PORTRAITS

OF

Illustrious Personages

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM

AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY

EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F.S.A.

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Engraved by B.Robinson.

WILLIAM, LORD RUSSELL.

OB. 1683.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY.

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WILLIAM LORD RUSSELL.

The ingenious biographer, Granger, has arranged his multitudinous subjects under various descriptive denominations, and we find among them a class of—"Persons remarkable from a single circumstance in their lives." In this class Lord Russell, had he not belonged to that of the nobility, would have been properly placed. The story of his life is nearly destitute of those circumstances which usually excite a lasting general interest, for what fame is so transient as that of a political partisan? but the termination of it furnishes one of the most remarkable authentic instances extant of that pure and perfect heroism which in the legends of antiquity generally excites our doubts, as well as our admiration. For the rest, Lord Russell was one of many engaged in a conspiracy of which he was not even the leader: a nobleman of honest nature, who had been unhappily led to lend his great name to a faction headed by the worst man in the kingdom: a victim to that too exquisite and mistaken sense of honour and fidelity which alone can attach the virtuous to the worthless. All this, unfortunately, is too common to claim justly any unusual degree of attention; but Lord Russell prepared for death, and suffered it with the firmness of a stoic, and the resignation of a saint. Had he escaped it, his name would have been barely noticed on the page of history.

He was the second son, but, by the death of his elder brother, heir apparent, to William, fifth Earl of Bedford, by Anne, daughter and sole heiress of Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset. From his

father, who had been deeply engaged on the popular side at the commencement of the grand rebellion, and who, like too many other great men of his time, had fought against the Crown till his opposition ceased to be mischievous, and had returned to his allegiance when it was no longer in his power to render service, he seems to have imbibed those political prejudices which formed the conduct, and furnished most of the business of his life. Burnet, indeed, expressly tells us that "he was inclined from his first education to favour the nonconformists;" and of other education, in the ordinary sense of the word, we hear nothing, but doubtless he received such as was suited to his high rank. Neither are we further informed as to his early habits and pursuits than that he indulged with freedom, for a while after the restoration, in the gaieties of Charles the Second's luxurious court. He became a member of the House of Commons in the Parliament summoned immediately after the restoration, but at what time during the sixteen years for which it sat is uncertain; nor does it appear that he took any very active concern in its measures. In the following, which was called in 1678, he was returned, as he was afterwards during his life, for the county of Bedford, and seems, at the opening of that Parliament, to have placed himself among the friends of the government, or, at all events, to have exercised a calm impartiality, since, after the King's positive and repeated refusal to confirm the first choice of a Speaker, which had fallen on Mr. Edward Seymour, the gentleman who was appointed to that office by a second election was proposed to the House by Lord Russell.

It was immediately after that period when Charles, weary of contests, that, at the best, could not but be unprofitable, determined on a mixture of parties; dissolved his Privy Council, and instituted another; professing, by a formal declaration, his resolution to be guided solely by its advice in all public affairs whatsoever. To this Council he called most of the popular leaders, and Lord Russell, who had scarcely yet acquired that character, was summoned in consideration of his birth. By a

singular error, Shaftesbury, whom nature had formed to be an enemy to concord, was appointed president. This man, who was wholly devoid of principle, either religious, social, or political, after having been engaged in the most arbitrary measures of the Court, had of late affected an extraordinary dread of popery, and, of course, an equal zeal for liberty. He carried with him into the Council a secret resolution to distract its deliberations; and the final end that he had in view, if we may attempt to fathom the motives of the most mysterious man living, was to raise himself to the highest eminence, by placing a nominal crown on the head of the Duke of Monmouth. He possessed surprising powers of persuasion, and applied them with peculiar success to the seduction of the young and unwary. Russell, who was all honour and simplicity, fell easily into a snare baited with his favourite political doctrines. He attached himself earnestly to Shaftesbury, and when the furious intemperance of that nobleman obliged the King to remove him from the Presidency, not many months after his appointment, Russell, with some others of his proselytes, asked leave to resign their seats in the Council, to which Charles with his usual carelessness, answered "with all my heart." This happened on the thirty-first of January, 1679, O.S.

From that hour Lord Russell became one of the most strenuous opponents of the government. Soon after he withdrew from the Council, he personally presented the Duke of York in the Court of King's Bench as a Popish recusant. On the twenty-sixth of the following October, upon the opening of a session, he exhorted the House, in a short speech which had little else remarkable in it, "to suppress popery, and prevent a popish successor;" and the fierce debate which followed prepared the way for the famous bill of exclusion, which passed the Commons on the eleventh of November, and was carried up to the Lords by Lord Russell on the fifteenth. His parliamentary conduct on the rejection of that bill by the Upper House, assumed a character of violence which had till then seemed foreign from his nature. The singular fury which daily marked the proceedings of the House of Commons

during the few weeks of its existence from that date, seems to have arisen mostly from his exertions. Among many other bitter votes, it was resolved, chiefly at his suggestion, that until a bill should be passed for excluding the Duke of York from the succession, they could vote no supply, without danger to his Majesty, and extreme hazard to the Protestant Religion; that whosoever should advise a prorogation of the Parliament was a betrayer of the King and the kingdom, and of the Protestant faith; and that no member of the Commons House should accept of any office, or place of profit, from the Crown, without leave of the House, nor of any promise of such while he should continue a member of it. In the short space of two months this Parliament had made larger specific strides towards absolute dominion, than the famous Long Parliament of Charles the first in as many years. The faculties of the government seemed on the eve of being suspended; and, on the eighteenth of January, 1680, O.S. the King dissolved the Parliament; perhaps the most blameless political act of his reign.

The most overheated of the Whigs, as they began now to be called, thus disappointed, for the time, of the means of compulsion by legislative authority, determined to seek them in unlawful force. They had been spurred on to this by the frantic restlessness of Shaftesbury, who, though now almost in the grasp of death, preserved in a great measure his always misapplied activity, and vigour of mind. He had contrived to associate in one grand scheme of confusion, composed of different designs, some of the best and the worst, the noblest and the vilest, of mankind, and Lord Russell unhappily threw himself into this chaos of mischief. In June, 1683, a mean person of the name of Keeling communicated to the Secretary of State a plot for the assassination of the King and the Duke, on their return from Newmarket to London, and a proclamation was immediately issued for the apprehension of several, of various ranks, that he had named. Two of these, John Rumsey, who had been a Colonel under Cromwell, and West, a lawyer, surrendered voluntarily, and in a large confession

accused the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, the Lords Russell and Grey, and others, of treasonable practices. Monmouth, whom the King was naturally desirous of saving, was made prisoner, and admitted to bail, Lord Russell being one of his securities; and, on the commencement of the term a few days after, was discharged, and fled from the danger of a further accusation, as Shaftesbury had done even before the first rumour of the discovery. Whether in the hope of obtaining fuller evidence against him, or to give him time to withdraw from the kingdom, is uncertain, but Lord Russell's apprehension was somewhat delayed. At length warrants of high treason were issued against him and the Earl of Essex, and they were brought before the Privy Council, where, says Burnet, "the King told Russell that nobody suspected him of any design against his person, but that he had good evidence of his being in designs against his government." After a long examination, he was committed a close prisoner to the Tower.

It was probably true that Lord Russell and most of the other men of rank engaged in the grand conspiracy, were really ignorant of that bloody purpose, the detection of which led to the development of the whole. It seems to have been suddenly devised by some of the subordinates, who, weary of waiting the fruition of a plan widely extended, and involving various minute considerations, and anxious to do something, had hit on the expedient of all others the most likely to suggest itself to fierce and vulgar minds. But, having so far exonerated him, it becomes necessary to state candidly of what he was guilty. The primary object of the scheme in which he had engaged himself was a general insurrection in England and Scotland, and the means of effecting it were concerted and conducted by himself, the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, Algernon Sidney, Hampden, and Lord Howard of Escrick, who at last called themselves, and were called by their followers, the Council of Six. Shaftesbury directed all their operations, but with such consummate artifice, that they themselves were insensible of his superiority. The

awful and almost endless consequences of an effectual rising provoked by their united efforts may be certainly inferred from the various, and indeed opposite, views entertained by the parties themselves, which are thus briefly described by an elegant and accurate historical writer. "Russell, Essex, and Hampden, intended to make no further use of insurrection than to exclude the Duke of York, and to fix the barriers of the constitution with precision. Sidney aimed at the destruction of monarchy, and on its ruins to found that republic which in imagination he adored. Monmouth hoped, amidst public distractions, to pave a way for himself to the throne. Howard, with luxuriant eloquence and wit, adopted the views of each particular person, and incited all to vigour and action, feeling for moments what they felt through life." The whole had been methodised with great precision. Each of the leading conspirators was named to manage the insurrection in a particular district: the western counties were committed to the charge of Lord Russell; and the general explosion was at hand when he was made a prisoner.

On Friday the thirteenth of July, 1683, he was brought to trial. The proof against him was not so strong as had been expected, and the witnesses fell under the obloquy which usually attends participators who place themselves in that character: the truth of their evidence however was unimpeached, and indeed unsuspected by all persons of sound judgment, who well knew that the common fault of fabricated testimony consists in proving too much. The jury was composed of men of strict honour and integrity, and Pemberton, the Chief Justice, conducted the trial with the strictest impartiality. Lord Russell's lady was present in the Court, and he took care that it should be known to the crowd, for he requested that she might be allowed to take notes for him: Strafford had produced his children on a similar occasion: it was an innocent artifice, but perhaps unworthy of the dignified minds of such men. He neither avowed nor denied the facts with which he was charged, and there was little remarkable in his conduct during the trial, and less in his defence; but his

whole deportment was firm and collected, and he listened to the verdict by which he was convicted, and afterwards to the sentence of death, without the slightest apparent emotion. Two days after, he conveyed to the Duke of York a solicitation, in terms of the deepest humility, for a pardon. "If your Royal Highness," said he, "will interpose in it, I will in no sort meddle any more in the least opposition to your Royal Highness, but will be readily determined to live in any part of the world which his Majesty shall prescribe, and will never fail in my daily prayers for his Majesty's preservation and honour, and your Royal Highness's happiness; and will wholly withdraw myself from the affairs of England, unless called by his Majesty's order to serve him, which I shall never be wanting to do to the utmost of my power." He is said to have written this letter at the earnest solicitation of his lady, and, while he was folding it up, he observed to Dr. Burnet, "this will be printed, and will be selling about the streets as my submission when I am led out to be hanged." It is clear indeed that he did it against his inclination, for on the Wednesday following, two days before his death, all hopes of pardon having vanished, he wrote a cold letter to the King, soliciting forgiveness in general terms for unacknowledged faults, but for the evident purpose of introducing a bitter and deliberately framed reproach. His last hours were distinguished by a calmness of piety, and a decency of courage, perhaps unexampled; and in the paper which, instead of the customary speech to the people, he delivered to the Sheriffs on the scaffold, he maintained his political sentiments with a magnanimous moderation; and, while he arraigned, on a point of legal distinction, the judgment under which he was about to suffer, owned, with a noble candour, that he had been guilty of misprision of treason. A variety of minute particulars of his fine conduct and expressions after his condemnation, too numerous to be here inserted, have been preserved by Burnet, in his History of his own Times, who, together with Dr. Tillotson, attended him constantly in the concluding days of his life, even to his final moment. He was beheaded, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on the twenty-first of July, 1683.

Nearly a century after Lord Russell's death, a most extraordinary fact was brought to light by the late Sir John Dalrymple, a Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland, in a publication of certain original papers remaining in the depot of the office for foreign affairs in Paris. It appeared that Lord Russell, in the year 1678, and afterwards, was in the closest correspondence with the Court of France, and had accepted from Louis the Fourteenth an authority to use secretly that Prince's influence for the more effectual distraction of the measures of the English government. I will insert here an extract from the most material document on the subject, together with the passage prefixed to it by Dalrymple, without offering a single remark of my own.

"In Lord Danby's letters," says Dalrymple, "which are published, there are several letters in the beginning of the year 1677–8, from Mr. Montagu, Ambassador at Paris, to Lord Danby, informing that Rouvigny" (a near relation to Lady Russell) "was to go over with money, to be distributed among the popular party in the English Parliament, and to act in concert with Lord Russell; and that Barillon" (the French Ambassador) "was intriguing with the Duke of Buckingham, and others of that party, in England. The truth of this information is confirmed by the following memorial of Barillon. An English reader will perhaps start at a paper being offered to his eyes which lays open an intrigue between the virtuous Lord Russell and the Court of France; yet it will give him some relief to find, amidst the imprudence of such an intrigue, the man of honour appearing."

"M. de Rouvigny a vu Milord Roussel, et Milord Hollis, qui ont été tous deux forts satisfaits de l'assurance qu'il leur a donnée, que le Roi" (of France) "est bien convaincu qu'il n'est point de son intérêt de rendre le Roi d'Angleterre maître absolu dans son royaume, et que sa Majesté," (of France) "vouloit travailler à la dissolution de ce Parlement dès que le tems y paroitroit favorable. Milord Roussel lui a dit qu'il engageroit Milord Shafbery dans cette affaire, et que ce seroit le seul homme à qui il en parleroit clairement; et qu'ils travailleroient sous main à empêcher qu'on augmentât la somme pui a été offerte pour faire la guerre:

et qu'ils feroient ajouter à l'offre du million de livres des conditions si désagréables pour le Roi d'Angleterre, qu'ils esperoient qu'il aimeroit mieux se réunir avec la France, que d'y consentir. Il témoigna à M. de Rouvigny qu'il soupçonnoit que sa Majesté trouvoit bon que le Roi d'Angleterre lui déclarât la guerre pour avoir de l'argent, avec promesse que dès qu'il seroit le maître, il conclurroit la paix. M. de Rouvigny lui dit que, pour lui faire voir le contraire bien clairement, j'étois prêt à répandre une somme considérable dans le Parlement, pour l'obliger à refuser absolument de l'argent pour la guerre, et le sollicita de lui nommer des gens qu'on pût gagner. Milord Roussel répondit qu'il seroit bien fâché d'avoir commerce avec des gens capables d'etre gagnés par de l'argent; mais il lui parut fort aisé d'être assuré par cette proposition qu'il n'y a entre votre Majesté et le Roi d'Angleterre nulle intelligence qui puisse préjudicier à leur gouvernement," (or, as we call it, Constitution). "Il dit à M. de Rouvigny que lui, et tous ses amis, ne souhaitoient autre chose que la cassation du Parlement; qu'ils savoient qu'elle ne pouvoit venir que du côté de la France; que puisqu'il les assuroit que c'étoit le dessein de sa Majesté d'y travailler, ils se voyoient obligé de se bien fier en lui, et faire tout leur possible pour obliger le Roi d'Angleterre à rechercher encore une fois son amitié; et mettre par ce moyen sa Majesté en état de contribuer à leur satisfaction. Il l'assura que ce seroit là le sentiment de Milord Shafbery, qui doit voir un de ces jours M. de Rouvigny chez Milord Roussel," &c.

Lord Russell married Rachel, second daughter, and at length heir, to Thomas Wriothesley, fourth and last Earl of Southampton of his name, and widow of Francis Lord Vaughan, eldest son of Richard, Earl of Carbery, in Ireland. By that Lady, so highly and justly distinguished by her virtues and her talents, he left an only son, Wriothesley, who succeeded to his grandfather's honours and estates; and two daughters; Rachel, married to William Cavendish, second Duke of Devonshire; and Catherine, to John Manners, Marquis of Granby, son and heir of John, first Duke of Rutland.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

ALGERNON SIDNEY.

OB. 1683.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

SIR JOHN SHELLEY SIDNEY, BART.

Published Dec.r 1.1836 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

ALGERNON SIDNEY.

The strife of parties has long attached to the name of this gentleman a notoriety, and a factitious importance, which may reasonably excite an earnest inclination to become acquainted with the events of his life; a curiosity which must end in disappointment. He headed no faction; worked no revolution: he neither captivated multitudes by his eloquence, nor tempted them to the field by his courageous example. He shone not, either as a counsellor, a senator, or a soldier; and had, as it should seem, the singular ill fortune to be but little trusted or admired by those who laboured to put into practice the theories to which he devoted his mind with the most unrelenting obstinacy and perseverance. A morose temper withheld him in a great measure from society, and a weakly constitution from bodily action. His life was mostly passed in his closet, and a true history of it could be little more than a political pamphlet. To what then does he owe that niche in the temple of Fame which those who celebrate him in mere shouts to the multitude would perhaps rather leave uninscribed? Simply to the fiery zeal with which he incessantly denied the legitimacy of the first public institutions of his country, and to the injustice of the sentence by which he was fated to atone for his pertinacious errors.

He was the third, but second surviving, son of Robert, second Earl of Leicester of the Sidneys, by Dorothy, eldest daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and was born about the year 1622. His father, under whose immediate inspection, and

anxious care, he received an admirable education, was perhaps the most conspicuous ornament, as well as the most correct example, to the court of Charles the First, uniting to distinguished talents the most exact probity, and to a considerable share of erudition and literature the lighter graces of the most refined politeness. Algernon, who seems to have been his favourite child, accompanied him in 1632 on his embassy to Denmark, and in 1636 to Paris, when he visited that capital in the same character. He remained for several years abroad with his father, and when that nobleman, on the fall of Strafford, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1641, attended him also thither; had the command of a troop of horse in his regiment; and served with fair reputation against the rebels of that country. It is evident however that he had even then imbibed the anti-monarchical notions which distinguished him through life. Whether he had received them from, or communicated them to, his elder brother, the Viscount Lisle, is uncertain, but it is clear that in 1643 they solicited and received the King's permission to come to England, and that it was granted with this palpable note of suspicion—that they should on their arrival instantly repair to his Majesty at Oxford. Events which immediately succeeded proved that it was well founded. On their landing at Liverpool, in the month of August, they were arrested by the agents of the Parliament in that quarter, who presently after, in obedience to a special order of the House of Commons, dispatched them under a strong guard to London. All this bore strong marks of a previous agreement, but the sequel left no doubt on that head: they were received with open arms by the rulers who had issued the stern mandate; a military commission was bestowed on each; and a pretence was devised for the vote of a sum of two thousand pounds to Algernon, whose superior talents, and energetic temper, seemed well worthy of the application of such a retaining fee.

He became now most firmly attached to the rebel cause. In 1644 the Earl of Manchester appointed him captain of a troop in his own regiment, and in the following spring Fairfax, the com-

mander-in-chief for the Parliament, gave him a regiment of horse, and soon after, the government of Chichester. His brother, Lisle, who was sent in 1646 to supersede their excellent father in the rule of Ireland, placed him in a similar command of cavalry in that country, and before the conclusion of the year made him Lieutenant-General of the Horse there, and Governor of the Castle of Dublin, which however was soon taken out of his hands, and placed in those of a Colonel Jones. Whether to expostulate on that deprivation, or to throw himself into the prime scene of action in the tragedy of those times, is uncertain; but he came immediately after to London, where, on the seventh of May, 1647, he was included with several other officers, by the House of Commons, in a vote of thanks for their services in Ireland, which was presently followed by a more solid mark of favour in the appointment to the office of Governor of Dover. Here ended his military career, in which nothing seems to have occurred worthy either of praise or blame.

As he had embraced the cause of the Parliament, because it aimed at reducing the monarchical power, so he now joyfully abandoned it for the army, because that faction had determined to destroy the King. The leaders of it accepted him with equal satisfaction, well aware not only of the inveteracy of his political prejudices, but that he was in all the usual relations of social intercourse strictly a man of honour, a character by no means common in their party. His name was placed in the regicide commission, and it has been firmly asserted, and faintly denied, that he was one of those who sat in judgment on the ill-fated Charles. He had however no employment under the short-lived republic, and when Cromwell assumed the government, and the title of Protector, consistently enough transferred to the usurper the same degree of detestation that he had borne towards the King. He flew, full of spleen and disgust, to his father's seat of Penshurst, the deep retirement of which was well suited not only to the character of his mind, but to the occupation to which he meant now to apply it. He is supposed to have written during

his long sojournment there the most part of his Discourses on Government; a work of considerable extent, in which admirable ingenuity of argument, universal historical knowledge, and a style not less graceful than nervous, are prostituted to the arrogant purpose of decrying a principle to which, with some exceptions, so few and so transitory that their occurrence does not prove the rule, the nations of the earth, from the beginning of time, have as it were with one accord consented—to the fantastic view of founding a system of government on his own blind hatred to the very name of royalty.

He remained thus secluded till the expulsion of Richard Cromwell, and the consequent re-establishment of the Long Parliament. The declaration of that assembly, on the seventh of May, 1659, "to secure the liberty and property of the people, without a single person, King, or House of Peers," recalled him, with fresh hopes and unabated zeal, to the practice of his favourite experiment. On the thirteenth of the same month he was nominated one of the heads of that hydra representative of kingly authority which the Parliament then erected under the denomination of the Council of State; and, on the fifth of June, was appointed to visit Copenhagen, in the character of an Ambassador, for the purpose of mediating a peace between the Kings of Denmark and Sweden. Two others were joined to him in this commission, one of whom was appointed to supply the place of Whitelocke, who tells us in his Memorials that his name was originally inserted, but that he withdrew it, "well knowing the over-ruling temper and height of Colonel Sidney." After a few months' residence in those parts, his negotiation, which he seems to have managed with much sagacity, was terminated, together with all the political plans and prospects which he had so long cherished, by the almost unexpected occurrence of the King's restoration. He remained however at Stockholm, awaiting the turn of affairs in England respecting his party, but with little patience. He indulged in the extravagant hope, even when the King had scarcely arrived in London, of a renewal of his diplo-

matic commission, and, that expectation failing, resolved to come home, seeming to entertain no apprehension of resentment for the part that he had acted in the rebellion, but his father's representations soon withdrew him from his error. Much correspondence between that nobleman and himself on the question of his return to his country has been preserved, and may be found chiefly in Collins's fine collection of the papers of the family. No great cordiality seems to have subsisted between them, and indeed between men of characters so different, and so essentially divided in their notions of public duty, little could be reasonably expected. In a letter from his father, written about this period, we find these remarkable passages:—

"Concerning you, what to resolve in myself or what to advise you, truly I know not; for you must give me leave to remember of how little weight my opinions and counsels have been with you, and how unkindly and unfriendly you have rejected those exhortations and admonitions which, in much affection and kindness, I have given you upon many occasions, and in almost every thing, from the highest to the lowest, that hath concerned you; and this you may think sufficient to discourage me from putting my advices into the like danger; yet somewhat I will say. And, first, I think it unfit, and perhaps, as yet, unsafe for you to come into England; for I believe Powell hath told you that he heard when he was here that you were likely to be excepted out of the general act of pardon and oblivion; and, though I know not what you have done or said, here or there, yet I have several ways heard that there is an ill opinion of you as of any, even of those that condemned the late King: and, when I thought there was no other exception to you than your being of the other party, I spoke to the "General" (Monk) in your behalf, who told me that very ill offices had been done you, but he would assist you as much as justly he could; and I intended then also to speak to somebody else (you may guess whom I mean) but since that I have heard such things of you, that in the doubtfulness only of their being true, no man will open his mouth for you. I

will tell you some passages, and you shall do well to clear yourself of them. It is said that the University of Copenhagen brought their Album unto you, desiring you to write some thing therein; and that you did scribere in albo these words—

> . . . . . Manus hæc inimica tyrannis
> Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem,

and put your name to it. This cannot choose but be publicly known, if it be true. It is also said that a minister, who hath married a Lady Laurence, here at Chelsea, but now dwelling at Copenhagen, being there in company with you, said, "I think you were none of the late King's judges, nor guilty of his death," meaning our King. "Guilty!" said you, "do you call that guilty? Why it was the justest and bravest action that ever was done in England, or any where else;" with other words to the same effect. It is also said that you, having heard of a design to seize upon you, or to cause you to be taken prisoner, you took notice of it to the King of Denmark himself, and said, "I hear there is a design to seize upon me; but who is it that hath that design, Est-ce notre bandit?" by which you are understood to mean the King. Besides this, it is reported that you have been heard so say many scornful and contemptuous things of the King's person and family, which, unless you can justify yourself, will hardly be forgiven or forgotten; for such personal offences make deeper impressions than public actions, either of war or treaty."

These, and other such remonstrances prevailed. He determined to remove into Germany, and, after having resided for a while at Frankfort, went to Rome, and seems to have remained in that city, and its neighbourhood, till 1663, when he again visited Germany, and afterwards the Netherlands, France, and Holland. His letters to his father during these wanderings, which occupied the long space of seventeen years, abound in keen and universal observation, but are strongly tinged with the prejudices and fancies of pride and melancholy. His conceit of the importance of his enmity to Kings, and to his own in particular, filled him

with groundless suspicion of spies on his conduct, and violence to his person; in the mean time his affection to the rebel cause seemed to increase proportionately to his apprehensions. He says in one of his letters, "The tide is not to be diverted, nor the oppressed delivered; but God in his time will have mercy on his people: he will save and defend them, and avenge the blood of those who shall now perish, upon the heads of those who, in their pride, think nothing is able to oppose them. Happy are those whom God shall make instruments of his justice in so blessed a work. If I can live to see that day I shall be ripe for the grave, and able to say with joy, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." The intervals spared from these reveries were embittered by family discords, and by the waste and embezzlement of his property in England, as he tells us, by his relations; by the insufficiency of his means to his expenses, and the unwillingness and tardiness of his friends in supplying his wants. These circumstances put him on a scheme of raising English troops for the service of the Emperor, and he had made some progress in a negociation to that end. "I will undertake," says he, in a letter to his father on that subject, from Brussels, "to transport a good strong body of the best officers and soldiers of our old army, both horse and foot." Charles's ministers had however no inclination to see any of that "old army" again embodied in any part of Europe, nor was the Emperor probably very desirous of such auxiliaries, so the plan fell to the ground. He was at length withdrawn from his difficulties and troubles by the royal permission to return to his country, together with a pardon for his former offences. These were obtained by his nephew, Robert, Earl of Sunderland, then in high confidence, or, as some say, by his friend, Henry Savile, and he came to England in 1677.

He gave out on his arrival that he had solicited these favours merely to gratify the earnest inclination of his ancient father (who did in fact expire very shortly after) once more to see him; that he longed only for quiet and retirement, and had agreed

therefore for the purchase of a small estate in Gascony, on which he meant to end his days. In this he might have been sincere, and if he were not, it happened opportunely for his concealed motives that his brother, the Earl of Leicester, refused to pay to him his father's legacy of five thousand one hundred pounds, which produced a suit in Chancery, and furnished a plausible pretext for his remaining in England. Be this as it might, certain it is that immediately on his arrival he plunged into political intrigue. His darling enmity to the monarchial branch of the system had grown with his years, and modern discoveries have clearly proved that he was by no means scrupulous in the choice of means whereby to gratify that disposition. In the autumn of 1678 we find him the instrument of a secret correspondence between Lord Halifax and Barillon, the ambassador of Louis the fourteenth, instituted with a view of overthrowing the Lord Treasurer Danby; and soon after labouring to persuade that French minister that the interests of France could be in no other way so essentially served as by the establishment of a republican government in England. A few other persons were engaged in this scandalous project, but Sidney, according to his nature, seems to have been at their head. "Monsieur de Sidney," says Barillon, in a letter to his master, of the tenth of September, 1680, "est un de ceux qui me parlent le plus fortement, et le plus ouvertement, sur cette matière." Any degree of confidence respecting public affairs between an Englishman of the character which it is the fashion to ascribe to Sidney and a French Ambassador might seem strange, but the origin of it was really monstrous. Sidney, soon after his return, had actually condescended to become a regular pensioner of France. He received, as appears from the only two papers remaining of Barillon's accounts of disbursements of the sums secretly remitted to him by Louis for the purpose of bribing such English as he might think proper, five hundred guineas in 1679, and a similar sum in the following year; thus allying himself to the natural enemy of his country, in the hope of strengthening the chance of annihilating its crown.

decisive blow for the cause that he adored. Such a one offered itself in the spring of 1683. The Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, the Lords Russell and Howard of Escrick, and John Hampden, grandson to the more remarkable person of his name, had conspired to raise a rebellion; and, though his views were totally distinct from those of any individual of the party, he eagerly joined them, and was cordially accepted. This conspiracy, so familiar to every reader of English history under the ill-chosen appellation of "the Rye-house plot," was discovered to the Government by some of its inferior agents, and the principals were speedily seized. Sidney was arrested on the twenty-sixth of June, arraigned on an indictment of high treason, and brought to trial on the seventh of the succeeding November, before Jefferies, perhaps the only eminent public man for whose invariably infamous conduct no one has ever yet dared to offer an apology. Strong suspicions were formed that the jury had been unfairly chosen. A single witness, and he an accomplice, and a man of known bad character, appeared against him. The law required two, but the judge cut short that difficulty. Sidney's Discourses on Government, which have been already mentioned, had been found, then an unpublished manuscript, among his private papers, and Jefferies ruled that the production of this piece, in the hand-writing of the culprit, was equivalent to the testimony of a second witness. Of Sidney's guilt not a doubt could be entertained; but the annals of Europe can scarcely produce another instance of such detestable perversion of law. It is needless to say that he was convicted, and sentenced to die, and on the seventh of the following December he was beheaded on Tower-hill, glorying to the last in what he called "the good old cause," and exhibiting a firmness and resolution which to common observers it always seems surprising that a bad one should be capable of inspiring.

As no proof of a fact so extraordinary ought to be omitted, I will cite a passage from another of Barillon's letters to Louis, of the fourteenth of December, 1679, and so take leave of this very disgusting part of the present subject—"M. de Sidney m'a été d'une grande utilité en bien des occasions. C'est un homme qui a été dans les premières guerres, et qui naturellement est ennemi de la Cour. On l'a soupçonné depuis quelque tems, de s'être laissé gagner par Milord Sunderland, mais il me paroit toujours avoir les mêmes sentiments, et n'avoir point changé de maximes. Il a beaucoup de crédit parmi les indépendans, et est ami intime de ceux qui sont les plus opposés à la cour dans le Parlement. Il a été elu pour celui-ci. Je ne lui ai donné que ce que votre Majesté m'a permit. Il auroit bien voulu avoir d'avantage, et si on lui faisoit quelque gratification nouvelle il seroit aisé de l'engager entièrement. Cependant il est dans les dispositions fort favorables pour ce que votre Majesté peut désirer, et ne voudroit pas que l'Angleterre et les Etats Généraux fissent une ligue. Il est fort mal avec son frère, qui est en Hollande, et se moque de ce que la Cour s'en sert comme d'un négociateur. Je crois que c'est un homme qui seroit fort utile si les affaires d'Angleterre se portoient à l'extremité." Sidney never sat in Parliament after the restoration, yet M. Barillon's statement is correct, for he was returned in the year that this letter was written, for Guildford, in Surrey, but his election was subsequently invalidated.

The tragical remnant of his story is too well known to require, or even to permit, any lengthened recital of it here; for the same reasons which have induced his eulogists to pass over almost silently the events of his life, have prompted them to record with scrupulous exactness, and to proclaim with trumpet-tongued vociferation, even the most minute circumstances connected with his death. He became weary of the tediousness and caution necessarily attendant on the undermining system which he had adopted on his arrival in England, and the impatience and fierceness of his spirit panted for an opportunity of striking a

Engraved by J. Cochran.

ANNE CARRE, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

OB. 1684.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published Dec.r 1. 1806 by Harding & Leopard, Pall Mall.

ANNE CARRE,

COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

THE history of the parents, and of the issue, of this lady has rendered her more remarkable than the circumstances of her own life. She was the only daughter, and sole heir, of that deservedly miserable pair, Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset, and Frances, daughter of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk of his family, and was married in the summer of 1637 to William, Lord Russell, son and heir of Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford. That nobleman, naturally enough, had been so averse to the alliance as to endeavour to detach his son from it, not only by his positive interdiction, but by giving him permission to choose a wife from any other family in England; but the attachment of the lovers, which reigned equally in the bosom of each, was unconquerable. At length, all parties having tormented themselves and each other for many months, the King was prevailed on to interfere, and the Duke of Lenox, whom he employed to solicit the old Earl, at last obtained his consent; but with so much difficulty, that the nuptials did not take place till more than a year after the Duke's first application. There is in the Strafford Papers, among Mr. Garrard's lively letters of court news, one to the Lord Wentworth, afterwards the great Earl of Strafford, then in Ireland, chiefly on the subject of this match. It is dated on the twenty-third of March, 1636, O. S.; and I need, perhaps, offer no apology for inserting a rather long extract from it, especially as it relates chiefly to a person of whom the very slender particulars which have been

preserved of her have never before been collected, not to mention certain curious features which it will be found to exhibit of the manners of some of the highest of James's courtiers.

"The marriage," says Mr. Garrard, "will now shortly, at Easter, be solemnized. A most fine lady. My Lord of Bedford loves money a little too much, which, together with my Lord of Somerset's unexpected poverty, hath been the cause of this long treaty, not any diminution of the young parties' affection, who are all in a flame in love. My Lord of Somerset told the Lord Chamberlain" (the eccentric and profligate Philip, Earl of Pembroke) "who hath been a great moderator in this business, before his daughter, 'though one of them must be undone if that marriage went on, he chose rather to undo himself than to make her unhappy;' and he hath kept his word; for he hath sold all he can make money of, even his house that he lives in, at Chiswick, with all his plate, jewels, and household stuff, to raise a portion of twelve thousand pounds, which my Lord of Bedford is now content to accept. This Lord" (Somerset) "pretends that he lent my Lord Goring three thousand pounds, when he was in the Tower, and, being now in some straits about raising the portion, he hath sent to the Lord Goring, and demanded it of him. He denies it lent, for he says it was given for real services then done him, which the Duke of Bucks could witness, were he living. This hath made a great noise, and much siding in the business. My Lord Chamberlain, most fierce to carry it for Somerset, being one night at Salisbury House, fell into discourse about this three thousand pounds, saying that it was due to my Lord of Somerset, and that Somerset would ask leave of the King to sue my Lord Goring, and that he would recover it, for somewhat that he knew. This he speaking with much vehemence, my Lord Powis, being by, spoke to moderate him, especially since it concerned my Lord Goring, who had always been his true and faithful friend. He replied he loved my Lord Goring well, but he loved a truth better. For one good service my Lord Goring had done him, he had requited him with twenty. Powis said that he believed

further that my Lord Goring was not able suddenly, if it were due, to pay such a sum; and asked him whether he would make himself a solicitor, to gather in Somerset's debts. That word 'solicitor' heated his Lordship. He fell into higher passion, and swore deeply, 'God damn me, I have seen a letter under my Lord Goring's hand, where he confesseth the debt, and it must be a great courtesy must deserve three thousand pounds. It was a gift for a Prince to give, not for a subject. Let my Lord Goring shew wherein he did ever my Lord Somerset a courtesy worth three hundred pounds, and he shall quit his three thousand, for which he hath his letter to shew.' My Lady Salisbury saying then—'If he had such a letter to shew, let him shew it, and the business was at end.' That 'If,' the Lord Chamberlain took worse from her than anything spoken before—'Would she If, when he had sworn he had seen it?' Still she repeated 'If;' and she thought she might say If to the King, much more to him. She further told him that in all disputes he must have his own way, but he should not have it of her—He should not silence her in her own house—She would speak. So she rose up, and went from him, and the company, into her chamber. But it must not rest so. My Lady Vaux, and my Lady Powis, undertook his Lordship, and he, being in an excellent good disposition, they brought him to a better temper, and to more reason, which effected, in they go to my Lady Salisbury's chamber, who was now the angrier of the two. There they made them friends: Powis made them kiss. Sic finita est fabula." It appears from a subsequent letter in the same collection that the marriage did not take place till the following July, Lord Russell being then twenty-three years old, and the bride seventeen.

