, mes ceo nous reservom' in nre Peetus, car poit esir pur treason, ou grand conspiracie (90). That is to say; 'Whidden cites a case, in the time of Gascoigne, Chief Justice of England, who committed the Prince to prison, because he would have taken a prisoner from the bar at the King's-Bench; and he very submissively obeying him, went thither according to order: at which the King was highly rejoiced, in that he had a Judge who dar'd to minister justice upon his son the Prince, and that he had a son who obey'd him. And Catlin says, in this case, that they were not wont to specify the cause of the commitment

(86) The Boke named *The Governour*, devised by Sir Thomas Elyot, Knt. Printed by Tho. Berthelet, 8vo. 1546. Boke II. Cap. 6. p. 102.

(87) In J. Speed's *Hist. of Great Brit.* edit. fol. 1623. p. 782.

(88) See Edw. Hall's *Union of the Families of Lancaster and York*, &c. fol. 1548. p. 33. Also R. Grafton's *Chron.* at large, in Hen. V. &c.

(89) Sir Francis Biondi's *Hist. of the Civil Wars of Eng.* between the Houses of York and Lancaster, translated by Hen. Earl of Monmouth, in Vol. I. fol. 1641, under the reign of Hen. V.

(90) *L'Authoritie et Jurisdiction des Courts de la Majestie de la Roygne: Novelment Collez et compose, per R. Crompton, del Milieu Temple, Esq; Lond. in Aedib. Caroli Yetsewirti Arm. &c. 4to. 1594, p. 79.*

it needful to make any mention of his name, the consequence of this inaccurate distinction, seems to have been an attempt to supply that omission of his name by an erroneous substitute, which might transfer the shining character of an invincible defender of the laws, from one Chief Justice to another [G], without any ground to support the usurpation. Therefore

ment in the Brief, or Habeas Corpus, but reserved that in their own breast; because it might be for treason, or some grand conspiracy.' Here is a summary of the most material points of the story, confirmed by the most credible authorities; those of Sir John Whiddon, and Sir Robert Catlyn, two eminent Lawyers; the former a Judge, the latter Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, near two hundred years ago; and probably they were not the first who made a precedent of it, but if the old law books were to be sufficiently inspected, we might find others who had cited it before them. If after these testimonies there needed any further confirmation of this extraordinary event, we might alledge the solid evidence of that metallic memorial, which, not long after it occur'd, was struck in honour thereof; being a small medal, not so broad as a guinea, representing the Judge himself, sitting by another on the Bench, and, with a writing in his hand, reading or speaking to a person presumed to be the Prince, among others in the Court before him; with this inscription round the edge of it in the old English character; *Sir Wylliam de Gasquone* (91). An impression, or stamp of this medal, with printing-ink, as it is remembered by those who have seen it, was made and preserved in the margin of a large manuscript volume, containing the pedigree of that noble family, whereunto the Gascoignes were by marriage allied, as is before mentioned, against the Rundle wherein the name of Sir William Gascoigne is written; which pedigree was partly deduced by Robert Glover, Somerset-Herald, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and is also adorned with the arms of the several relative or collateral branches, blazon'd in their proper colours; as is usual in the like accurate tables of consanguinity, which have been drawn out in commemoration of the Gascoignes also, and other eminent families. But as this illustrious example, which has propagated such a variety of encomiums, attracted some of our ancient Poets to flourish upon it, as we have seen towards the beginning of this note, in their theatrical entertainments: so does it continue still to shine with such equal lustre and influence upon some Moderns, as hath induced them also to celebrate, in the Chief Justice, that salutary correction and restraint which was so signally, so happily, conducive to the Prince's glorious conversion, whereby he soon after became such a renowned Conqueror in France, as in other efforts of their genius, so in the following *Epigram*; wherewith we shall conclude our remarks upon this part of our subject.

While upright *Rokeby* scorns the shining self,  
And pays in gold, but eats in wood himself (+):  
While dauntless *Gascoigne*, from the Judgment Seat,  
To Justice dares make princely Pow'r submit;  
Dares tame by law, him who all laws cou'd break,  
And to a *Heroe*, raise a royal *Rake*:  
Whilst we such precedents can boast at *Rome*,  
Keep thy *Fabricius*, and thy *Cato*, *Rome*.

[G] *Transfer the shining character of an invincible defender of the laws from one Chief Justice to another.* It seems that in default of a name to this story in History, Sir John Hody was the Judge first proposed to father the said imprisonment of the Prince upon; but this choice being soon found so ignorantly made, in that the said Chief Justice could not be met with in History, upon the King's-Bench, till many years after that Prince's death (92), his title to the action was relinquished. But how well the change was mended, in fathering it upon another who was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and how much more properly cognizable the case was in that Court, may be seen in Braceton, Staunford, Crompton, and other writers who distinguish the proper jurisdiction of our Courts. This other was Sir William Hankford, who was Sir John's countryman; for to a native of Devonshire, (some An-

tiquaries of that county were very fond of intitling the credit of this notable commitment. And one of them says accordingly, that this was the noble and famous Justiciary that dared to do justice upon the King's son (93), who afterwards was the glory of the English nation, by the name of Henry V. And upon this authority, another writer, who undertook to revive the eminent men that were born in the said county, has given us an abstract of this story under the life, and in the name of Sir William Hankford (94), much as it is to be found in John Speed, and other compilers of our general chronicles; tho' neither under the name of Hankford in this author, nor that of any other Chief Justice: And adds this reflection, upon the Prince's immediate obedience to the Judge's sentence, out of Sir Richard Baker: *You would wonder to have seen how calm the Prince was in his own cause, who in the cause of his companion had been so violent* (95): As if this Historian had, by nominating the Judge, authorized him to attribute the said commitment to his Worthy; whereas Baker, in his recital thereof, like most others, neither names Sir William Hankford, nor any other Chief Justice. But if he had consulted John Stow, he might have perceived that this Historian understood the Judge, who so ordered the Prince to prison, was Sir William Gascoigne; tho' indeed he has not very exactly settled the whole time of his sitting on the Bench (96), as we have before observed: nor would he have found any direction in this Historian, for sending the Prince to the Fleet; but, according to the relation he follows of Sir Thomas Eliot, to the prison of the King's-Bench (97).

