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Shakespear.

THE BRITISH PLUTARCH.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR.

THERE have been ſome ages in which Providence ſeemed pleaſed, in a moſt remarkable manner, to diſplay itſelf, in giving to the world the fineſt geniuſes to illuminate a people formerly barbarous. After a long night of Gothic ignorance, after many ages of prieſtcraft and ſuperſtition, learning and genius viſited our iſland in the days of the renowned Elizabeth. It was then that liberty began to dawn, and the people, having ſhook off the reſtraints of prieſtly auſterity, preſumed to think for themſelves.

ford to give his eldeſt ſon but a ſlender education. He had bred him at a free-ſchool, where he acquired what Latin he was maſter of; but how well he underſtood that language; or whether, after his leaving the ſchool, he made a greater proficiency in it, has been diſputed, and is a point very difficult to ſettle. However, it is certain, that Mr. John Shakeſpear, our author's father, was obliged to withdraw him early from ſchool, in order to have his aſſiſtance in his own employment towards ſupporting the reſt of the family.

"It is without controverſy," ſays Rowe, "that in his works we ſcarce find any traces that look like an imitation of the antients. The delicacy of his taſte, and the natural bent of his own genius, equal, if not ſuperior, to ſome of the beſt of theirs, would certainly have led him to read and ſtudy them with ſo much pleaſure, that ſome of their fine images would naturally have inſinuated themſelves into, and been mixed with, his own writings; ſo that his not copying at leaſt ſomething from them, may be an argument of his never having read them. Whether his ignorance of the ancients was diſadvantageous to him or no, may admit of diſpute; for, though the knowledge of them might have made him more correct, yet it is not improbable, but the regularity and deference for them which would have attended that correctneſs, might have reſtrained ſome

ſome of that fire, impetuoſity, and even beautiful extravagance, which we cannot help admiring in Shakeſpear."

As to his want of learning, Mr. Pope makes the following juſt obſervation: That there is certainly a vaſt difference between learning and languages. "How far he was ignorant of the latter, I cannot," ſays he, "determine; but it is plain he had much reading, at leaſt, if they will not call it learning: nor is it any great matter if a man has knowledge, whether he has it from one language or from another. Nothing is more evident than, that he had a taſte for natural philoſophy, mechanics, ancient and modern hiſtory, poetical learning, and mythology. We find him very knowing in the cuſtoms, rites and manners of the Romans. In Coriolanus and Julius Cæſar, not only the ſpirit, but manners, of the Romans, are exactly drawn; and ſtill a nicer diſtinction is ſhewn between the manners of the Romans in the time of the former and the latter. His reading in the ancient hiſtorians is no leſs conſpicuous, in many references to particular paſſages; and the ſpeeches copied from Plutarch in Coriolanus, may as well be made inſtances of his learning, as thoſe copied from Cicero in the Cataline of Ben Johnſon.

"The manners of other nations in general, the Ægyptians, Venetians, French, &c. are drawn with equal propriety. Whatever ob-

ject of nature, or branch of ſcience, he either ſpeaks or deſcribes, it is always with competent, if not extenſive knowledge. His deſcriptions are ſtill exact, and his metaphors appropriated, and remarkably drawn, from the nature and inherent qualities of each ſubject.

"We have tranſlations from Ovid publiſhed in his name, among thoſe poems which paſs for his, and for ſome of which we have undoubted authority, being publiſhed by himſelf, and dedicated to the earl of Southampton. He appears alſo to have been converſant with Plautus, from whence he has taken the plot of one of his playss. He follows the Greek authors, and particularly Dates Phrygius in another; although I will not pretend," continues Mr. Pope, "to ſay in what languages he read them."

Mr. Warburton has ſtrongly contended for Shakeſpear's learning, and has produced many imitations and parallel paſſages with ancient authors; in which I am inclined to think him right, and beg leave to produce a few inſtances of it. "He always," ſays Mr. Warburton, "makes an antient ſpeak the language of an antient. So Julius Cæſar, act i. ſcene 2.

——Ye Gods! it doth amaze me
A man of ſuch a feeble temper ſhould
So get the ſtart of the majeſtic world,
And bear the palm alone.

This

This noble image is taken from the Olympic games. This majestic world is a fine periphrasis of the Roman empire; majestic, because the Romans ranked themselves on a footing with kings; and a world, because they called their empire Orbis Romanus; but the whole story seems to allude to Cæsar's great exemplar, Alexander, who, when he was asked, Whether he would run the course of the Olympic games? replied, "Yes, if the racers were kings." So again, in Anthony and Cleopatra, act i. scene 1. Anthony says, with an astonishing sublimity,

Let Rome in Tyber melt, and the wide arch
Of the raz'd empire fall.

Taken from the Roman custom of raising triumphal arches to perpetuate their victories.