It is not only agreeable but useful to find traits of goodness in the worst characters. Such discoveries excite kind and compassionate feelings, abate the uncharitable arrogance with which we are apt to view fallen sinners, and, by showing that the same sources in the human heart may produce the most detestable crimes, and the most excellent affections, warn us against too

proud a confidence in the principles with which we may flatter ourselves that we can fortify our frail nature. The guilty and degraded Somerset, whose first step towards deliberate murder had been made under the influence of the gentlest of all passions, loved his only child with the sweetest extravagancy of a parent's fondness. She inherited his tenderness; but the same disposition which by a sad fatality involved him in the most frightful ruin, and rendered him an object of disgust and horror, blessed her marriage bed, and shed on her fame a mild lustre, which the lapse of time has not yet wholly obscured. It is said that she was ignorant of her mother's dishonour till she read it in a pamphlet which had been incautiously left in a window, and that she was so struck by this accidental discovery that she fell into a fit, and was found senseless, with the book open before her.

This lady, bowed down probably by grief for the premature loss of her son, Lord Russell, a few months before, died on the tenth of May, 1684, at the age of sixty-four, leaving a character perfectly unblemished. She was buried at Cheneys, in Bucks, where, after the death of her lord, who was in 1694 created Duke of Bedford, and survived her till the year 1700, a superb monument was erected to their memory, in which their figures are represented, under a canopy supported by pillars of the Corinthian order. She had seven sons, of whom the first and third, Francis and John, died bachelors; William, the second son, ancestor of the succeeding Dukes, suffered death for high treason in 1683; Edward, Robert, James, and George, married, but no male issue remains from them. She had also four daughters: Anne, who died unmarried; Diana, married first to Sir Greville Verney, of Compton Verney, in Warwickshire, Knight of the Bath, secondly to William, Lord Allington; Catherine, died an infant; and Margaret, became the wife of her kinsman, Edward Russell, Earl of Orford.

Engraved by W. Finden.

KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

OB. 1685.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.

London, Published May 1 1834, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

A Crown has seldom been inherited, perhaps never regained, with fairer prospects than those which marked the actual accession of this Prince to the Throne of his ancestors. Equally welcome to an impoverished and insulted Nobility, to a persecuted Clergy, and to a disappointed People who had long since awaked from their golden dream of the promised effects of successful rebellion, he re-entered his Kingdom almost a stranger, invested with nearly unconditional power, and indebted to mere hope for that love and confidence which his subjects had denied to their experience of his father's virtues. While the despotic conduct of Cromwell produced this desperate disposition at home, his subtlety and firmness had subdued or awed all foreign enemies. Thus the character of the usurper's rule seemed to have blessed, as well as to have forwarded, the restoration; and England was then religious enough to ascribe the whole to a special interference of Providence, and to consider their young King as a chosen instrument of divine favour. Charles availed himself of none of these advantages. He sought not to establish on them either his own greatness, or the happiness of his people, though he loved power, and was not deficient in good will. Most of the qualities of his mind and heart were negative. He did not want penetration, he was not unkind, he was not avaricious, he was not treacherous, he was not obstinate; but then he was

neither wise, generous, prudent, candid, nor resolute. He reigned, therefore, without exciting either love or hatred, and his death provoked neither grief nor joy. Writers have treated his memory with unsparing and unjust severity: they have classed him with wicked Kings, when, in fact, he was only worthless.

He was born on the 29th of May, 1630, and driven into exile and obscurity before he had reached manhood, with few advantages from an education which had been continually interrupted by the public disorders which distracted his family. In the remnant of a Court which surrounded him in his retreat he found little to strengthen moral principles, or to excite strong affections. It was composed of a very few of the grave old servants of the murdered King; of some younger men of birth, who, in spite of the ruin and proscription in which their master and themselves were involved, giving a loose to their natural disposition to jealousy and intrigue, disturbed him by incessant contests for his barren favour; and of others who, having passed their youth amidst the excesses of an army, sought now to forget their cares in the increased indulgence of a libertinism already habitual to them. Charles, equally gay and indolent, threw himself, pardonably enough, into the arms of these good fellows, as they were then called, and industriously avoided the two former classes. There was a member, however, of the first whose wisdom, integrity, and perfectly disinterested affection to him and his family, had found their way to his heart. All parties bowed to the exalted qualities of Sir Edward Hyde: his presence was at all times welcome to his master; and while they were together, Charles remembered that he was a King, and became for the time a statesman.

By this great and good man, afterwards better known as Earl of Clarendon, and Lord Chancellor, were devised the ministerial arrangements, and the scheme of general policy, which accompanied the restoration. While it comprehended some necessarily strong and even severe measures, it was peculiarly marked by forbearance, and even concession. A bill of indemnity was passed, from the benefit of which very few but those who had actually sat in judgment

on the late King were excepted, and another to ratify all decisions in judicial proceedings which had been instituted in the name of the Protector or the Commonwealth. Some rigid dissenters, who had been deeply instrumental to the origin of the late miseries, were admitted into the Privy Council, and some of their leading ministers into the number of Royal chaplains. Episcopacy, which had indeed never been formally abrogated by the preceding spurious authorities, was but silently suffered to slide into its former station, while the presbyterians were, by an express declaration from the King, allowed a certain share in the government of the Church. The folly, however, of endeavouring to satisfy those people, by any conciliation short of an unqualified surrender to them of all power both in Church and State, presently became evident, and it was determined to withhold almost all from those who had resolved to consider a part as no boon. They were excluded, in the year following the restoration, by the Corporation Act, from that universal municipal authority with which the rebellion had invested them; and by the Act of Uniformity, not only from any share in the government of the Church, but from all ecclesiastical benefices. Multitudes relinquished their livings rather than submit to the prescribed qualifications; the country looked on with indifference, if not with complacency; and the Catholics, gratified as much by this legally marked division of the reformed into two classes as by the dispersion of that which was most inimical to them, openly exulted, and began to assume the air of a party in the State. Charles, who it is now certain was, as far as his carelessness and levity could allow, a convert to that faith, became secretly their patron; and at this period, 1662, strengthened their influence by marrying, rather in opposition to the advice of his ministers, Catherine of Portugal—a Princess whose person and manners he entirely disliked, and who seems indeed to have possessed no one recommendation to his choice but the devoted attachment of herself and her family to the Papal religion and Crown.

This union was presently succeeded by important consequences.

By the treaty lately concluded with Portugal, Charles had promised to protect that country against Spain, by which it was considered and assailed as a rebellious province, and had specifically stipulated never to put Dunkirk into the hands of the Spaniards. The charges of the promised succours presently exhausted a treasury which, as much through the parsimony of Parliament as his own improvidence, had not at any time since his accession been sufficiently supplied; and he determined at once to discharge his engagement as to Dunkirk, and to relieve his own necessity, by selling that celebrated fortress to France. From the date of this alienation, the credit of Lord Clarendon, by whose express advice the measure had been adopted, began imperceptibly to decline, not only with the King but with the country. The people considered it, and so indeed it proved, as an overture to a connection of a nature somewhat anomalous with a power against which their jealous prejudices had been constantly directed; and Charles, who since his marriage had become, contrary to general custom, more careless of concealing his voluptuous excesses, had gradually grown weary of the Chancellor's remonstrances against them. A favourite mistress, soon after created Duchess of Cleveland, was now, according to the fashion of France, publicly avowed; became the known dispenser of all smaller appointments; and presently acquired a degree of influence even in the direction of state affairs. She united herself of course to Clarendon's enemies, and gradually formed a faction against him; but the time was not yet ripe for his dismissal, and an absurd and premature attack made on him in Parliament in the shape of an impeachment of High Treason, by the Earl of Bristol, who was the known head of the Catholic party, had the effect rather of postponing than accelerating his fall. The marriage also of his daughter to the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second, from which his enemies had promised themselves great results, which indeed were warded off by his own wisdom and integrity, contributed to maintain him in the King's favour.

In the mean time Charles's Parliament seemed to meet but to enlarge the powers of the Crown and the Church. In 1664 it

relinquished the main security for the independent exercise of its own faculties, by repealing the celebrated Triennial Act, and abandoned its privileges by making that concession, in compliance with the King's demand, personally expressed in his speech at the opening of the session. Shortly after, a bill was passed extending the prohibitions and penalties of the Act of Uniformity from the sectarian clergy to their congregations, which it limited to a very small number, subjecting the whole, in case of excess, to fine and imprisonment, increasing in extent on a repetition of the offence, and on a third even to transportation for seven years. Nothing was denied to the King but money, and of that he is said to have become possessed at this time in a manner by accident. A few years of peace had allowed the nation to direct its attention to trade, and it had at length opened its eyes to the vast natural advantages which it possessed to that end. The Dutch became the objects at once of its envy and its cupidity, and pretences were presently found for an attack on them. The King, who was a naval and military theorist, was easily persuaded to take up the idea; the Duke of York, who longed to distinguish himself in active service, and whom his brother delighted to gratify, seized it with eagerness; and the Parliament, struck by the prospect of enormous spoil which it held forth, sanctioned the measure almost unanimously, and voted nearly twenty-five hundred thousand pounds for the charges of the war for three years, a far larger sum than had ever before been granted to any English King. From this great supply it has been asserted that Charles found the means of relieving his private necessities.

The outline of the story of this war with the United Provinces, which was entirely naval, is well known. The facts which we are most desirous to forget will always be found the most strongly fixed in our recollection, and the humiliating exploit of the Dutch in sailing up the Thames with which it concluded, will outlive in English memory even the admirable bravery by which our countrymen were distinguished in its commencement. The peace of Breda followed, and Clarendon, against whose earnest advice the

war had been undertaken, was presently after sacrificed to the ill-humour of the nation on its failure. All parties joined in the persecution of this admirable minister, and the ingratitude of the King afforded a striking proof of the compatibility of an easy temper with an unfeeling heart. The Chancellor was impeached in Parliament; fled from the impending storm; and his voluntary banishment was confirmed and perpetuated by an act of the legislature. It was long before the chasm produced in Charles's counsels by the loss of him became apparently filled up; at length, after various fluctuations, a Cabinet, unhappily permanent, was formed. It consisted of Sir Thomas Clifford, a man remarkable only for his temerity; of the Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, a person so wholly unprincipled that his great talents served but to render him an object of greater dread; of the Duke of Buckingham, a careless wit, a frantic debauchee, and the chief pander to the King's sensual pleasures; of the Lord Arlington, a pliant parasite, of moderate understanding; and of the Earl, soon after Duke, of Lauderdale, notorious only for a disposition at once insolent and abject, hypocritical and furious. Of these, two were catholics, one a deist, one a bigoted presbyterian, and another completely without either religious or moral impressions. The word "Cabal," formed from the initial letters of their names, and applicable enough to the mysteries of the dark policy, if policy it may be called, which they adopted, was given to them by the country, as a denomination, and they presently became known by it as well in foreign nations as in their own.

It was about this period that the eyes of all Europe began to be fixed on Louis the Fourteenth, whose ambition and spirit of enterprise had been already, even in his early youth, sufficiently developed to excite a general alarm. In 1668, on pretences the most futile, he suddenly seized on the Spanish Netherlands. The United Provinces, thus at his mercy, as promptly besought the protection of England, and the treaty between those two powers and Sweden, known by the name of "the Triple League," was concluded with a celerity new in diplomatic history. The good

will with which Charles seemed to enter into this measure, the general object of which was to curb the growing power of France, was by no means genuine. He secretly longed to establish with Louis, not so much a political alliance, as a private intercourse, and it is more than probable that some opening to that end was already in progress even at the moment that he signed the triple league. The French Monarch, from motives which, though dictated by mere ambition, were far less discreditable, sought the connection with yet greater earnestness. Charles was suffering under extreme personal necessity. Unable perhaps now to divert to his own use any part of the supplies which, in consequence of the late treaty, the Commons had granted with unusual liberality, he is said to have declared to his Cabinet that he would give the office of Lord High Treasurer to any one who could devise the means of relieving him; and Clifford earned the staff, together with a peerage, by suggesting the desperate expedient of shutting up the Exchequer. Such aids, however, were uncertain and transitory, and there was one mode only in which Charles could make a fixed and permanent addition to his personal income. He adopted it; secretly accepted a pension from Louis; and agreed to abandon his allies.

This disgraceful treaty is said to have been concluded with the King's sister, the accomplished Duchess of Orleans, who met him for that purpose at Dover, and remained with him there for a few days, in the year 1671; a visit otherwise of some importance to England, inasmuch as the Duchess brought in her train the beautiful Louise de Querouaille, of whom he instantly became extravagantly enamoured; whom he brought with him to London, and soon after created Duchess of Portsmouth; and whose influence over him, extending too frequently to public affairs, ended but with his life. In the plan of bribery thus adopted by Louis, the members of the Cabal were not forgotten; their friendship was also purchased by exorbitant boons; and Charles and his ministers became in this manner bound to each other by a common interest, to strengthen which he loaded them

simultaneously with hereditary and personal dignities. To maintain, however, the whole of this system of corruption against exterior attacks was to the last degree difficult. Secrecy was necessary to its very existence, and they dreaded nothing so much as the sturdiness of parliamentary inquiries. Repeated prorogations, therefore, succeeded. Hence, and from the contemplation of other features of that epoch, too numerous even to be mentioned in this slight abstract, it has been sometimes inferred that Charles then entertained a hope of rendering his Crown absolute; but he was too indolent and unambitious for the prosecution of such an enterprise, and too discerning to have entrusted it to the management of such agents. England, after various injurious efforts to induce the Dutch to strike the first blow, now declared war against them, and France immediately followed her example: the alliance between those two great powers thus burst unexpectedly on the notice of Europe.

While these greater measures were in progress, several unconnected circumstances of no small interest strongly attracted domestic attention. Of these the most remarkable at the time, though the least important, were the desperate attempt made by Colonel Blood to carry off the Regalia from the Tower, and the unaccountable lenity, nay the positive favour, which he presently after experienced from the King. About the same period the Duke of York declared himself a zealous son of the Church of Rome, an avowal the closely impending consequences of which it is almost needless to refer to. It was now too that Charles, taking the advantage of an intermission of Parliament, by which body a similar intention had been formerly frustrated, suspended by proclamation the penal laws against nonconformists of all descriptions, a concession for which the presbyterians thanked him with great public parade, while the Catholics, for whose advantage it was solely intended, prudently remained silent. The nation, however, took the alarm. The never-dying terrors of Popery to which Mary's persecution had given birth agitated the minds of men with redoubled force. The Duke, who really

possessed most of those qualities which Englishmen habitually admire, became suddenly unpopular; the King himself was now strongly suspected of that attachment to popery which in fact he secretly entertained; faction, which leads or follows the passions and prejudices of the people as may best suit its convenience, awoke suddenly from a slumber of several years, and seizing on this disposition, at length produced, by a long series of iniquitous efforts, the very consequences which it had affected to deprecate.

The bravery and nautical skill displayed by the English and Dutch were incomparable. They were also equal, and therefore, after a series of the most obstinate actions ever fought, it was doubtful on which side lay the balance of advantage or glory. While the two nations were thus distinguishing themselves on their favourite element, Louis entered the United Provinces at the head of a puissant army, and, possessing himself of their most important fortresses almost without resistance, marched to the gates of Amsterdam. The admirable generalship of the young Prince of Orange turned the tide of his successes; and Charles, unable, in spite of the liberality of his new ally, to find the means of carrying on the war, assembled his Parliament, which, instead of furnishing adequate supplies, virtually compelled him to abandon it. Nor was this all. The Commons, jealous of the exertion of Prerogative, which had produced the late declaration of indulgence, and yet more of the licence which it had afforded to the Catholics, remonstrated against it with warmth, and at length not only voted it illegal, but set up a new Test, evidently calculated for their particular restraint. The King, having tampered in vain with the Lords to prevail on them to throw out these bills, at length made a merit of necessity, and with his own hands tore the seal from the declaration. His ministers, the only regular principle of whose conduct had been the circumscription of the limitations of Monarchy, enraged at his vacillations, and not without fear for their own safety, fled from the popular vengeance, against which they found Charles neither able nor willing to protect them. The Cabal was dissolved. Shaftesbury, who held

the Great Seal, shamelessly placed himself at the head of the protestant dissenters of all denominations, who, however they might disagree in particulars, were united in rancorous opposition to the Crown; Clifford resigned the post of Lord Treasurer, and shortly after died; Arlington was more disgraced by the mode in which he abandoned his compeers, than he had been by partaking in their misdeeds; Buckingham, through a variety of treacheries and falsehoods, saved himself with difficulty from impeachment; and Lauderdale withdrew wholly to the superintendence of the affairs of Scotland, which he had, indeed, for several preceding years with great irregularity and tyranny, mismanaged.

The King now, with bitter reluctance, signed a treaty of peace with the States, nor was the convenience of his disgraceful secret connection with his powerful neighbour in any degree impaired by that step. Louis, plunged in wars not less expensive than successful, though unable to furnish the price of Charles's active co-operation, spared with little difficulty the means of purchasing his forbearance; while he, in whose estimation ease was infinitely more valuable than glory, preferred the receipt of small sums which he might apply wholly to his pleasures, to princely subsidies from which he could not occasionally divert portions for his own private use without fear and inconvenience. In the mean time his Parliament, perceiving, without comprehending, his evident leaning towards that country, pressed him, with not less perverseness than policy, to make war on France: when it was now assembled, therefore, it was rather for the sake of experiment on its humour than for the general dispatch of public business; and, as it became more and more uncompliant, so almost every session was rendered shorter than the preceding, and in one instance the prorogations were repeated for nearly two years together. On the enacting of the new Test, which required all public officers openly to receive the sacrament, and to renounce transubstantiation, the Duke of York, against whom it was chiefly aimed, had necessarily resigned all his commissions, and since

the dispersion of the Cabal, the outcry against Popery had been raised with increased vehemence. The Earl of Danby, who had succeeded Clifford as Lord Treasurer, became presently little less pliant than any one of the late ministers, and encouraged the perseverance of the King and the Duke, who were as sincerely united in private affection as in their political views; while Shaftesbury, with his new associates, laboured incessantly to undermine the wretched system, the erection of which was ascribable chiefly to himself. The Parliament was at length assembled, and seemed determined to insist on the King's entering into a league with the Empire, Spain, and the States General, against France, as a condition for its support to any other measures of his government. Charles hesitated, promised, retracted, and delayed, till, having thoroughly excited the jealousy and disgust of all those powers, France, with the lively policy so natural to her, took the advantage, almost literally, of a favourable moment, and suddenly concluded at Nimeguen with the States a separate treaty of peace, the terms of which rendered Louis little less than arbiter of the destinies of Europe.

And now, when it should have seemed that the minds of men of all parties were too full fraught with jealousies and suspicions to receive any addition, burst forth that monstrous mass of iniquity and absurdity so well known by the name of the "Popish Plot," in which the specious fruits of Shaftesbury's invention were in a great measure blighted by the vanity and stupid intemperance of the diabolical Oates. To detail the perjured testimony of this man, and its direful effects, would fill, as it indeed already has filled volumes, and it is grateful to be spared the recital of such a scene of horror. The mysterious and violent death, just at this period, of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a magistrate who had been active against the Papists, and who had taken Oates's original information, in the over-heated state of men's minds was readily ascribed to their malice; and the distinctions and great rewards which Oates had received, tempted a new villain, before unconnected with him, of the name of Bedlow, to fabricate a most

circumstantial narrative of Godfrey's murder, by the Queen's servants, in her Palace, and with her knowledge; which done, he set himself to invent fresh matter to corroborate the weaker parts of Oates's story. Dugdale, another adventurer of the same complection, the man through whose false evidence the Lord Stafford, two years after, perished on the scaffold, now joined this pandæmonium, and the lives of ten innocent persons were presently sacrificed to their perjuries.

In the midst of this ferment the Parliament met, apparently giving full credence to all that had been declared of the conspiracy, and enacted a test yet more directly than the last levelled at the Catholics, from which the Duke of York, with great difficulty, obtained a special exemption. The Commons, in an address to the King, in which however the Lords refused to join, hinted broadly at the Queen's alleged concern in the plot against his life, for Oates had openly accused her as a party. But they went further. Their fury daily increased, and they seemed resolved even to follow the steps of their notorious predecessor the Long Parliament: a bill passed both Houses to regulate the arming and personal service of the militia, and the Commons voted the disbanding of some newly-raised troops, and insulted the King by inserting a clause in their bill for that purpose, directing that the money which they had appropriated to the payment of those soldiers should be paid into the Chamber of London, instead of into the Exchequer; and, finally, on weak, or rather no grounds, impeached Danby of high treason. Charles now assumed a dignified firmness. He negatived the militia bill, being his first exercise of that prerogative since his accession, declaring at the same time that he never would, "even for half an hour," submit to compromise any degree of his constitutional military authority; he ordered that Oates should be placed in strict confinement; and vindicated the innocence of the Queen with unexpected warmth and feeling. "She is a weak woman," said he to Bishop Burnet, "and has some disagreeable humours, but is not capable of a wicked thing; and considering my faulti-

ness towards her in other things, I think it would be horrid in me to abandon her." He consummated these efforts of unusual resolution by dissolving the Parliament, which had now existed for nineteen years.

It was absolutely necessary, however, for him to call another with little delay. During the interval he pardoned Danby, and, finding in the general election sad indications of the temper he was to expect in his new Parliament, determined, in a forlorn hope of conciliation, to request his brother to quit the realm. James, with a magnanimity of which we find frequent instances in his conduct, instantly complied, but he proposed a single condition, which the King as readily allowed. A new actor had of late occasionally appeared on the political scene, the only one of Charles's several natural sons who had reached manhood, and whom he had created Duke of Monmouth, and tenderly loved. Monmouth, weak, brave, generous, and engaging, had, without seeking, obtained extensive popularity; and Shaftesbury, sensible of the value of such an acquisition, had, with little difficulty, gained him over to his faction by persuading him that proofs existed of the secret marriage before his birth of Charles to his mother. The Duke of York now required of the King an explicit, and, so far as might be consistent with his dignity, a public denial of that fact; and, Charles having made on his oath, and recorded in a full Privy Council, a clear declaration of Monmouth's illegitimacy, James retired with dignified resignation to Brussels. The King made yet a further concession. He appointed a new administration, mostly of persons who stood well with the popular party, and dismissed the whole of Danby's friends from the Council, the office of President of which was given to Shaftesbury. The Parliament, however, met in exceeding ill humour, which it evinced even on the threshold by questioning the royal right of interference in the choice of a Speaker. It renewed the prosecution of Danby, in spite of the King's pardon; declared again and again, in various forms, its firm belief that the Papists had combined to take away the life of the King, to place his

brother on the throne, and to extirpate the protestant profession; voted new rewards to the perjured witnesses; and proceeded to the furious measure of a bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession, which passed the Commons by a considerable majority. Its fate even in the House of Lords was doubtful; but at this critical moment a dispute arose between the two Houses on the question whether the Bishops should be allowed to vote on the impending trial of Lord Danby, and the King, as was usual on such occasions of disagreement, prorogued the Parliament, and soon after dissolved it.

During these great heats the persecution—for so it might be now fairly called—of the Romanists proceeded with vigour; and Oates, who, to satisfy the Parliament, had been liberated, became again active, as well as his associates, though he and they had lost all credit in the opinions of reasonable and honest persons of both parties. To complete the disorder of the time, a tumultuary puritanical rebellion broke out in Scotland, where the tyranny of Lauderdale had rendered his administration intolerable. Charles, to gratify at once his favourite son, and to flatter the faction with which he had unfortunately connected himself, gave Monmouth the command of the troops which were dispatched to suppress it. The folly and cowardice of the insurgents rendered him victorious almost without effort, and his conduct towards them after the only action which occurred raised a suspicion that he entertained no unkind opinion of the motives which they professed had excited them to rise. He was therefore coolly received on his return, and the Duke of York, whom the King, on being suddenly seized with alarming illness, had privately sent for immediately after, prevailed with his brother to deprive him of his military appointments and to send him also out of the country. James again went for a short time to Brussels, when it was determined that he should be permitted to reside in Scotland, and Monmouth took this opportunity to solicit the King's leave to come home, which being refused, he returned, as in defiance, and thenceforward plunged with a sort of desperation into all the

guilty measures of those who had advised him to that act of filial disobedience. Great outcries were now raised for a Parliament. St. James's was besieged with petitions to that effect, and counter petitions, in which strife however the latter had the advantage. The City chose two republican sectaries for sheriffs, by an unprecedented mode of election, which it was believed was adopted that convenient juries might be secured to try the Catholics. Some of the King's chief ministers resigned. Shaftesbury, whom Charles had dismissed some time before from the office of President of the Council, and whose seditious practices had never abated while he held it, presented the Duke of York as a Popish recusant to the grand jury of Middlesex in Westminster Hall, at the head of several noblemen and commoners of his faction.

At length the King again called a Parliament. It has been suggested, and with much plausibility, that he took this step at such a moment with no other view than to produce to the impartial and disinterested of his subjects a full exhibition of the mad unreasonableness of the Commons, and the wickedness of the faction by which the majority was led. If this were really his motive he was not disappointed. They entered on their functions with a rage almost unparalleled by any former assembly of demagogues; and, not only in their debates but by their votes, trampled under foot in many circumstances all respect to the law, and to what is called the constitution, as well as to the Crown. A mere enumeration of these instances of their fanaticism at this period would double the extent of this already too protracted sketch of an inglorious and unfortunate reign. Amidst these extravagances, however, they found room for a repetition of their favourite measure, a bill for the exclusion of the Duke, which was moved for within a week after their meeting, and triumphantly carried, but thrown out by a large majority in the House of Lords. An effort was made to appease the fury of the Commons on this disappointment by the immolation of a new victim. It was resolved to bring to immediate trial certain Catholic Peers who had been imprisoned in the Tower ever since Oates made his first decla-

ration of the plot; and William Howard Viscount Stafford, an aged and retired nobleman, was accordingly sacrificed to the prejudices of the time, and the perjuries of the original gang of witnesses. The violence however of the House of Commons daily increased; another rebellion seemed at hand; and the King suddenly dissolved this Parliament, apparently but to gain a little leisure for deliberation under circumstances so critical, since he immediately issued writs for the election of another. Such was the apprehension of some great explosion, as well as of the disposition of the Londoners, that it was summoned to meet at Oxford.

Charles opened the new Parliament with a speech, from the mixture of moderation and sternness in which it was evident that he had at length firmly resolved on the line of conduct which he meant in future to pursue, but the nature of that determination, owing to an intermediate accident, has remained unknown. Few days had passed, in which the Commons had distinguished themselves even by an increased fierceness and virulence, when they thought fit to take up the case of a wretch of the name of Fitzharris, who had been recently apprehended for a libel on the King and his family. This man had applied himself in his prison to the invention of a new plot, which, among a variety of circumstances, involved a design to murder the King, and he declared that the Duke of York was privy to the whole. The news held out a temptation which the faction could not resist. They resolved to take him out of the ordinary course of prosecution for the libel, and to make him their own instrument. They instantly carried up an impeachment against him to the Lords, who refused, on a plea of precedent, to receive it; on which they voted that the Peers had denied them justice, and that all those who concurred in trying the prisoner by an inferior tribunal were betrayers of the liberties of their country. Charles, availing himself once more of a quarrel between the two Houses to do that which at all events he meditated, went down to the Peers suddenly, and with such secrecy that he caused himself to be carried in a

sedan chair, with the crown between his feet, and dissolved the Parliament, the last that was held in his reign. The effect of this bold and wholly unexpected step, to which he had doubtless been encouraged by correct reports of the sense of the country at large, had the air of magical illusion. The faction seemed to be in a moment completely annihilated. Charles was overwhelmed with congratulations and thanks from every part of the nation; the Duke was courted with even more respect than himself; the reality of the plot became generally disbelieved; Churchmen and Papists mixed cordially in society; and sectaries of all classes became the objects of insult and ridicule.

Among the very few positive virtues possessed by Charles, not a spark of magnanimity was to be found. That in this strange and sudden return of power and popularity he should have suffered the guilty persons under whose persecution he had been so long suffering to escape with perfect impunity was too much to be expected from frail humanity, and perhaps inconsistent with the dictates of common sense; but that he should have employed the very men to convict them to whose perjuries so many of the opposite party had fallen innocent victims, is highly disgraceful to his memory. Those wretches now turned on their late patrons; offered themselves to the Crown to become witnesses against them; and were accepted. After the conviction and execution of an inferior but noted firebrand, one Colledge, they accused Shaftesbury, who, according to the usual lot of leaders, escaped, a partial jury returning ignoramus on his indictment. Charles took otherwise the most unreasonable advantages of this season of favour. The seditious had made the city their strong-hold and forlorn hope. After a violent contest with the authorities there, they had repeated their experiment of an irregular election of Sheriffs, and failed. A writ of Quo Warranto was now issued; the City was declared to have forfeited its charter; and, on the humble suit of the corporation, it was restored, with alterations, which in fact, placed the controul of the whole civic power in the hands of the Crown. Such however was the temper of the time,

and such the dread which the nation had conceived of the enormities or the Whigs, for so the political disturbers of the peace of society began about this time to be called, that all the corporations in the kingdom, either voluntarily, or on very slight persuasion, immediately surrendered their charters to be remodelled also as the King might be pleased to direct. While these remarkable occurrences were passing at home, James was busily employed in Scotland in courting the good opinion of the nobility, and in attempting to subdue the obstinacy of the presbyterian covenanters with a severity which served but to render it unconquerable.

And now was suddenly unfolded a genuine plot, minute in its arrangements, fearfully comprehensive in its views, and headed by some of the highest rank in the nation. It had been conceived, and partly planned, by that indefatigable organ of mischief Shaftesbury, who, finding himself unable to persuade some of his confederates to bring it into action so early as he intended, had prudently abandoned it in time, and retired to Amsterdam, where he soon after died. It embraced a civil war; the assassination of the King; and the subversion of the form of government, though the conspirators had bestowed no deliberation on any plan for a new system. This flagitious plot is matter of history so notorious that it would be impertinent to crowd any of its details into this outline. Suffice it therefore to say, for the information of the few who may have witnessed the eulogies rapturously poured on the memories of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney, unconscious of the merits on which they were founded, that those merits consisted solely in the simple fact of their having unhappily lent themselves to become the prime actors in the scene of bloodshed and confusion which was meditated. These, with several of the inferior conspirators, were put to death. The Duke of Monmouth, who had parricidally engaged with them, escaped, probably by the King's connivance.

The short remnant of this Prince's life presents no incidents sufficiently important to be noticed in an abstract so superficial as

this. A very few efforts, planned with caution and sagacity, and executed with vigour and decision, might now have rendered his Crown nearly absolute, an object at which it has been very erroneously supposed that he aimed. In those acts of his reign to which such a tendency may be ascribed, he seems, in fact, to have sought only for intervals of personal ease, without reflecting on past events, or calculating on probable consequences. The disuse of Parliaments, and the signal discomfiture of a most virulent faction, had procured it for him, and he sat down satisfied with those social pleasures which no man more keenly enjoyed, and to which no man could more ably contribute, than himself. A slave to appetites, but almost a stranger to passions, his public life sunk into torpor when unopposed.

King Charles the second died of apoplexy on the sixth of February, 1685, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

Engraved by W. T. Mote.

JAMES SCOT, DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

OB. 1685.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF RILEY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH.

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JAMES SCOT,

DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

The Duke of Monmouth was the natural son of King Charles the Second, by Lucy, daughter of Richard Walters, a gentleman of Haverfordwest, in the county of Pembroke. Lord Clarendon informs us that this lady went to Holland with the sole view of attracting the amorous inclinations of the exiled monarch. She succeeded; and this elegant and unhappy offspring of her folly and disgrace was born at Rotterdam, on the ninth of April, 1649. He was committed to the care of the Lord Crofts, one of the King's intimate companions in his misfortunes and in his pleasures, and was called by that nobleman's surname till his marriage. The Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria, to whom the secret of his birth had been early imparted, became attached to him: he lived for several years in her family, in France; and in July, 1662, she brought him with her to London: on the fourteenth of the following February he was created Baron of Tindale, in the county of Northumberland, Earl of Doncaster, and Duke of Monmouth; and, on the twenty-eighth of March, in the following year, was chosen a Knight of the Garter. Of his education little has been said: his preceptor was a Mr. Thomas Ross, a Scotsman, afterwards the King's librarian, and he was entered a member of

Christ Church, in the University of Oxford, in 1665. In the same year he was appointed Master of the Horse, and soon after married Anne, daughter and sole heir of Francis Scot, Earl of Buccleugh, whose surname he then assumed, and was created Duke of Buccleugh, and constituted Lord Great Chamberlain, and High Admiral of Scotland. On the sixteenth of September, 1668, he was appointed to the command of the Life Guards, and soon after Captain General of the King's forces, Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire, Governor of Hull, and Chief Justice in Eyre of the forests south of Trent; and on the twenty-ninth of April, 1670, was sworn of the Privy Council. At that period we may suppose that he was such as has been thus depicted by the pencil of the lively and acute author of the "Memoires de Grammont."

"Le Duc de Monmouth, fils naturel du Charles II., parut en ce tems là dans la Cour du Roi son père. Ses commencemens ont eu tant d'éclat; son ambition a causé des evenemens si considerables; et les particularités de sa fin tragique sont encore si récentes; qu'il seroit inutile d'employer d'autres traits pour donner une idée de son caractère. Il paroit par-tout tel qu'il étoit dans sa conduite temeraire dans ses enterprises, incertain dans l'exécution, et pitoyable dans ces extrémités, où beaucoup de fermeté doit au moins répondre à la grandeur de l'attentat. Sa figure, et les graces extérieures de sa personne, étoient telles que la nature n'a peut-être jamais rien formé de plus accompli. Son visage étoit tout charmant: s'étoit un visage d'homme, rien de fade, rien d'éffeminé; cependant chaque trait avoit son agrément, et sa délicatesse particulière. Une disposition merveilleuse pour toutes sortes d'exercices, un abord attrayant, un air de grandeur, enfin tous les avantages du corps, parloient pour lui; mais son esprit ne disoit pas un petit mot en sa faveur—il n'avoit de sentimens que ce qu'on lui en inspiroit; et ceux qui d'abord s'insinuèrent dans sa familiarité prirent soin de ne lui en inspirer que de pernicieux. Cet exterieur éblouissant fut ce qui frappa d'abord.

Toutes les bonnes mines de la cour en furent effacées, et toutes les bonnes fortunes à son service. Il fit les plus cheres délices du Roi; mais il fut la terreur universelle des époux et des amants. Cela ne dura pourtant pas: la nature ne lui avoit pas donné tout ce qu'il faut pour s'emparer des cœurs; et le beau sexe s'en apperçut."