Now the liberty that has been taken of transferring the story of this commitment from one Judge to the other, seems to have been hence derived; that a name being so often wanted to an event so remarkable, and it was resolved that one should be supplied; as there was no chronological succession of the Judges then extant, when Rifdon, or some other of his countrymen, first advanced this misnomer, to afford any exact light or distinction therein: And as Hankford was a Judge first of one Bench, during the Prince's minority, and Chief Justice of the other all the time he was King, till after his death: As the time of Gascoigne's death was not then publicly known in History: As Hankford might be thought a Judge of the King's-Bench, while Gascoigne was Chief Justice on it; or Hankford's succession, in his place, might be computed sooner than it was; he was preferred, as the most probable person to fix the story upon.

But as this riot which the Prince made, was never pretended to be in the Court of Common-Pleas; whereof Hankford was one of the Judges indeed, but Sir William Thyrning Chief-Justice, while Gascoigne was so on the King's-Bench; as Hankford was never one of the Judges in the King's-Bench; much less while Gascoigne was Chief Justice there, and till he succeeded him: as Gascoigne did not die soon enough for the case to come before his said successor, in the King's Bench; therefore, if it was *Sir William Hankford*, who, after he was Chief Justice thereof, did commit the son of King Henry IV. to prison, it must be after he was Henry the Vth, and King of England; which will not be easily allow'd. And as it is agreed on all hands, that the cause was brought before the King's-Bench, while that King Henry was Prince of Wales, it must consequently be allowed to have been under the jurisdiction of *Sir William Gascoigne*. But there are greater improbabilities told under the name of Sir William Hankford, tho' not so much to his reputation; among which is, the cunning contrivance he is charged with, of bringing himself upon this account, to an untimely end (98). But it is more strange, than in all probability, true, that a grave, learned, and pious Judge, who had built a church upon his own estate at Annery in Devonshire, should, in his old age, use such a criminal, as to conspire a robbery upon himself, even of his own life, and by the innocent hands of one of his own servants! designing it should appear, a murder

(91) The British Librarian, 8vo. 1738. p. 267.

(+) Sir Tho. de Rokeby, twice Lord Justice of Ireland, in 1351 and 1355, who so laudably laboured to suppress that damnable custom (as tis called in the Statute, 12 Hen IV. c. p. 6.) of *Caigne* and *Looney*; said, *He would eat out of golden dishes, but he would pay for his meat in gold and silver.* Vid. Annals Hibern. anno 1356. And Fuller's Worthies in Yorkshire, p. 218. Camden seems to relate it of Sir T. Rokeby, in the time of Rich. III. See his Remains, edit. 1614. p. 283, in the Cap. of *Wife* 225. 71.

(92) Sir John Hody was not constituted Chief Justice of the King's-Bench till the 13th of April 1440, and then had 140 marks per ann. allowed for his more decent part, &c. as appears in Dugdale's Chron. Series; Also in Chronica Juridicalia, &c. 8vo. 1685. p. 127; So he is out of the question.

(93) Tho. Rifdon's Survey, or Chronological Description of Devonshire; as quoted from the MS. in Prince's Worthies of Devon, fol. 362; and afterwards printed in 2 Vols. 8vo. 1713.

(94) John Prince's Worthies of Devon, fol. 1701, in the page last cited.

(95) Sir Rich. Baker's Chron. edit. fol. 1713, in Hen. IV. p. 163.

(96) J. Stow's Annals, or General Chronology of Eng. fol. 1615. p. 342. Col. 2. in the margin.

(97) We have been informed, that there is a lodging room in the King's-Bench prison, which is called the Prince of Wales's chamber to this day.

(98) Vid. Tho. Rifdon, as before in Annery.

fore as the glory of that action seems to be sufficiently rescued, and restored, to its right owner, from the misguiding conceptions of ignorance, or the impotent endeavours of circumvention to supplant him therein, by those authorities which have been here assembled, in the foregoing note; and as it might therefore be unnecessary to appear any further solicitous in appropriating the fame, we shall proceed to observe that Judge Gascoigne persevered conspicuously in the discharge of his duty, not only to the last session in the Parliament-House, and the last term in Westminster-Hall, during the reign of Henry IV, but even beyond the demise of this King, to the beginning of his son and successor Prince Henry, in the royal throne, as it is manifestly apparent in the records; notwithstanding the evidence of those Heralds and Antiquaries, who, tho' respectfully to be regarded in many other communications relating to him, and his family, have in the pedigrees thereof been somewhat deficient in fixing the date of his death; and tho' it may, in the latitude of a rhetorical style, be granted, that his sitting on the Bench, ran parallel in a manner to the King's sitting on the throne (b), yet historically, or strictly speaking, the measure of the King's reign is too long for his administration at the beginning, and too short in the end. So that as all authors consent to his departure out of this life on the 17th of December, I think we may safely take the liberty of prolonging it only a single year beyond their computation; and instead of contracting it to the last or fourteenth of Henry IV, extend it to the first year of King Henry V, or 1413, unless we can think it allowable that he was summoned to attend the Parliament out of his grave [H]; as he will appear to have been, if he died the

(b) Fuller's Worthies in his Account of Judge Gascoigne, as before.

der committed, in such manner by another, as to clear him of the crime, himself of suicide, and save his effects from confiscation. For so, many Historians inform us, that, pretending to be enraged with his park-keeper, for suff'ring his deer to be stoln, he charged him that, the first person he met, at unseasonable hours, who wou'd not stand, and give account of himself, he shou'd shoot him; and that he wou'd indemnify, or discharge him. Accordingly, the keeper did meet with a man in the park, under an oak tree, one dark night, who wou'd not stand and declare what his business was; whereupon he shot him dead, and it proved to be his Master (99). One relator of this tragedy informs us, he has seen the stump of that tree, which is called, says he, *Hankford's Oak* to this day (100). And one motive to this desperate destruction of himself, is pretended to have been, his having committed the Prince of Wales to prison, and his dreadful apprehensions from thence, that being King, he wou'd be revenged for the disgrace (101); tho' he had preferred him, after Gascoigne's decease, to be his representative on the King's Bench; which fear, throwing him into insuperable melancholy and despair, provoked him to this preferable course, of getting himself murdered, that he might not be put to death; which is so ridiculously incredible, that it needs no other confutation, than to observe that, on the sixth of October 1423, he was confirmed Chief Justice of the King's Bench (102); which proves that he could neither be in any fear of revenge from King Henry V, who had then been above twelve months in his grave, nor so disorder'd, with any such melancholy, despair, or distraction of mind, as is pretended, when he was thought capable, to the very conclusion of his life, which happened in less than three months after, of discharging his office, and deciding causes upon the bench. And that date, by the way, may also serve to rectify another, in the inscription as quoted from his monument (103); by which, thro' some error in the copy, or defect in one figure of the date, we are led to believe, he died a year sooner than he did.