That such a man should become an instrument of mischief to himself and to others might be resonably expected, and it happened accordingly. He conducted himself however for some years with propriety and dignity. In 1673 he served in the French army as a volunteer, with the rank of Lieutenant-General, against the Dutch, and gained considerable reputation in the siege and capture of Maestricht; and in 1678 commanded in chief the English troops then sent into Scotland to suppress a wild insurrection of the covenanters, whom he defeated in an action which, in compliment to him, was too proudly called the battle of Bothwell Bridge. In this affair, if there was little room for the acquisition of military fame, abundant scope was afforded for the exercise of clemency, and he shewed it, not only to the vanquished rebels, but to the whole of the Scottish fanatical party, to which, through his influence over the King, he procured concessions beyond their most sanguine expectations. Charles indeed loved him even with an extravagant tenderness, insomuch that, during the period which has been just now glanced over, strong suspicions arose of an intention to assert the legitimacy of his birth, and consequently to declare at a favourable opportunity his right to inherit the Throne. It is scarcely necessary to say that the Duke of York became his enemy, and Monmouth, knowing that he had in that Prince a rival, not only in the splendid hope of succession, but also in his father's affection, unhappily sought to add to his interest with the Crown the incompatible aid of popular favour.

The Earl of Shaftesbury, James's most bitter enemy, and the most deliberately wicked among the public men of his time, determined to flatter this foible, and more than one event

occurred about the time of Monmouth's return from Scotland which enabled him to turn it to the best advantage. Early in the spring of 1679 Charles's ministers, with the view of allaying the public discontents, prevailed on him to send his brother for a while to the continent; and the King, to soothe the chagrin excited by so harsh a command, signed in Council, and swore to, a declaration that he had never been married to Monmouth's mother, nor to any other woman except the Queen. Within few months after, the King was seized by a dangerous illness: James came suddenly to visit him; and, on his Majesty's recovery, was directed to return. After long expostulation, he demanded as the price of his consent, that Monmouth should be obliged also to transport himself, and should be divested of his offices, and even to this hard condition Charles gave way, but not without a private concurrence on the part of Monmouth, which rendered him more amiable than ever in the estimation of his father. Monmouth, however, such are the frauds of Courts, was in fact exasperated to the last degree; but Shaftesbury had prevailed on him to obey by assuring him that the nation would resent the injury that had been offered to him, and that the Parliament, which was shortly expected, would on its meeting address the King to recal and reinstate him. He retired silently to Utrecht, and from that hour became a slave to faction, and an enemy to the State.

The Duke of York was soon permitted to return, and Monmouth, having vainly solicited for the same favour, nevertheless presently followed. Charles refused to see him, and required him again to quit the kingdom, but he treated the order with scorn. He now surrendered himself wholly to the counsels of Shaftesbury, who enlisted him among the fiercest opponents to his father's government, and urged forward his already willing disposition to court the multitude. Under the pretence of amusing himself with hunting and horse races, he travelled through various parts of the kingdom, always met and surrounded by thousands, who, fascinated by his fine person and condescending manners,

seemed to idolise him. A modern historical writer, whose style and method of description, sometimes, it is true, careless, have been the object of much unjust censure, gives the following lively picture of these political peregrinations. "He made a progress through the discontented counties of Lancashire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Cheshire, with a retinue of above an hundred persons, armed, and magnificently accoutred. The Lords Macclesfield, Brandon, Rivers, Colchester, Delamere, Russel, and Grey, Sir Gilbert Gerard, and many others of the high gentry of the Whig party, met him at the head of their tenants in different places, and, as the ancient manners of England were not at that time laid aside, most of those who came to meet him were armed. When he approached a town he quitted his coach, and rode into it on horseback: the nobility and gentry went foremost in a band: at a distance, and single, rode the Duke; and at a distance behind him the servants and tenants. When he entered the towns, those who received him formed themselves into three ranks; the nobility, gentry, and burghers, being placed in the front; the tenants in the next; and the servants in the last. He gave orders for two hundred covers to be prepared wherever he dined. At dinner, two doors were thrown open, that the populace might enter at the one, walk round the table to see their favourite, and give place to those who followed them by going out at the other: at other times he dined in an open tent in the field, that he might the more see and be seen. At Liverpool he even ventured to touch for the King's evil. He entered into all country diversions; and, as he was of wonderful agility, even ran races himself upon foot; and when he had outstripped the swiftest of the racers, he ran again in his boots, and beat them, though running in their shoes. The prizes which he gained during the day he gave away at christenings in the evening. The bells were rung, bonfires made, and volleys of fire-arms discharged, wherever he came: the populace, waving their hats in the air, shouted after him, 'A Monmouth! A Monmouth!' And all promised him their votes in future elections to Parliament.

Information of these things were hourly sent to Court, by the spies who were sent to the country for that purpose; and the King and his brother were the more alarmed because they knew that the royalists had held their consultations for the restoration of the royal family at horse-races and cock-matches, upon which account Cromwell had forbade these diversions."

Men of sobriety and judgment became apprehensive of a new rebellion, and many who had opposed the Court, or had appeared at least indifferent to the course of public measures, now attached themselves firmly to the Crown; and Charles, perhaps in some degree assured by that earnest of security, as well as disarmed by his invariable paternal tenderness, suffered these excesses to pass with impunity. While Monmouth, however, practised these arts in the country, his agents were not less active in London. Shaftesbury had easily persuaded him that he was the head of the party which had adopted him, but which in fact denied him their confidence, and he blindly submitted to be made a tool of republicanism by those whom he had been taught to believe would place him on a throne. Such was his situation, and such his hopes, when in the year 1681 he embarked in the conspiracy of which the lives of Russel and Sidney at length paid the forfeit. It was long in maturing, for Shaftesbury, who had originally been the soul that animated it, fled during the progress of it from the hatred of all honest men to Holland, where he died. Monmouth became now the pupil of the Earl of Essex, whose talents and experience rendered him of great weight among the conspirators; was admitted a member of the council of six, by whom the affairs of the plot were directed; and intrusted to manage for a levy of troops in Scotland, where his lady's great estate had given him considerable power. Some historians have taken pains, but without complete success, to shew that the projected assassination of the King and Duke, which was proved to have been a feature of the conspiracy, was unknown to the leaders. Let us hope, however, for the credit of human nature, that Monmouth at least was

ignorant of it. It was not till the spring of 1683 that their plan seems to have been nearly arranged, when, with the frequent fate of such plans, it was betrayed by a subordinate agent.

Monmouth disappeared on the first rumour of the discovery, and is said to have concealed himself in London. The ministers pretended that they could gain no intelligence of him, but no reward was offered for his apprehension, and it was evident that Charles was anxious to save him. Lord Halifax, perhaps the most sagacious among them, at length detected his retreat; advised him to write submissively to his father; and received his promise to make a full disclosure of the plot; on which he was admitted to the presence of the King and the Duke, and received with kindness. This, which was probably the mere result of Charles's instructions to Halifax, has been ascribed by all our historians, who have taken Burnet's ever doubtful word for it, to a scheme formed by that nobleman to oppose once more the now forlorn and powerless Monmouth to the influence of James. The weakness, not to say meanness, of Monmouth's character now fully displayed itself: he made an ample confession, indeed of more than had been before suspected, and having received a free pardon, retracted the whole. He was then persuaded by Halifax to write to Charles, acknowledging his former declaration; and presently after, goaded probably by the reproaches of some of his party, flew to the Court, and in an agony besought the King to restore to him his letter. Charles, on this occasion, behaved with a magnanimity unusual to him. He put the letter into Monmouth's hands, and then again pressed him with vehement earnestness to abide by the testimony which he had first given. To this grand and simple appeal to his honour as a man, and to his duty as a son and as a subject, he was however insensible. He positively refused, and the King dismissed him with a command to appear no more in his presence. He embarked immediately for Holland, and was received with particular attention by the Prince of Orange, whose designs on the English Crown were already considerably ripened, and whose

Court was therefore the constant place of refuge for the most determined enemies to the family of his consort.

Monmouth, still beloved, and privately cherished by his father, remained there till the death of that Monarch, at the commencement of the year 1685, when the Prince of Orange, desirous to offer as a compliment to James what he could not conveniently have denied to a request, dismissed him hastily from the States. William went even further, for he persuaded the Spanish Ministry, on the Duke's retiring, as he did, to Brussels, to remove him also from thence. Weary of political intrigues which he had not sufficient capacity to direct, and absorbed in a tender attachment which estranged him from his family, and disgraced him in his own country, Monmouth now determined to retire into Germany, and to pass the remainder of his life in privacy with the Lady Harriet Wentworth, who had sacrificed the splendour of a great name, and a rich inheritance, to her guilty love for him. The attainted Earl of Argyll, a man equally fierce and crafty, whom a similarity of fault and penalty had recommended to his intimacy in Flanders, unfortunately induced him however to change that resolution. He exhorted the Duke to land in England, and to throw himself implicitly on the supposed affection of his country, engaging to appear at the same time in the Highlands of Scotland, where indeed he had a most powerful influence. He revived in Monmouth's mind with little difficulty his passion for popularity and military fame, and pressed once more on his imagination the splendid vision of a crown; but the Duke hesitated, for even to him the attempt seemed desperate. A letter from him to Argyll, without a date, but evidently written about this time, was given by Spence, Secretary to the last-named nobleman, to Dr. Welwood, and is published in the Appendix to his Memoirs. It will serve to prove the first disposition of Monmouth's mind as to Argyll's proposal, as well as to shew that, however ill qualified to act in affairs of state or of faction, he was far from deficient in his powers either of thought or expression.

"I received both yours together this morning, and cannot delay you my answer longer than this post, though I am afraid it will not please you so much as I heartily wish it may. I have weighed all your reasons, and every thing that you and my other friends have writ me upon that subject, and have done it with the greatest inclinations to follow your advice, and without prejudice. You may well believe I have had time enough to reflect sufficiently upon our present state, especially since I came hither; but, whatever way I turn my thoughts, I find insuperable difficulties. Pray do not think it the effect of melancholy, for that was never my greatest fault, when I tell you that in these three weeks' retirement in this place I have not only looked back but forward; and the more I consider our present circumstances I think them still the more desperate, unless some unforeseen accident fall out which I cannot divine or hope for" (here several lines in cypher). "Judge then what we are to expect in case we should venture upon any such attempt at this time. It is to me a vain argument that our enemies are scarce yet well settled, when you consider that fear in some, and ambition in others, have brought them to comply; and that the Parliament, being for the most part made up of members that formerly run our enemies down, they will be ready to make their peace as soon as they can, rather than hazard themselves upon an uncertain bottom. I give you but hints of what, if I had time, I would write you at more length; but that I may not seem obstinate in my own judgment, or neglect the advice of my friends, I will meet you at the time and place appointed: but for God's sake think in the mean time of the improbabilities that lie naturally in our way, and let us not by struggling with our chains make them straiter and heavier. For my part, I'll run the hazard of being thought any thing rather than a rash inconsiderate man; and, to tell you my thoughts without disguise, I am now so much in love with a retired life that I am never like to be fond of making a bustle

in the world again. I have much more to say, but the post cannot stay, and I refer the rest till meeting, being

"Entirely yours."

Argyll, however, unhappily prevailed. Without troops, or arms, or money, they agreed on an enterprise without a plausible pretext, and almost without a distinct object. The Earl, it is true, had the address to obtain from a rich widow in Holland the loan of ten thousand pounds; Monmouth raised perhaps nearly an equal sum by pawning his jewels; and each of them purchased three vessels and some weapons. They enlisted into their project several of the subordinate companions of their late treasons, who were scattered in Germany; and, on the tenth of June, 1685, Argyll having previously presented himself in Scotland, Monmouth landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire.

His conduct on his arrival was such as might have been expected from a man of his character, and his reception was but the proper and natural result of the wildness of his expedition. His manifesto promised imaginary liberties and immunities not only subversive of the whole political establishment of England, but utterly inconsistent with any modern principles of civil polity, or even of social order. The spirit and the terms in which it was composed were such as could not fail to fire the passions of the vulgar, and to disgust or terrify the superior orders. Every sort of obloquy was lavished on James, whom he termed "the Duke of York;" called him tyrant, traitor, murderer, popish usurper, and denounced him as the author of the violent deaths of the Earl of Essex, and Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and of the fire of London, and accused him even of having poisoned the King, his brother. The common people joined him in great numbers, insomuch that within very few days he had six thousand regularly embodied, and was followed by multitudes, eager to join him, for whom he could not furnish arms: but none of the nobles or gentry of the country repaired to his standard, nor had he with

him a single person of distinction, except the Lord Grey, and Fraser of Saltoun, a Scottish chief, both of whom had accompanied him in his voyage. To them he gave the command of his horse, but the former presently disgraced himself by palpable cowardice, and the latter was obliged to abandon his charge, through the odium he had provoked by killing a gentleman of the county in cold blood. For several days no force appeared to resist him, except the militia of the county, amounting to four thousand men, led by the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Albemarle, a man of no consideration but for his rank; but Monmouth neglected to avail himself of the superiority of his numbers, and, instead of hazarding a sudden attack on them, with little chance of failure, lost his time in idle endeavours to form his little army to some degree of discipline. He took the town of Bridport however by storm, and marched slowly to Taunton, where to the astonishment and disgust of many who were secretly devoted to his cause, he had the folly to suffer himself to be proclaimed King, and in that character declared Albemarle a traitor for remaining in arms against him, and pronounced the dissolution of the Parliament, which was then sitting.

He proceeded by Bristol and Bath, in both which cities he had vainly hoped to have been cordially received, to Frome, where he was met by the fearful news that Argyll was a prisoner; that three thousand regular soldiers, with thirty pieces of cannon, were advancing by forced marches to meet him, under the command of Lord Feversham; that the Prince of Orange had sent the British regiments in his service to the aid of James's troops; and that the Parliament had voted four hundred thousand pounds for the suppression of the rebellion, amidst the warmest professions of loyalty. He now retreated to Bridgwater, where he received an express from Danvers, an old republican officer, who had undertaken to forward his design by raising an insurrection in London. This person, glad to find an excuse for basely deserting a falling cause, now reproached him for assuming the title of King,

saying that he, Danvers, was "no longer obliged to keep faith with one who had broken it with him." Pursued by the King's troops, who had advanced within three miles of him, and halted on a plain called Sedgemoor, and with no choice but to hazard an action, or surrender disgracefully, Monmouth resolved to surprise them in the night of the fifth of July. Friendship and delicacy of feeling still induced him to intrust the command of his horse to Grey, whom he ordered to send a detachment to burn a village in which Feversham's cavalry was posted, and at the same time to fall on the infantry in their rear, while the Duke, who reserved for himself the command of his foot, should attack them in front. Grey's attempt, if he made it, wholly failed, and he once more fled, as it should seem unnecessarily, leaving his horse in utter disorder. Monmouth, in spite of unforeseen obstacles presented by the nature of the ground, and of the treachery of one of his officers, who deserted with the news of his approach, made a furious onset with his infantry, and the King's troops were for a short interval in a disorder, of which the Duke, in his fondness, as it is said, for the exactness of military motions, neglected to take the advantage. They rallied, and in a moment regularity and obedience were totally lost among the rebels, who continued however to maintain with the most unexampled fury for three hours a resistance equally hopeless and fearless, and in which, as an historical writer well observes, "every man fought as if the fate of the battle depended on his single arm, and not on the army to which he belonged."

It is painful to be obliged to confess that to him whose cause had called forth these prodigies of valour, no share of the wild glory of the day was due. The tumultuous action was not yet ended when Monmouth, without a wound, left the field, and having galloped for twenty miles, he knew not whither, quitted his horse, near Ringwood, in Dorsetshire, and, exchanging dresses with a shepherd, wandered for three days in woods and bye lanes, friendless, and hopeless, yet instinctively seeking for that safety

which it was impossible that he should attain. The shepherd, in whose possession the Duke's clothes were discovered, was presently interrogated by some of the neighbouring loyalists; the melancholy track of the illustrious fugitive was followed by dogs; and he was thus found, lying in a ditch, covered with fern. In his pocket were peas, which he had gathered to support nature, and his rich diamond badge of the Garter. When he was discovered and accosted, such was his dejection that he wept and fainted. The love of life seemed to absorb in him all other feelings. His first request was to be allowed to write to the Queen, the Queen Dowager, and Lord Feversham, intreating them to intercede with the King to spare it. He wrote also to James, beseeching to be admitted to his presence, and stating that he had a secret of the utmost importance to impart. He was led a prisoner to London, where he arrived on the thirteenth of July, and on the following day was taken by water from the Tower to Whitehall, were he was allowed to speak with the King. It is said (for how can we hope for any authentic report of a conference between two highly prejudiced parties, to which there was no other witness?) that Monmouth having begged his life in utter agony and humiliation of spirit, offered to become a Catholic; that he had no secret to communicate; that James required him to sign a declaration that the late King had assured him that he was never married to his mother, which he obeyed: and to name all his accomplices in the late treason, which he refused; that James then loaded him with reproaches; and that the Duke, transported with anger, quitted his presence with manly fortitude and contempt. On this memorable interview, which has furnished ground for so much censure on the memory of James, it is but fair to recollect that it was not required by the King, but granted at Monmouth's earnest solicitation; nor should I take leave of this part of the present subject without referring to a very curious anecdote relative to it which, as it may be found in the

memoir of Robert, second Earl of Sunderland, in this work, is omitted in this place.

An order was issued for his execution on the following day, and in the terrible interval he thrice supplicated for mercy; on the fifteenth however he was led to execution. He summoned sufficient resolution to die with decent firmness, if not with magnanimity. In his previous communications with the Bishops Kenn and Turner, and with Dr. Tennison, he betrayed marks of superstition and fanaticism of which he had not been before suspected. He could not be brought to acknowledge the justice of their censure on his connection with the Lady Harriet Wentworth, because, as he said, he had prayed to God that if his affection for her were sinful it might cease, and as it had not ceased, he concluded therefore that it was pleasing to God. He had earnestly sought for a respite of one day, on the credit of an idle prognostication that if he could outlive that day his life would be long and happy; and after his death, spells against danger, and other fantastic and mystical papers were found on his person. The final scene was to the last degree dreadful. The sole consideration that seemed to interrupt his composure arose from his apprehension that the executioner might perform his task unskilfully. He gave the man half the intended reward, and told him that the other moiety must be earned by his dexterity. He touched the edge of the axe, and complained that it was not sharp. The fatal moment at length arrived, when the executioner struck him on the shoulder, and the sufferer turned, and looked him in the face. After two more blows, he threw down the axe, and said he could go no further, when the threats of the sheriffs prevailed with him, and at two other strokes he finished the sad operation.

The unfortunate Monmouth had by his Duchess four sons, of whom the eldest and youngest, Charles and Francis, died in infancy. James, the second son, inherited the Dukedom of

Buccleugh from his mother, and from him is descended the nobleman who now enjoys that title; and Henry, the third, was created Earl of Deloraine, a dignity become of late years extinct. They had also two daughters, Charlotte and Anne, who died infants. The Duke left, too, four illegitimate children, two sons and two daughters, by Eleanor, a daughter of Sir Robert Needham, Knt.

Engraved by W.T. Mote.

HENRY BENNET, EARL OF ARLINGTON.

OB. 1685.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE LORD DE CLIFFORD.

London, Published December 1,1836, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

HENRY BENNET,

EARL OF ARLINGTON.

PERHAPS no theme is more inauspicious to the pen of the biographer than the life of a mere statesman. If he confine himself to facts, he will produce but an enlarged gazette; if he presume to treat of motives, a dull romance. He finds the usual enlargement of intelligence strangely inverted, for the nearer the period of the existence of his subject to that of himself, the greater will be his difficulties, and the more barren his story. The reason for this is plain enough—when the frank and simple and visible exercise of that absolute power of government which, in spite of our dreams of liberty, must always exist in some shape or other, was exchanged, after the termination of the grand rebellion, for the complicated and concealed machinery of modern rule, the character of the statesman by trade became involved in impenetrable obscurity. The very records of the Cabinet itself, were they accessible, would furnish but an outline of his story. The reign of Charles the Second created impediments to information peculiar to itself. The levities, as well as the profligacy of his Court, insinuated themselves into the measures of government. His ministers felt ashamed; and, as men dread ridicule more than serious reproach, redoubled their pains to wrap themselves in mystery. These slight remarks may perhaps be admitted in excuse for the dulness of this, and some other memoirs of the same class.

Henry Bennet was descended from a Berkshire family, of the

order of decent gentry, two brothers of which migrated to London towards the close of the sixteenth century, and acquired considerable wealth in commercial pursuits, and otherwise. From the elder of these came a Sir John Bennet, who was seated at Dawley, in Middlesex, and married Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Crofts, of Saxham in Norfolk, and Henry was their second son. He was born in the year 1618, and most carefully instructed at home, not only in every branch of what is distinctly called learning, but in all the refinements which form the manners of a complete gentleman. He was removed, therefore, to the University of Oxford somewhat later in his youth than was at that time usual, rather to comply with the custom than for any additional advantages of education, and entered a student of Christ-church, where he took his degrees of bachelor and master of arts, and added to his reputation as a scholar that of a poet, many just proofs of which, chiefly in his own language, are extant in the academical collections of that time. He remained so long in the University, that it seems reasonable to suppose that he intended to embrace one of the learned professions, but of this we have no intelligence. He was resident there when the King arrived at Oxford in the spring of 1644, and his introduction at the Court, which was then for a considerable time established in that city, fixed his future destination. He enrolled himself in the royal military service as a volunteer, and attracted soon after the notice of George Lord Digby, then Secretary of State, and was appointed his under secretary. His attention, which is said to have been exemplary, to the duties of that office, did not extinguish in him the desire of distinction as a soldier. He was seldom absent from the field in any affair which occurred within a moderate distance from Oxford, and received, in a skirmish at Andover, several severe wounds, of which he lay long dangerously ill. The black patch on his face, which appears in all portraits of him, and is I believe nowhere particularly accounted for, may be probably ascribed to one of those hurts, which perhaps left a disgusting scar.

In the general dispersion of the royalists he retired to France, and passed soon after a considerable time in Germany and in Italy. There can be little doubt that these excursions were undertaken in the service of the royal family, with every branch of which he appears to have had previously considerable credit. Be this as it may, he was recalled to Paris in 1649, to assume the office of secretary to James, Duke of York, in which he acquitted himself with a sagacity and fidelity which fixed him firmly in the King's confidence and esteem. Charles concludes a curious string of instructions to his brother, of the thirteenth of July, 1654, which are perhaps nowhere to be found but in a valuable and little known printed collection, entitled "Miscellanea Aulica," with these words—"You must be very kind to Harry Bennet, and communicate freely with him: for as you are sure that he is full of duty and integrity to you, so I must tell you that I shall trust him more than any other about you, and cause him to be instructed at large in those businesses of mine when I cannot particularly write to you myself." The same volume contains several agreeable familiar letters from the King to Bennet, proving not only the confidence, but the perfect intimacy in which he was held by Charles. Frequent allusions are made in them to the King's views with respect to Spain, which it is evident had been the subject of much unreserved consultation between them; and at length, in 1658, Charles having received some favourable overtures from that Court, sent him to Madrid in the public character of his Ambassador, and on that occasion knighted him. Lord Clarendon expressly states that he was appointed to this mission at the recommendation of his former principal, Lord Digby, now Earl of Bristol, and, in the earnestness to ascribe it solely to the King's favour, the accuracy of the great historian's report has been somewhat presumptuously questioned by a later writer, chiefly because a quarrel about that time occurred between Bristol and Bennet.

It is needless to agitate that question, but the subject of their

difference certainly deserves some notice. Bennet had secretly become a convert to the Church of Rome, and whether from conscience or from policy, had just then earnestly endeavoured to persuade Charles to make a public profession of that faith. Bristol, though a declared Catholic, was of opinion that such a step would be ruinous to the King's affairs. Great bitterness arose between them; and though Bennet's arguments failed to influence the King on that particular point, he succeeded in thwarting the Earl, who piqued himself on an extensive knowledge of Spanish politics, on all others connected with his own negotiations at that Court. It is agreed however, on all hands, that he acquitted himself in them wisely and faithfully. He remained there on his embassy for a short time after the restoration, when the King recalled him, and gave him the office of Keeper of the Privy Purse. In the daily and easy access to his master which that situation afforded him, his favour increased rapidly. The liveliness of his talents and temper, polished by the most perfect good manners, enchanted a Prince who seemed to live but to be pleased. Besides, as Burnet informs us, "he had the art of observing the King's humour, and managing it, beyond all the men of that time." "His Majesty received him," says Lord Clarendon, "into great familiarity, and into the nightly meetings," (meaning the King's jovial evening parties at Lady Castlemain's apartments,) "in which he filled a principal place, to all intents and purposes." It is evident that he had already excited the jealousy of that great man, who complains, in a tone of regret perhaps unworthy of his own exalted character, of Bennet's disrespect towards him, which appears however to have consisted at that time merely in his addressing himself to the King on some public affairs, through another medium than that of the Chancellor.

On the second of October, 1662, he was appointed a Secretary of State. Charles, in his anxiety to place him in that office, tempted Sir Edward Nicholas to resign it by a gift of twenty

thousand pounds. Clarendon's apprehensions of him had been well founded. It was presently seen that Bennet's conduct, not only as a man but as a minister, had no guide but the will of the King, whose mind, little less deficient in principle than in energy, was incapable of weighing fairly this abject submission, against the unbending and sometimes opposing rectitude of the Chancellor. His honest censures became but the more irksome to Charles by comparison with Bennet's pliancy, and the new Secretary had the satisfaction to see Clarendon's credit sink gradually under the weight merely of the King's disgust, without incurring much reproach on his own part by any of those acts of open enmity or secret artifice which are commonly used to accomplish the overthrow of a political antagonist. The Chancellor was disgraced, and Bennet slid, as it were, into the chief direction of public affairs, more particularly with regard to foreign relations. On the fourteenth of March, 1663, O. S., Charles advanced him to the Peerage, by the title of Baron Arlington, taken, as Clarendon, in another moment of angry condescension, truly says, from a little farm in a village of that name in Middlesex, which had once belonged to his father, but was then in the possession of another person; so totally destitute was he at that time of landed property.

The administration, while he stood alone at the head of it, was respectable. It is true that we find in it no bold measures, except the first Dutch war, of which, probably with the hope of regaining the friendship of the Duke of York, which he had nearly lost, he was the chief adviser; but it seems to have been a calm even course of service, vigilant, vigorous, and of unsuspected fidelity. Thus his political reputation remained unsullied, till a partiality to certain individuals, and yet more to the wild schemes of government proposed by some of them, induced Charles to form in 1670 that heterogeneous Cabinet which obtained the appellation of "the Cabal," so frequently mentioned elsewhere in these pages, Arlington, however conscious that they meditated the overthrow

of that plan of policy under which he had hitherto acted, consented without hesitation to join them; to sacrifice the Triple Alliance, which had been the chief credit of his ministry, and to connive at the base measure of shutting up the exchequer; to advance the popish interest, which he had of late years uniformly decried; and to place his country at the feet of France. The King rewarded him amply for these inexcusable concessions: on the twenty-second of April, 1672, the dignities of Viscount Thetford, and Earl of Arlington, were conferred on him, with remainder to his issue, generally; and on the fifteenth of the following June, he was elected a Knight of the Garter. Those honours however seem to have been granted to him just at that period for the decoration of an embassy on which he was sent, with the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Halifax, to Utrecht, one week after he received the Garter, under the pretence, for such the event seemed to prove it, of saving by mediation the Provinces from the utter ruin with which they were then threatened by the arms of France. There they met, not only his ministers with whom they were appointed to confer, but Louis himself. In this treaty Arlington appears to have acted with a selfish caution which rendered him at least useless, and to have studied only to throw the weight of responsibility on the giddy Buckingham; and the mission had no other important consequence than to afford a new proof to the Dutch, of Charles's exclusive attachment to the French interests.

Arlington was indeed already terrified by the extravagant measures of the Cabal, but had not the courage nor principle to withdraw himself from it. He secretly prevailed on Croissy, the French ambassador in London, not only to represent to his master that his influence in England would be ruined by the violence of the ministry, but to remonstrate on that head with Charles himself, and intrigued in every other mode that he could devise to weaken and disunite it. Charles presently gave way, and the Cabal, which was equally odious to the Parliament and the people, and

had been held together solely by the countenance of the Crown, fell to pieces, and was soon forgotten. To appease the country, the King consented to the enactment of a new Test, peculiarly embarrassing to the Catholics, on which the Duke of York resigned all his commissions, and imbibed the most bitter hatred against Arlington, to whose tergiversations he imputed this sudden change. The Duke "looked on him," says Burnet, "as a pitiful coward, who would forsake and betray anything rather than run any danger himself." The Commons addressed Charles to remove the Dukes of Buckingham and Lauderdale, two of the five who had formed the Cabal, from all their employments, and Buckingham, who descended on this occasion to attempt to justify himself personally at the bar of that House, threw all the blame of their measures on the Secretary. Arlington therefore, in his turn, requested to be heard by the Commons, and defended himself in a long and acute speech. He was however impeached "of treasonable and other crimes of high misdemeanor," most of the articles charging him with various endeavours to introduce Popery, of which in fact he was wholly innocent. The question of his impeachment was thrown out by a very small majority, and he held yet for a few months the office of Secretary of State, in which interval he redeemed some small portion of reputation by persuading the King, sorely against his will, to sign a treaty of peace with the Dutch.

He soon after resigned; and Charles, prompted by some remnant of ancient friendship, or by fear of the disclosure of disgraceful secrets, not only allowed him to accept, an abuse very common at that time, a present of six thousand pounds from his successor, but, on the eleventh of September, 1674, placed him in the dignified station of Lord Chamberlain of the Household. The King coupled with that act of grace a public declaration that the appointment was bestowed "in recompence of his long and faithful services, and particularly for his having discharged the office of principal Secretary of State for twelve years, to his Majesty's

great satisfaction." Such indeed was Arlington's confidence in the influence which he thought he still retained over Charles, that he had encouraged the hope even of obtaining the place of Lord Treasurer when his friend Clifford, on the downfall of the Cabal, was forced to resign it; and, on Danby's nomination to that post, he conceived a bitter hatred to that nobleman, and eagerly seized all future opportunities to injure him. The King however showed no disposition to employ him further in state affairs: yet such, from long habit, was his passion for them, that, on the discovery, in the spring of 1675, of an intrigue between some disaffected English and the Dutch government for an invasion of England, he succeeded in convincing Charles that he could, by a personal intercourse with the young Prince of Orange, bring him to a perfect reliance on his Majesty, and an agreement in his designs. He went to Holland accordingly with a commission perfectly secret, and associated with the Earl of Ossory, who seems to have been included in it, because his lady and the Countess of Arlington, who were sisters, were descendants of the House of Nassau. His expedition was almost completely fruitless. He seems to have been unapprised of the cold and reserved temper of William, on whom he presently discovered that all political or courtly artifices would be thrown away. He afterwards, as Burnet informs us, "talked to him in the style of a governor, and seemed to presume too much on his youth, and on his want of experience; but, instead of prevailing on the Prince, he lost him so entirely, that all his endeavours afterwards could never beget any confidence in him: so he came back; and reckoned this his last essay, which succeeding so ill, he ever after that withdrew from all business."

Burnet adds that "he made himself easy to the King, who continued to be still very kind to him." The same selfish and careless good humour which induced Charles to retain about his person a man whom he no longer valued, permitted him also to relish the ridicule with which his courtiers now frequently enter-

tained him at Arlington's expense. Echard, a veracious writer, tells us that "as his credit declined, so several persons at Court took the liberty to act and mimic his person and behaviour, as had been formerly done against the Lord Chancellor Clarendon;" (and by no one more frequently than by Bennet himself) "and it became a common jest for some courtier to put a black patch upon his nose, and strut about with a white staff in his hand, in order to make the King merry." The same author adds this remarkable anecdote—"Colonel Richard Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel, having been some time absent from the Court, upon his return found the Earl of Arlington's credit in a low condition; and, seeing him one day acted by a person with a patch and a staff, he took occasion to expostulate this matter with the King, with whom he was very familiar, remonstrating how hard it was that poor Harry Bennet should be thus used, after he had so long and faithfully served his Majesty, and followed him every where in his exile. The King hereupon began to complain too, declaring what cause he had to be dissatisfied with Harry Bennet's conduct, who had of late behaved himself after a strange manner; for, not content to come to prayers, as others did, he must be constant at sacraments too. 'Why,' says Talbot, 'does not your Majesty do the very same thing?' 'God's fish,' replied the King with some heat, 'I hope there is a difference between Harry Bennet and me.'" The sense of this tale seems to be that Charles, conscious that it was well known to Talbot that both himself and Arlington were concealed Catholics, meant to complain that the latter gratuitously and unnecessarily practised to the utmost extent that impious hypocrisy which his own peculiar situation compelled him unwillingly to use. Yet this very story has been most absurdly cited to prove that Arlington was a sincere protestant.

Charles, at his death, left him in the post of Lord Chamberlain; and James, whose favour however he had long totally lost, did not remove him from it. Indeed he survived the accession of that Prince but for a few months, for he died on the twenty-eighth

of July, 1685, and was buried at Euston, in Suffolk. He married Isabella, daughter of Lewis de Nassau, Lord of Beverwaert, in the United Provinces, who was son of Maurice, Prince of Orange, and left by her an only child, Isabella, who in 1672 became the wife of Henry Fitzroy, (a natural son of Charles the second, by Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland,) who was thereon created Earl of Euston, and was soon after advanced to the title of Duke of Grafton, in whose heir male, the present Duke, the several dignities held by Lord Arlington are, in virtue of their special limitation to his heirs general, now vested.

Engraved by W.T.Mote.

FRANCIS NORTH, LORD GUILDFORD.

OB. 1685.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF RILEY IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF GUILDFORD.

FRANCIS NORTH,

FIRST LORD GUILDFORD.