[H] *Unless we can think it reasonable, that he was summon'd, to attend the Parliament, out of his grave.* Though in the pedigrees we have seen of this family, both in manuscript and print, Sir William Gascoigne is mentioned to have died on the 17th of December, 1412; and though it is believed that Dr Fuller, in his account of this Chief Justice (104), received direction to confine himself to the same date, from Mr Richard Gascoigne the Antiquary, because he acknowledges that he was informed by him of the Judge's birth-place; and says, 'That date is fairly legible on his stately monument in Harwood church (105);' yet we think it will appear that there is a little miscomputation therein, and that occasioned, either through some error in the transcript from the tomb of Sir William Gascoigne, or some such dimness of one, and the same last numerical figure upon it, as might cause the like mistake

in space of time, with that which we observed before in the inscription taken from Sir William Hankford's (106). For, it is credibly asserted, that Chief Justice Gascoigne gave his judgment upon a certain brief in Hillary-Term the fourteenth of Henry IV (107), or between the latter end of January, and the middle of February, the said year beforementioned, 1412 (108), which may be near two months after the time of his death above quoted, as from his tomb. And the said King Henry died on the 20th of March following, which is above three months after that date of Gascoigne's death, as it is said to have been inscribed on the tomb: yet we shall find him to have been, after that King's death, alive, and called to Parliament, in the first year of King Henry V. But if in reverence to monumental authority, it must not be granted that Gascoigne was living after the said King Henry's coronation, which was the ninth of April 1413, we must reject that speech as a forgery, which he is affirmed to have made the day after it, to those who had been his dissolute comrades, while he was Prince of Wales; whom he then summon'd before him to renounce and discharge them, after a formal manner. In this speech the Chief Justice is expressly mentioned to be alive, as it is recorded by John Truffell; who, in the preface of his history, having declared against making, or devising fictitious speeches, for any of the eminent personages commemorated therein, we shou'd the more reasonably give credit to it (109); and in the said speech, after this King had told those his companions, It was sufficient, that for many years together, he had fashion'd himself according to their unruly dispositions, not without reluctance; and wandered with them in a wilderness of riot and unthriftiness; whereby he had made himself almost an alien to the hearts of his father and allies, and so disparaged, or depreciated himself, that in the eyes of mankind, his presence was grown vulgar and stale, and like the cuckow in June, heard but not regarded; he proceeds in brief to relate how, when one of them was converted before the Lord Chief Justice, he interposed, and struck him on the face; and that he was by him deservedly committed for the same: *for which act of justice, says he, I shall ever hold him worthy of the place, and my favour; and wish all my Judges to have the like undaunted courage, to punish offenders of what rank soever, &c* (110). But if through any little disagreements in this speech with the more ancient accounts already related, any readers shall except against it, as doubting the genuineness thereof, there is no need to contend for it; since we have authorities, which they will think unexceptionable, from the Records themselves, to prove that our Chief Justice was living after the said King came to the crown, and was then called, as we before said, to the Parliament. For, in Sir William Dugdale, who has mentioned all the writs of summons directed to him, from the third of Henry IV, we may see the last of them, dated from Westminster, the 22d of March, in the first year of this

(106) Sir W. Hankford, said, in that Inscription, to have died in 1422; but as we have computed, in 1423. Sir W. Gascoigne said, in this Inscription, to have died in 1412; but as we shall compute, in 1413.

(107) See the Year-Books, De Termino Hillarii, Anno 14. Hen. IV. p. 18.

(108) Or 1413; if our ancient Historians then began to draw the circle of their years at Christmas time, as J. Speed asserts they did. See his Chron. edit. fol. 1623; p. 778. col. 2.

(109) His words are, in his Epistle to the Reader, that he has forbore to obtrude any thing of his own invention, *quia malui Aliena imprudenter dicere, quam propria impudenter ingerere.*

(110) J. Truffell's Continuation of Sam. Daniel's Collection of the Hist. of Eng. fol. 1641, p. 94.

(99) Rifson, as above. Also Tho. Westcote's Survey of Devonshire, MS. Also Fox, Baker, Fuller's Worthies of Devon, &c.

(100) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 362.

(101) Rifson, as before.

(102) Chronica Juridicalia, p. 121. from Dugdale's Chron. Series.

(103) In Fuller, Prince, &c.

(104) His Worthies, in Yorkshire, as before.

(105) Idem.

the year before. There is no doubt but the solemnity of his funeral was magnificently proportionable, as well to his eminent dignity, his honourable family, plentiful fortune, and exalted fame, as to the sepulchral honours wherewith his remains were distinguished in Harwood church, the Place of his interment. Upon his stately monument are to be seen the effigies of himself at length; and, on his right hand, one of his wives by him. He is represented in his Judge's robes, with his hood on; a large purse fastened to his girdle on his left side, and a long dagger on the right (*i*). But the inscription which was cut on a brass fillet, and inlay'd about the verge of the tomb, having been torn away during the civil wars, we cannot assert what date, or further particulars it contained, otherwise than from a doubtful copy, said to have been taken from the monument before the same was robbed thereof, and those particulars were legible. Of this inscription having formerly received some account, as also of some other antiquities relating to the family, from the late Rev. Mr Knight, Vicar of Harwood, and other correspondents, our reader may not think them unworthy of preservation in this place [*I*]; the rather because, if the said inscription meets with

(i) Extract of a Letter from Smart Lethcote, Esq; F.R.S. to Mr G. Vertue; from Alder's books, July 18, 1750.