FRANCIS NORTH, the lineal ancestor of the Earls of Guildford, was the third son of Dudley, fourth Lord North, by his wife Anne, daughter and coheir to Sir Charles Montague, a younger brother to Henry Earl of Manchester. It appears from circumstances which it is needless to recite, that he was born in or about the year 1638. He was placed at a very early age in a school then of considerable fame, at Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, and removed from thence to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was admitted a fellow commoner on the eighth of June, 1653. He had been from his infancy designed for the profession of the law, and, on quitting the University, was entered of the Middle Temple, where a most happy disposition, in which good-nature, resolution and prudence, seem to have been justly blended, enabled him to distinguish himself no less by the elegance and innocency of his relaxations than by the industry and success of his studies. He became there, says Roger North, in his lively and entertaining notices of his own family, "not only a good lawyer, but a good historian, politician, mathematician, natural philosopher, and, I must add, musician, in perfection." He appeared at the bar, and presently acquired extensive practice, under the especial patronage of Sir Jeffery Palmer, then Attorney General, by whom he was soon after named to argue for the Crown on a writ of error brought by the House of Commons in the case of Mr. Holles, one of the well known five members who

had been convicted in the preceding reign of a riot in that House. In this remarkable cause he acquitted himself with such ability, and gave such proofs of a firm devotion to monarchical government, in which indeed he had been bred from his cradle, that he was immediately appointed one of the King's Counsel. He soon after obtained the office of Chief Justice of Chester, and on the twenty-third of May, 1671, on which day he was knighted, that of Solicitor General; was elected to serve in Parliament for the borough of King's Lynn, in Norfolk; in 1673 succeeded Sir Heneage Finch in the post of Attorney General, and in the beginning of Hilary Term in the succeeding year was constituted Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

The King, who had long looked around him in vain for a counsellor at once wise and honest, found at length such a one in Sir Francis North. There is reason to believe that Charles had sought his advice long before he called him publicly to his councils; had weighed his talents, and considered his political principles; and it is agreeable to find a Prince so frequently, and indeed so justly, taxed with carelessness and levity in his notions of government, voluntarily adopting, for North had no party friends, a man who had ever avowed that the sole foundation of good government was the law of the land. Professing that maxim, he was called in 1679 to the Privy Council, then newly constituted by Charles on a plan equally wise and popular, and on the twentieth of December, 1682, on the death of the Chancellor Earl of Nottingham, received the Great Seal with the style of Lord Keeper. In the following year, on the twenty-seventh of September, he was advanced to the peerage by the title of Lord Guildford.

A man of his disposition and opinions could scarcely have become a minister in a time more unpropitious to himself. The few years which remained of the reign of Charles were distinguished by the Bill of Exclusion, and the Popish and Protestant plots; by the utmost bitterness of turbulent factions, and the most unprincipled devices of party intrigue: to these he had no weapons to oppose but simple wisdom and integrity. The

statesmen with whom he was doomed to act were, to a man, selfish and faithless, and the King, indolent and unsteady, soon grew weary of listening to counsels which they seldom failed to contradict. Surrounded by these difficulties, the Lord Keeper pursued the course of his duty with firmness, as well as with the caution which they had rendered necessary. He seems to have retained his high station with the sole view of serving his country, and declared shortly before his death, that "he had not enjoyed one easy and contented minute since he had the Seal;" yet his keeping it has been ascribed to mercenary views. "North," says the slanderous Burnet, "was a crafty and designing man. He had no mind to part with the Great Seal, and yet he saw he could not hold it without an entire compliance with the pleasure of the Court." In the memoirs however of that profligate Court, numerous as they are, not a breath of censure on his conduct, save from that Bishop, is to be found. His political creed has been set forth by his brother Roger North, with much perspicuity; and I will insert the passage which comprises it, not more for its immmediate relation to the objects of this sketch, than for the importance of its doctrines to all systems which affect to be monarchical, in all times, and perhaps more particularly in the time in which we live.

"His Lordship," says Roger North, "scorned the vulgar and fanatic calumnies that he was a prerogative man, and laboured to set up arbitrary power; but, notwithstanding all that, he laboured as much as he could to set up the just prerogatives of the Crown, which were well known to the law, and to the lawyers, although it had been the fashion, as well in Westminster Hall as at St. Stephen's, to batter the Prerogative. He has said that "a man could not be a good lawyer and honest, but he must be a prerogative man," so plain were the law books in these cases. He was sincerely of opinion that the Crown wanted power by law, so far was it from exceeding. It was absolutely necessary that the government should have a due power to keep the peace, without trespassing upon the rights of any one: and, if it had not such

power rightfully, either it would assume and exercise powers that were wrongful, and then what bounds? or else sedition would prevail, and, pulling down one, set up another government entirely wrongful, to which all law and truth being opposite, consequently such a government would be opposite to them, and meditate no security but actual force; and what can the people, that are always designing to diminish the just powers of the Crown, expect but that the Crown should always design to repair itself by a provision of force? Nothing is so sure, as that government will be supported by means either rightful or wrongful: if subjects will not have the one, they shall have the other.

"These considerations made his Lordship ever set himself against the republicans, and resist their intended encroachments upon the Crown. He thought the taking away of the tenures a desperate wound to the liberties of the people of England, and must by easy consequence procure the establishment of an army; for when the legal dependence of the monarchy and the country upon each other is dissolved, what must succeed but force? He used often to inveigh against those who perpetually projected to weaken the monarchy, as a set of men either corrupt and false-hearted, or else short-sighted and ignorant. The yet living history of the late times concurred; for what did the people get by robbing the Crown of the power to dissolve the Parliament, and of the militia? There cannot be a more false illusion than it is to suppose that what power the Crown lost was so much liberty gained to the people; and yet in these times a broad-spread party went about with such syren songs to engage the community to join in their project of divesting the King of his commissions of the peace and lieutenancy, &c. all which his Lordship saw plainly, and detested. I have heard him say that if the people knew what miseries would be the consequence of those men having their wills, they would stone them, as they would mad dogs, in the street. It may be esteemed one of his Lordship's chief felicities that his real principles of honour and probity exactly squared with his engagements and services at Court. He never had the

remorse to have in the least dis-served his country by serving the Crown; and the discerning Court, and more discerning King, saw plainly that he acted from the bottom of his heart, and did nothing servile or for flattery, that any way contradicted the series of his conduct and advice; which is more than can be truly said of any of the preferment-hunters of that, or almost any time."

His carriage towards the ministers of his time was so wide of confidence, that he could scarcely have been said to maintain an ordinary intimacy with any of them, except Secretary Jenkins, who, like himself, was honest, and indefatigable in the public service: yet, such is the charm of probity, that they not only treated him with profound deference and respect, but forbore to assail him with those petty arts and intrigues by which they constantly endeavoured to supplant each other. Jefferies alone, of whose dislike it was honourable to be the object, was his open and professed enemy, but the attacks of that savage were aimed chiefly at his judicial character. The acute and unprincipled Sunderland was his chief political foe, but his timid malice evaporated in ridiculous fables invented to prejudice the moral fame of his adversary, who well knew him, and therefore despised and loathed him. Burnet, whose report here is not wholly unsupported by collateral testimony, informs us that the Earl of Nottingham, son to Lord Guildford's predecessor, "hated him because he had endeavoured to detract from his father's memory, and had got together so many instances of his ill administration of justice that he exposed him severely for it:" and would persuade us that the Lord Keeper sunk under the disgrace of these disclosures. "It was believed," says Burnet, "that this gave the crisis to the uneasiness and distraction of mind he was labouring under. He languished some time and died, despised and ill thought of by the whole nation." The concluding assertion is utterly false; but such are the follies and absurdities, and such the abandonments of truth and charity, into which men, even of great talents, and of high moral and pious pretensions, may be led by an unreasonable heat of party spirit.

Charles, to the last hour of his life, held this excellent person in unabated favour, and James, for decency's sake, continued him in his high office, but knew not how to value his worth. In the very commencement of that Prince's reign he experienced a cruel affront. He had composed, with singular wisdom and eloquence, a speech on the general state of public affairs, to be delivered, according to the custom, by himself, at the opening of the Parliament, but, when he presented it in the Cabinet Council for the King's approbation, he was informed that it was altogether unnecessary; that his Majesty had determined to address the Parliament solely from his own mouth, and that his speech was already prepared. Numerous mortifications followed, and James, fraught with new and frantic plans of government, in which he was conscious that Guildford would never join, showed no inclination to protect him. His health suddenly declined. "The death," says Roger North, of King Charles the second; the managing in order to the coronation, and the Parliament, and sitting there to hear his decrees most brutishly and effrontuously arraigned, which he must defend with all the criticism and reason, as well as temper, that he could by stress of thought muster; besides the attendances at Court and Council, where nothing squared with his schemes, and where he was by Sunderland, Jefferies, and their complices, little less than derided; to all which the despatch of the chancery business is to be added, where, for want of time, all ran in arrear, which state of the court was always a load upon his spirits: all this was more than enough to oppress the soul of an honest cordial man, and I verily believe it did that to his Lordship which people mean when they say that 'his heart was broke.'" He retired into the country, under the pressure of a continual fever, and was permitted to carry with him the Great Seal. His last advice to James was that he should stop the sanguinary proceedings of Jefferies against the miserable followers of Monmouth, and that advice was rejected. Within a few weeks after, the triumph of that detestable judge over him was consummated. He died at his seat of Wroxton, in Oxfordshire, on the fifth of September, 1685, and Jefferies was his successor.

The domestic character of Lord Guildford appears to have been highly amiable, and the variety of his knowledge, and accomplishments, truly astonishing in a man of his laborious profession. He committed a few small works to the press, and some remain in manuscript. Among the former are "An Argument in a case between Soams and Barnardiston," and An "Argument in a trial between the Duke of Norfolk and Charles Howard," printed together—"The King's (Charles the 2d) Declaration on the Popish Plot"—A Paper on "the Non Gravitation of Fluids," considered with reference to the natural history of fish, published in Lowthorp's Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions—"A Philosophical Essay on Music"—"A Narrative of some Passages in, or relating to, the Long Parliament"—"A Narrative to the House of Commons" of what Bedloe had sworn before him at Bristol—"An Answer to a Treatise by Sir Samuel Morland on the Barometer"—and a small tract intituled "The Anatomy of an Equivalent," relating a proposal for taking away the Test and Penal laws. The two latter have not been printed.

Lord Guildford married Frances, second daughter and coheir of Thomas Pope, Earl of Downe, in Ireland, and had issue by her three sons; Francis, his successor; Charles, who died unmarried; and Pope, an infant; and two daughters, Anne, and Frances, both of whom also died unmarried.

Engraved by H.T.Ryall.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, NINTH EARL OF ARGYLL.

OB. 1685.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

London Published 1st Jan.y 1830 by Harding & Lepard Pall Mall East

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,

NINTH EARL OF ARGYLL,

Was the eldest son of Archibald, the eighth Earl, whom Charles the First had in 1641 created Marquis of Argyll, by Margaret, second daughter of William Douglas seventh Earl of Morton. His father, who was the prime leader and patron of the Covenanters, had endeavoured to instil into him all the wretched peculiarities, religious and civil, which distinguished that body. He was permitted, however, to add to his education the advantages of foreign travel, and to remain in France and Italy for three years, and returned in 1650, still bigoted to the form of faith in which he had been educated, but little tainted with that republican inclination which never fails in some degree to attend on it. He found the forlorn young King, who had just before landed in Scotland, in the hands of his father, then the most powerful nobleman in that country, who, with a show of the deepest respect, had become the severe ruler of Charles's conduct, and a spy on all his actions. To strengthen himself in both those characters, the Marquis extorted from the King the commission of Captain of the Royal Guard for his son, who then bore the title of Lord Lorn, but the young man soon became weary of the part which he had taken in this persecution. Touched by a general sense of Charles's misfortunes, and by the observation of the painful thraldom in which he was then held by the fanatics who surrounded him, and perhaps in some measure

won by the sweetness of his manners, the Lord Lorn became a sincere royalist. "He brought," says Burnet, "all persons that the King had a mind to speak with, at all hours, to him, and was in all respects not only faithful but zealous." A bitter quarrel ensued between the father and son, who, in spite of threats of disinherison, now openly attached himself to Charles's interests. He fought bravely at the head of his regiment in the unfortunate affair of Dunbar, on the third of September, 1650, and, waiting on the king in his march into England, equally distinguished himself at the yet more disastrous battle of Worcester, on the same day in the following year.

After that fatal overthrow, he returned to Scotland, where only the Highlands now remained unsubdued by Cromwell. There he joined the Earl of Glencairn, who had raised a small and ill disciplined army for the King, with a thousand men, and signally encouraged the enterprise by seizing a cargo of provisions which had been sent by sea for the supply of a garrison that the Marquis, his father, had not long before accepted the command of from Monck, who was then, and long after, at the head of the rebels in Scotland. Jealousies, however, arose between him and Glencairn, and he was compelled to fly suddenly from the vengeance of that nobleman, who had resolved to imprison him. He was specially excepted out of Cromwell's act of grace of the twelfth of April, 1654; submitted himself soon after, with the King's permission, to the usurper; and in November, 1655, was compelled by Monck to give security in the sum of five thousand pounds for his peaceable conduct. He continued notwithstanding an object of strong, and indeed just, suspicion; and was frequently placed in confinement for short periods, during one of which he had his skull terribly fractured by a cannon-ball, which the soldiers who guarded him were throwing about in sport; at length, in the spring of 1657, he was committed a close prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he remained till the Restoration.

He waited immediately on the King, by whom he was very graciously received, but he brought with him a letter from his

father, full of professions of loyalty, and requesting leave to pay his duty personally to his Majesty, which met with less favour. That nobleman, from whom Charles, in the time of his misfortunes, suffered also every sort of personal offence, had of late, after several years of private intercourse with Cromwell, thrown off the mask, and openly accepted a seat in his mock House of Peers, and afterwards in Richard's Council of State. The King, if we are to believe Burnet, whose report indeed the event seems too much to corroborate, returned a verbal answer which savoured of equivocation, and the Marquis presently after arrived in London, and was within a few days sent to the Tower, and from thence to Edinburgh, where he was sentenced to die for high treason, and in the following year executed. Lorn, who had remained in London, urging the most earnest solicitations for his father's life, and whose filial piety, as well as his services, the King was inclined to recompense by the restoration of the estates and honours forfeited by the Marquis's attainder, now fell into strange calamities.

His enemies in Scotland, at whose head, as well as that of the government there, was the Earl of Middleton, had intercepted a letter, written by him to his intimate friend, the Lord Duffus, in which, with the usual warmth and freedom of confidential intercourse, he had exposed the intrigues used by several eminent persons in both kingdoms to counteract his efforts to avert the fate of his father, and to prevent the fruition of the King's gracious intentions towards himself. This letter was laid before the Scottish Parliament, which determined that the expressions contained in it proved the writer's desire to sow dissension between the King and his subjects, an offence to which, under the denomination of "leasing making," the ancient Scottish law allotted capital punishment. The Parliament addressed their request to the King that he might be sent to Edinburgh for trial, and Charles, in whose nature compliance may be said to have been but an instinct, commanded him to obey the summons, writing privately at the same time to Middleton to defer carrying into effect any sentence that might be pronounced on him. He went; appeared without delay in the Par-

liament; and, acknowledging his letter, modestly defended the sentiments which he had expressed in it, and threw himself on the justice of the assembly. He was however committed a prisoner to Edinburgh Castle, and on the twenty-sixth of August, 1661, brought to trial, and, on the sole evidence of that letter, convicted, and condemned to be beheaded. This barbarous and unjustifiable decision excited the utmost astonishment and horror, as well in England as in Scotland. The execution was however suspended, in obedience to the King's secret command, but Lorn remained in confinement till his great enemy, Middleton, was displaced in the summer of 1663, on the sixteenth of October; in which year he was restored to the Earldom of Argyll, and to the possession of his estates, and was about the same time sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed a Commissioner of the Treasury in Scotland.

Wearied by misfortune, and with a disposition naturally ill qualified to mix either in the fury or the craft of those factions which agitated both countries for several succeeding years, he seems now to have lived long in retirement, and we scarcely hear of him till the year 1666, when, on the occasion of a sudden and formidable insurrection in the west of Scotland, he raised a force of fifteen hundred men, and wrote to the Privy Council there, that he was ready to march with them against the enemy. The remains, however, of an ancient jealousy, which seems always to have pursued him, prevented his receiving any order to join the army, which had been hastily collected; and indeed the total defeat of the insurgents, which speedily followed at Pentland Hills, rendered his services unnecessary. He disengaged himself as much as possible from all public affairs, except those which related to his religious profession. To that, through the whole of his life, he devoted himself with a consistency and earnestness so pure, as almost totally to reject the usual alloy of political party spirit; and thus his affection to Monarchy, and the regularity of his allegiance, remained undisturbed.

He had been living in the Highlands for many years with all

the splendour of his ancestors, and with a tranquillity which scarcely any of them had ever so long enjoyed, when, in 1681, the Duke of York went to Edinburgh, to meet a new Parliament, in the character of High Commissioner. Argyll waited on him as soon as he arrived, and was received not only with the distinction due to his exalted rank, but with an appearance even of friendly regard. He took an early opportunity to assure the Duke that he would to the utmost support the measures of his government while they left the national religion untouched, but that if any attempt should be made against that, it would have to encounter his most determined opposition. James received this frank declaration with apparent good temper. The Parliament met, and its first bill was a very short act, confirming all former laws against popery. The second was to declare the succession to the Crown indefeasible, and that it should be deemed high treason even to move for any alteration in it, and in this Argyll zealously concurred. Presently after, however, a test was enacted to be sworn to by all civil, ecclesiastical, or military officers, and which was expected, as had indeed been in a manner promised, to provide chiefly for the security of the protestant faith; but when it was proposed, it was found to consist in an affirmation of the King's supremacy, and of the doctrine of passive obedience; of an abjuration of the covenant, and of all right to attempt any alteration of the government, either in Church or State: and the clause for the reformed religion was at length introduced as an amendment, through the vigilance of the party opposed to the Court. It was then proposed that the Princes of the Blood should be exempted from the oath, which Argyll, true to his text, strenuously, but ineffectually, resisted. The whole, however, with many subordinate articles, which rendered it a mass of obscurity, and even contradiction, was, after long debate, at length passed.

When the oath was tendered to the members of the Privy Council, Argyll, who had previously communicated his intention to the Duke, by whom it had been heard without any expression of disapprobation, prefaced the ceremony of the oath by a verbal

declaration in these words—"I have considered the Test, and am very desirous of giving obedience as far as I can. I am confident that the Parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths; therefore I think no man can explain it but for himself: accordingly I take it as far as it is consistent with itself, and the protestant religion: and I do declare that I mean not to bind up myself, in my station, and in a lawful way, from wishing and endeavouring any alteration which I think to the advantage of Church or State, and not repugnant to the protestant religion, and my loyalty; and this I understand as a part of my oath." He signed this declaration in the presence of the Duke in full Council. No note of disapprobation, nor any kind of remark, was made by that Prince, or by any other of the members. He resumed his seat, at the express invitation of James; joined in the deliberations of the assembly; and remained in it till its rising. On the next day he was called on in Council to renew the oath, in his character of Commissioner of the Treasury, and eagerly pressed to commit his remarks to paper, and to subscribe to them; and on refusing, was immediately dismissed from his place in the Council.

"Certainly," as Bishop Burnet, in speaking of his former prosecution, exclaims with an emphatic simplicity, "Argyll was born to be the signallest instance in the age of rigour, or rather of the mockery, of justice." A warrant for his arrest was presently after issued, and he was committed to the Castle of Edinburgh, on charges of high treason, leasing-making, and perjury. A jury of fifteen Peers found him guilty of the two former crimes. The Judges, to whom the points of law were necessarily referred, were less partial, but they had been brought to an even number by the departure from the Court, worn out with fatigue, of a superannuated member of their body. Their suffrages happened to be equally divided, so the old senseless Judge was dragged from his bed to give the casting vote against the prisoner, and the proceeding was marked by other instances of injustice not less odious. Charles, as before, respited the execution of the sentence, and it was rumoured that the whole was but a contrivance to produce an

attainder, that the King might be enabled, by possessing himself of Argyll's estates, to abridge certain privileges of dangerous power which were annexed to them, and then to regrant them to him. The Earl, however, had no such expectation. He contrived to escape from his prison, disguised as a page, holding up the train of his sister-in-law, the Lady Sophia Lindsay, and got in safety to London. The place of his concealment was discovered, and it was proposed to the King that he should be seized, but Charles is said to have answered: "For shame! what, hunt a hunted partridge?" As soon as he could procure the means of quitting the country, he passed over into Holland.

He remained there almost forgotten, for nearly three years, when James succeeded to the throne, and an excusable, I had almost said laudable, spirit of vengeance instantly swelled Argyll's bosom. He had preserved, though in daily conversation with highly disaffected fugitives from England and Scotland, the calmness natural to him, but that event inspired him with a passion more akin to despair than hope, but stronger than either. The idea of an invasion of Scotland flashed on his mind with irresistible force, and, without the means, almost without a plan, he determined on the enterprise. Monmouth and himself imparted their several designs to each other, but he still retained caution enough to reject an immediate co-operation with that weak young man. He engaged a few of his exiled companions to accompany him. A rich widow of Amsterdam gave him ten thousand pounds, with which he purchased arms and ammunition; and, sailing from the Ulie on the second of May, 1685, with five ships, he landed, after a prosperous voyage, in his own country of Lorn.

The result, as might have been expected, was completely unsuccessful. He was joined only by a part of his own vassals, and the number of his troops never exceeded two thousand five hundred. His design had been ill concealed, and the country was prepared to receive him with an overwhelming force. Pressed on all sides, and having witnessed the slaughter of nearly all his men, he hastily disguised himself, and fled alone, till, finding himself in the sight

of some straggling pursuers, he quitted his horse, on the bank of a river in the shire of Renfrew, and, as it should seem distractedly, ran into the water, followed by a boor, who striking him a severe blow on the head, he fell, crying "unfortunate Argyll." He was once more sent a prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, and within a few days after, on the twenty-sixth of June, was beheaded at the Market Cross, under the iniquitous sentence passed on him in 1682, and with circumstances of personal insult that would have disgraced a ruder age and country, rendered yet more odious by the contrast of his exquisite calmness and constancy. He was led to the scaffold bare-headed, and with his hands tied behind him. Arrived there, and having spoken, at no great length, to the people, he drew a small ruler from his pocket, and measuring the block, pointed out some necessary alteration in it, which was performed, under his direction, by the man who had made it. He had written his epitaph on the day before his execution, "and the heroic satisfaction of conscience expressed in it," to use the words of Lord Orford, give it a title to insertion which its poetic merits might claim in vain. It remains on his tomb in the Grey Friars' churchyard, in Edinburgh.

"Thou, passenger, that shalt have so much time,
To view my grave, and ask what was my crime?
No stain of error, no black vice's brand,
Was that which chas'd me from my native land:
Love to my country (sentenc'd twice to die)
Constrain'd my hands forgotten arms to try;
More by friends' frauds my fall proceeded hath
Than foes, though now they thrice decreed my death.
On my attempt though Providence did frown,
His oppressed people God at length shall own;
Another hand, by more successful speed,
Shall raise the remnant, bruise the serpent's head.
Though my head fall, that is no tragic story,
Since going hence, I enter endless glory."

This ill-fated nobleman married, first, Mary, eldest daughter

of James Stuart, fifth Earl of Murray, by whom he had issue Archibald, who was created Duke of Argyll by King William; John Campbell, of Mammore, from whom the present Duke is lineally descended; Charles; and James: and two daughters; Anne married, first, to Richard Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale; secondly to Charles Stuart, Earl of Murray; and Jane, wife of Robert Ker, fourth Earl of Lothian. The Earl of Argyll married, secondly, Anne, second daughter of Alexander Lindsay, first Earl of Balcarras, by whom he had no issue.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

JAMES BUTLER, DUKE OF ORMOND.

OB. 1688.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF STRATHMORE.

London, Published Dec^r 1, 1826 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JAMES BUTLER,

FIRST DUKE OF ORMOND.

A MEMOIR of the extent necessarily prescribed to these, can furnish but a very imperfect sketch of such a life as that on which I am now required to treat. The Duke of Ormond was perhaps the best as well as the greatest of the eminent men of his time; a just representation of his moral character would comprehend almost all the features of a pure system of ethics, and a regular detail of his public conduct nearly the whole story of his country, from the period of his first appearance on the theatre of public affairs to his death. Little therefore can be expected here beyond a mere common-place narrative of the circumstances of a life, the due celebration of which might justly demand all the dignity as well as all the diligence of history.

Of his descent from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of Ireland it is almost needless to speak. His predecessors had encountered strange vicissitudes; had been attainted, and restored; had been forced by Henry the Eighth to relinquish their Earldom, under the name of a voluntary surrender, to the father of Anne Boleyn, and, after the downfall of her family, reobtained it from that Prince; and were at length stripped of their estates, under colour of law, by James the First, that they might fall, with the show of an inheritance, into the hands of one of his Scottish favourites, Sir Richard Preston, lately created Viscount Dingwall, who had married the only daughter and heir of the tenth Earl. On the death of the latter, Sir Walter Butler,

of Killcash, a collateral kinsman who became the object of that injustice, succeeded to the titles, and the subject of this memoir was the first-born child of his eldest son, Thomas, Viscount Thurles, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Poyntz, of Iron Acton, in Gloucestershire.

He was born in 1610, and passed his youth under the most inauspicious circumstances. While yet in his infancy, his grandfather was committed to the Fleet Prison for having murmured at the award which had deprived him of his estates, and remained there till the King died; and in 1619 his father was lost at sea in passing over from Ireland, leaving a widow, and seven children, nearly destitute. His education was almost wholly neglected. He was placed for some years under the care of a carpenter's wife at Hatfield in Hertfordshire, and removed from thence to Finchley, where he received some very ordinary instruction, by a Mr. Conyers, a Roman Catholic priest, from whom he was taken by the King's order, and sent to Lambeth, that he might be bred under the inspection of Archbishop Abbot in the Protestant faith. Abbot seems to have abided strictly by the letter of his instructions, for the young Lord Thurles certainly was converted to the Church of England, of which he remained ever after a zealous son, but was otherwise treated with such carelessness, that it was not till the age of twenty, after he had married, that he began to study the Latin language, and then in a manner accidentally, by the aid of the domestic chaplain of his uncle Poyntz, in a visit which he made to that gentleman's country seat, for the purpose of introducing his bride.

His marriage terminated the series of misfortune and persecution which had assailed him almost from the hour of his birth, and was the result of very singular circumstances. Lord Dingwall had an only daughter, heir of course to the Ormond estates, which her father had so unjustly acquired. The favourite Buckingham, ever bent on aggrandizing his family, had obtained the promise of her hand for his nephew, George Fielding, second son to the Earl of Denbigh, and, among other arrangements regarding the

marriage, Dingwall was created Viscount Callan, and Earl of Desmond, in Ireland, with remainder to George Fielding, on whom also was immediately conferred the title of Lord Fielding. To remove more effectually any chance of obstruction to this treaty, James suffered himself to be persuaded to put the heir male of the house of Ormond wholly into the hands of his adversary, and most iniquitously granted the wardship and marriage of Lord Thurles to the Earl of Desmond. A special interference of Providence seems to have defeated the plan. Just as it was at the point of accomplishment, Buckingham was assassinated, and Desmond drowned on his passage between Dublin and Holyhead; and his widow, who it will be recollected was heir to the Earls of Ormond of the elder line, dying about the same time, with her last breath conjured her daughter to put an end to the miseries of the family by uniting herself to her kinsman. On the eighth of September, 1629, Charles the First, who had now succeeded to the throne, signed a license for their marriage, which was immediately after celebrated.

In 1632 he succeeded, on the death of his grandfather, to the dignities of his family, and in the following year went to Ireland, to the government of which the Earl of Strafford had then lately been appointed. It is said that on his first visit to that great man, Strafford, who viewed him from a window as he crossed the Castle yard, said to those about him—"If my skill in physiognomy fail me not, that young nobleman will make the greatest man of his family." A circumstance soon after occurred which might have caused a lasting breach between men of minds less noble. Strafford had issued an order that at the meeting of Parliament the members should not enter either House wearing swords: all obeyed except the Earl of Ormond, who, on his sword being demanded at the door by the usher of the black rod, answered, "You shall have no sword of mine but in your body;" nor was this merely the intemperate sally of a rash young man, for, on his being summoned to answer for it on the rising of the House, he showed the King's writ, calling him to Parliament "cinctus cum gladio." The

Deputy admitted the justification, and is said to have been charmed by his high spirit and acuteness. How far this single occurrence might have operated to unite two persons of congenial dispositions can scarcely be supposed, but certain it is that from this period they conceived a mutual friendship, which on Strafford's part was presently considerably enhanced by his growing experience of Ormond's splendid talents. In a long letter to the Secretary of State, dated on the 16th of December, 1634, when the young Earl had been not many months in Ireland, Strafford, in giving a general view of the state of that country, says—"In the higher House there is my Lord of Ormond, that hath as much advantage of the rest in judgment and parts as he hath in estate and blood, and one who, upon my observation since I came hither, expresseth very good affections to the Crown and government, so as I hold him a person of consequence, and fit to receive some mark of his Majesty's favour, and humbly offer it to his Majesty's wisdom whether it were not seasonable to make him a counsellor. He is young, but, take it from me, a very staid head." The Secretary's answer, which, together with the letter just now cited, are published in the Strafford Papers, conveys the King's warrant for his admission into the Privy Council.

He became now Strafford's confidential adviser, and shared with him the cares of his government, neither receiving nor requiring any reward beyond the hope of a happy issue of his labours. In the following Parliament, which met in 1640, he acted with equal zeal and discretion as the chief manager of all business in the House of Lords on the part of the Crown, and when the breaking out of the Scottish rebellion rendered it necessary to raise an armed force in Ireland, the levy was intrusted to his care, and the army afterwards placed under his command. The storm which had for some time threatened Strafford at home began now to break over his head, and in Ireland the same Parliament which had lately offered their public thanks to the King for having given them so worthy a governor, readily joined that of England in his prosecution: the Commons voted a long and bitter remon-

strance against him, and a powerful party in the House of Peers was preparing to follow their example, but were prevented by the forcible arguments of Ormond, and the earnest opposition of a band which the force of his talents, and the example of his rectitude, had united in the defence of the Crown and the laws. It was, however, presently evident that Strafford was devoted to utter ruin. Many proofs remain that his attachment to Ormond subsisted unimpaired to his last hour. Two letters written while he was imprisoned in the Tower to this nobleman have been preserved: in the first, dated on the seventeenth of December, 1640, he tells him that he had recommended him to the King, for the office of Lord Deputy of Ireland: and begins the second, on the third of the following February, with these passionate expressions, —"There is so little rest given me, my noble Lord, as I have not scarce time to eat my bread. I trust to have more quietness after a while. Your Lordship's favours towards me in these afflictions are such as have, and shall, level my heart at your foot so long as I live, or else let me be infamous to all men." On the evening before he suffered death, he intrusted to Archbishop Usher a few requests to be delivered to his royal master, one of which was that his blue ribbon should be given to the Earl of Ormond. Charles offered it accordingly, but Ormond replied "that his own loyalty stood in no need of rewards to confirm it, and that such an honour might probably be employed more for his Majesty's service."

On the breaking out of the Irish rebellion, in the winter of 1641, the King would have appointed him Lord Deputy, but the Parliament had determined on the Earl of Leicester. The important post, however, of Commander in Chief of the army was intrusted to him by the Lords Justices, and, with that felicitous application of talents to new objects which belongs only to the greatest minds, he presently appeared in the character of an able and experienced general. He determined to attack the rebels in every quarter with unceasing vigour, and was uniformly victorious during the whole of the next year's campaign, though his measures

were frequently impeded by enemies in the Council more formidable than those in the field. The Justices, Borlace and Parsons, became jealous of his favour with the King, and inclined, from party motives, to weaken the effect of those services the success of which would certainly have placed him at the head of the government. They soon endeavoured to thwart all his plans; and the arrival of Leicester, by whom they had been secretly encouraged, aggravated the evil. Calumnies arising from the same quarters were spread against him in England, but it may be presumed with little effect, since the House of Commons in that year voted him their thanks, and presented him with a rich jewel; while the King, desirous to remove the inconveniences under which he laboured, and to confer on him a special mark of the royal approbation, renewed his appointment of Commander in Chief by a commission from himself, under the Great Seal, and presently after created him Marquis of Ormond. The Irish government could now no longer control his measures, but new and more serious difficulties began to present themselves in the state of the country at large. Even the loyalists of Ireland, since the commencement of the rebellion, had been gradually dividing themselves into five factions of various views and interests, abounding in rancour and hatred towards each other. The uncertainty and the scantiness of supplies drawn from such discordant sources crippled the sinews of war, and the increasing fury of the fanatical party in the English Parliament blinded that assembly to the necessities of the sister country. These disadvantages, till they could be no longer encountered, seemed but to inspire Ormond with increased zeal and vigour, but he was at length obliged to cede to them. Soon after a signal victory, gained by a very inferior force under his command, near the town of Ross, he was under the cruel necessity of accepting proposals from the rebels, the issue of which was a cessation of arms for twelve months.

The news of this treaty, which was signed on the fifteenth of September, 1643, was received with much affected disapprobation

by the English Parliament, and with real grief by the King, who was, however, so fully satisfied of the fidelity and capacity with which the measures preceding it had been conducted, that he resolved to place the Marquis at the head of the government of Ireland, and he was accordingly sworn into the office of Lord Lieutenant in the spring of the following year. Ormond's great spirit shrank for a moment from the difficulties of which his new station gave him a near and more comprehensive view, and he besought Charles to recall his appointment. To the discords by which the country thus placed under his charge was already torn, was now added the baleful influence of an incipient rebellion in England, emissaries from whose leaders were indefatigably employed in endeavouring to seduce the loyal Irish from their allegiance; while many of those who remained unshaken were intriguing against him in the Court, lately removed to Oxford, or importuning him for rewards and benefits which he was wholly unable to bestow. Charles however conjured him to stand firmly at his post, and he obeyed; but the necessities of his situation forced him immediately to conclude a peace with the rebels, which was signed at Dublin, on the thirtieth of July, 1646. The hopes founded on this agreement were blasted by strange intrigues which had commenced during its negotiation. The Roman Catholics, by far the most powerful party in Ireland, and from which all the captains of the rebellion had issued, had been unremittingly goaded on by the Pope's Nuncio to raise their own interest on the ruins of all others; while Charles, with the best motives, and the worst policy, had privately employed the fantastic Edward Somerset, Earl of Glamorgan, in a mysterious correspondence with the chiefs of that persuasion for the eventual benefit of the protestant cause. Thus flattered and elated, they embarked in a new conspiracy, the leading feature of which was to seize the person of the Lord Lieutenant at Kilkenny, from whence he escaped with much difficulty and danger to Dublin, to which they immediately laid siege. Ormond long defended the capital with equal perseverance and skill, and chiefly at his own charge,

till his means were wholly exhausted. In the mean time his royal master fell, a helpless prisoner, into the hands of his fanatical rebels at home, and the distraction of Ireland was increased by the arrival of commissioners from the English Parliament. Unable to hold the city longer, he had no alternative but to surrender it to them, or to the insurgents; and preferring the former, signed a treaty with them to that effect on the nineteenth of June, 1647, and soon after embarked for England.

He obtained with some difficulty permission to wait on the King, then confined in Hampton Court, and laid before his Majesty an exact account of his conduct in the government of Ireland, and of the state in which he had left the country. Charles declared his perfect approbation and gratitude, and refused to receive the Marquis's commission, which he now once more begged leave to resign, saying that, "if it could ever be employed with success in that country, it must be by him." Doubtless in this interview between that unhappy prince and his faithful servant new plans were laid, and fresh hopes inspired, as Ormond soon after embarked for France, where he remained for ten months, negotiating, as it should seem, with the Catholics on each side of the water, for at length the leaders of those of Ireland suddenly expelled the Nuncio, and invited the Marquis to return, which he did on the ninth of September, 1648, and immediately concluded with them a treaty of peace. He had brought with him neither men nor money; experience had taught him that his new friends were to be trusted with caution; the capital was in the hands of a rebel officer from England, and several other places of more importance for strength were garrisoned by that party; emissaries from Cromwell, who had been appointed Commander in Chief for the reduction of Ireland, were in perpetual activity there; and Prince Rupert, who lay on the coast with the fleet which had revolted from the Parliament, instead of assisting him, thwarted his measures, and took on himself to deal independently with the different factions, from a jealousy and vanity equally unpardonable.

Ormond, undaunted by these obstacles, resumed the helm with admirable coolness and intrepidity. The news of the murther of the King had excited universal horror in Ireland, and he strove to take advantage of that disposition. He lost no time in proclaiming Charles the Second; made flattering proposals of treaty to O'Neill, who commanded that class of the rebels which had named itself the Old Irish, and which was still in arms; and endeavoured to gain over the English commanders. All these steps proving ineffectual, he determined to put the success of the royal cause in Ireland upon one grand and desperate issue, and to besiege the city of Dublin. His force scarcely exceeded in number that of the garrison, and he was proceeding in his enterprise with equal caution and resolution, when a strong reinforcement to the enemy arrived from England, and encouraged the besieged to make a general sally. An action, which the Irish writers call the battle of Rathmines, ensued, in which his little army was totally routed; and while he was devising the means to resume at least a posture of defence, Oliver Cromwell landed at Dublin, with an army of twelve thousand men, and finally extinguished all his hopes of success. He now resolved to quit a country in which his hopes of service were blasted, and his life in danger, and, having asserted the dying authority of his commission in the appointment of the Earl of Clanricarde to the office of Lord Deputy, embarked, on the fifth of September, 1650, for France, to partake with Charles the Second in an union of desperate fortunes.

Charles, dissipated, indolent, and unprincipled, as he was, admired talents, and respected virtues. He had lately bestowed on the Marquis of Ormond one of the very few rewards in his power by sending to him in Ireland the Order of the Garter, and now received him into the utmost favour and confidence. He remained however at Paris during the King's absence in that unfortunate expedition which terminated in the battle of Worcester, assisting with his counsel the Queen mother and her family. In the mean time his finances became totally exhausted, and the Marchioness, who was in England, employed in negotiating with

the Parliament to save some part of his estates from confiscation, being unable to send him any assistance, he was for a long time compelled to depend on the generous hospitality of the French nobility for support. Soon after the King's return, he accepted a commission of peculiar delicacy—to detach the Duke of Gloucester from the Queen mother, who had obstinately determined to breed him in the Romish persuasion. This he effected with so much address as not only to maintain himself in the Queen's favour, but to become afterwards the sole instrument of appeasing the quarrel which it had caused between her and the King. He was now for a considerable time employed in endeavouring to gain over the Court of Spain to his master's interest, through the means of Don John of Austria, Governor of the Low Countries, by whom he was held in high consideration; and having discovered that false and unfavourable representations had been made to that Prince by Cardenas, the Spanish minister to Cromwell, of the degree of influence possessed by Charles in England, he nobly determined to go thither in disguise, and to collect such proofs as might remove all doubt on the subject. The story of this expedition, which occupied a month, and of the dangers which he encountered in it, is full of curiosity, but its results seem to have been insignificant. The loyalty and courage which he had displayed in it fixed him more firmly than ever in the King's esteem: he became Charles's most favoured companion and adviser; was consulted on all the secret steps which led to the restoration; and had no small share in the accomplishment of that great event.

His services were now acknowledged with becoming gratitude. He was sworn of the Privy Council; appointed Steward of the Household; and created a Peer of England, by the title of Earl of Brecknock. The Chancellorship of the University of Dublin, which he had held for some years before the death of the late King, was restored to him, and he was re-possessed not only of the great estates of which he had been stripped during the usurpation, but of all others which had at any time been forfeited to the

Crown by his ancestors, the preamble to the patent by which that extraordinary boon was conferred containing perhaps a larger acknowledgement of services than any subject had ever before received from his Prince. He was created Lord High Steward of England for the occasion of the coronation, and was raised, a few days before that ceremony took place, to the dignity of Duke of Ormond, in Ireland: at length, on the fourth of October, 1662, he was again appointed Lord Lieutenant of that island, an event so welcome to the best judgments of the country that the Parliament immediately voted to him a present of thirty thousand pounds. Ireland however was yet in a state of considerable ferment, and indeed some necessary measures which had been taken since the restoration had created new discontents. The act of settlement was odious to the military, and the act of uniformity to the sectaries: these regulations were ascribed chiefly to the Duke, and a few of the most daring of each party joined, soon after his arrival, in a plot, contrived with infinite subtlety, chiefly by the notorious Colonel Blood, then a Lieutenant, for surprising the Castle of Dublin, and seizing his person, as the prelude to a general insurrection.

This conspiracy having been happily rendered abortive by a timely discovery, Ormond applied himself to the affairs of his government with an equal attention to the interests of the monarchy and the welfare of the Irish, but was presently interrupted by the profligate class of ministers who then infested Charles's heterogeneous Cabinet. It should seem that their aversion to him arose simply from that almost instinctive antipathy which knaves bear towards honest and honourable men. Bennet afterwards Earl of Arlington, and the Duke of Buckingham, endeavoured to thwart all his measures, and easily persuaded the Queen mother, whom he had offended by refusing some favour to the Marquis of Antrim, who was patronized by her, and the King's mistress, the Countess of Castlemaine, whom he had uprightly and wisely prevented from having a grant of the Phœnix park and mansion, in Dublin, to undermine him in that Prince's affec-

tions. In the mean time, which aggravated their malice, he lived in the strictest intimacy and confidence with the great and virtuous Earl of Clarendon, whom they detested; and, when they contrived soon after to compass the political ruin of that admirable statesman, great pains were taken to discover matter whereon to ground an impeachment against Ormond, and rumours were industriously spread, both in England and Ireland, to teach the people to expect it. Charles, rather from kindness than suspicion, recalled him in May, 1668, to give an account of his conduct, and received him with the grace to which he had been accustomed. He told the King that "though it would never trouble him to be undone for his Majesty, it would be an insupportable affliction to be undone by him;" challenged and obtained the strictest enquiry, and was declared wholly blameless. Buckingham, however, who had determined to displace him, commenced a series of intrigue and artifice which rendered his public situation insupportable, and he resigned it in the spring of the following year; nor did that sacrifice abate the rancour of his enemies, who now insinuated that he had derived immense wealth during his administration from the miseries of Ireland. This report was diffused with such effect that he thought himself bound to refute it by a second explanation, and is said to have shown satisfactorily that the public had become indebted to him during the term of his services in the enormous ablance of between eight and nine hundred thousand pounds.

Ormond retired with unabated loyalty, and dignified patience. The party by which he had been persecuted could not prevail on Charles to dismiss him from the office of Lord Steward of the Household, which he, on his part, condescended to retain from motives of respect to that Prince; the University of Oxford, immediately after his removal from the government of Ireland, unanimously elected him Chancellor; the wise, the good, and the great, seemed united in one common sentiment of esteem for him; when those who had in vain endeavoured to destroy his character determined to attack his life. On the sixth of December, 1670,

having been to dine in the City, on the occasion of an entertainment given by the corporation to the Prince of Orange, he was beset, on his return in St. James's Street, by a few armed desperadoes, commanded by his old enemy Blood, who himself forced the Duke out of his coach; bound him on a horse, behind one of the party; and was hurrying him to Tyburn, intending to have hanged him there on the common gallows, when he was by a surprising good fortune rescued. Buckingham was strongly suspected of having planned this outrageous enterprise, and Blood's concern in it was totally unknown till he voluntarily confessed in his examination by the King, after his well known attempt to carry off the Regalia in the following year. Charles, whose mysterious conduct on that remarkable occasion has been so frequently the subject of historical conjecture, sent Arlington to the Duke of Ormond to request that he would forgive Blood, "for reasons which he had orders to disclose to him;" but the Duke answered, says Sir Gilbert Talbot, in his narrative, that "if the King could forgive him for stealing his crown, he" (the Duke) "might easily forgive his attempt upon his life: and if such was his Majesty's pleasure, that was a sufficient reason for him, and his Lordship might spare the rest."

He now remained for seven years unemployed in the State, and personally slighted by the King, when in the month of April, 1677, he suddenly received a message that his Majesty would sup with him. The occasion of Charles's visit was to communicate his determination to appoint him once more Lord Lieutenant; a step to which the Duke of York, as it afterwards appeared, had prompted the King, to prevent Monmouth from succeeding to that office. His third administration was marked by a degree of patriotism and wisdom even higher than either of the former. Ireland was now somewhat tranquillized, but the overweening influence of the Papists threatened the extinction of the established religion, and disturbed the conduct of the State. He opposed it with a firmness so happily moderated as to have wholly escaped the charge of persecution; seized and imprisoned Talbot, the

Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, who had meditated a dangerous design against his person; swept away the other titular dignitaries by a single proclamation; gradually rendered the army completely protestant; and left the common people of the contrary persuasion to the quiet exercise of their faith and worship. Meanwhile he encouraged agriculture, arts, and manufactures, by regulations full of discretion, and sought the civilization and comfort of his countrymen with the most affectionate zeal. Still, however, he was opposed in England, with unremitting industry, by the party which had so long molested him. Charles, to escape from their importunities, found himself obliged to declare, with an oath, that "while the Duke of Ormond lived he should never be put out of that government;" yet he was obliged so far to submit as to call again upon his Grace for an explanation and defence of his ministry, which having been given, to the full satisfaction of the whole of both countries, the King invited him to London in 1682, and on the ninth of November in that year, raised his Dukedom to an English dignity. He took advantage of this tide of favour to reiterate with earnestness the arguments which he had for several years been vainly pressing on the King's attention to induce him to call a Parliament in Ireland, and gave offence. He was commanded to return to his government, from which indeed he had been long absent; and Charles, forgetting his oath, despatched after him an order to deprive him of it, but did not live to receive its resignation.

From James he had less courteousness to expect than he experienced. The sword indeed was taken from him at Dublin with little ceremony, but the King, on his arrival in London, received him graciously; left him in possession of his ancient office of Lord Steward; and paid him the compliment of giving him the crown to carry at the coronation. Little of interest now remained to fill up the measure of a long and unblemished life. Ormond, a pattern of loyalty, but not more devoted to the monarchy than to the Protestant establishment, lent his last endeavours in the public service at once to save his Prince from the ruin to which

he seemed to have devoted himself, and the Church of England from injuries which the work of an age might not have repaired; while James, to crown the absurdities into which his zeal had betrayed him, disturbed the tranquillity with which the Duke declined towards the grave by ridiculous efforts to induce him to abandon that system of faith which had been the guide of his youth and maturity, and was now the hope and comfort of his old age. He died of a gradual decay, at Kingston Hall, a house which he had hired in Dorsetshire, on the twenty-first of July, 1688, and was buried on the fourth of the next month in Westminster Abbey.

This great person married, as has been before partly observed, his cousin, Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir to Richard Preston, Earl of Desmond, by whom he had eight sons, all of whom he survived, and two daughters. Of the former, the first, third, fourth, sixth, and eighth; Thomas, James, James, Walter, and James, died very young: Thomas, the second son, was the admirable Earl of Ossory, whose memory has been embalmed by the pen of Lord Clarendon; the fifth, Richard, was created Viscount of Tullough, &c. in Ireland, and Lord Butler of Weston, in England, by Charles the Second; John, the seventh son, was also advanced by the same Prince to the peerage of Ireland, by the titles of Baron of Aghrim, Viscount Clonmore, and Earl of Gowran. The daughters were Elizabeth, wife of Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield; and Mary, married to William, Lord Cavendish, afterwards the first Duke of Devonshire.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

JOHN GRAHAM, VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE.

OB. 1689.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF STRATHMORE.

London, Publish.d Dec.r 1.1836. by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JOHN GRAHAM,

FIRST VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE.

THIS remarkable man, whose name can never be forgotten while military skill and prowess, and the most loyal and active fidelity to an almost hopeless cause, shall challenge recollection, was the eldest son of Sir William Graham, of Claverhouse, in the County of Forfar, by Jane, fourth daughter of John Carnegy, first Earl of Northesk. His family was a scion which branched off from the ancient stock of the great House of Montrose, early in the fifteenth century, by the second marriage of William Lord Graham, of Kincardine, to Mary, second daughter of Robert the Third, King of Scotland, and had gradually acquired considerable estates, chiefly by the bounty of the Crown. He received his education in the University of St. Andrews, which he left to seek on the Continent the more polished qualifications of a private gentleman of large fortune, the sphere to which he seemed to have been destined. In France, however, the latent fire of his character broke forth; he entered as a volunteer into the army of Louis the Fourteenth; and having presently determined to adopt the military profession, accepted in 1672 a commission of Cornet in the Horse Guards of William the Third, Prince of Orange, by whom, in the summer of 1674, he was promoted to be Captain of a troop, for his signal gallantry at the battle of Seneffe, in which indeed he saved the life of that Prince by a personal effort. He asked soon after for the command of one of the Scottish regiments in the Dutch service, and, strange to tell, was refused, on

which he threw up his commission, making the cutting remark, that "the soldier who has not gratitude cannot be brave," and returned to England, bringing with him, however, the warmest recommendations from William to Charles the Second; and Charles, who had been just then misadvised to subdue the obstinacy of the Scottish covenanters by force of arms, appointed him to lead a body of horse which had been raised in Scotland for that purpose, and gave him full powers to act as he might think fit against them, although under the nominal command of the Duke of Monmouth. His conduct in the performance of this impolitic and cruel commission has left a stain on his memory scarcely to be glossed over by the brilliancy of his subsequent merits. Bred from his infancy in an enthusiastic veneration to monachy, and to the established church, his hatred to the whigs, as they were then called in Scotland, was almost a part of his nature; and, under the influence of a temper which never allowed him to be lukewarm in any pursuit, his zeal degenerated on this occasion with a frightful facility into a spirit of persecution. He watched and dispersed, with the most severe vigilance, the devotional meetings of those perverse and miserable sectaries, and forced thousands of them to subscribe, at the point of the sword, to an oath utterly subversive of the doctrines which they most cherished. But this was not the worst. On the first of July, 1679, having attacked a conventicle on Loudoun Hill, in Ayrshire, the neighbouring peasants rose suddenly on a detachment of his troops, and, with that almost supernatural power which a pure thirst of vengeance alone will sometimes confer on mere physical force, defeated them with considerable loss. The fancied disgrace annexed to this check raised Graham's fury to the highest pitch, and he permitted himself to retaliate on the unarmed whigs by cruelties inconsistent with the character of a brave man. The track of his march was now uniformly marked by carnage; the refusal of his test was punished with instant death; and the practice of these horrible excesses, which was continued for some months, procured for him the appellation of "bloody Claver-

house;" by which he is still occasionally mentioned in that part of Scotland. He apologized for these horrors by coldly remarking, that "if terror ended or prevented war, it was true mercy."

It may be concluded that this intemperance had the full approbation of the Crown, for we find that he was appointed in 1682 Sheriff of the Shire of Wigton; received soon after a commission of Captain in what was called the Royal Regiment of Horse; was sworn a Privy Councillor in Scotland; and had a grant from the King of the Castle of Dudhope, and the office of Constable of Dundee. Nor was it less acceptable—such is the rage of party, especially when excited by religious discord—to the Scottish Episcopalians, who from that time seemed to have reposed in him the highest confidence. James, however, in forming on his accession a new Privy Council for that country, was prevailed on to omit his name, on the ground of his having connected himself in marriage with the fanatical family of Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald, but that umbrage was soon removed, and in 1686 he was restored to his seat in the Council, and appointed a Brigadier General; in 1688 promoted to the rank of Major General; and, on the twelfth of November in that year, created by patent to him, and the heirs male of his body, with remainder, in default of such issue, to his other heirs male, Viscount of Dundee, and Baron Graham of Claverhouse, in Scotland. The gift of these dignities was, in fact, the concluding act of James's expiring government. Graham, who was then attending that unhappy Prince in London, used every effort that good sense and high spirit could suggest, to induce him to remain in his capital, and await there with dignified firmness the arrival of the Prince of Orange; undertaking for himself to collect, with that promptitude which was almost peculiar to him, ten thousand of the King's disbanded troops, and at their head to annihilate the Dutch forces which William had brought with him. Perhaps there existed not on the face of the earth another man so likely to redeem such an engagement, but James, depressed and irresolute, refused the offer. Struck, however, with the zeal and bravery, and indeed with the personal affection,

which had dictated it, he intrusted to Dundee the direction of all his military affairs in Scotland, whither that nobleman repaired just at the time that James fled from London.

When he arrived at Edinburgh he found a Convention sitting, as in London, of the Estates of the country, in which he took his place. He complained to that assembly that a design had been formed to assassinate him; required that all strangers should be removed from the town; and, his request having been denied, he left Edinburgh at the head of a troop of horse which he had hastily formed there of soldiers who had deserted in England from his own regiment. In the short interval afforded by the discussion of this matter, he formed his plans. After a conference with the Duke of Gordon, who then held the Castle for James, he set out for Stirling, where he called a Parliament of the friends of that Prince, and the revolutionists in Scotland saw their influence, even within a few days, dispelled as it were by magic, in obedience to his powerful energies. He was, in a manner, without troops, depending on the affections of those around him, which he had heated to enthusiasm, when a force sent by the Convention to seize his person seemed to remind him that he must have an army. He retired therefore into Lochaber; summoned a meeting of the chiefs of clans in the Highlands, and presently found himself at the head of six thousand of the hardy natives, well armed and accoutred. He now wrote to James, who, in compliance with French counsels, was wasting his time and means in Ireland, conjuring him to embark with a part of his army for Scotland, "where," as he told the King, "there were no regular troops, except four regiments, which William had lately sent down; where his presence would fix the wavering, and intimidate the timid; and where hosts of shepherds would start up warriors at the first wave of his banner upon their mountains." With the candour and plainness of a soldier and a faithful servant, he besought James to be content with the exercise of his own religion, and to leave in Ireland the Earl of Melfort Secretary of State, between whom and himself some jealousy existed which might be

prejudicial to a service in which they were alike devotedly sincere, however they might differ as to the best means of advancing it. James rejected his advice. "Dundee was furnished," says Burnet, "with some small store of arms and ammunition, and had kind promises, encouraging him, and all that joined with him."

Left now to his own discretion, and his own resources, he displayed, together with the greatest military qualifications, and the most exalted generosity and disinterestedness, all the subtlety of a refined politician. On his arrival at Inverness he found that a discord had long subsisted between the people of the town and some neighbouring chiefs, on an alleged debt from the one to the other, and that the two parties, with their dependants, had assembled in arms to decide the quarrel. He heard the allegations of the principals on each side, with an affectation of the exactness of judicial inquiry, and then, having convened the entire mass of the conflicting parties in public, reproached them with the most cutting severity, that they, "who were all equally friends to King James, should be preparing, at a time when he most needed their friendship, to draw those daggers against each other which ought to be plunged only into the breasts of his enemies." He then paid from his own purse the debt in dispute; and the late litigants, charmed by the grandeur of his conduct, instantly placed themselves in a cordial union under his banner. To certain other chiefs, upon whose estates the Earl of Argyle, who sought to restore his importance by attaching himself to the revolutionary party, had ancient claims in law, and to others, who had obtained grants from the Crown of some of that nobleman's forfeited lands, he represented the peril in which they would be placed by the success of William's enterprise on the British throne, and gained them readily to his beloved cause. He addressed himself with signal effect to all the powerful men of the north of Scotland; fomented the angry feelings of those who thought themselves neglected by the new government; flattered the vanity of those who, indifferent to the affairs of either party, sought simply for power and importance; corrupted several officers of the regi-

ments which were in preparation to be sent against him; and even managed to maintain a constant correspondence with some members of the Privy Council, by whom he was regularly apprised of the plans contrived from time to time to counteract his gigantic efforts. Nay, he contrived to detach, as it were in a moment, from Lord Murray, heir to the Earl of Athol, a body of a thousand men, raised by that nobleman on his father's estates; a defection of Highland vassals which had never till then occurred. "While Murray," says my author, "was reviewing them, they quitted their ranks; ran to an adjoining brook; filled their bonnets with water; drank to King James's health; and, with pipes playing, marched off to Lord Dundee."

So acute and experienced a commander as William could not be long unconscious of the importance of such an enemy. He despatched into Scotland, at the head of between five and six thousand picked troops, General M'Kay, who had long served him in Holland with the highest military reputation. In the mean time, James, who had been apprised of this disposition, sent orders to Dundee not to hazard a battle till the arrival of a force from Ireland, which he now promised. Two months however elapsed before it appeared, which Dundee, burning with impatience, was necessitated to pass in the mountains, in marches of unexampled rapidity, in furious partial attacks, and masterly retreats. It has been well said of him that, "the first messenger of his approach was generally his own army in fight, and that the first intelligence of his retreat, brought accounts that he was already out of his enemy's reach." The long-expected aid at length arrived, in the last week of June, 1689, consisting only of five hundred raw and ill-provided recruits, but he instantly made ready for action. He advanced to meet M'Kay, who was preparing to invest the Castle of Blair in Athol, a fortress the possession whereof enabled James's army to maintain a free communication between the northern and southern Highlands, and determined to attack William's troops on a small plain at the mouth of the pass of Killicranky, after they should have marched

through that remarkable defile, on their road to Blair. On the sixteenth of July at noon, M'Kay's army arrived on the plain, and discovered Dundee in array on the opposite hills. He had resolved, for reasons abounding with military genius, to defer his onset till the evening, and M'Kay by various expedients vainly tempted him during the day to descend: at length, half an hour before sunset, his Highlanders rushed down, with the celerity and the fury of lions, and William's army was in an instant completely routed. Dundee, who had fought on foot, now mounted his horse, and flew towards the pass, to cut off their retreat, when, looking back, he found that he had outstripped his men, and was nearly alone. He halted, and, waving his arm in the air, pointed to the pass, as a signal to them to hasten their march, and to occupy it. At that moment a ball from a musket aimed at him lodged in his body, immediately under the arm so raised. He fell from his horse, and, fainting, was carried off the field; but, soon after recovering his senses for a few seconds, he hastily inquired "how things went," and on being answered "all was well," "Then," said he, "I am well," and expired. William, on hearing of his death, said, "The war in Scotland is now ended."

The memory of this heroic partisan has been cherished in the hearts, and celebrated by the pens, of numbers of his countrymen. A poet thus pathetically addresses his shade, and bewails the loss sustained by Scotland in his death—

"Ultime Scotorum, potuit quo sospite solo
Libertas patriæ salva fuisse tuæ.
Te moriente novos accepit Scotia cives,
Accepitque novos te moriente Deos.
Illa tibi superesse negat, tu non potes illi,
Ergo Caledonia, nomen inane, vale!
Tuque vale gentis priscæ fortissime ductor,
Optime Scotorum, atque ultime, Grame, vale!"

And Sir John Dalrymple has left us some particulars of his military character exquisitely curious and interesting. "In his marches," says that author, "his men frequently wanted bread,

salt, and all liquors except water, during several weeks, yet were ashamed to complain, when they observed that their commander lived not more delicately than themselves. If anything good was brought him to eat, he sent it to a faint or sick soldier. If a soldier was weary, he offered to carry his arms. He kept those who were with him from sinking under their fatigues, not so much by exhortation as by preventing them from attending to their sufferings: for this reason he walked on foot with the men; now by the side of one clan, and anon by that of another: he amused them with jokes; he flattered them with his knowledge of their genealogies; he animated them by a recital of the deeds of their ancestors, and of the verses of their bards. It was one of his maxims that no general should fight with an irregular army, unless he was acquainted with every man he commanded. Yet, with these habits of familiarity, the severity of his discipline was dreadful: the only punishment he inflicted was death. All other punishments, he said, disgraced a gentleman, and all who were with him were of that rank; but that death was a relief from the consciousness of crime. It is reported of him that having seen a youth fly in his first action, he pretended he had sent him to the rear on a message. The youth fled a second time—he brought him to the front of the army, and saying that 'a gentleman's son ought not to fall by the hands of a common executioner,' shot him with his own pistol."

In society he is said to have been as much distinguished by a delicacy and softness of manners and temper, and by the most refined politeness, as he was by his sternness in war. Sir Walter Scott, in his Romance of *Old Mortality*, in which facts and fiction are blended with an uncommon felicity, gives us the following picture of his person and demeanour, evidently not the work of fancy, and probably in substance the result of respectable and inveterate tradition.

"Graham of Claverhouse was rather low of stature, and slightly, though elegantly, formed; his gesture, language, and manners, were those of one whose life had been spent among the

noble and the gay. His features exhibited even feminine regularity. An oval face, a straight and well-formed nose, dark hazel eyes, a complexion just sufficiently tinged with brown to save it from the charge of effeminacy, a short upper lip, curved upwards like that of a Grecian statue, and slightly shaded by small mus tachios of light brown, joined to a profusion of long curled locks of the same colour, which fell down on each side of his face, contributed to form such a countenance as limners like to paint, and ladies to look upon. The severity of his character, as well as the higher attributes of undaunted and enterprising valour which even his enemies were compelled to admit, lay concealed under an exterior which seemed adapted to the court or the saloon rather than to the field. The same gentleness and gaiety of expression which reigned in his features seemed to inspire his actions and gestures; and, on the whole, he was generally esteemed, at first sight, rather qualified to be the votary of pleasure than of ambition. But under this soft exterior was hidden a spirit unbounded in daring and in aspiring, yet cautious and prudent as that of Machiavel himself. Profound in politics, and imbued, of course, with that disregard for individual rights which its intrigues usually generate, this leader was cool in pursuing success, careless of death himself, and ruthless in inflicting it upon others. Such are the characters formed in times of civil discord, when the highest qualities, perverted by party spirit, and inflamed by habitual opposition, are too often combined with vices and excesses which deprive them at once of their merit and of their lustre."

Lord Dundee married Jane, third and youngest daughter of William Lord Cochrane, eldest son of William, first Earl of Dundonald, by whom he had an only child, James, who succeeded to the titles of his father, and survived him but for a few months.

Engraved by H.T. Ryall.

ELIZABETH CECIL, COUNTESS OF DEVONSHIRE.

OB. 1689.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HONBLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London Published Dec.1, 1836, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

ELIZABETH CECIL,

COUNTESS OF DEVONSHIRE.

This lady was the second daughter of William, second Earl of Salisbury of the Cecils, by Catharine youngest daughter of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk of his family, and Lord Treasurer. Little is known of her, than that she was distinguished by the most exquisite beauty; but the unceasing attachment of her excellent husband, and the silence of scandal in an age and court not sparing of censure, leave little doubt that her character was at least blameless. William, third Earl of Devonshire, that great ornament to the name of Cavendish, alluding to whose fine person Hobbes, his tutor, prayed that "God might give him virtues suitable to the fair dwelling he had prepared for them;" and of whom the respectable biographer of a part of his family has said that "he was seasoned with the just tincture of all private and public worth;" returning from his travels in 1637, was captivated by her charms, and soon after made her his wife. The match was little pleasing to his family. The Earl of Salisbury was not rich; burthened with a most numerous offspring; and of a character different from that of his son-in-law, even to contrariety. Salisbury was deficient in all the worthy and amiable relations of private life, and totally without public principles, or even prejudices: Devonshire was a pattern of honour, politeness, and loyalty. An union formed under circumstances so unpropitious afforded but a doubtful prospect of

happy results. The ardent passion however of this youthful pair seems to have subsided gradually into that nameless species of mutual affection which sometimes blesses and adorns the connubial state, and is never found to exist in any other form of human relation. They lived together nearly half a century. The Earl died on the twenty-third of November, 1684, and she survived him till the sixteenth of the same month, in the year 1689, and was buried, on the twenty-second, in a large vault, under the east window of Henry the Seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey, known by the name of the Ormond vault, in which the body of Oliver Cromwell lay, till it was removed soon after the restoration.

This lady brought to the Earl two sons: William, afterwards eminently conspicuous in the public affairs of his time, who, on the twelfth of May, 1694, was created Duke of Devonshire, and Marquis of Hartington, and from whom the present Duke is lineally descended; and a second son, Charles, born in 1655, who died unmarried about 1670. She left also one daughter, Anne, married first to Charles Lord Rich, only son to Charles, the last Earl of Warwick of his family; secondly, to her kinsman, John Cecil, Lord Burghley, afterwards Earl of Exeter. To this lady Prior addressed a poem of some length, which may be found in his works, inscribed "to the Countess of Exeter, playing on the lute," which commences thus—

> "What charms you have, from what high race you sprung,
> Have been the pleasing objects of my song;
> Unskill'd and young, yet something still I writ
> Of Candish' beauty, joined to Cecil's wit."

If the poet meant, in the conclusion of the last of these lines, to allude to the wit of her mother, and it is difficult to conceive that he could have had any other meaning, the passage lends some aid to the intention of this scanty memoir.

Engraved by W. Holl.

THE HONOURABLE ROBERT BOYLE.

OB. 1691.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HONBLE THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

London, Published Dec.r 1.1836 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

THE HONOURABLE ROBERT BOYLE.

A RELATION of the exercise of private virtues, and of the results of profound study, seldom excites general interest, and the events of Mr. Boyle's life are confined to a conduct invariably pious and moral, and to an almost infinite series of philosophical experiments, recorded by himself in treatises little less numerous.

He was the seventh son, and the fourteenth child, of Richard, the first Earl of Cork, a man who, through a rare combination of judgement, method, activity, and good fortune, rose without reproach from a state little removed from indigence to become the founder of immense wealth, and of a family dignified by more titles of nobility than have ever, either before or since his time, been distributed among the children of any individual British subject. His mother was Catharine, daughter of Sir Geoffroy Fenton, sometime Queen Elizabeth's principal Secretary of State for Ireland, and he was born at Lismore, in the county of Cork, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1626-7. All the particulars of his early life have been scrupulously preserved, by himself as well as others, for we have an account of them by his own pen, in which he describes himself under the name of Philaretus, even from his birth till he had reached manhood, and they exhibit some singularities worthy of notice. He tells us that his father, with the view of invigorating his health, subjected his infancy to hardships commonly endured by children only of the meanest peasants, which Aubrey, in his curious notices of the lives of eminent men, a few years since published from the originals in the Ashmolean

collection, illustrates by informing us that "he was nursed by an Irish nurse, after the Irish manner, where they put the child into a pendulous satchel, instead of a cradle, with a slit for the child's head to peep out." The experiment however failed, for he appears to have suffered throughout his life the inconveniences of a weakly constitution.

He received perhaps the most important part of his learned education at home, under one of his father's chaplains, for he attained there the rare habit of speaking Latin with perfect purity and fluency, for which he was ever after famous. He attributed this in a great measure to his performance of a singular task, worthy indeed of the diligence and patience which always distinguished him—the reading through, as he told Aubrey, of Cooper's Thesaurus, an immense dictionary, now scarcely remembered. He was sent however to Eton school, where he remained for more than four years, and where he tells us that he forgot much of his Latin; and is said, for he does not mention it, to have gone from thence for a short space to the university of Leyden, and then to Geneva, accompanied by his French Governor, as he terms him, a M. Marcombes, of whom, both as a tutor and a man, he gives a high character, and whose family resided in that city. There he sojourned till the year 1641, indulging in the study of mathematics, to which he had become ardently attached even from the date of his entrance at Eton, and devoting a great part of his time to profound scriptural inquiries, and to endeavours to solve the painful doubts and difficulties which had already begun to perplex his contemplative mind. In the autumn he passed into Italy, and took up his residence at Florence, where he remained till the ensuing March, when he went to Rome. He tells us that in this tour he relieved the severity of his studies, and of his application to objects yet more serious, by resolving, and executing his resolution, to pass over unexamined none of those infinitely varied curiosities of nature and art which distinguish the countries through which he passed; "nor did he sometimes scruple," adds he in the simplicity of his candour, "to visit, in

his governor's company, the famousest bordellos, whither resorting out of bare curiosity, he retained there an unblemished chastity, and still returned thence as honest as he went thither." Whatever be the degree of merit due to this forbearance in his seventeenth year, he is said to have practised it through life; and seems to have been not less impregnable by the impulses of the more refined and noble passion, for he never speaks of the female character but to decry it, or of love but for the sake of contemning it. "A man," says he, to use his own words in one of his essays, "must have very low and narrow thoughts of happiness or misery who can expect either from a woman's conduct."

In his journey from Rome little remarkable occurred. He tells us, with somewhat of ostentation, so difficult is it to keep the purest piety wholly clear of fanaticism, that he incurred some personal danger at Marseilles by refusing to take off his hat at the passing of the Crucifix, "as other English gentlemen did." He now again made his abode at Geneva, and returned not to England till 1644, shortly after the death of the Earl, his father, from whom he received a very great fortune. "His father, in his will," again says Aubrey, "when he comes to the settlement and provision for his son Robert, thus—'It^{m}. to my son Robert, whom I beseech God to blesse with a particular blessing, I bequeath,' &c. Mr. R. H. who has seene the rentall, sayes it was three thousand pounds p^{r}. ann. The greatest part is in Ireland. His father left him the mannor of Stalbridge, in com. Dorset, where is a great freestone house. It was forfeited by the Earle of Castlehaven." This occurring during the height of the grand rebellion, it became necessary that he should sue for permission to enjoy those estates, which, as some of his family stood well with the then ruling party, he readily obtained. The arrangement of this, and other affairs incident to such a change of circumstances, consumed much time, but in the beginning of the year 1646, he was enabled to fix his residence at Stalbridge.

It is said to have been at this period that he commenced the practice of chemistry, a science infinitely grateful to him, whose

mind, not less sober than active, delighted equally in inquiry and demonstration. It led him, insensibly, though rapidly, to extend his researches through all the branches of natural philosophy with an industry literally indefatigable. Himself became presently an object of wonder and curiosity. A man of noble birth, in all the pride of youth and wealth, devoting himself to the most abstruse studies, presented a phenomenon in the world of literature; and a crowd of the most learned and scientific of the age pressed forward to court his society, which he was by no means inclined to deny. He left the country therefore, and seems to have divided his time for some years between London and Oxford, in which seat of universal learning he at length fixed for a time his residence. In this interval he joined that learned body to which he is said to have given at the time the denomination of "the Invisible College," and which, after the Restoration, was incorporated under that of the Royal Society; and it was during his abode at Oxford that he invented the air-pump, or at least discovered and applied the principle on which it is founded, for we are told that "it was perfected for him" some years after, by the ingenious Mr. Robert Hooker.