King Henry V, to meet in the Parliament that was to be there held, in the third week of Easter; and it did assemble accordingly, on the 15th of May in the said year 1413 (111), when, there is no intimation of the least doubt to the contrary, but Sir William Gascoigne was at this time present in it. But, being afterwards incapacitated by age or infirmities, to officiate in court, or attend in the next Sessions of Parliament, summoned from Westminster, on the first of December, to be held at Leicester, on the 29th of January following, in the second year of the King (112), and so on, through his reign, to the third of Henry VI, the like writs are directed to Sir William Hankford, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; and Sir William Gascoigne is no more mentioned. Whence it is evident, that, as he is univocally allowed to have died on the 17th of December, it was in this first year of Henry V, or 1413, and not the last of Henry IV, as the Genealogists and Historians have in a single year misreckon'd. And tho' Sir William Hankford is summoned, by the nominal title of Chief Justice, in the writ directed to him, on the said first of December, yet it is distinguished that he was not so constituted, till the 29th of January following, which is computed to have been in the year of our Lord, 1414 (113). But though many authors in this particular point of Chronology, have thus shorten'd a little the line of this celebrated Chief Justice's life, we have met with one who has made ample amends, and spun it out to a length beyond all authority or belief; as may be seen in the ensuing note.

(111) A perfect Copy of all the Summons of the Nobility to the great Councils and Parliaments of this realm, from 49 of Hen. III. until these present times: extracted from the Publick Records by Sir W. Dugdale, Knt. Garter, Principal King of Arms, fol. 1685. p. 389.

(112) Idem. De Parlamento tenendo apud Leicestriam, p. 390. 391, &c.

(113) Dugdale's Chron. Series. p. 56, ex Pat. 7. Hen. V. M. 33. And Chron. Juridicalia, p. 117.

[*I*] Our reader may not think them unworthy of preservation in this place.] The account we formerly received from the late Rev. Mr Knight, in a letter containing these antiquities relating to the Gascoigne family, may best appear in the words of the said letter; which is as follows.

Harwood, April 20, 1742.

S I R,

HAVING been acquainted by Mr Green of Wakefield, who was lately at my house, that an account of the Lord Chief Justice Gascoigne's Monument in my church would be acceptable to you, if what I have here drawn up will afford you any satisfaction, it will be highly pleasing to me.

'Tis a misfortune there is no Inscription now remaining on that monument; and the arms relating to the family, once visible on the shields carved thereon, are now no longer so; having been only blazon'd in colours and not cut in *Basso-Reliefs*. Yet it is observable, that some of the armorial lines, whereby escutcheons are divided, may be still seen upon them, and particularly on one of those at the east end of the said monument, where we can behold the two perpendicular lines drawn through the middle of the escutcheon, in form of a pale; which I am persuaded once bore the arms of the family. Besides the robes of a Judge, in which the effigies is apparell'd, is a very prevailing evidence that it was carved to represent this excellent Lord Chief Justice, as we find no other of his station or dignity here interr'd.

And what may further strengthen our belief therein is, that in the east window of the isle or chapel where the monument stands, are some remains of

painting on the glass; among which are three figures kneeling; whereof, two represent women, on each side one, and the third, a man in the middle, and him I take to be the Lord Chief Justice Gascoigne; part of whose scarlet robe still appears, though the greater part thereof is unfortunately defaced; which is confirmed, by an escutcheon of his arms, still to be seen over his head; and I take the other two figures, which are pretty entire, to represent his two wives, as partly appears from the arms of Gascoigne, which are, *Argent, on a Pale Sable; a Demi Luce, Or;* and are impaled with their own, on each of their mantles; but more clearly from the escutcheons of their own arms, placed over their heads; which arms are, first, those of the illustrious family of Mowbray, viz, *Gules; a Lion Rampant Argent, armed and langued Azure; a Bordure gobonated, Or, and Argent;* the other, those of the ancient family of Pickering, viz, *Ermin; a Lion rampant Azure, crowned, Or; armed and langued Gules.* The arms of Mowbray are quarter'd with those of Gascoigne, the latter distinct. Now that those painted figures and arms represent and belong to the said Chief Justice and his wives, is confirmed by the pedigree of the Gascoignes, printed in Mr Thoresby's Antiquities of Leeds, to which I refer you for further satisfaction; and what is more, the original of the said pedigree, which I have seen by the favour of Sir Edward Gascoigne, exhibits the painted figures abovementioned, by a copy thereof when entire; painted in such a lively manner upon the parchment roll, as perfectly corroborates the observations I have drawn from the ruinous remains of the window, which is now in a worse condition than it was when I first made these remarks, and consequently lets in less light to our enquiries. But that I am not mistaken in my account of those figures and arms, the remainder of an inscription at the bottom of the said window, as it stood when I took it, will still more evidently demonstrate; which stands thus; *Or te pro Gulielmo Gascoigne, et Elisabetha, et Johanna Arzobis ejusdem.* I have supply'd, as you see, the chasms which time had then made, and are now greater; yet I think, without any room to doubt such supplement, as the name of his second wife appears in the pedigree, to be Joan.

But whereas Mr Thoresby dates the Chief Justice's death in 1412, it seems to be a mistake, by what is mentioned in the speech of King Henry V, to his licentiate's associates, while he was Prince, as it is recorded in Trussel's Continuation of Daniel's History; in which speech, this Chief Justice appears to be then living; and the same is confirmed by a copy of the inscription, said to have been preserved, as it originally stood upon the monument; which I designed to have annexed to this account, had not Mr Green, who received it from me, been before hand with me, in transmitting it to you, wherefore it is omitted. And though, as you observe, Dr Fuller affirms, that the date of the Judge's death, which he mentions, is fairly written on his tomb in Harwood church; yet it does not appear from thence that he had seen it; nor is it likely that it was legible when he wrote the latter part of his Worthies; because most of the brass margins which contained the monumental inscrip-

with nothing to confirm the same, it may here carry with it sufficient caution, or advertisement, that others may not be misguided by it. It is also observed, that the Arms of England are carved or painted at the foot of the Judge's tomb, with those of France, *Semé Fleurs de Lis* (k); which Henry V. reduced to three of those flowers, not long after he came to the crown, being the same number then worn by Charles VI. of France (l): and thus much is all we have here to observe of the ancient, valiant, and virtuous family, as Camden styles it, of the Gascoignes.