In the mean time theology and morals had occupied little less of his attention than physics, and his labours and his life afforded an illustrious proof, in a time which stood much in need of such examples, that faith and virtue might be strengthened by an insight into those mysteries of nature which, by a strange perverseness, were, and are, frequently fantastically quoted with the design to weaken both. He now added to the fame of an acute natural philosopher that of a pious and learned divine. Lord Clarendon, and the good treasurer Southampton, for the advantage of the Church, and the honour of its ministry, pressed him to take holy orders, a proposal which, not without considerable deliberation, he declined. Bishop Burnet, who was in his confidence, and who preached his funeral sermon, tells us there that "his main reason was that he had so high a sense of the obligations of the pastoral care that he durst not undertake it, especially not

having felt within himself an inward motion to it by the Holy Ghost, and, the first question that is put to those who come to be initiated into the service of the church relating to that motion, he, who had not felt it, thought he durst not make the step lest he should have lyed to the Holy Ghost." So too, on conscientious scruples, he refused to accept the office of Provost of Eton, to which Charles the Second, in 1665, had of his own mere motion unexpectedly nominated him, and to which, in addition to his consciousness that he was peculiarly qualified for it, he really entertained a predilection, but he had persuaded himself that its duties could not be properly executed but by a priest. But his expenditure of money in the cause of Christianity may perhaps be vulgarly thought to afford the best proof of his affection to it. Burnet says that "he was at the charge of the translation and impression of the New Testament into the Malayan language, which he sent over all the East Indies; that he gave a noble reward to him that translated Grotius's incomparable book of the truth of the Christian religion into Arabic, and was at the charge of a whole impression, which he took care to be scattered in all the countries where that language is understood; that he was resolved to carry on the impression of the New Testament in the Turkish language, but that the Company thought it became them to be the doers of it, and so suffered him only to give a large share towards it; that he was at seven hundred pounds charge in the edition of the Irish Bible, which he ordered to be distributed in Ireland, and contributed liberally both to the impressions of the Welsh and of the Irish Bible for Scotland; that he gave during his life three hundred pounds to advance the design of propagating the Christian religion in America, and, as soon as he had heard that the East India Company were entertaining propositions for a like design in the East, he presently sent a hundred pounds for a beginning and an example." His munificence to the ministers of religion was yet more splendid. The King had bestowed on him, in 1662, unasked and unexpectedly, a grant of forfeited impropriations in Ireland, nearly the whole profits of which he

divided among the incumbents of the several livings from which they were derived, and the widows of those who had died subsequently to the dates of the forfeitures. The Bishop adds, that his private charities exceeded the sum of a thousand pounds annually. He founded also a lecture on the truth of the Christian Religion, and endowed it with an annual stipend of fifty pounds.

In order to enable himself the more effectually to prosecute some of these beneficent plans, as well as to forward his philosophical inquiries, he accepted the office of a director of the East India Company; and, with the latter view, became in 1664 a member of the company of the Mines Royal. He was also governor of the corporation established for propagating the Gospel in New England. The multiplicity of his engagements, retired as most of them were in their nature, and the extended intimacy which he had formed with the most learned and scientific persons of his time, now drew him to London, the proper soil for the cultivation of such pursuits and such connections. He removed thither in the spring of 1668, and settled himself for the remainder of his life in Pall Mall, in the house of his sister, Catharine, Dowager Countess of Ranelagh, a lady of celebrated talents and merits, between whom and himself the most cordial attachment subsisted. That remainder, though it included many years, may be said to have passed without a single incident but such as occurred in the laboratory or the closet. The true history of this part of his life, then, is to be found in an account of his stupendously numerous works, which, as the most part of them were written and published during that period, has been purposely reserved for this place.

The first of these, in the form of a letter to his nephew, the Lord Dungarvon, was entitled "New Experiments, physico-mechanical, touching the spring of the air, and its effects," and was printed at Oxford, in 1660. Some arguments which he had founded on these experiments were controverted by Franciscus Linus and Mr. Hobbes, and defended by him in a supplement to a second edition, which he published two years after in London.

In 1660 also appeared one of the best known, because one of the best, of his religious works, which he had finished several years before, called "Seraphic Love, or some motives and incentives to the Love of God," which has been frequently reprinted, as well as translated into Latin. In the succeeding year we have "Certain Physiological Essays, and other Tracts;" and in 1662 "The Sceptical Chymist." Both of these works were republished, with large additions; the first in 1669; the second in 1679. In 1662 came out "Considerations touching the usefulness of experimental natural philosophy," and a letter with "Observations on a Diamond that shines in the dark;" a tract remarkable for its curious original remarks on the theory of light and colours. The next year produced "Considerations on the style of the Holy Scriptures;" an extract from a more extensive work which subsequently appeared, under the title of "an Essay on Scripture." In 1665 he published "Occasional Reflections on several subjects," with a prefatory discourse on such essays. It was this collection of solemn trifles, for such it really was, that called forth, sixty years after, Dean Swift's well-known "pious meditation on a broomstick." It was however reprinted, and was presently followed by "New Experiments and Observations upon Cold, or an experimental history of cold begun," which also again appeared. In 1666 he printed "Hydrostatical Paradoxes made out by new experiments, for the most part physical and easy;" and, immediately after, "The Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to the Corpuscular System." In 1669 he put forth "A Continuation of new experiments touching the spring and weight of the air," to which he added "a Discourse of the Atmospheres of consistent bodies;" and the following year produced "Tracts about the cosmical qualities of things; cosmical suspicions; and the bottom of the sea."

A paralytic attack now for a time suspended his labours, but he was enabled to resume them within a few months, and in 1671 printed a second part of "Considerations on the usefulness of experimental and natural Philosophy;" and "a Collection of Tracts upon several useful and important points of practical Philosophy;"

and in 1672, "an Essay on the origin and virtue of Gems;" and "Tracts upon the relation between flame and air." He published in the succeeding year "Essays on the strange subtilty, great efficacy, and determinate nature of Effluvia;" a series of "Tracts on the saltness of the sea, the moisture of the air, and the natural and preternatural state of bodies;" and "an Essay on the excellence of Theology compared with natural history;" which was followed, in 1674, by "a Collection of Tracts, containing suspicions about hidden qualities of the air, with an appendix touching cœlestial magnets, and a discourse of the cause of attraction and suction;" and, in 1675, by "Considerations on the reconcileableness of reason and religion, by T. E. a layman;" to which he added a "discourse on the possibility of the Resurrection." In the next year he published "Experiments and notes about the mechanical origin or production of particular qualities, and among the rest of Electricity;" 1678, "an Historical account of a Degradation of gold, made by an Anti-elixir;" in 1680, "the Aerial Noctiluca, a process of a factitious self-shining substance;" in 1681, "a Discourse of things above reason, enquiring whether a philosopher should admit that there are any such;" in 1682, "New Experiments and Observations on the Icy Noctiluca," with "a chemical paradox, grounded upon new experiments, making it probable that chemical principles are transmutable, so that out of one of them others may be produced;" and also "a Continuation of new experiments, physico-mechanical, touching the spring and weight of the air, and their effects." In the succeeding year he printed a letter to Dr. Beal, on the making of fresh water out of salt; and in the next, "Memoirs for the natural history of the human blood;" and "Experiments and considerations about the porosity of bodies."

In 1685 his indefatigable pen produced "Short Memoirs for the natural experimental history of mineral waters"—"Essays on the great effects of even, languid, and unheeded motion; and on the salubrity and insalubrity of the air"—"a treatise on the reconcileableness of specific medicines to the corpuscular philosophy"

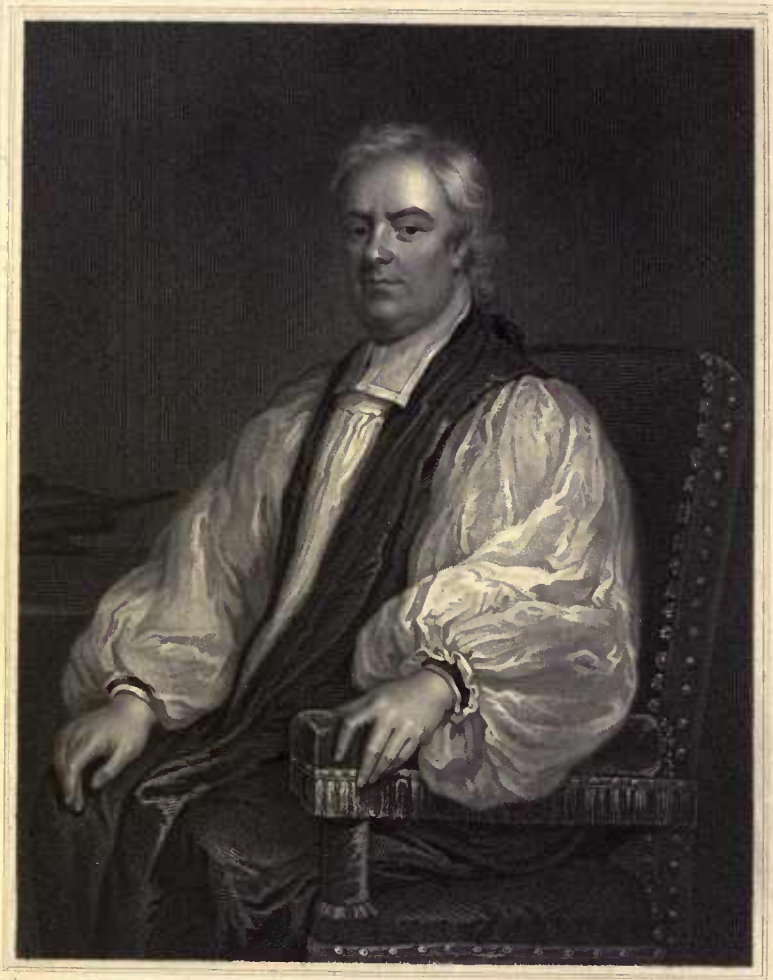
—and another "of the high veneration man's Intellect owes to God, peculiarly for his wisdom and power." In 1686 he printed "a free Enquiry into the vulgarly received notion of Nature;" in 1687, "The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymus," one of his earliest, and perhaps most insignificant publications: and in the succeeding year, "a Disquisition about the final causes of natural things, and whether a naturalist should admit them." In 1690 appeared "Medicina Hydrostatica, or hydrostatics applied to the Materia Medica;" and "the Christian Virtuoso, shewing that by being addicted to experimental philosophy a man is rather assisted than indisposed to be a good Christian;" and in 1691, the last year of his life, as well as of his labours, "Experimenta et Observationes Physicæ," wherein are briefly treated of several subjects relating to natural history in an experimental way. In addition to this enormous catalogue, not to mention numerous pieces printed by the Royal Society, we are told that he left unpublished nineteen theological, and thirty-six philosophical, tracts, several of which afterwards issued from the press.

"He had," says Burnet, "for almost forty years laboured under such a feebleness of body, and such lowness of strength and spirits, that it will appear a surprising thing to imagine how it was possible for him to read, to meditate, to try experiments, and to write, as he did. He bore all his infirmities and some sharp pains with the decency and submission that became a Christian Philosopher. He was advised to a very ungrateful simplicity of diet, which by all appearance was that which preserved him so long beyond all men's expectation. This he observed so strictly, that in a course of above thirty years he neither eat nor drank to gratify the varieties of appetite, but merely to support nature. He had a feebleness in his sight: his eyes were so well used by him, that it will be easily imagined he was very tender of them. He did also imagine that if sickness obliged him to lie long in bed, it might raise the pains of the stone in him to a degree that was beyond his weak strength to bear, so that he feared that his last minutes might be too hard for him. I mention these, the rather that I may have

occsaion to shew the goodness of God in the two things that he feared, for his sight began not to grow dim above four hours before he died, and when death came upon him he had not been above three hours a bed before it made an end of him, with so little uneasiness that it was plain the light went out merely for want of oil to maintain the flame." That event occurred on the thirteenth of December, 1691; probably somewhat hastened by the loss of his beloved sister and companion, the Lady Ranelagh, who after a long illness expired in the same house a few days before him. He was buried with her in the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Westminster. Mr. Boyle was never married.

Burnet, who was no flatterer, after ascribing to him every religious and moral perfection, closes his eulogy with this summary of his acquired talents—"His knowledge was of so vast an extent, that if it were not for the variety of vouchers in their several sorts, I should be afraid to say all I know. He carried the study of the Hebrew very far into the Rabbinical writings, and other Oriental Languages. He had read so much of the Fathers, that he had formed out of it a clear judgment of all the eminent ones. He had read a vast deal on the Scriptures, and had gone very nicely through the whole controversies of religion, and was a true master in the whole body of Divinity. He ran the whole compass of the mathematical sciences; and though he did not set himself to spring new game, yet he knew even the abstrusest parts of geometry, geography, in the several parts of it that related to navigation or travelling; history, and books of travels, were his diversions. He went very nicely through all the parts of physic, only the tenderness of his nature made him less able to endure the exactness of anatomical dissections, especially of living animals, though he knew these to be the most interesting; but for the History of Nature, ancient and modern, of the productions of all countries, of the virtues and improvement of plants, of ores, of minerals, and of all the varieties that are in them in different climates, he was by much, by very much the readiest and the perfectest I ever knew, in the greatest compass, and with the greatest exactness.

This put him in the way of making all that vast variety of experiments beyond any man, as far as we know, that ever lived, and in these as he made great progress in new discoveries, so he used so nice a strictness, and delivered them with so scrupulous a truth, that all who have examined them have found how safely the world may depend upon them. But his peculiar and favorite study was chemistry, in which he engaged with none of those ravenous and ambitious designs that draw many into them. His design was only to find out nature, to see into what principles things might be resolved, and to prepare good medicaments for the bodies of men. He spent neither his time nor his fortune upon vain pursuits of high promises or pretensions, and as he made chemistry much the better for his dealing in it, so he never made himself either the worse or the poorer for it. It was a charity to others as well as an entertainment to himself, for the produce of it was distributed by his sister and others into whose hands he put it. I will not here amuse you with a list of his astonishing knowledge, or of his great performances in this way. They are highly valued all the world over, and his name is every where mentioned with particular characters of respect. I will conclude this article with this, in which I appeal to all competent judges, that few men, if any, have been known to have made so great a compass and to have been so exact in all parts of it as he was."



Engraved by W. Holl.

JOHN TILLOTSON, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OB. 1694.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR GODFREY KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

London Published Dec.r 1.1806 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JOHN TILLOTSON,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

This prelate, whose character and conduct formed a worthy illustration of the principles of that religion of which he was a zealous and distinguished minister, was born in the autumn of the year 1630, at Sowerby, in the parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire, and was the eldest son of Robert Tillotson, by Mary, daughter of Thomas Dobson, of the same place. His father, a substantial clothier there, was a man of acknowledged piety, and remarkable for his profound knowledge of the Scriptures, and for the ardour with which he professed the system of Calvin. The early education of the son was conducted among persons of the same persuasion; but it was, also, upon the most liberal scale that the circumstances of the times, and his father's means, could afford. In 1647, he was matriculated of Clare Hall, Cambridge, commenced Bachelor of Arts in 1650, in the following year was elected Fellow of his college, and in 1654 took his degree of Master of Arts. The society into which he fell at Cambridge had the effect of eradicating the notions he had imbibed from his earlier associations; and Chillingworth's celebrated work, "The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation," is said to have led him to those orthodox conclusions which were confirmed by the conversation of Cudworth and other equally eminent theologians who were resident at the university with him and which he ever afterwards earnestly and beneficially maintained.

In 1657, he became tutor to the son of Edmund Prideaux, of Ford Abbey, in Devonshire, a distinguished lawyer, who had been a Commissioner of the Great Seal under the Long Parliament, and who then held the office of Cromwell's Attorney-General. It is said that he performed the duties of chaplain in the family of

this gentleman, but it is at least clear that he had then resolved to devote himself to the service of the church. He soon afterwards preached in London; and, having submitted himself to the provisions of the act of uniformity in 1662, he served the curacy of Cheshunt, in Herts. In the latter part of this year, he was elected minister of the church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, of which Edmund Calamy had been deprived for nonconformity; but, not choosing to accept of this benefice, he was, in the June following, presented to the rectory of Keddington, in Suffolk. The doctrines which he preached there were not well received by his parishioners, who were nearly all Calvinists, and whose former minister had just before been ejected for his refusal to conform; Mr. Tillotson having, at the same time that he discovered this circumstance, been invited by the Society of Lincoln's Inn to accept the office of their preacher, gladly renounced his living for an occupation which, though less lucrative, was more agreeable to his feelings. In London his talents were properly appreciated, and he soon became one of the most popular divines of the metropolis. He had cultivated with great assiduity, and with that success which cannot fail to attend the labours of true genius, in whatever direction it may be exerted, those branches of eloquence which are most suitable to the pulpit. He had conceived an early disgust for the vulgar vehemence which too often characterised the sermons of enthusiastic preachers of the various sects of Presbyterians and Puritans. To avoid this gross fault, and to maintain that dignified simplicity which is best adapted to the purpose of inculcating the doctrines of religion, were his main objects. His style was clear and plain, impressive without affectation, majestic without violence or false pomp, and at once grateful to the taste of the most cultivated auditories, without ever soaring above the capacities of the most humble: it was this rare excellence which gained for him the approbation of all who heard him, and ensured the attendance of numerous congregations wherever he was called upon to discharge his duties.

It was not in the pulpit alone that Mr. Tillotson laboured in the support of the church to which he had dedicated himself; he defended its doctrines by an able reply to a book published in 1664, by John Serjeant, alias Smith, who had renounced the protestant religion for that of the church of Rome, and he also assisted and encouraged the elaborate and costly publication of the "Synopsis criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturæ interpretum," undertaken by Matthew Pool, and which appeared in 1669.

In 1666, the degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred on him; and in 1668 he preached at the consecration of his friend, Dr. Wilkins, as Bishop of Chester. In 1670, he was made a prebendary, and, two years afterwards, dean of the cathedral of Canterbury. In 1675, he was preferred to the prebend of Eadland, and, in 1678, to that of Oxgate, when he became also a residentiary in the church of St. Paul, London. He had by this time gained a high reputation as well for learning and ability as for the unimpeachable propriety of his conduct in private life. From the political discussions which then occupied the minds and influenced the characters of almost all men in prominent stations he held wholly aloof. It was not, however, possible for him to avoid taking a part in the dissensions that existed between the supporters of the established church and the protestant sectarians, who maintained a difference of opinion with great firmness, and occasionally with a degree of violence which the subject by no means justified. In discharging the painful duty which was thus imposed upon him, he invariably displayed a desire to conciliate, and a moderation of temper, which, although they failed to influence those of his own party, ensured him the respect and goodwill of the more reasonable of his opponents. Charles, Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Shrewsbury, an orphan of a Roman Catholic family, having, on attaining manhood, begun to entertain doubts concerning the faith in which he was bred, Dr. Tillotson's advice and assistance were solicited, and his arguments and persuasions were so successfully employed that the young nobleman became,

after diligent and earnest investigation of the important subject, a convert to the system of the reformed church. Some parts of his Grace's conduct afterwards gave rise to the report that, although he had renounced the religion of his ancestors, he had not adopted the principles or performed the duties which are incumbent on every man professing Christianity. Dr. Tillotson, on this occasion, addressed a letter to his convert in a style of pure and simple eloquence which is not less remarkable for its convincing force than for the absence of all arguments drawn merely from theological authorities: it is a manly remonstrance, appealing to the good sense and honourable feelings of the young nobleman, and full of that concern which it professes, that he "should rather continue a virtuous and good man than have become a protestant."

The estimation in which he was held by the members of his own profession was testified on several occasions. Dr. Burnet, with whom he lived on intimate terms, submitted his History of the Reformation to his revisal. Dr. Wilkins left his manuscripts to his care, from which Dr. Tillotson selected and published the treatise "on the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion," and a volume of Sermons; and he performed a similar office for his friend Dr. Barrow, whose Sermons were printed after his death, under the superintendance of Dr. Tillotson.

On the occasion of Lord Russell's arrest, Tillotson, who had long been acquainted with him, attended him with all the assiduity of the most anxious friendship; appeared as a witness in his favour on his trial, cheered the last days of his imprisonment; nor quitted him until that awful moment when the world closed upon him. He has been blamed, by partisans whose zeal has obscured their judgment, for the efforts he made to induce that ill-fated nobleman to retract some of the political opinions he professed. The disinterestedness and purity of Tillotson's character are a sufficient answer to such censures; and his excuse, if he needed one, would be abundantly furnished by his sincere belief that a compliance with his request would have saved the life of his friend.

On the accession of William the Third, Dr. Tillotson was appointed Clerk of the Closet, and admitted into the favour and confidence of the Monarch and his consort. In September, 1689, he gave up his deanery of Canterbury for that of St. Paul, and once more exerted himself, though still without success, in endeavouring to reconcile the scruples of the dissenters respecting the liturgy, and to remove some of the restrictions which pressed upon them. In the same year, Archbishop Sancroft having been suspended for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, Dr. Tillotson was elected by the chapter of his cathedral to exercise the archiepiscopal jurisdiction of the See of Canterbury; and on Sancroft being deprived, he was nominated by the King to fill the office of Primate. Against accepting this dignity he remonstrated with great earnestness and unquestionable sincerity. There was nothing in it but its distinction to tempt any man; ambition was certainly not one of his faults, and for all honourable and useful ends he was already sufficiently distinguished. He knew, too, that to succeed the deprived prelate would at once expose him to all the virulence and invective of a numerous party, whose dissatisfaction had already carried them beyond the bounds of decency. At length he was overcome, though not convinced, and on the thirty-first of May, 1691, was consecrated, at Bow Church, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the most eminent dignitaries of the church, and some of the first noblemen of the court.

His accession to the See of Canterbury produced the consequences he had foreseen. Not only was he assailed by the insults and libels of all who shared the opinions with which Sancroft was identified, but the zealous members of the Church of which he had become the head regarded his moderation towards the dissenters as an unpardonable crime. The approbation of his own conscience, and the appeal which he could confidently make to a long and useful life, passed in the face of the public, were sufficient to sustain his temper against the unfounded imputations of those who were his enemies because they were the foes of virtue and

rectitude; but that appetite for slander, that proneness rather to believe evil than to admit the proof of good, which were as rife in his day as they are in our own, had the effect of blackening his reputation in the eyes of the vulgar. The artifices and attacks of his adversaries produced, however, no effect upon his conduct, and least of all could they provoke him to visit upon their authors the punishment they had deserved. When several persons who had been engaged in circulating some of the scurrilous publications issued against him were arrested, he exerted his interest with the government to shield them from condemnation. Of those more private insults which were directed against him personally, whatever pain they might have occasioned him, he took no notice; but after his death a bundle of libels was found among his papers with this inscription in his own writing. "These are libels. I pray God forgive them; I do."

When he found himself in possession of the power attached to his new office, he endeavoured to exert it for the purifying and perfecting the ecclesiastical constitution, for which he had laid many noble designs. The difficulties which presented themselves were, however, so many, and the time he was destined to enjoy that power so short, that he was unable to accomplish his objects. At his request Dr. Burnet wrote his "Discourse of the Pastoral Care," in which some of the Archbishop's views are developed; and he procured the Queen's encouragement of that Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles which was performed also by Burnet, and which was warmly applauded by Dr. Tillotson. On the eighteenth of November, 1694, while in the chapel at Whitehall, he was seized with a sudden illness, which on the thirtieth of the same month terminated his existence, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. The disease was a palsy, so severe that it impeded his utterance, but yet left him the power of expressing his resignation to the will of God, and the satisfaction of a quiet conscience. The manner of his death was consistent with the tenour of his life, and exhibited an eminent proof of the power of religion

over the awful terrors which attend the separation of the soul from the body.

The expenses of his see, the payment of his predecessor's debts, which he took upon himself, and the liberal discharge of the duties of charity and hospitality which belonged to his station had so exhausted his income, that if the King had not relinquished the first fruits, he would not at his death have possessed sufficient to pay his debts. When they were satisfied, it was found that all which remained for the support of his family consisted of his posthumous sermons, the copyright of which was sold for two thousand five hundred guineas. He left a widow, Elizabeth, the daughter of a Mr. French, by a sister of Oliver Cromwell, to whom he had been married in February, 1663-4, and by whom he had two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, who died in his life-time. On his death, the King granted his widow a pension of four hundred pounds a year for her life, to which two hundred pounds were added three years afterwards, and which she continued to enjoy till her death, on the twentieth of January, 1702.

Of his abilities and learning, his voluminous works furnish the most satisfactory memorial, and justify the opinion of that sound critic, Dr. Jortin, who has said, " this should not be forgotten, that of those who passed their judgments upon him, there never was a son of absurdity who did not dislike, nor a sensible reader who did not approve, his writings." His person has been described by Mr. Beardmore, who had been his pupil at Cambridge, with great minuteness, in these terms: " His countenance was fair and very amiable; his face round, his eyes vivid, and his air and aspect quick and ingenuous; all which were the air and index of his excellent soul and spirit. His hair brown and bushy; he was moderately tall; very slender and sparing in his youth; his constitution but tender and frail to outward appearance. He became corpulent and fat when grown in age, which increased more and more as long as he lived; but yet was neither a burthen to himself nor in the least unseemly to others."

Engraved by H. Robinson.

WILLIAM, FIRST EARL OF CRAVEN.

OB. 1697.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HONTHORST, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF CRAVEN.

London, Published Dec^r 1.1836, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

WILLIAM, FIRST EARL OF CRAVEN.

FROM a Yorkshire family, seated at Appletrewick, in Craven, from which district doubtless it derived its surname, sprung Sir William Craven, a younger son, who became a merchant and Alderman of London, acquired great wealth, and served the offices of Sheriff and Lord Mayor. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of William Whitmore, of that city, and he had by her three sons, and two daughters, both of whom were married to powerful Peers. Of the sons, William, the subject of this memoir, was the eldest; John, the second, was created by King Charles the First, in 1643, Lord Craven, of Ryton, in Shropshire, and left no issue; and Thomas, the youngest, died unmarried. William therefore not only inherited his father's extensive possessions, but became at length heir to those of his brothers.

He was born early in the year 1606, and even from his childhood manifested a strong passion for a military life, which he was permitted to gratify before he came of age in active service in Germany, and in the Netherlands under Henry Prince of Orange, where, in addition to the most determined bravery, he is said to have displayed all those qualities of mind that are esteemed essential in the character of a commander. He returned in the spring of 1627, on the fourth of March, in which year he was knighted, and on the twelfth of the same month raised to the rank of a baron, by the title of Lord Craven, of Hamsted Marshall, in Berks. Having passed more than three years in courtly and rural occupations not at all to his taste, a new oppor-

tunity for warfare offered itself, and he seized it with eagerness. In 1631 the King despatched a considerable body of English troops to the aid of Gustavus Adolphus, who had attacked the Emperor of Germany in his country, and had on his part engaged to use his best efforts to reinstate the Elector Palatine, nominal King of Bohemia, and the unfortunate brother-in-law to Charles, in the possession of his hereditary dominions. Whether Lord Craven embarked in this expedition with any distinct command, or in the character of a volunteer, is uncertain; his conduct however in the field raised his military reputation to the utmost, and excited the admiration even of the heroic Swede, by whom he was presently admitted not only to favour, but to confidence. He marched with that Prince in February, 1632, from Bavaria into the Palatinate, where he distinguished himself by a valour almost romantic in the siege of the strong fortress of Creutznach, in the successful assault of which he first entered the breach. Gustavus, brave as he was, could not help telling him that "he gave his younger brother too many chances for his estate;" and rejoiced no less that he had escaped only with a wound in his thigh from a pike than for the fortunate result of the enterprise.

The King of Sweden fell at Lutzen almost immediately after this event, and his death was presently followed by that of the King of Bohemia. Craven now attached himself and his sword to the cause of that Prince's son, the young Elector Palatine, whose various fortunes he seems to have shared till the year 1637, when the Emperor finally crushed the hopes of that ill-fated House in a decisive action, and, the Elector having with difficulty saved himself by flight, his brother Rupert, and Lord Craven, fell into the hands of the victors. It was probably about this period that he became intimately known to Elizabeth, the mother of those royal youths, whose exquisitely amiable qualities, joined to no inconsiderable share of personal beauty, had justly obtained for her the title of "the Queen of Hearts." He now devoted himself romantically to her. When she took refuge in Holland, where she at length settled for the remainder of her life, he

followed her, and entered into the service of the House of Nassau. They became inseparable. He husbanded and aided her impoverished purse, regulated her household, and superintended all her affairs. Reports naturally arose that they were secretly married, and there is abundant reason to believe that such was the fact. He returned no more to England till after the Restoration, but stood aloof, brave and loyal as he certainly was, beholding, in a tranquil inactivity which could scarcely be ascribed to any weaker motive than that passion which frequently absorbs all others, his country for years in arms, and his King gradually declining from the throne to the scaffold.

That this forbearance on his part arose not, however, from disaffection or negligence was clearly proved. No man contributed more largely to the necessities of the Crown, or suffered severer penalties for his loyalty, than himself. The whole of his great revenue was devoted during the war to the King, and to his sister the Queen of Bohemia, and afterwards to the maintenance of a shadow of royalty in the little court of the exiled Charles the Second. The parliament at length marked him as a victim, and an infamous person of the name of Falconer was procured to swear that the Lord Craven had promoted a petition from several persons praying the King to employ them against the rulers in England, who were designated in that petition "barbarous and inhuman rebels." This testimony was supported, if it may be so said, by the depositions of two others, somewhat more conscientious, who would report no further than that they had seen him waiting on the King at Breda, and that Charles had intrusted to him the care of one of his natural children. On the strength of this wretched evidence the Parliament resolved on the sixteenth of March, 1650-1, that "the Lord Craven was an offender within the meaning and intention of the declaration of the twenty-fourth of August, 1649, that all persons who might adhere to, or aid and assist Charles Stuart, son to the late King, should be deemed traitors and rebels; that the estate of the said Lord Craven should be confiscated accordingly; and that the commis-

sioners appointed for such purposes should seize and sequester all his estates, real and personal, and receive the rents and profits to the use of the commonwealth." The parliament, however, degenerate as it was, hesitated long on the question whether this unjust sentence should be executed, but at length, after many debates and divisions, a bill for the sale of all his property was passed by a majority of three voices, on the third of August, 1653, and this act of rapine was aggravated to the utmost by the almost incredible fact that on the second of the preceding May Falconer had been convicted of perjury in giving the very testimony which had furnished a pretext for it. His estates were now allotted, for the most part, to the very men whose votes had deprived him of them.

The injuries thus sustained, and the services which he had rendered, were somewhat compensated by Charles the Second, who, immediately after the Restoration, advanced him to the titles of Viscount Craven of Uffington in Berks, and Earl of Craven in Yorkshire, and about the same time called him to the Privy Council, and appointed him Lord Lieutenant of the county of Middlesex, and Custos Rotulorum of Berks. The colonelcy of the regiment of guards then and still called "the Coldstream," was some years after bestowed on him, and he held, probably at a yet later date, the office of High Steward of the University of Cambridge, and a share in the proprietary of the province of Carolina in North America; he was also Master of the Trinity House. In 1665, having no issue, he obtained a new patent to settle his barony of Craven on Sir William Craven, of Combe Abbey, in Warwickshire, great-grandson and heir male of his uncle Henry, elder brother to his father, and in right of descent from that Sir William it is now held by the nobleman to whom the rest of the titles have been of late years granted.

The Earl of Craven lived to a great age, always kindly received at Court, because he asked no favours there, and lived in an easy familiarity with men of all parties because he had attached himself to none. It is said of him that "he was one of the

most accomplished gentlemen in Europe; an useful subject; charitable; abstemious as to himself, generous to others; familiar in his conversation, and universally beloved." It may be added, perhaps, that he was somewhat of a humourist. We are told that he had a singular inclination, almost a passion, for conflagrations, and that it was his custom to have a horse always ready for him to mount in the moment of his receiving the news of a house on fire. He indulged this disposition with much public benefit in the great calamity of 1666, in which he is said to have been not only to the last degree active, but eminently useful. So too had he been in the awful visitation of the preceding year, during which he remained constantly in London, advising on the best means of preventing the contagion, and even visiting the infected, to whom indeed it may be said that his care was extended even after their death, for he gave a piece of land for the burial exclusively of those who should die of the plague then or thereafter. When buildings were erected on this ground, which is the site of Carnaby Market, a field on his estate at Paddington was given in exchange for it, which is yet, at least nominally, subject to the provision in question.

This nobleman died unmarried, at his house in Drury Lane, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, on the ninth of April, 1697, and was buried at Binley, near Coventry.

Engraved by J. Cochran

WILLIAM RUSSELL, DUKE OF BEDFORD.

OB. 1700.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published Dec. 1. 1826, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

WILLIAM RUSSELL,

DUKE OF BEDFORD.

This nobleman, the first of his eminent family that was advanced to the highest rank of the peerage, was the eldest son of Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, by Catherine, daughter and coheir of Giles Brydges, third Lord Chandos. He was born in 1613, and received his education at Magdalen College, in Oxford. The few circumstances of his life which have been handed down to us are chiefly of a domestic nature. Soon after he returned from his travels he became violently enamoured of a young lady, to whose exquisite beauty a portrait in this work bears ample testimony, nor were the qualities of her mind less admirable, and his passion was met by her with equal ardour. She was the only child of that unhappy and guilty pair, Robert Car, Earl of Somerset, and Frances Howard, the divorced Countess of Essex. The Earl, his father, with feelings for which no apology is necessary, vehemently opposed their union, and was at last induced by the King's express interposition to give it his unwilling consent; but his conduct in the arrangements for the nuptials was neither dignified nor delicate. Somerset's fortune, as well as his character, had been lost in the dark abyss of ruin into which he had plunged himself: his last remaining comfort was his daughter, whom he loved with the most tender fondness; and the Earl of Bedford now left him no alternative but to reduce himself to beggary, or to destroy probably for ever, her peace: he insisted on a portion of twelve thousand pounds for the wife of his son, and Somerset, to whom of the wealth which James had heaped on him scarcely any thing remained but his house at Chiswick, sold it, together with the furniture, and his plate

and jewels, to raise that sum, saying that, " since her affections were settled, he chose rather to undo himself than to make her unhappy."

He was a member of that wretched assembly which met on the third of November, 1640, and is known by the appellation of the Long Parliament. His father, a man of restless and ambitious temper, had from the commencement of the public discords attached himself to the popular party, with the view of forcing on the King an administration to be formed and headed by himself; and Lord Russell, as might be expected, obeyed in some measure the dictates, and followed the example, of his parent. But his disposition was mild and moderate, and his future conduct with regard to public affairs soon proved the just value which he set on a name too exalted to be tarnished by any arts but those which spring from party intrigue, and an inheritance too mighty to be shaken but by such popular convulsions as might threaten the existence even of empires. He accepted, it is true, the command of General of the Horse, under the Earl of Essex, in the army first raised by the Parliament, his commission for which was granted on the fourteenth of July, 1642, two months after he had succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father, and was almost immediately detached, with a powerful body of cavalry, and seven thousand foot, to harrass the Marquis of Hertford in the western counties, where that nobleman was employed in levying forces for the King. He conducted the enterprise with vigour and success; rejoined the main army; and distinguished himself on the twenty-fourth of the following October at the battle of Edge Hill, where he commanded that reserve of Horse which gained the reputation of having by a timely relief, saved the Parliament army from total discomfiture: but he quitted the rebel service within one year from the date at which he entered it. History affords us no clue to the motives which induced him to this sudden step; the testimony however of a long remaining life, marked by the highest honour and

probity in private concerns, and by an unsuspected, though passive, loyalty, leaves us little room to doubt that his secession ought to be widely distinguished from the unworthy vacillations of many of his compeers.