(k) Mr Lethieullier's Letter, as above.

(l) Fr. Sandford, as before, fol. 277.

tions in churches, were torn away, by the sacrilegious plunderers in the grand rebellion; whereof there are visible instances in other parts of my church. But the inscription communicated to you, which I received of a curious gentleman in London, is probably more to be relied on, than that in the printed authority aforesaid, because it seems to have been transcribed from the tomb when it was entire; being preserved in an old volume of *monumental draughts, and arms from the Windows of several remarkable churches in Yorkshire*, as they might be standing perhaps an hundred and fifty years since; from which volume, among the *MSS. in the Herald's Office*, it was copied, and sent me by the said gentleman, Mr Smart Lethieullier of Bond-street.

There is a monument under the arch in the south wall of the chapel, where Judge Gascoigne's is, which, as I suppose, is his father, and mother's, from the numerous progeny represented in effigie on one side, and at the end thereof; which progeny agrees pretty well with that in the pedigree; only, in this, a part is probably left out, for want of room. I take the other monument under the opposite arch, on the side of the great chancel, to be that of his grandfather and grand-mother, who was the heiress of Gawthorp.

When I saw the pedigree aforesaid at Sir Edward Gascoigne's, and some other antiquities, I received from him the impression of an original *ancient seal*, belonging to that family. It exhibits a person setting, who is thought to be William the Conqueror, and delivering a deed, it seems, to a person kneeling before him, who is supposed to be one of the family of Gascoigne, and to receive thereby a grant of lands. Other two persons are also represented kneeling by him, probably for the same purpose; and there seems to be the head of another standing by the Conqueror, as one of his officers or attendants. The legend round the seal is *SIR WILLEME GASQVONE*. Mr Richard Gascoigne has left some *observations on this seal* in MS (which are in Sir Edward's hands) who writes his name as here set down, to the best of my remembrance. If these, or any other particulars I can furnish you with, will answer your enquiries, it will be very agreeable to,

S I R,

Your most Obedient

Humble Servant,

R. KNIGHT (114).

(114) He died at his Vicarage in Yorkshire, in July 1747.

Here it may not be improper to remark, that the deed or patent, appearing, in this old family seal, to be given by W. the Conqueror, or one of his successors, to an ancestor of Judge Gascoigne, seems to be the same, which Mr Richard Gascoigne is represented in his picture beforementioned, to be holding in his hand, and doubtless he was possess'd of the old grant or patent so painted therein; which in all probability we should find he has explained, or mentioned the contents of, in his said *observations* upon that seal, were the curious obliged with an edition thereof from the press. Another account we have also received of this seal

(115), with some further constructions of the images upon it; which, as they may be of use towards attaining the full knowledge or explanation thereof, we shall here also recite: 'There is still preserved in this family, the seal of the first William, the inscription about it, in Gothic characters, and his name spelt in the Gascon manner, *SIGILLUM WILLELMI DE GASQVONE*. There is represented on it, a King, sitting in a chair of state, with another person by him, who seems to be a coasseffor, and delivering a charter to a knight on his knees before him, agreeable to the custom both of the Conqueror's and Henry II's times: and perhaps the grant referred to by this device, when the eldest son of that King Henry was associated with him in the royalty (116).'

(115) In Memoirs of the Gascoignes MS. as before.

As for the copy, said in the letter above, to have been taken of the Inscription on the Chief Justice's monument, from a MS in the Herald's Office wherein it was preserved, before that brass edging was ript off whereon it was inscribed; and which, as Mr Knight has also above said, was sent by the late Mr William Green, an ingenious carver and statuary some time of Wakefield (117), in a letter to the writer of this article; that letter, containing the said inscription, is also still in being; and the substance in it, of what concerns this matter is, That in, or about the year 1736, Sir John Fortescue Aland (118) being in Yorkshire, took a journey of some miles, to see Judge Gascoigne's monument; but finding no epitaph on it, and Mr Knight the Vicar of Harwood distant from home, he returned unsatisfied of the intelligence he wanted; as it was thought he intended to publish something concerning the said Judge. But afterwards, by letters from London, he sought and obtained of Mr Knight, such an account of the antiquities in Harwood church, &c. relating to this family, as we have printed above: yet Sir John received not the said inscription, because Mr Knight was not then possessed of it. And after Mr Lethieullier had oblig'd him with it, Mr Knight sent him, at his request, or in return of the favour, a cast of Judge Gascoigne's face from the effigies on his monument, taken, or finished off, by Mr Green, in plaister of Paris; and he gave Mr Green a copy of the Inscription; which, as he sent it to us, in a letter (119), dated a fortnight before that above was written by Mr Knight, we shall here exactly transcribe;

(116) Idem.

(117) But born in Lond. and was the author of some critical observations on the Monuments in Westminster-Abbey; and also of Remarks upon some Churches, noble Seats, and other antique or noted Structures, in the North of Eng. never printed. He died at Lond. Sept. 24, 1747, aged 53.

(118) One of the Judges of the Court of King's-Bench, and late Lord Creden in Ireland; who died in December 1746.

(119) Mr Green's Letter concerning Judge Gascoigne's Monument, to the author of this article, dated from Wakefield, April 5, 1742.

after having first observed, that in one part of Mr Lethieullier's letter, above quoted in the text, it is said to be the effigies of his second Lady, Joan, daughter of Sir William Pickering, which lies at the right-hand of the Judge on his Monument, but in this inscription, to be that of his first Lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Mowbray: and yet we believe, the great difference in the chronological assertion of the Judge's death, no less than sixteen years later than any other account, will be a greater difficulty to digest. But here it is, just as we received it *Hic Jacet Willielmus Gascoigne, nuper Capitalis Justiciar' de Banco Henrici nuper Regis Angliæ, et Elizabetha uxor ejus: Qui quidem Willielmus obiit Die Dominica, 17<sup>o</sup>. Die Decembris, A. D. 1429* (120) Besides the general exception to which this date, in the year of our Lord, is liable, by being so widely different from all authority or likelihood, the day of the week may also possibly, upon calculation, be found incoherent with the day of the month in the said year; and thus much, if this date is such an error as we take it to be, we thought here observable, to prevent the propagation thereof.

(120) If any Reference to the Volume in the Herald's Office, from whence this Inscription is said to have been transcribed, had been sent with it, we should have here cited it, for the more easy examination thereof.

GASTRELL (FRANCIS), late Bishop of Chester, a man of great learning, and an excellent preacher, was born at Slapton in Northamptonshire, about the year 1662 (a). His education was at Westminster-school, under the famous Busby; from whence he was elected Student of Christ-Church in Oxford. There he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; in 1684; that of Master, April 20, 1687; and that of Bachelor of Divinity, June 23, 1694 (b). About the time he took this last degree, he was Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's-inn: and was so eminent and admired for his sound, elegant, and useful manner of preaching, that he was appointed to preach in the year 1697, the Lecture founded by the Hon. Robert Boyle, Esq; The eight Sermons he made upon that occasion, were published by him in 1697, in one continued Discourse [A], that the strength of the proofs therein used might appear more plainly from their connexion (c). By way of continuation, or second part, of the same most important subject, he published in 1699, another Discourse, to which he gave the title of, 'The Certainty of the Christian Revelation, and the Necessity of Believing it, established [B].' On the 13th of July 1700, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (d): and, being Chaplain to the House of Commons, was presented by Queen Anne to a Canonry of Christ-Church in Oxford; to which he was instituted January 5, 1702-3, and installed the 16th of the same month (e). He published, in 1702, 'Some Considerations concerning the Trinity, and the way of managing that Controversy [C].' And afterwards put out another piece against Dr Samuel Clarke, upon that subject [D]. But his most considerable work, next to his Boyle's Lectures, was an excellent book, which he intitled, 'The Christian Institutes, or the sincere Word of God [E].' He also published in 1707, a Sermon preached at the Anniversary meeting

(a) Survey of the Cathedrals by Dr. Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 138. compared with Vol. II. p. 462.

(b) From the University-Register.

(c) See the Dedication of that book.

(d) From the University-Register.

(e) J. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 527. And Willis, as above, Vol. II. p. 462.

[A] *The eight Sermons he made upon that occasion, were published by him in 1697, in one continued Discourse.* He intitled it, 'The Certainty and Necessity of Religion in general, or the first Grounds and Principles of Humane Duty establish'd; In eight Sermons, preach'd at St Martin's in the Fields, at the Lecture for the year 1697, founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; 8vo.'

In the Preface he observes, That 'in every age of the world we have any account of left us, the Wickedness of Mankind has much the largest share in their History; and if we believed the Complaints of the several Historians, who acquaint us with what passed in their days, we should be disposed to conclude, that those particular times, we were reading of, were certainly a great deal worse than any that went before, and that consequently Vice having been always growing, and gathering strength, as the world advanced in age, the present Generation of men must far exceed all their predecessors in wickedness: But though (says he) I have a very ill opinion of the age we now live in, I cannot look upon this reflection, as just and well grounded. The true occasion, both of the Observation, and the Complaints grounded upon it, he takes to be that variety of Wickedness, whereby the several Ages and Countries of the world have been distinguished from one another. For there have been as many different methods and fashions of sinning, among men, as forms of government; and as many changes and revolutions in vice as in Empire. Some periods of time have been remarkable for open Cruelty, Rapine, and Oppression; others for Treachery, and private Revenge, and all the secret ways of destruction: Other ages there have been, when Luxury and Riot, and all manner of extravagant Lust and Debauchery, were the publick reigning Vices: Sometimes Profaneness, and a publick Contempt of Religion have prevailed; at other times, Indifference, and a careless Neglect of all that is good; sometimes Hypocrisy, and an open Pretence to piety and virtue, have been used for a cover to a close and secret practice of all manner of vice; and at other times, men have had the Impudence to defend the worst actions, by endeavouring to make them appear consistent with religion. These, and many more such like differences, are observable in the History of former time; but the peculiar distinguishing character of this Age is a publick denial of Religion, and all the obligations of it, with an endeavour to disprove the Evidences brought for it, and to offer a more rational Scheme of Libertinism.'

In the first Lecture, he thus defines Religion. 'By Religion in general, I mean all that Worship, Service, or Obedience, we, that call ourselves Men, are to pay to God; or whatever we are, in any

'respect, obliged to, upon the prospect of his favour, or under the penalty of his displeasure, in this, or a future state.'

And, a few pages lower, he gives the following Description of the Supreme Being. 'I conceive God to be *One Unchangeable Being*, of an *intelligent nature*, who *always necessarily existed of himself*, who *knows every thing that can be known*, who can do *every thing that is possible to be done*, who does *every thing he wills*, and nothing but what he *wills himself*, who enjoys an unalterable state of the *greatest happiness that can be enjoyed*, who never *wills or does any thing inconsistent with this state*, who makes *himself* the ultimate end of all he does, and next to that the good or happiness of all such beings as are capable of it; which, together with all other beings, and every thing that belongs to them, were from him, and depend upon him for their continuance; and lastly who brings about whatever he wills or designs, by the fittest and most proper means.'

[B] *The certainty of the Christian Revelation, and the Necessity of Believing it, established.* The rest of the title, is, 'In opposition to all the Cavils and Insinuations of such as pretend to allow Natural Religion, and reject the Gospel.' It is dedicated to the Lord Chief Justice Holt; to whom the ingenious Author pays very handsome compliments, and with a great deal of truth.