Towards the end of the summer of 1643 he repaired to London with Essex, and some other noblemen of the party, who had at length determined to use their utmost efforts to accomplish a peace, and voted for a conference with the Commons, which was held on the fifth of August, to settle the terms which it might be proper to propose to the King, and to assure them of the concurrence and steady support of the House of Peers. They arrived however but to behold the rapid decline of that great branch of the legislature; and the Earl of Bedford, disappointed in the salutary views which he had too late conceived, and threatened, and even pursued, by a wild and savage mob, to the raising of which he had unwittingly contributed his own great authority, resolved to fly to Oxford, and place himself under the protection of the King. Amidst difficulties and dangers, he reached Wallingford, in Berkshire, the royal garrison nearest to London, where he was admitted by the Governor, who would not however allow him to proceed without orders from the Privy Council, in which it was long debated, with great heat, whether he should be received; at length the King, who was then besieging Gloucester, came for one day to Oxford, purposely to decide the question, and commanded that he should be sent for, together with the Earl of Holland, who had left the rebel army with him, and had now accompanied him in his journey. Charles received him graciously, and not only readily granted his request of pardon, which he soon after prudently took out under the great Seal, but accepted his offer of personal service; and, having joined the royal army, he was present in the first battle of Newbury, on the twentieth of September, where, says Lord Clarendon, "he charged in the King's regiment of horse very bravely, and behaved himself throughout very well." He returned to Oxford with the

King, who treated him with a marked condescension, and even apparent confidence, but the carriage of the Court and Council towards him was less complaisant. He became disgusted, and on the following Christmas day, rather in the character of a visitor than a partisan, once more joined the Earl of Essex, who then lay with his army at St. Albans. He had in the mean time secretly, as Lord Clarendon observes, "made his peace at Westminster," whither he repaired soon after, to his own house, and was, for form's sake, committed to the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod; a sequestration was put also on his estates, which, however, together with his person, were presently released. Those whom the fortune of war had converted into rulers, satisfied with having detached him from the royal cause, required no further active service from him, and he buried himself in retirement till the total extinction of the rebellion.

In the spring of 1660, when the Peers once more met, preparatory to the Restoration, he joined them with becoming cheerfulness, and lent a steady and sincere aid to that great measure. He remained however unemployed, either in court or ministry, till his death, and seems to have observed an honest neutrality amidst the factions which distracted the three reigns under which he was destined yet to live. In the innumerable tracts which have issued from the press on the subject of that conspiracy which unhappily deprived him of his eldest son, his name is never mentioned, save than to state that he offered a hundred thousand pounds to the Duchess of Portsmouth to prevail on the King to spare a life so precious to him, and to record the bitter taunt which he flung at James the second, when in the last agonies of his expiring sovereignty. "My Lord," said that miserable Prince, when for the last time he called about him the few eminent persons who had not yet joined his adversary, "you are a good man: you have much interest with the Peers: you can do me service with them to-day." The Earl, with a pardonable vengeance, replied, "Alas, Sir, I am old and

useless—but I once had a son, who might have served your Majesty on this occasion."

When the Prince and Princess of Orange mounted the Throne he was sworn of their Privy Council; was soon after appointed Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Bedford, Cambridge, and Middlesex; and on the eleventh of May, 1694, was advanced to the dignities of Marquis of Tavistock, and Duke of Bedford. He married Anne, daughter and heir, as has been before observed, to Robert Car, Earl of Somerset, and had issue by her six sons, and three daughters. Francis, the eldest son, who died in 1679, unmarried; William, who perished on the scaffold on the twenty-first of July, 1683, from whom the present noble Duke is lineally descended; Edward, and Robert, both of whom married, but died childless; James, and George, also married, but from whom no male issue now remains. The daughters were Anne, who died unmarried; Diana, married first to Sir Greville Verney, of Compton Verney, in Warwickshire, Knight of the Bath, secondly, to William, Lord Allington in Ireland; and Margaret, wife of her kinsman, Edward Russell, Earl of Orford. The Duke, their father, died on the seventh of September, 1700, and was buried with his ancestors at Cheyneys, in the county of Bucks. Some account of his character is to be found in a sermon, preached on the occasion of his death, by Samuel Freeman, D. D. rector of the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, and as nothing to the same purpose occurs elsewhere in print, I will insert a few passages from it, without apologising for their triteness and redundancies.

"Who can sufficiently admire or fully imitate the sweetness of his temper, and the benignity of his nature; The greatness of his birth made him the more humble; the height of his condition did not exalt his mind; there was nothing of pride and fastidiousness in his conversation; 'twas all condescension, without being mean and cheap. That man had a great deal of demerit in him indeed that was wholly refused admittance into his presence, and none ever went uneasy out of it whose requests were

reasonable, and their persons not unworthy. Nothing but sin had his frown. The good actions of men had his praise; their weakness his excuse; their afflictions his pity; and their distresses his succour. His piety towards God was sincere and unaffected; his devotions in the closet daily; in public constant, uniform, and regular. He had indeed a charitable opinion of all good men who did not come up in all points to the Church of England, but he utterly disliked schism and separation. His religion was inward; in reality and substance, not placed in externals. He was very much for unity and peace in the Church; but his opinion was that they might be preserved by a mutual forbearance in matters of ceremony without a rigid imposition of them, and he was wont to say that he thought it equally superstitious to shew too much zeal, either for or against them; but, whilst he "made known his moderation unto all men," and bestowed his favours too upon many whom he judged conscientious though of a different persuasion he ever in his practice kept close to the Church of England. You might see him, unless prevented by sickness, or other necessary occasion, every Lord's day at church, and there behaving himself with the greatest devotion, strictest attention, and humblest reverence, especially at the blessed sacrament; communicating frequently; always on his knees, and with most ardent affections; and ever expressing a great uneasiness and dissatisfaction when unexpected accidents kept him, as he used sensibly to call it, from "the food of his soul."

"Here was the family wherein not an oath nor a profane jest could be heard; where sobriety was habitual, virtue and religion triumphed, and the worship of God daily and devoutly performed; and so highly conducive did he think the public worship of God to be, for the glory of God, and salvation of souls, that he gave such orders for the affairs of his family on the Lord's day that most of his servants were at liberty timely to attend upon it, and none of them wholly let and hindered from it. The concern also he had for God's house was answerable to the veneration he had

for his worship. He was always ready to promote any design for the erecting chapels and churches where there were none, and increasing the number of them where they were thin. In the time of the civil war, when every thing almost of order and decency was called superstition, as he was passing by where the possessed soldiers were pulling down part of a church, and the ornaments of it, and asked of him to give them something to encourage the work, he said to those about him, " my father and I have built several churches, and, by the help of God, I'll pull none down." His beneficence and alms were of the same piece with his piety. He was never backward to forgive; always ready to distribute. His charity, like that of God's, was universal; not confined to sects and parties, but flowing abundantly towards all men, yet discreetly placed and proportioned, according as men's needs and capacities presented, giving most where it was most wanted and where it might be to the best purposes. He loved good Christians, of what denomination soever, many of which subsisted by his bounty; and for others, whose virtue was suspected, and their conversation of no good report, whilst he hated hypocrisy and vice, he relieved their persons, shewing himself a true friend to mankind, and a benefactor to the human nature. It was his daily prayer that, next to the pardon of his sins, God would give him an easy passage; and God was pleased to hear his prayer: never did person leave the world with greater inward peace, a more resigned mind, with less struggle and discomfiture, and with more assured hopes of a joyful resurrection, than he did. His lamp of life was not blown out: the oil wasted by degrees, and the flame went out: nature was quite tired and spent, and he fell asleep."

Engraved by W.H.Mote

ROBERT SPENCER, EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

OB. 1702.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF CARLO MARATTA, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL SPENCER.

London, Published Dec^r 1.1836 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

ROBERT SPENCER,

SECOND EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

When Addison, at the instance of Queen Anne's Whig ministry, called on Edmund Smith to engage him to write a history of the revolution of 1688, "What," said Smith, "shall I do with the character of Lord Sunderland?" The question was unanswerable. It would have been necessary to the decorum, as well as to the objects, of such a work, to ascribe that revolution, according to the custom in all such cases, entirely to the wisdom and virtue of the few by whom it was wrought; to the purity of their patriotism, and the fervour of their zeal for the Church of England; but the author was too honest to tell the story in that way, and the Whigs too discreet to permit that it should be told in any other, and the design was therefore laid aside. Of the two great parties which then divided the nation, thus left to misjudge for itself, one was unwilling to damp its triumph, and interrupt the tide of its gratitude for real or fancied benefits, by examining into the motives of its leaders, and the other careless of making enquiries the fruits of which it durst not have promulgated. The truth therefore long remained unknown: but time has removed those impediments, and an unrestrained historical diligence has gradually detected in the conduct of those leaders as much selfishness, treachery, and ingratitude, as are to be found in the story of any other great national

change on record. At the head of the persons to whom all those censures were eminently due, certainly stood the Earl of Sunderland.

He was the only son of that model of true nobility, Henry third Lord Spencer, who was advanced to the Earldom by King Charles the first, and fell, about three months after, at the battle of Newbury, by Dorothy, daughter of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, the lady so highly celebrated by Waller, under the name of Sacharissa. The precise date of his birth is not known, but it was in 1640, or the following year: neither have we any intelligence of the place or method of his education, except a slight notice by Lloyd, in his Memoirs of the Loyalists, which informs us that his tutor, a Dr. Pearce, used to say of him that he had at once such an aptness and willingness to learn that the teaching him seemed rather a recreation and reward than an employment. He set out on his travels later, and remained abroad longer than was usual with young men of his rank; and thus, with the advantages of a more mature judgment to direct, and a better leisure to digest, the observations of a most acute and inquisitive mind, returned universally informed and accomplished. The State however alone could furnish occupation for a man of his rank, and his genius peculiarly qualified him for the management of that new sort of government which presently succeeded the restoration, the chief art of which consisted in the adroit concealment, at home and abroad, of its unworthy and uncertain principles. The commencement of his public employment furnished him with abundant means for the exercise of this mysterious disposition in several foreign missions. In 1671 he was appointed Ambassador extraordinary to the Court of Madrid, and in the autumn of the following year to that of Paris: in 1673 he was one of the Plenipotentiaries for the treaty of Cologne; and, soon after his return from that service, on the twenty-seventh of May, 1674, was sworn of the Privy Council.

He remained in England for four years, without any specific appointment, courting the friendship and confidence of the Trea-

surer Danby, which he seems to have gained; watching carefully the state of parties; and forming plans for his own future aggrandisement. In July, 1678, he was again sent ambassador extraordinary to Louis the Fourteenth, and was probably now intrusted to arrange and settle those secret pecuniary relations between that Monarch and Charles by which the Crown of England was so deeply disgraced. At all events, he rose suddenly at this period to the highest degree in his master's favour, and, on the ninth of February, in the succeeding year, upon the removal of Sir Joseph Williamson, was recalled, and appointed a principal Secretary of State, and soon became virtually chief minister. He found the Duke of Monmouth, and the Duchess of Portsmouth, labouring to accomplish the ruin of Danby, and readily joined them in that endeavour, which was soon after accomplished; assisted in placing the Earl of Essex at the head of the Treasury, and Shaftesbury in the great office of President of the then newly modelled Privy Council. Thus, in the moment of his reception into the ministry, he seemed to attach himself to the popular party, which gave him credit for having forced its leaders on the King, who was himself in fact the secret mover for their admission.

He united himself for a time to the Lords Essex, Halifax, and Shaftesbury, and those four noblemen, with the occasional aid of Sir William Temple, composed the King's especial cabinet. Shaftesbury, however, whose soul abhorred tranquillity and order, soon flew off, and raised a storm in Parliament against the Duke of York, and his religion, which could only be terminated, as it was, by the dissolution of that assembly. A new Parliament met in October, 1680, in which Sunderland, who had previously prevailed on Charles to compel the Duke to retire into Scotland, voted for the famous bill of exclusion, not only, as Sir William Temple informs us in his Memoirs, "against his master's mind, but his express command;" and the King, in a sudden burst of resentment, dismissed him from the office of Secretary of State, and even ordered that his name should be erased from the list of the Council. Unemployed for two years in the direction of the State, he

applied himself with unceasing assiduity to the means of restoring himself to power; courted all parties; obtained at once the pardon of the Duke of York, who had now returned, and the confidence of the Duchess of Portsmouth; and on the thirty-first of January, 1682, was restored to the post of Secretary of State, having been some months before again admitted into the Privy Council. His apparent obsequiousness to James now excited the wonder of the Court, while in secret he thwarted that Prince's earnest desire for the appointment of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and strove to persuade the King to send him once more into banishment. It would be incredible, were it not supported by undoubted historical evidence, that at this precise period he stood pledged to the Court of France to urge, in the event of James's exclusion, the succession of the Duke of Richmond, Charles's natural son, to the Throne; flattered the Duke of Monmouth with similar hopes, and engaged in a serious negotiation with the Prince of Orange to the same effect; nor is it improbable that Charles himself was privy to these almost unparalleled intrigues.

The Duke was not ignorant of Sunderland's tergiversations, yet, when he succeeded to the throne, that nobleman, whose disgrace had been considered as inevitable, rose in favour. The extent of his talents; the peculiar ingenuity with which he applied them; and a fascinating good humour and politeness; might, it is true, have induced a master, even with a weaker judgment and a colder heart than James, to overlook many errors and offences; but the affection of that unhappy Prince was bound to him by a stronger tie: He had the reputation of a concealed attachment to the Popish persuasion. Even so early as the date of his embassy to Madrid, on his way to which city he was charged with business which delayed him sometime at Paris, Colbert thus described and recommended him in a letter to Louis the Fourteenth—"The Earl of Sunderland will without fail depart to-morrow to wait on your Majesty. He is a young gentleman of high family; has a great deal of frankness, courage, parts, and learning; is also extremely well intentioned, and strongly disposed to become a Roman Catholic." If

however his character has not been cruelly mis-represented, he was totally careless about all religion. James is said to have entertained some suspicion to that effect, and Sunderland took the shortest method to remove it by a formal abjuration of the Protestant faith. His regard to the temporal interests of the Romish Church seemed less doubtful, and his affected eagerness for their re-establishment in some instances outstrip the efforts even of the King himself. He assiduously sought the confidence of Father Petre, and other Catholic leaders, and deceived them into a belief that he wished to share with them the government of the State; accepted a seat in the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, and was among the forwardest of the sticklers for its jurisdiction.

James valued such compliances too highly to part with the minister who could condescend to them, yet he was fully conscious of Sunderland's true character. In that Prince's notices of his own life and affairs so important to the history of that period, which were published by Macpherson, he says, under the year 1686, "Sunderland, besides having a pension from the Prince of Orange, had one also from the King of France. He was the most mercenary man in the world: veered with all winds," &c.: and in another place charges him with the most detestable and complex treachery to the Duke of Monmouth in that unhappy man's last hours. "When Monmouth was taken," says James, "he wrote, on the road, to desire admission into the King's presence, having somewhat to say that would give him a happy reign. Ralph Sheldon was sent to meet him, and, being asked who had the chief confidence with the King, he said, 'Sunderland.' Monmonth then, knocking his breast in a surprise, said, 'Why, then, as I hope for salvation, he promised to meet me.' He desired Sheldon to acquaint the King with it, and that he would inform him of all his accomplices, seeing some of them had the King's confidence. Sheldon, on his return, was giving the King an account, when Sunderland, pretending business, came into the closet, and Sheldon stopt, desiring to speak

with the King in private; but the King told him he might say any thing before that Lord, which put Sheldon to great perplexity, yet he told what Monmouth had said. Sunderland seemed at first struck; but after a short time, said, with a laugh, 'If that be all he can discover to save his life, it will do him little good.'" James, as is well known, did admit the captive Monmouth once more into his presence. "He was willing," to use his own words, "to hear more of the matter related by Mr. Sheldon;" and he remarked that "it was strange my Lord Sunderland did not oppose it, unless, as was said afterwards, he underhand assured the Duke of Monmouth of his pardon if he confessed nothing; and then, when he (the Duke) had destroyed his own credit by contradicting himself, he took care to have him dispatched as soon as possible afterwards." Of the truth of that report there is now no doubt, and it is also well known that Sunderland intercepted and destroyed a letter which Monmouth subsequently wrote to the King from the Tower; but enough on this odious subject.

In spite however of many detections, and more suspicions, Sunderland's power gradually increased. Protected by the influence of France; by the partiality of the Queen, who venerated his pretended zeal for her Church, and to whose opinions James paid great deference; and by the weight of his own talents, which perhaps gained more credit than they merited from a comparison with those of the ministers to whom he was joined; he exercised an unbounded sway over the measures of his unhappy master, and became graced by new distinctions. On the fourth of February, 1685, he succeeded the Marquis of Halifax in the office of President of the Council, still holding that of Secretary of State; and on the twenty-sixth of April, 1687, was elected a Knight of the Garter. At length, in the summer of the following year, the Roman Catholics at Court too late discovered the error that they had committed in accepting his patronage and agency, and beset the King with importunities to dismiss him, at the very moment when he was endeavouring to amuse them with a pretended scheme to form an administration in which they were to

have a complete ascendancy. Even at last James was awakened from his delirium rather by the Dutch invasion than by their intreaties; and Sunderland was not discharged from his great offices till the twenty-seventh of October, the Prince of Orange having sailed from his own coast the very day before, to take possession of a kingdom which he owed in a great measure to the treachery of that minister.

From the hour of James's accession to the throne Sunderland had been the constant agent for the Prince in all that related to his designs on England, and to enhance the turpitude of the intercourse, it was carried on through the medium of his uncle, Henry Sidney, James's accredited minister at the Hague. To prevent a disclosure of the conspiracy, and to furnish means for intercepting any accidental rumour of it which might arrive from other quarters, he had procured a positive order from the King to all the foreign ministers to correspond with him alone; and thus enveloped in a profound secresy, he betrayed to William the interests of his master, which he was bound by the most sacred ties to maintain, and the designs of France, which, with sufficient baseness, he had accepted enormous bribes to forward and to conceal. While the Prince gradually shaped his plans, and formed his resolutions, on the chain of intelligence thus furnished, Sunderland seconded him, step by step, in his endeavours to produce the crisis here at the due season, fomenting the worst passions, and flattering the most mischievous foibles, of the devoted James; and preparing, with the coldest indifference, the means, not only of dethroning a Sovereign who had loaded him with beneficence, but of producing a revolution which, but for the native humanity and good sense of his countrymen, might have deluged the nation in blood. And what were the motives to this frightful dereliction of all that was honest, and honourable, and just? to this utter abandonment of public duty, and of private feeling? to this sacrifice which so few have been bold and wicked enough to make even to the loftiest objects of human ambition? Alas! merely a disposi-

tion to unbounded profusion in private expenses; to the love of luxury, and the vanity of magnificence.

It is strange that a Prince of William's reputation for rigid virtue and sound prudence should have bestowed his future friendship, and even his confidence, on such a man, but the robber seemed no less welcome than the spoil. To keep up decent appearances however for a while, Sunderland crossed the sea, with the affectation of flying from justice, immediately after the Prince had landed, and William, in 1690 and 1692, specially excepted him in two several acts of indemnity and free pardon: but this grave farce was rendered somewhat ridiculous by Sunderland's preferring Holland as his safest place of refuge. There, at the commencement of the former of those years, he issued from the press a short apology for his public conduct, under the title of "A Letter, Discovering the Papists' Designs, to a Friend in the Country," which was industriously circulated in England, abounding with assertions which, though believed by none, were of a nature to defy formal disproval, and composed with an air of careless frankness, amounting to vulgarity of expression. This was meant to prepare England for his reception once more to royal favour; and in the winter of 1692, wonderful to tell, he returned the champion of the Whig interest, from which, by his advice, William now selected a new administration. "The person," says Burnet, speaking of this precise period, "that had the King's confidence in the highest degree was the Earl of Sunderland, who, by his long experience, and his knowledge of men and things, had gained an ascendant over him, and had more credit with him, than any Englishman ever had. He had brought the King to this change of councils by the prospect he gave him of the ill condition his affairs were in if he did not entirely both trust and satisfy those who in the present conjuncture were the only party that both could and would support him," &c.

Thus he became once more, without the title, chief minister:

indeed it was not thought fit in this reign to bring him forward in any specific office in the State; nor was it till the spring of 1697 that he was admitted even to the Privy Council. On the nineteenth of April in that year he was appointed Lord Chamberlain. The nation, however, with a generous resentment, spurned at the approach of such a man to the royal ear. "The Tories," says Burnet "pressed hard on him, and the Whigs were so jealous of him, that he apprehended that while the former would attack him the others would defend him faintly." William, with a warmth of regard which he seldom manifested to any, clung to him to the last, and so increased the general dissatisfaction. At length he prudently resolved to retire, and, on the twenty-sixth of December, in the same year, the King most reluctantly accepted his resignation, and he retreated to utter privacy at his seat at Althorpe, in Northamptonshire, where he died on the twenty-eighth of September, 1702, and was buried with his ancestors at Brington, in that County.

As Bishop Burnet is the only writer who has endeavoured to find excuses for the frightful faults of this nobleman's conduct, it is due to Sunderland's memory, as well as prudent in one who now publishes, for the first time, the collected circumstances of his life, to insert here the character given of him by his sole apologist. "Lord Sunderland," says Burnet, "was a man of a clear and ready apprehension, and a quick decision in business. He had too much heat, both of imagination and passion, and was apt to speak very freely both of persons and things. His own notions were always good, but he was a man of great expense, and, in order to the supporting himself, he went into the prevailing counsels at Court, and he changed sides often, with little regard either to religion or to the interests of his country. He raised many enemies to himself by the contempt with which he treated those who differed from him. He had indeed the superior genius to all the men of business that I have yet known; and he had the dexterity of insinuating himself so entirely into the greatest degree of confidence with three succeeding Princes, who set up

on very different interests, that he came by this to lose himself so much that even those who esteemed his parts depended little on his firmness."

The Earl of Sunderland married Anne, second and youngest daughter, and at length heir, to George Digby, second Earl of Bristol, and had by her three sons and four daughters. Robert, the eldest, died unmarried; the second, Charles, succeeded to his father, and from him have been descended the several noble persons of his name who have borne the titles of Duke of Marlborough, and Earl Spencer: Henry, the third son, died soon after his birth. The daughters were Anne, wife of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, afterwards duke of Hamilton; Elizabeth, married to Donald Macarty, Earl of Clancarty; Isabella, who died unmarried; and Mary, who died an infant.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

FRANCES THERESA STEWART, DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

OB. 1702.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

London, Published Dec.r 1836, by Harding & Lepard Pall Mall East.

FRANCES THERESA STEWART,

DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

It is not merely to commemorate the most surpassing loveliness, nor to record its dominion over those who gloried in submitting to its sway, that this fair subject is admitted into a work which professes and designs to celebrate the most illustrious persons of our country. The triumphs of personal charms, and the extravagances and stratagems of love, have perhaps no distinct claim on the pen of the biographer; but when we can add to them an unerring constancy in the path of honour, an heroic resistance to the temptations of ambition and flattery, and to all the boldness and all the arts of the most licentious court in Europe, the theme becomes perfect, since, in the weakness of human estimation, virtue itself seems to derive an increased lustre from a combination with beauty.

Frances Theresa was the eldest of the two daughters of Walter Stewart, third son of Walter first Lord Blantyre, a Peer of Scotland, whom Granger, following an error in Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, calls "Captain Stewart:" he was in fact a physician, and probably exercised his profession in London. Of the mode of her introduction at court we have no account; but she became there at once a maid of honour to Catherine of Braganza, and the darling intimate of the favourite mistress, the Countess of Castlemain, afterwards Duchess of Cleveland, stations which the liberality of that time rendered very compatible with each other. Grammont, the tolerably faithful historian of the

royal and noble depravities of that day, informs us that the Countess, either to try the King's constancy to herself, or to gain leisure for her own amours by diverting his affections to another object, or, which is scarcely credible, from both motives, not only introduced her to him, but endeavoured, even by strange artifices, to inspire him with a passion for her. Grammont says—"La beauté de Mademoiselle Stewart commençoit alors à faire du bruit. La Comtesse de Castelmain s'apperçut que le Roi la regardoit; mais, au lieu de s'en alarmer, elle favorisa tant qu'elle put ce nouveau goût, soit par une imprudence ordinaire à celles qui se croient au-dessus des autres, soit qu'elle voulût par cet amusement detourner l'attention du Roi du commerce qu'elle (Castelmain) avoit avec Jermyn. Elle ne se contentoit pas de paroître sans inquiétude sur une distinction dont toute la cour commençoit à s'appercevoir; elle affecta d'en faire sa favorite, la mit dans tous les soupers qu'elle donnoit au Roy; et dans la confiance de ses propres charmes, poussant la témérité jusqu'au bout, elle la retenoit souvent à coucher. Le Roi, qui ne manquoit guère à venir chez la Castelmain avant qu'elle se levât, ne manquoit guère aussi d'y trouver Mademoiselle Stewart au lit avec elle. Les objets les plus indifférents ont des attraits dans un nouvel entêtement; cependant, l'imprudente Castelmain ne fut point jalouse que cette rivale parût auprès d'elle en cet état, sûre, quand bon lui sembleroit, de triompher de tout ce que ces occasions auroient eu de plus avantageux pour la Stewart; mais il en alla tout autrement."

The Countess's project, such as Grammont has represented it, for a time succeeded to the utmost. The King became violently enamoured of this new beauty, while Lady Castlemain's influence over his mind remained unimpaired; but she had flattered herself that Stewart like the rest, would have fallen an easy conquest, and that Charles, in the hour of satiety, would have returned to seek a shadow of novelty in her embraces. She had probably anticipated his penitence and submission, and prepared to receive him with a suitable show of anger and coyness. She

waited long for the event; became alarmed; and was at length wholly disappointed. The young lady repelled with firmness his attacks on her honour, and Charles's heart, refined for a transient interval by this generous resistance, now felt, perhaps for the first time, the raptures and the pangs of genuine love.

The Countess had presently the mortification to see the busiest courtiers striving for the King's favour through this new medium. The profligate and artful Buckingham, "a man so various," as Dryden has it, "that he seemed to be, not one, but all mankind's epitome," counterfeited, to flatter and please her, the careless and joyous innocence of youth which she really possessed; and amused her alternately by the buffoonery and mimicry in which he was so eminently skilled, and by joining her in the childish romps in which she delighted. Caught however by her irresistible charms, he forgot his schemes, talked of love, and was chased from her presence with disdain. The grave Lord Arlington made her a formal visit to intreat her interest for him with the King, but he had some singularities of personal appearance and manners which she recollected to have seen Buckingham imitate so ludicrously that she could not answer him for laughter, and the statesman retired in anger. The Count de Grammont owns candidly that he endeavoured to recommend himself to Charles by extravagant praises of her. He too had been probably on some occasion repulsed by her, for we find in the short picture which he has given of her some ill-natured touches, which there is every reason to believe were unjust—"C'étoit une figure," says he, "de plus éclat qu'elle n'étoit touchante. On ne pouvoit avoir guère moins d'esprit, ni plus de beauté. Tous ses traits étoient beaux et réguliers, mais sa taille ne l'étoit pas: cependant elle étoit menue, assez droite, et plus grande que le commun des femmes. Elle avoit de la grace; dansoit bien; parloit François mieux que sa langue naturelle. Elle étoit polie; possédoit cet air de parure après lequel on court, et qu'on n'attrape guère à moins que de l'avoir pris en France dès sa jeunesse."

Grammont was a wit by trade, a cold-hearted debauchee, and

a Frenchman. In his estimation want of artifice was want of understanding, and that simplicity of heart which to unsophisticated feelings renders beauty even angelic seemed to him positive idiotism. Had any thing been wanting to confirm him in these false conclusions he would have found it in the absurdity of rejecting the addresses of an amorous monarch, the very fact which proves that she possessed a vigorous mind as well as a fine moral feeling.

Charles's passion for her increased daily, and betrayed him into several singular but inoffensive extravagancies. Among these, a gold medal appeared, doubtless by his order, representing on the front his own bust, and on the reverse a portrait of the idolized fair one in the character of Minerva; said to have been so exquisite a likeness that it was instantly known, as Evelyn, who lived in her time, informs us in his Numismata, by all who had ever seen her. We are told that Philip Rotier, who, with his father and brothers, was joint engraver to the royal mint, and who executed the dye, fell distractedly in love with her in the interviews to which he was necessarily admitted to study her features, and soothed his hopeless passion by copying again and again, in various sizes and metals, this happy effort of his art. The King was not less desirous than the engraver to disseminate to the utmost the beloved portrait, and it was presently transferred to the copper coin of the realm, on which it appears to this day, unaltered in its general appearance, as the emblematic figure, and bearing the inscription, of Britannia. These circumstances drew from Waller the following miserable and obscure lines, which by a strange perversion of terms appear in the various publications of his works with the title of "an epigram." It is somewhat remarkable that its point, if it may be said to have one, should consist in the celebration of that chastity which his royal patron was striving to undermine.

"Our guard upon the royal side,
On the reverse our beauty's pride,
Here we discern the frown and smile
The force, the glory, of our isle;

In the rich medal both so like
Immortals stand it seems antique,
Carved by some master when the bold
Greeks made their Jove descend in gold,
And Danae, wondering at that shower,
Which falling stormed her brazen tower.
Britannia there, the fort in vain
Had batter'd been with golden rain:
Thunder itself had fail'd to pass—
Virtue's a stronger guard than brass."

It may not be extravagant to conjecture that the exquisite original which furnished the engraving annexed to this memoir gave the hint for the figure which appears on the reverses of the medal, &c. It may be fairly enough supposed that the whim having occurred of representing her in this Amazonian costume, and the painter having accomplished his task with such uncommon felicity, the King resolved to perpetuate the portrait by transmitting it unaltered to a metallic durability.

At length a rumour arose, and presently gained universal credit, that Charles had determined to divorce his childless Queen, and to marry this Lady, who, fatigued by his incessant importunities, and anxious to preserve her reputation unsullied, had in the mean time encouraged the honourable addresses of Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond, a nobleman of middle age, who had been already twice married. The King, who had been unwilling to believe that such a connexion subsisted, was conducted by Lady Castlemain, to whom she had now become an object of jealousy, and even hatred, to the fair Stewart's chamber, where he found the Duke, sitting by her bedside after she had retired to rest, a liberty which a lady might then grant without scandal to a professed suitor. Charles loaded the Duke with the most furious reproaches, from which he retired in silence, and then, after a long altercation, in which she justified her conduct, and insisted with the utmost firmness on her independence, left her, vowing that he would never see her again. Richmond was the next morning ordered to leave the Court, and

the lady waited on the Queen to solicit her dismissal, and permission to embrace a monastic life on the Continent. Grammont asserts that Catherine, unwilling that the King should be detached from a platonic amour, persuaded her not only to relinquish her design of becoming a nun, but also to promise that she would break her engagements to the Duke of Richmond, and even effected that reconciliation with the King which of all things he most anxiously desired.

From that hour Charles became more than ever enamoured of her. There had been no stipulation in the treaty for forbearance on his part, and if there had he would have broken it. He renewed his offensive suit with increased ardour, and she, as her only protection, listened again with a more serious attention to the proposals of Richmond, who loved her to distraction. The King, finding that he could not break their connection by violence, had now recourse to craft. He affected to consent to their marriage, and, knowing that the Duke's estates were enthralled by heavy obligations, took on himself the office of her guardian, and insisted that she should have a splendid settlement, and that it should be secured with the utmost strictness. To evince his firm determination on this head, as well as to render more certain the success of his plan, he committed the matter to the management and direction of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, whom he ordered to make the most exact scrutiny into the state of Richmond's affairs: in the mean time he offered to create the lady a Duchess, and to settle on her in fee an ample estate for the support of that dignity, but she refused both. Resolving at length to hazard the worst effects of Charles's anger rather than submit longer to the unceasing vexation of his wayward love, she left Whitehall privately, and, without the usual ceremony of asking permission either of the King or Queen, was married to the Duke, and made it publicly known in April, 1667, not long after the solemnization.

Charles's wrath on this disclosure approached to madness, and the weight of it fell on the Chancellor, whose influence had

been already for some time declining. His enemies, particularly Lord Berkeley, had persuaded the King that he had determined to prevent his Majesty from marrying Stewart, in the hope of securing the inheritance of the crown to his own grandchildren, the issue of his daughter by the Duke of York, and had therefore exerted himself to the utmost to compass the obnoxious match with the duke of Richmond. Burnet tells us that "the Earl of Clarendon's son, the Lord Cornbury, was going to Mrs. Stewart's lodgings, upon some assignation she had given him about her affairs, knowing nothing of her intentions. He met the King in the door, coming out full of fury; and he, suspecting that Lord Cornbury was in the design, spoke to him as one in a rage that forgot all decency, and for some time would not hear Lord Cornbury speak in his own defence. In the afternoon," continues Burnet, "he heard him with more temper, as he himself told me; yet this made so deep an impression that he resolved to take the Seals from his father."

Clarendon himself, speaking of his downfall, which presently followed, and of his uncertainty of the causes of it, says, using always, according to his custom in mentioning himself, the third person—"He had, before the storm fell on him, been informed by a person of honour, who knew the truth of it, that some persons had persuaded the King that the Chancellor had a principal hand in the marriage of the Duke of Richmond, with which his Majesty was offended in the highest degree, and the Lord Berkeley had reported it with all confidence." And in a letter of apology and expostulation, the last he ever wrote to Charles, alluding further to this report he says—"If the ground for your displeasure be for any thing my Lord Berkeley hath reported (which I know he hath said to many, though, being charged with it by me, he did positively disclaim it,) I am as innocent in that whole affair, and gave no more advice, or counsel, or countenance in it than the child that is not born, which your Majesty seemed once to believe when I took notice to you of the report, and when you considered how totally I was a stranger to the persons

mentioned, to either of whom I never spake word, or received message from either in my life, and this I protest to your Majesty is true, as I have hope in heaven."

In the dearth of intelligence as to the character of the Duchess of Richmond's mind, and of her natural and acquired talents, it may be excusable to cite here an extravagant passage from the pen of an extravagant dramatist Lee, in his dedication to her of the tragedy of Theodosius. The bard gives her ample credit as well for wit, and taste, and literary patronage, as for kindness of heart, and the most exquisite beauty. "Ah Madam," says he, "if all the short-lived happiness that miserable poets can enjoy consist in commendation only; nay, if the most part are content with popular breath, and even for that are thankful; how shall I express myself to your Grace, who, by a particular goodness and innate sweetness, merely for the sake of doing well, have thus raised me above myself? To have your Grace's favour is, in a word, to have the applause of the whole Court, who are its noblest ornament—magnificent and immortal praise! Something there is in your mien so much above what we vulgarly call charming that to me it seems adorable, and your presence almost divine, whose dazzling and majestic form is a proper mansion for the most elevated soul; and let me tell the world, nay, sighing, speak it to a barbarous age, your extraordinary love for heroic poetry is not the least argument to shew the greatness of your mind, and fullness of perfection. To hear you speak, with that infinite sweetness and cheerfulness of spirit that is natural to your Grace, is methinks to hear our tutelar angels: 'tis to bemoan the present malicious times, and remember the golden age: but to behold you too, is to make prophets quite forget their heaven, and bind the poets with eternal rapture," &c. We find, too, towards the conclusion, this strongly implied testimony to the purity of her morals, which however the preceding account here given of her conduct may render it scarcely necessary to insert—"All I can promise, Madam, and be able to perform, is that your Grace shall never see a play of mine that shall give offence to modesty and virtue."