[C] *Some Considerations concerning the Trinity, and the way of managing that Controversy.* To the third Edition, which came out in 1707, is subjoined, A Vindication of it, in answer to Antony Collins's *Essay concerning the use of Reason.*

[D] *And afterwards put out another piece against Dr Samuel Clarke, upon that subject.* This was intitled, 'Remarks upon Dr Clarke's Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity, by the Author of Some Considerations concerning the Trinity, and the ways of managing that Controversy.' Lond. 1714, 8vo. Dr Clarke published an Answer to it, at the end of his *Reply to Mr Nelson*; and observes, That the Objections in those *Remarks*, were set forth to particular advantage, by the skill of a *very able and Learned Writer*; and proposed with a *reasonable and good spirit.*

[E] *The Christian Institutes, or the sincere Word of God.* The rest of the title is, 'Being a plain and impartial Account of the whole Faith and Duty of a Christian. Collected out of the Writings of the Old and New Testament: Digested under proper heads, and delivered in the words of Scripture.' It is dedicated, 'To the worshipful the Masters of the Bench, and the rest of the Members of the honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn. And was at first printed in Italic, without any references to the scriptures; which were added in the second edition. In the

meeting of the Charity-schools in London [F]. In 1711, he was Proctor in Convocation for the Chapter of Oxford; and made one of the Chaplains in ordinary to Queen Anne. Upon the translation of Sir William Dawes to the Archbishoprick of York, Dr Gastrell being nominated Bishop of Chester in his room, was consecrated in Somerfet-house Chapel April 4, 1714, and allowed to keep his Canonry in commendam with that small Bishoprick (f). But being one of those Prelates that were advanced during the four last years of Queen Anne, the Ministry of King George I. thought fit to frown upon him, without any sufficient reason; which so much disgusted him, that he opposed and protested against most of their measures (g). He shewed his zeal for the University of Oxford, in 1717, when it was attacked in the House of Lords, upon account of the pretended riot on the Prince of Wales's birth-day (b). And when the Bill was depending, for inflicting pains and penalties, on his old friend and fellow-collegian Dr Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, he spoke in his behalf [G]. In the year 1719, &c. he had (out of a tender regard for the Honour and Interest of the Universities) a contest with the Crown, about filling up the Wardenship of Manchester-college. For Samuel Peploe, Master of Arts of the University of Oxford, having obtained a grant of that Wardenship from King George I; and it being a necessary qualification, according to the foundation-charter of the said college, that he should be Bachelor of Divinity; instead of taking this degree regularly at Oxford [H], he procured a faculty for it from the Archbishop of Canterbury. But Dr Gastrell, who, as Bishop of Chester, was to admit him; not thinking a Lambeth-degree to be a good and effectual qualification in law for any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice, refused to give him institution, and published his Case [I]. However, the matter being referred

(f) Willis, *ibid.*  
And Le Neve, p.  
342.

(g) See Hist. of the  
Proceedings of the  
House of Lords,  
Vol. III. p. 17,  
&c.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 47.

the preface, he observes, that 'several Abstracts, or Summaries of *Christian Doctrine*, had been drawn up, for the benefit of such as will not be at the pains to search and study the Scriptures; such as, by reason of their age, are not capable of reading them with judgment; and such as, through some prejudice or evil disposition of mind, may be apt to misapply them.—But the great misfortune is, that these very books, which were intended to lead us more easily and certainly into the knowledge of Scripture, are most of them so framed, as to represent the Religion there delivered to us, in a false light.—The chief occasion of which abuse, is, the many Differences and Divisions that have happened among Christians, both with regard to their Faith, and to their Rules and Measures of serving God; which Differences, as they plainly rose at first, from a greater deference that was paid, either to the *Traditions*, or *Writings of Men*, than to the *Word of God*; so have they been kept up ever since, by a greater care that hath been taken by the several sects, to instruct their children in those things which distinguish them from one another, than to teach them the common Doctrines and Duties of their most holy profession: From whence it follows, that the books composed by them for that purpose, must needs give a very different, and the greatest part of them, for that reason, a very false account, of the Christian Religion.—Now, for the better removing any false opinions we may have received from those different accounts which are given us of Scripture by other men, as well as preventing any wrong judgments we might be disposed to make of the Word of God, when we read it ourselves; I have often thought (says he) that it would be a work of great use, to collect out of the writings of the Old and New Testament, all the Doctrines and Precepts therein dispersed; to lay them together in such an order and method, as to give the Christian reader a full and distinct view of his whole Faith and Duty at once; and by keeping all along the Language of Scripture, to leave no room for misrepresentation. This is what I have endeavour'd to do in the following Treatise, as being fully satisfied of the truth of what a great writer observes, (1) *That we cannot speak of the things of God better than in the words of God.*

[F] *A Sermon preached at the Anniversary meeting of the Charity-schools in London.* It is intitled, 'The Religious Education of poor Children recommended, in a Sermon preach'd in the parish Church of St Sepulchres, June 5, 1707. Being Thursday in Whitson-week, at the Anniversary meeting of the Gentlemen concerned in promoting the Charity-schools lately erected in the Cities of London and Westminster: And of the poor Children educated in

(1) Chillingworth,  
p. 152.

'the said Schools, in number about three thousand.' On Psalm cxlvii. 12, 13.—In one part of it (2), he has this pretty allusion, or comparison.—'These Schools are not like the Popish Monasteries, and other places of religious retirement; those *standing Pools of Charity*, which, if they do not stink and grow corrupt, yet, being pent up within narrow bounds, carry no refreshment or fruitfulness to other parts. These are pure and wholesome Streams, which are always running, and dispersing themselves into different channels, and by that means, communicating their virtues to all the dry and barren parts of the land. The children that are here educated, will afterwards be distributed into many families, &c.'

He also published, without his name, *A moral Proof of a Future State*. And perhaps some other pieces, of that kind.

[G] *He spoke in his behalf.*] The substance of his speech was. 'That extraordinary proceedings may be recurr'd to, upon extraordinary occasions, and when they are evidently necessary for the preservation of the State; but that this was very far from the present case, since the Conspiracy, in which the Bishop of Rochester was charged to have had a share, had been discover'd and disappointed long before (3).'

[H] *Instead of taking this degree regularly at Oxford.*] When Bishop Gastrell first scrupled to admit the Archbishop's Degree for a qualification, he said [to use his own words] to Mr Peploe; 'That, being in all respects qualified to take his Degree regularly in the University, he might proceed that way, without any fear of being denied; but, if he desired any Favour, usually indulg'd to other persons, that I would endeavour to obtain it for him; and I did not doubt but the University would readily grant it.' Upon what views and motives [adds the Bishop] Mr Peploe declined taking his Bachelor of Divinity's Degree in Oxford, when he had actually prepared the best part of the *Exercise* required in order to it, I cannot tell; but sure I am that he might have done it without hurting the Archbishop's pretensions (4).

[I] *And published his Case.*] Under this title, 'The Bishop of Chester's Case, with relation to the Wardenship of Manchester. In which is shewn, That no other Degrees but such as are taken in the University, can be deemed legal Qualifications for any ecclesiastical preferment in England.' Oxford 1721. fol. As this Book is now grown very scarce, the Reader will not be displeas'd with an extract of it. The learned Author then observes (5), That the Authority of Parliament, upon which the Archbishop grounds his pretended Right, is Statute 25 Hen VIII. c. 21. But there being no mention of *Degrees* in that Act; nor any thing that, upon a careful perusal of the Act, can lead any one to think of Degrees; the Power

(2) P. 19.

(3) Proceedings  
of the House of  
Lords, as above,  
P. 353.

(4) Preface to the  
Bishop of Che-  
ster's Case, p. 2.

(5) P. 3.

now

referred to the King's Bench, was decided in favour of Mr Peploe. Bishop Gastrell did not long survive this conquest over himself and the Universities; for he died at his Canon's lodgings in Chrst-Church November 14, 1725, in the 62d. or 63d. year of his age: and was buried in the Cathedral there, without any monument (*i*). But he left a sufficient monument of himself in his excellent writings. And his virtues are far from being yet forgotten. Besides his other honourable employments, he was one of the Commissioners for building the fifty new Churches in London: and a member of the Society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts (*k*). He was succeeded in the See of Chester, by Mr Peploe abovementioned.

(i) Wills, as above, Vol. 11. p. 462.

(k) H. Maria's Register, 21. 1725. in the Clerical Diary, p. 47.

now challenged by the Archbishop, of conferring Degrees, must be couched under the *general Powers* there conveyed to him, which are ranked under these two heads, viz 1. 'All manner of licences, dispensations, faculties, &c. as heretofore hath been *used and accustomed to be had at the See of Rome*, — or of any person by authority of the same. — 2. All other licences, dispensations, &c. for all such causes and matters as shall be *convenient and necessary* to be had, for the honour and surety of the King, and the wealth and profit of the realm.' But Degrees, as he shews (6), were not *used and accustomed* to be had, for these kingdoms at the See of Rome; because no body ever had a good, just, and reasonable cause to have recourse to Rome for them, there being always a landing Power within this realm, from whence they might be obtained. And it was not likely that any persons would be at an *excessive charge* to obtain Degrees from Rome, which they might take at a cheaper rate here at home; namely, in our *Universities*. — Moreover, in the same Statute of 25 Hen VIII, it being enacted, 'That there shall be two books made and drawn of one tenour, in which shall be contained the *Taxes* of all *customable* Dispensations, Faculties, and other writings, wont to be sped at Rome:' Therefore, from two entries, made in a Taxation-book, now remaining in the Faculty-office (7), some have inferred the Archbishop's right of conferring Degrees. — But our learned Author shews this Tax-book (now in the Faculty-office) to be of no manner of authority, or validity (8). For it is only a copy of an ancient paper-manuscript, taken about the year 1680; And that *ancient paper* manuscript, was not one of the *original Tax-books* directed to be made by the foresaid statute; as appears by this very material reason, among others, Because it is not *signed or subscribed* by any body; whereas the Act positively orders, that *every Leaf of those Books* (which were enacted to be made and drawn of one tenour), *and both sides of every leaf, should be subscribed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor of England, the Lord Treasurer, and the two Chief Justices*

(6) P. 4.

(7) *Creatio Doctorum in quacunque facultate, 41. Creatio aliorum Graduatorum in quacunque facultate, 51.*

(8) P. 5.

*of both Benches for the time being.* And such subscription was absolutely necessary to render the said books *authentick*. — Besides, in that ancient MS. paper, the number of heads upon which Faculties were granted, are 225: whereas by an order of Council in 1576, they were restrained to 13. And consequently it cannot be supposed, that a book where 225 several kind of Faculties were taxed, should be looked upon as an *authentick* standard for granting Faculties, at a time when 13 only were judged grantable, which were no way distinguished from the other in the *old* book (9). Therefore, our learned Author thinks, that the said ancient paper manuscript was only a loose collection of various matters, taken out of several different books, relating both to the *ordinary* and *extraordinary* jurisdiction of the Court of Rome, put together, with a design to compose out of it such a *Tax book* as the Act of Parliament directed to be made, and which he believes was *never made* (10). — In considering what the *Practice* hath been with relation to Degrees conferred by the Archbishop, since Statute 25 Hen VIII; He observes, there are very few instances of such Faculties granted before the Restauration (11) And concludes, that no such *Custom* of conferring Degrees can be pleaded, as will establish the *Right* now claimed by the *Archbishop*; because *Custom* must be *certain, uniform, constant, and uninterrupted*; whereas the *Practice* in this case has been various, both as to *Form* and *Authority*, with a long intermission of at least 80 years, after a very considerable change made in the first ground and foundation of the pretence (12). — After having duly examined several Acts of Parliament, Canons of Councils, Records, Articles of Enquiry at Archbishops and Bishops Visitations, &c. he draws what may be called his general conclusion, That Degrees conferred by the Archbishops of Canterbury could never be reputed or taken to be any more than *bare Titles of Honour*, which were attended with no *legal or canonical Effect* whatsoever; and as they are conferred without *Investiture*, so they give no right to any *habit* at all (13).

(9) P. 35.

(10) P. 7.

(11) P. 2.

(12) P. 11.

(13) P. 32, 40.

C

The END of the THIRD VOLUME.