The Duchess of Richmond survived her husband, who left her childless, and, having remained a widow for thirty years, died on the fifteenth of October, 1702, possessed of considerable wealth, which she bequeathed to her great-nephew, Alexander, fifth Lord Blantyre.

Engraved by T.A.Dean.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, FIRST DUKE OF ARGYLL.

OB. 1703.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR P. LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

London, Published Feb.ʸ 1.1808, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,

FIRST DUKE OF ARGYLL,

Was the eldest of the four sons of Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll, by Mary, eldest daughter of James Stewart, fifth Earl of Moray. His ancestors had been among the most staunch supporters of the reformation in Scotland, and had been distinguished by an excess of the gloomy fury of puritanism, and of the republican taint which is unhappily inseparable from it. He had been carefully bred in the same school, but the rectitude of his heart, and the clearness of his understanding, not to mention the caution probably inspired by the sanguinary visitations of vengeance which had of late fallen on his family, had rendered him more moderate in the practice of its doctrines. He had too the good fortune to arrive at manhood on the eve of that revolution which, though far short of realizing the political views of his sect, flattered them enough to soothe him to patience. His father, who had been attainted of high treason in 1682, and had fled, returned to Scotland three years after, and raised a little army to favour Monmouth's rebellion, on which occasion the son came to London, offered to serve against him, and put himself wholly into the King's power. The Earl's enterprise however was presently subdued; he was made prisoner; and was beheaded at Edinburgh, under his former sentence, on the twenty-sixth of June, 1685; and his forlorn successor went soon after to Holland, and put himself under the protection of the Prince of Orange, who was already forming his design on the English Crown, and to whom therefore a visitor of such a character, and under such circumstances, could not but be highly acceptable.

He was cherished accordingly by William, to whom he presently rendered himself very serviceable through his intimate knowledge of the state of parties in Scotland; became the chief adviser of the Prince's measures as to that country; and having accompanied him on his invasion of England in 1688, went soon after to Edinburgh, and was not only admitted, though not yet restored in blood, to sit in the Convention of Estates which assembled itself there on the revolution, but was deputed by the Peers to tender, on the part of their branch of the Legislature, to the Prince and Princess of Orange, the Crown of Scotland, and to offer those concessions and demands which were ordained by the ancient laws of that country to be made on the accession of a Prince to its Throne. His titles and estates were soon after restored to him; he was sworn of the Privy Council; and seemed to enjoy ample confidence and favour; when, about the end of the year 1689, he is said to have been engaged, together with the Earls of Annandale and Breadalbin and others, in a treaty with King James for his restoration, which was soon broken up by the obstinacy with which that Prince rejected certain proposals tending to a diminution of his prerogative.

The obscurity of the reports, or rather hints, which we have of his concern in this matter, is impenetrable. Burnet, without having given the smallest intimation of his previous conduct in it, merely tells us that "the Earl of Argyll withdrew himself from them," and James, in his historical notes of his own Life, according to one of Macpherson's extracts, has this solitary and doubtful passage—"The Earl of Annandale, Lord Ross, and Sir James Montgomery, correspond with the King—As interest was the prime motive to their return to their duty, they first made terms for themselves—The King knew it, but he resolved to encourage repentance—He appointed Annandale Commissioner, Montgomery Secretary of State—When the Parliament met they pursued their point with earnestness—The Duke of Queensbury, Marquis of Athol, and Earl of Argyll, concurred with them, but the presbyterians, whom they formerly governed, began to abandon these undertakers."

Argyll's name does not occur again in a single instance in those curious memorials, nor do I find any other mention of this plot, as Burnet calls it, elsewhere than in the two instances just now quoted, and a mere allusion to it in Douglas's article of the Earls of Argyll, in his peerage of Scotland. To complete the confusion which involves this affair, we find him even in the succeeding year a Commissioner of the Scottish Treasury, and perhaps the most confidential minister in that country. It was then that William declared, on a particular occasion, that he "got more truth from Argyll than from all the rest of his countrymen, for that he had the courage to speak out what others durst not even hint at." These difficulties and contradictions can perhaps be no otherwise reasonably reconciled than by supposing that he had secretly betrayed the design to the King, and was rewarded accordingly.

About this time he raised and commanded a regiment, whose first service appears to have been in the perpetration of that dreadful outrage known by the name of the massacre of Glenco, which, though he was not personally a party in it, he seems not to have disapproved. It was so highly, as well as justly, resented in the Highlands, that William found it necessary to direct a commission of inquiry into it to several persons of the first rank among the nobility and officers of state. One of them, Cockburn of Ormistoun, Lord Justice Clerk, in a letter to Carstares, of the twenty-third of July, 1695, says, "Argyll, publicly in Parliament, challenged me to ask satisfaction, which way I pleased, when he reflected on the whole commission of Glenco; for the rest, he said, he would not reflect on them; but for that gentleman (meaning me) who thought himself reflected on, he should have satisfaction which way he pleased." It is to be feared that he had suffered the bitterness of his presbyterian zeal to plunge him deeply into the guilt of a transaction the baseness and cruelty of which would have disgraced even the most uncivilized days of his country.

In 1694 he commanded the same regiment in the campaign of

that year in Flanders, without any remarkable distinction, and in 1696 was made Colonel of the Horse Guards of Scotland, a royal military establishment which was for some years after, probably till the Union, allowed to exist in that country. He held at no time any public appointments but those which have been here mentioned, nor does it appear that he received any emoluments beyond those which he derived from them, though the burthen of Scottish affairs, particularly in Parliament, and of reponsibility for the counsels by which they were directed, had for some years rested chiefly on himself. He seems to have sought no reward but in an increase of dignity, for which he solicited William, who long hesitated to grant the request. Writing, on the fourteenth of September, 1698, to Carstares, who was entirely in his confidence, and transacted his affairs at the English Court, he says, "I must think it strange if the King scruple me my title, after all that is past; and, as you value my family, I must earnestly request it to you to lay it home. If it be refused, I wish I had never asked it; but I confess I thought the purchase would have been easy, since there can be no objection to it." It was yet delayed however for nearly three years; at length on the twenty-third of June, 1701, he was created Duke of Argyll, with the addition of the numerous titles of Marquis of Lorn and Kintyre, Earl of Campbell and Cowal, Viscount of Lockow and Glenila, Baron Inverary, Mull, Morvern, and Tiry.

Argyll seems to have possessed all the best qualifications of an ancient chieftain of the country which gave him birth. Nature had given him, with a powerful and lively understanding, a princely generosity, an undaunted courage, a quickness, and, generally, justness of decision, an inflexibility of determination, and a candour often inconveniently pure for the station in which he was placed. To these were added the neutral, and partly acquired qualities of haughtiness, irritability, resentment, and excessive pride of blood. These particulars of his character may I think be safely inferred from his numerous letters, and other documents relating to him, which have been preserved in the

publication of the state papers of his friend Carstares, from which the most part of this superficial memoir has been drawn. To enable the reader to form some opinion of the justice of that inference, I will subjoin two of those letters, both addressed to Carstares, the one on public, the other on domestic, subjects, in order to afford some view of him in each character.

"Sir, London, Feb. 26, 1698.

"I am heartily sorry I was not at home when you called, two several times, before you went to Scotland. I received the letter you sent me. I do assure you I took your advice very kindly, for none alive can easier convince me, especially in matters of that kind. I am heartily sorry to hear that any of the presbyterians of the Church of Scotland can be prevailed upon by a runegado Church of England-man, and a presbyterian but of two years' standing, to follow any measure so contrary to their true interest as I am told Mr. Hamilton of Wylic moved them to. I do not pretend to be perfect. I have my faults, and everybody sees the worst of me; and though I won't be whipt into obedience, as if Mr. William Cumming's government were yet remaining over me, yet I am sensible your advice is so good (coming from a sincere heart, void of interest, modestly told me, answerable to your function) I do assure you it shall be my study to avoid all scandal, and in my profession I shall never act the hypocrite.

"What family in Scotland can claim so much of the Church of Scotland, as now established, then I? I lost a grandfather, and a father, and my estate, in the quarrel; and was any man more forward then I upon the revolution, to establish it as it now is? I never acted another part, nor never will: but I must own that I am concerned when I see your brethren act contraire to their interest in relation to civil government. I desire not to be misunderstood; for I think it may be very consonant with all the rules of our religion, and the government of Church as now established, to act politickly; to take those to assist them who has it in their blood, as well as inclination, to serve and support them;

and I think it a very bad measure to set up a pretended presbyterian, who waits but an opportunity to return to the myre when once he has establisht himself. And lest, by my friendship with some, I mean the Duke of Queensbury in particular, it may be thought I must go another way, his family having been reputed episcopal, I dare answer for him that he will be ready to embark heartily with the presbyterians, if they will cordially accept him; and, where I am guarantee, I think you have better security for his Grace then any is yet got of our two year old presbyterian, the Marquis of Athol's son, the Earl of Tullibardine. I wish you may prevail with your brethren in everything that will establish them.

"I am your affectionate friend, to serve you,

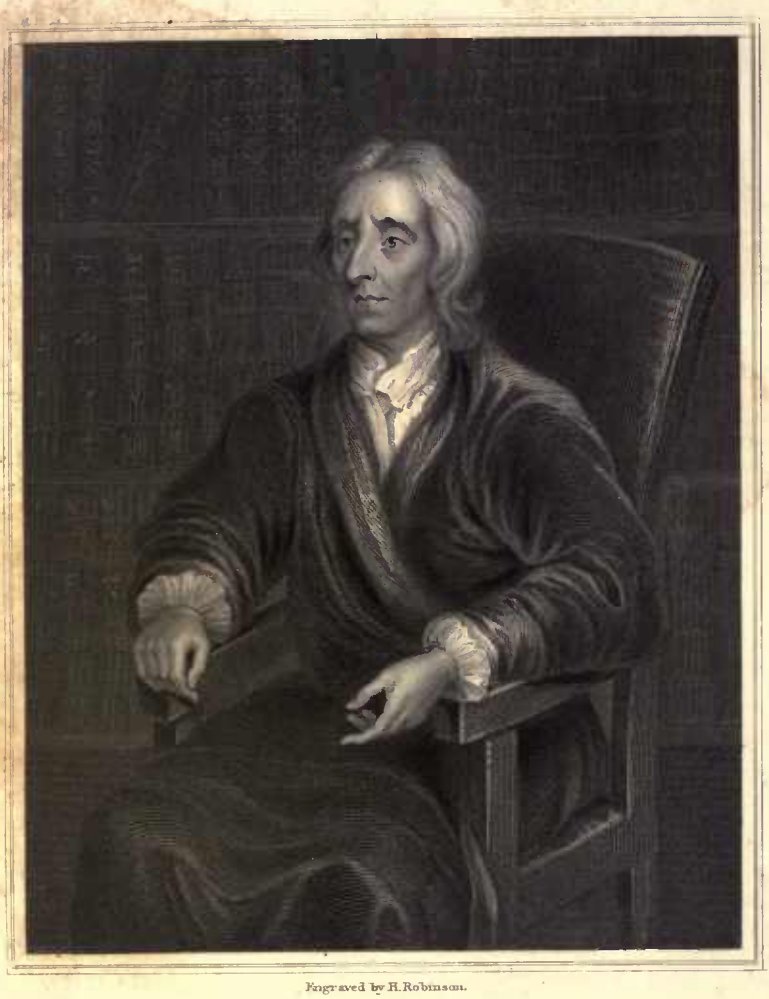
"ARGYLL."

It may be necessary to observe, in reference to the following extract, that Argyll was separated from his lady for many of the concluding years of his life.

——"As to what you say in relation to myself, and my own particular behaviour, I take it very kindly of you. I know it is the effect of your friendship and concern in my person, besides my family. I do assure you my carriage shall be such as I shall give no just cause of scandal or offence, though I know some makes it their business so much to render me criminal, and at least censurable, even where is the least ground, that, whilst I am burdened with the error of the first concoction, I need scarce hope to be free of censure. Should I lock myself up in a cage, daily they will be hatching something. There is one thing that I know will be clamoured against—that I have sent my two daughters home to Rosneath, designing to take the charge of them myself. My reasons for so doing are, since they are mine, and that I am bound to provide for them, none can blame. I wish and endeavour that they be bred up with all duty and love to me, as their father, which I cannot expect in the circumstances they have been in hitherto, living with a mother in those terms with me,

and who never in her life shewed them the example of good nature, or duty to their parent; and who always carries herself to her children to an extream, on side or t'other, by too much fondness, or too much severity. They are coming up to an age in which it's presumable they will receive impressions, and I have not forgot the Latin—'Quo semel est imbuta,' &c.: but, above all, my chief reason is, she having had lately the charge of her sister Doun's daughter, some years older than any of mine, she did encourage her in things that I would not for all the world be guilty of, where a parent especially, which was to encourage her to wriet little billett-dues and letters to Carnwath, Sir George Lockhart's son and heir; and by the company she kept, by her example, as the Countess of Forfar, Nanny Murray, &c. she had like to have been quite ruined; and came to that length of impudence that, dancing with Carnwath in the dancing school, she squeezed his hand; all which the youth told, and she was sent for home. As you are my undoubted friend, I give you the trouble of all this, though I hope the envious world themselves must acknowledge a father can dispose of his children. Adieu."

This nobleman died on the twenty-eighth of September, 1703, having been married to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of that remarkable woman Elizabeth Murray (in her own right Countess of Dysart, and by marriage Duchess of Lauderdale) by her first husband, Sir Lionel Tollemache, or Talmash. He had by her John and Archibald, successively Dukes of Argyll; a daughter, Anne, wife, first, to John Stewart, second Earl of Bute, and, secondly, to Alexander Fraser, of Strichen in the County of Aberdeen, a Lord of Session; and another daughter of whom I find no mention anywhere but in the letter last cited.



Engraved by H. Robinson.

JOHN LOCKE.

OB. 1704.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE HALL OF

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

London, Published Decr 1, 1836, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JOHN LOCKE.

A MORE happy combination of the characters of the Christian, the scholar, and the gentleman, has perhaps never been exhibited, than in the person of this distinguished philosopher. Disdaining the futile speculations by which preceding writers on metaphysics had sought to veil the mysteries they were unable to comprehend, and relying solely on the original powers of his own deep and reflecting mind, it is scarcely presumptuous to say, that he brought to light perhaps all that is discoverable respecting the operations of the human understanding; and, while his talents were devoted to a work which became one of the highest ornaments of the literature of his country, his pure and virtuous life displayed the most satisfactory proof of the practical efficacy of a piety the sincerity of which was clearly proved by his efforts, not less humble than vigorous, to show that all the parts of the Christian System were reconcilable to human reason.

He was the son of John Locke, of Pensford, in Somersetshire, near Bristol, by Anne, daughter of Edmund Keene, a tanner, of Wrington, in the same county, where he was born on the 29th of August, 1632. His father, who exercised the humble office of clerk to a magistrate in the neighbourhood, was known to Alexander Popham, a man of good estate there, and a colonel in the rebel service, to which cause the whole of his ancient family was attached, and received from that gentleman the command of a company, in which he is said to have been killed at Bristol in 1645. Through Popham's interest, the young Locke was admitted

on the foundation at Westminster School, from whence, in 1652, he was elected to Christ-church, Oxford, where he took his degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts in 1655, and 1658. The study of the New Philosophy, as it was then called, first fascinated him, and though his accurate judgment rejected many of the romantic notions of Des Cartes, he was delighted with the bold and original tone of his opinions, and the perspicuity of his style; and hence he is believed to have formed that design, which he afterwards so successfully executed, of withdrawing philosophy from the mystic jargon and obscurity in which the dialectics of the schools had involved it.

He made choice of the profession of medicine, and studied it profoundly and earnestly, with the intention of making it a permanent occupation, but is said to have relinquished the idea from the apprehension that the feebleness of his constitution would preclude him from the labour and exertion which were indispensable to ensure success: yet his skill was well known, and even publicly celebrated; for the eminent Sydenham, in his book on acute diseases, speaking of him with the highest general praise, says, "You know how much my method has been approved of by our common friend Mr. John Locke, who has examined it to the bottom." Whatever might have been his motive, he quitted the practice, and went abroad in 1664, in the character of secretary to Sir William Swan, who was then appointed envoy to some of the independent German potentates. He returned however, within the year, to Oxford, where he accidentally became acquainted with the Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury. That nobleman, who had a profound knowledge of the characters and talents of men, discovered at once the superior powers of Locke, and determined to use them in the prosecution of those purposes to which his turbulent spirit prompted him. He contracted the closest intimacy with him; established him in his house; intrusted to him implicitly the care of a lingering disease, under which he had long laboured; and, introducing this new friend to all his acquaintance, engaged him to confine his practice to that limited

circle, and to devote the ample leisure that he might enjoy to those studies in which he delighted and excelled. Thus, by an unaccountable perverseness of fate, the closest connection was formed between one of the best and the very worst of mankind.

In 1668 Mr. Locke accompanied the Earl and Countess of Northumberland to Paris, apparently in his medical capacity, since we are told that the Lady was cured by him, during their stay in that city, of a painful and obstinate malady. He was absent but for a few months, and on his return, Ashley gave him the last proof of his confidence, by committing to his superintendence the education of his only son, afterwards that Earl of Shaftesbury, who for a time gained an unenviable celebrity as the author of the "Characteristics," in which fantastic book he presumed to controvert the system of his master. He had not been long in England when he was employed by his patron to form a plan for the constitution of Carolina, of which colony Ashley, joined to some other men of rank, had obtained a grant. In this scheme was proposed the utmost latitude of religious profession, and hence has been unjustly imputed to him an utter indifference to the subject, a charge against which the whole course of his life protects him. Is it reasonable to suppose that it was settled that Locke's judgment on these regulations should be final, and that the pattern of iniquity whom he served was to be prohibited from adding any poisonous seasoning?

Shaftesbury, for he had just before obtained that Earldom, on being raised to the post of Lord Chancellor in November, 1672, appointed Locke his secretary of the presentations to benefices, which place he lost twelve months after, when the seals were placed in other hands. He was then appointed secretary to a commission of trade, which was dissolved in the following year. He had during this period maintained his connection with his college by occasional residences there, and in February, 1674, took his degree of Bachelor of Physic. It was about this time that gratitude to his patron prompted him to waste his fine talents on politics. Shaftesbury, on being dismissed from his high office,

had passed suddenly from the practice of the basest servility to the character of a furious demagogue, and Locke, at his instigation, condescended to employ himself in writing pamphlets to excite the people against a government whose conduct, it must be confessed, would have furnished an ample excuse for the censures of a writer of meaner capacity. To avoid this unworthy occupation, or, as has been said, to amend impaired health, he went in 1675 to Montpelier, where he long resided, and removing afterwards to Paris, formed intimacies with the most eminent literary men in that capital. He remained there till 1679, when Shaftesbury having regained a degree of favour, and acquired the office of President of the Council, recalled him, and he was now once more flattered with a view of honourable and permanent provision. This however was soon dispelled. Shaftesbury was discovered to have accepted a place among Charles's ministers but with the intention of betraying them, and of covertly favouring seditious excitement; and Locke, who was known to possess his utmost confidence, became more than suspected of exercising an active agency in the prosecution of his measures. The Earl was displaced, and being soon after indicted of high treason, was liberated, not acquitted, by a verdict of rare occurrence, and immediately retired for the remainder of his life to Holland.

Locke remained not long after him. He presently found himself the object of unceasing suspicion; that his motions were carefully watched, and that attempts were made to betray him into some open vindication of his patron; but the caution of his demeanour so effectually baffled this observation, that nothing was discovered which could implicate him. He succeeded in removing his papers from Oxford before the arrival of persons who were directed to search them, and joined the Earl in security. In Holland circumstances daily occurred to sharpen his appetite for those studies in which his heart delighted. He became intimately acquainted with Limborch, Le Clerc, and a small circle of learned and philosophic men at whose head they stood, and who had formed themselves into a regular society, of which he

became an esteemed member. His mind might have been now purified of the dross of faction which he had been drawn in to suffer to collect on it, but he was again with Shaftesbury, whose touch was contamination, and under whose wing were domesticated those English whom a bitter hatred to the throne itself, as well as to the family which possessed it, had rendered voluntary exiles at the Hague. These too he permitted to share constantly in his society, and, in the midst of the suspicions thus aggravated on him at home, a direct accusation was lodged against him of having written some seditious papers, which afterwards appeared to have been the production of another pen.

Charles, whose anger was not easily excited, became now personally irritated against him. After some correspondence respecting him between the Secretary of State, Sunderland, and Dr., afterwards Bishop, Fell, who was then Dean of Christ-church, the King, as visitor of that college, signed a special warrant for his removal from his studentship, and he was removed, accordingly, on the sixteenth of November, 1684. On the accession of James the second, William Penn, the Quaker, who had some interest with that Prince, and had been intimate with Locke at college, offered to exert it in endeavouring to procure a pardon for him, and would, as it is said, have obtained it, had not Locke in a manner rejected it by saying that since he had been guilty of no crime he had no occasion for a pardon. In the following year however he fell under a yet more serious suspicion. The Duke of Monmouth was making some crude arrangements in Holland for his frantic enterprise; a list of certain Englishmen resident at the Hague was despatched to James's envoy there, with directions to demand their persons of the States General; and Locke's name was included. He had timely notice from some friends of his danger, and was by their assistance provided with a place of refuge at Amsterdam, where he remained nearly for a year, which he employed chiefly in methodising and completing his admirable "Essay on the Human Understanding," the study, at large intervals, of more than sixteen years. During his seclusion, he wrote

also his "Letter on Toleration," and, in order to ascertain the general opinion and feeling on the system laid down in his Essay, composed an analysis of it, which his friend Le Clerc translated into French, and afterwards published in his "Bibliothèque Universelle," a work to which Locke, in the course of that year, was a frequent contributor. The storm which had lowered over him gradually dispersed, and he now returned, openly and unmolested, to the society of his friends.

The revolution of 1688 at length redeemed him from his exile, and he returned to England in one of the vessels which formed the escort of the Princess of Orange. The first object that he sought on his arrival, such was his affection to the University, was his restoration to his studentship of Christ-church; but, on the refusal of the college to re-admit him, or rather to deprive the person who had been elected in his stead, he patiently waived his claim, declining at the same time to accept an offer which was made to admit him as a supernumerary student. His great abilities, not less than the habitual cast of his political notions and conduct, powerfully recommended him to the notice of the new government. It is said that he might have obtained a post of equal honour and profit, but he preferred the insignificant office of a commissioner of appeals, which was procured for him by his gallant and accomplished friend the Earl of Peterborough, and he declined, on the score of ill health, an honourable diplomatic appointment which was offered to him about the same time. His earnest disposition to study and reflection had also doubtless great influence in producing these denials. In 1689, he at length published his "Essay on Human Understanding," and also "a Treatise on Education;" and, soon after, his Treatises on Government, in which his notions of the civil and religious rights of a people are temperately and powerfully stated, and the principles of the revolution defended, without that heat of party feeling which disfigures so many of the best writings of that period. A publication on the state of the currency, a topic which at that time excited universal attention, followed; attracted

the notice of the ministry; and he was soon after prevailed on to accept the office of a commissioner of trade and plantations, with an annual salary of a thousand pounds.

In 1695 appeared his "Treatise of the Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures." This, which, with the exception of some pieces which he afterwards published in defence of it, was the last of his works, involved him in some controversy, which he left with the credit which his piety and sincerity, as well as his acuteness, merited. From this period his constitution gradually declined. The misery of an asthma, with which he had been long afflicted, was daily increasing, and he determined to retire as much as possible from public life. "My age and health," he says, in a letter written in 1696, "demand a retreat from bustle and business; and the pursuit of some enquiries I have in my thoughts makes it more desirable than any of those rewards which public employments tempt people with. I think the little I have enough, and don't desire to live higher, or die richer than I am." He resigned his appointment in the year 1700, and the retreat he so much desired he found at Oates in Essex, in the house of Sir Francis Masham, who had invited him thither to take up his abode. Here, in the society of friends who appreciated his worth, he passed the remainder of his life, devoting himself to the study of the Scriptures, and to such devout contemplations as he thought were best suited to prepare him for that change the approach of which he saw and spoke of with the utmost composure.

The manner of his death was suitable to the blameless and tranquil course of his life. On the day preceding it, in a conversation with Lady Masham, he told her that he was satisfied with the duration of his life, and thanked God that he had passed it so happily; but added, that it appeared to him a mere vanity. He was unable to sleep during the following night, and early on the ensuing morning desired to be taken into his study, where he dozed, at intervals, for a considerable time, in his chair, and on waking expressed a wish to be dressed. Lady Masham, whose

tender care soothed his last moments, was reading the Psalms to him ; he requested her to read louder, which she did, he appearing the while very attentive. On a sudden he bade her cease; he felt the time was come in which the world was to close upon him for ever ; and in a few moments afterwards ceased to breathe. He died, a bachelor, on the twenty-eighth of October, 1704, and was buried in the church at Oates, where his monument remains, inscribed with an epitaph of his own composition, in which he describes himself " mediocritate suâ contentum vixisse."

CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA,

WIFE OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

THE circumstances of this Lady's life during her long residence in England, and of the rest of it we know almost nothing, will compose merely a dull tale of unvaried domestic wretchedness; yet she was the consort of a great Prince, whose chief characteristics were wit, politeness, gaiety, and good humour; who entertained towards her no sentiment of aversion; who was beloved by her; and to whom she never gave any reasonable cause of offence. All this is far from mysterious. Thousands of the tender and amiable sex pine unremittingly under the weight of griefs similar to hers, but the eyes of a nation are not upon them, and they pine under their sufferings, nearly unpitied and unobserved.

Catherine was the second daughter of John, Duke of Braganza, who in 1640 recovered to his family the Crown of Portugal from the usurpation of Spain, by his Queen, Louisa, daughter of John Emanuel Perez de Gusman, Duke of Medina Sidonia. She was born in her father's ducal palace of Villa Viciosa on the twenty-fifth of November, 1638, N.S., the festival of St. Catherine, after whom she was named, and, according to the custom of her country, was bred in all the strictness of conventual education and discipline. Her father's affairs, some years after she had arrived at a marriageable age, assumed a very serious and even critical aspect. The efforts of Spain to regain his country had little relaxed, and he was persecuted by repeated invasions from

that power, while Cromwell, in resentment of some kindnesses shown by him towards our exiled Monarch, had carried on against him a ruinous maritime war, and at length forced him to consent to a treaty little less disastrous. To crown his misfortunes, France, whose friendship with him had for some years furnished his chief ground of hope, abandoned him by the treaty of the Pyrenees. The Restoration occurred here just at that period, and, among the several expedients likely to extricate him from his difficulties which suggested themselves to the mind of John, the most hopeful seemed to be an alliance with England, especially if it could be cemented by the marriage of Charles to the Infanta Catherine.

The proposal was made immediately after, if not indeed a little before, the King's arrival. It was privately addressed, as we are told by Burnet, to General Monck, who readily adopted it, and, according to that writer, was all along the prime negotiator in the treaty, at least so far as related to the marriage, though that character is usually given by our historians to Hyde. Charles is said to have already resolved to marry none but a Catholic, and the lady had not only that qualification, but those, which were doubtless of higher estimation in his eyes, of youth, and no inconsiderable share of personal charms. He agreed to the match without hesitation; the King, her father, stipulated to give her a portion of five hundred thousand pounds, and to add to it the cession of the important post of Tangier, on the African shores of the Mediterranean, and the Island of Bombay, in the East Indies, together with a perfect freedom of trade with Portugal and her colonies, an advantage which she had hitherto uniformly denied to all other nations. These arrangements having been finally settled, orders were despatched to the Earl of Sandwich, Vice-Admiral of England, who was then commanding a fleet sent against the piratical States of Barbary, to sail to Lisbon; to act there as proxy for his master in the solemn espousal of the Infanta; and to proceed with her on board his ship to England. On the fourteenth of May, 1662, she arrived

accordingly at Portsmouth, where she was received by the King. Sheldon, then Bishop of London, soon after Primate, was also waiting there to marry them privately, or rather to afford a pretext for persuading the people that it had been done by a protestant priest, for the Infanta wholly rejected him and his office. "The Archbishop of Canterbury," says Burnet, "came to perform the ceremony, but the Queen was bigotted to such a degree that she would not say the words of matrimony, nor bear the sight of the Archbishop: the King said the words hastily, and the Archbishop pronounced them married persons. Upon this, some thought afterwards to have dissolved the marriage, as a marriage only de factô; but the Duke of York told me they were married by the Lord Aubigny, according to the Romish ritual, and that he himself was one of the witnesses."

After a stay of several weeks at Hampton Court, she made her first entry into London, accompanied by the King, with great pomp, on the twenty-third of August. Mr. Evelyn, evidently a spectator, and whose words I give because I think no account so particular of her person is to be met with elsewhere, says in his diary "the Queen arrived, with a train of Portuguese ladies, in their monstrous fardingales, or guard-infantas; their complections olivader, and sufficiently disagreeable: Her Majesty in the same habit; her foretop long, and turned aside very strangely: She was yet of the handsomest countenance of all the rest, and, though low of stature, prettily shaped; languishing and excellent eyes; her teeth wronging her mouth by sticking a little too far out; for the rest lovely enough." Charles, who was a mere creature of sense, was for a time, as Burnet tells us, "well pleased with her, and carried things decently, and did not visit his mistress openly; but he grew weary of that restraint, and shook it off entirely." And Lord Clarendon says that "she had wit and beauty enough to make herself very agreeable to him," but adds, in contradiction to the rest of Burnet's report, that, even within a day or two after the Queen's arrival at Hampton Court, the King himself presented to her the Lady in question, Barbara Villiers,

afterwards Countess of Castlemain, and Duchess of Cleveland, and that the Queen so far mastered her feelings at the time as to receive her with an affectation of the same grace as she had shown to many others who were then introduced, but that she presently after wept and fainted, and was carried out of the room in great disorder; and this, adds the noble historian, "the King looked on with wonderful indignation, and considered it as an earnest of defiance, and his subsequent conversation on it with the Queen displeased him yet more highly."

Thus commenced a discord which so rapidly increased that it soon became evident it must end either in separation or sullen indifference. Charles, fickle, irresolute, and deceitful, terrified and exasperated her in their private interviews, by threats which he never meant to execute, or cajoled her by promises that he did not intend to keep, just as the humour of the moment happened to dictate, and when others were present, chilled her by the most mortifying neglect. A little faction in the Court, which had originally opposed the marriage, laboured, and too successfully, to widen the breach; magnified what they called her undutiful obstinacy in refusing to receive the mistress on terms of intimacy; persuaded the King, even in opposition to probabilities of which himself was fully conscious, that he could entertain no reasonable hope of having children by her; and at length goaded him on to an actual tyranny over her, which, with all his faults, was contrary to his nature. He suddenly dismissed the whole of her Portuguese retinue; ennobled the lady who was so justly the object of her aversion; and, to complete a conquest not less base than cruel, forced the Queen into a personal intercourse with her by appointing her a Lady of the Bedchamber. The spirit of the unhappy Catherine was at length finally subdued. Destitute of friends and advisers, and unable to fly from a contest to the maintenance of which the strength of her own mind was no longer equal, she suddenly determined to purchase a most imperfect tranquillity by the sacrifice of her dignity as a Queen, and her character as a gentlewoman. She received the

Countess of Castlemain into the most unbounded familiarity, and even confidence; "became merry with her," says Lord Clarendon, "in public, talked kindly of her, and in private used nobody more friendly." Those who may wish for a more full account of these domestic miseries of Royalty may find them detailed by that Nobleman in his memoirs of his own life, with a minuteness which it would be insufferable to adopt here.

This strange alteration produced no useful consequence to the Queen beyond the termination of those frequent, and sometimes furious personal bickerings which occurred between their Majesties, while it proved in all other respects very injurious to her. The kind-hearted, who had compassionated her sufferings, suspected that she had no genuine feeling, and the high-spirited, who had applauded her perseverance, concluded that she was mean and cowardly; while those who were still anxious for her had no means of protecting her from the charge of insincerity but by ascribing to her an excess of caprice. Charles availed himself of all these pretexts for wholly estranging himself from her society, and the poor lady, either in the desperate hope of conciliating him by imitating, as far as she could, his irregularities, or of soothing her own cares by boisterous mirth, fell into strange and unbecoming excesses. "She went about masked," says Burnet, "and came into houses unknown, and danced there, with a great deal of wild frolic. Once," continues he, "her chairmen, not knowing who she was, went from her: so she was alone, and much disturbed, and came to Whitehall in a hackney coach; some say it was in a cart." Meanwhile, a profligate party in the Court, headed by the Duke of Buckingham, suggested various plans to the King for finally disposing of her. They advised him to pretend a previous marriage with the mother of his natural son, the Duke of Monmouth; to bribe the Queen's confessor to advise her to become a nun; nay, so horribly abandoned was Buckingham as to propose to Charles that she should be secretly stolen away, and sent to one of the plantations in the West Indies, on which it should be given out, in order to enable

the King to sue for a divorce, that she had deserted him; and the wretch offered himself as the perpetrator of this villainy; but Charles, adds Burnet, who relates these particulars, and may always be relied on when he speaks favourably of that Prince, or of any of his family, "rejected this with horror, saying it was a wicked thing to make her miserable only because she was his wife, and had no children by him, which was no fault of hers." It was indeed well known that she had been more than once pregnant.

In this manner, always in affliction, and frequently in danger, were sacrificed twenty-three years of the innocent life of this Princess. No instance occurs of her having at any time used the slightest interference in public affairs; and, even amidst the struggles which were incessantly made around her for the advancement in England of that faith to which she was so passionately attached, she seems to have remained constantly passive: yet the detestable Oates, in 1678, accused her of plotting with certain jesuits to assassinate the King, but with such palpable falsehood that Charles spurned the charge with horror and contempt. Her sufferings, however, ended but with the life of that Prince. Burnet tells us that in his last hours "he said nothing of the Queen." Mr. Evelyn, however, says that "he intreated the Queen to pardon him," and that, "a little before, she had sent a Bishop, to excuse her not more frequently visiting him, in regard of her excessive grief, and besought him to forgive her if at any time she had offended him;" and the anonymous writer of a letter in the interesting collection lately published from the British Museum, who seems, from the manner in which he speaks of circumstances, to have actually witnessed them, gives this account—"The Queen, whom he had asked for, the first thing he said on Monday, when he came out of his fit; (she having been present with him as long as her extraordinary passion would give her leave, which at length threw her into fits, not being able to speak while with him;) sent a message to him, to excuse her absence, and to beg his pardon, if ever she had offended him in all her life. He replied, 'Alas,

poor woman, she beg my pardon! I beg her's with all my heart.'"

She remained in England during the short reign of James. We find in Evelyn's Diary this notice, under the date of the twenty-fifth of May, 1688—"The Queen Dowager, hitherto bent on her return into Portugal, now, on the sudden, on allegation of a great debt owing her by his Majesty disabling her, declares her resolution to stay." On the coming, however, of the Prince of Orange she departed, and died at Lisbon, on the thirty-first of December, 1705, N.S.