And again, act. iii. scene 4. Octavia says to Anthony, of the difference between him and her brother,

—Wars 'twixt you twain would be
As if the world should cleave, and that slain men
Should solder up the rest.

This thought seems taken from the story of Curtius leaping into the chasm in the Forum, in order to close it; so that, as that was closed by one Roman, if the whole world were to

cleave, Romans only could ſolder it up. The metaphor of ſoldering is extremely exact, according to Mr. Warburton; "for," ſays he, "as metal is ſoldered up by metal that is more refined than that which it ſolders; ſo the earth was to be ſoldered by men, who are only a more refined earth." The manners of other nations in general, Egyptians, Venetians, French, &c. are drawn with equal propriety. An inſtance of this ſhall be produced with regard to the Venetians. In the Merchant of Venice, act. iv. ſcene 1.

——— His loſſes,
That have of late ſo huddled on his back,
Enough to preſs a royal merchant down.

We are not to imagine the word Royal to be a random ſounding epithet: it is uſed with great propriety by the poet, and deſigned to ſhew him well acquainted with the hiſtory of the people whom he here brings upon the ſtage: for, when the French and the Venetians, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, had won Conſtantinople, the French, under the emperor Henry, endeavoured to extend their conquests in the provinces of the Grecian empire, on the Terra-Firma, while the Venetians, being maſters of the ſea, gave liberty to any ſubject of the republic, who would fit out veſſels, to make themſelves maſters of the iſles of the Archipelago and other maritime places, to

to enjoy their conquests in sovereignty, only doing homage to the republic for their several principalities.

In pursuance of this licence, the Sanados, the Justiniani, the Grimaldi, the Summaripas, and others, all Venetian merchants, erected principalities in the several places of the Archipelago; and thereby became truly and properly Royal Merchants. But there are several places which one cannot forbear thinking a translation from classic writers. In the Tempest, act v. scene 11. Prospero says,

——— I have
Called forth the mutinous winds,
And, 'twixt the green sea, and the azur'd vault,
Set roaring war; to the dread ratling thunder
Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's stout oak
With his own bolt; the strong bas'd promontory
Have I made shake; and by the spurs pluckt up
The pine and cedar; graves, at my command,
Have wak'd their sleepers, op'd and let them forth
By my so potent art.

So Medea, in Ovid's Metamorphoses.

Stantia concatio canta freta; nubila pello,
Nubilaque induco, ventos abigo que, vocoque,
Vivaque saxa sua convulsaque robora terra

Et ſylvas moveo; jubeoque hemiſcere montes,
Et mugire ſolum, maneſque exire ſepulchris.

But to return to the incidents of his life. Upon his quitting the grammar-ſchool, he ſeems to have entirely devoted himſelf to that way of living which his father propoſed; and, in order to ſettle in the world after a family manner, thought fit to marry while he was yet very young. His wife was the daughter of one Hatchway, ſaid to have been a ſubſtantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of Stratford.

In this kind of domeſtic obſcurity he continued for ſome time, till, by an unhappy inſtance of miſconduct, he was obliged to quit the place of his nativity, and take ſhelter in London; which luckily proved the occaſion of diſplaying one of the greateſt geniuſes that ever was known in dramatic poetry. He had the misfortune to fall into ill company. Among theſe were ſome who made a frequent practice of deer-ſtealing, and who engaged him more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecot, near Stratford; for which he was proſecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, ſomewhat too ſeverely; and, in order to revenge himſelf for this ſuppoſed ill uſage, he made a ballad upon him; and, though this, probably the firſt eſſay of his poetry, be loſt, yet it is ſaid to have been ſo very bitter, that it redoubled the proſecution againſt him to that degree, that he was obliged to leave his buſi-

neſs

neſs and family for ſome time, and ſhelter himſelf in London.

This Sir Thomas Lucy was, it is ſaid, afterwards ridiculed by Shakeſpear, under the well known character of Juſtice Shallow. It is at this time, and upon this accident, that he is ſaid to have made his firſt acquaintance in the playhouſe.

Here I cannot forbear relating a ſtory which Sir William Davenant told Mr. Betterton, who communicated it to Mr. Rowe; Rowe told it Mr. Pope; and Mr. Pope told it to Dr. Newton, the late editor of Milton; and from a gentleman who heard it of him it is here related.

"Concerning Shakeſpear's firſt appearance in the play-houſe, when he came to London he was without money and friends; and, being a ſtranger, he knew not to whom to apply, nor by what means to ſupport himſelf. At that time, coaches not being in uſe, and as gentlemen were accuſtomed to ride to the play-houſe, Shakeſpear, driven to the laſt neceſſity, went to the play-houſe door, and picked up a little money by taking care of the gentlemen's horſes who came to the play. He became eminent even in that profeſſion, and was taken notice of for his diligence and ſkill in it. He had ſoon more buſineſs than he himſelf could manage, and at laſt hired boys under him, who were known by the name of Shakeſpear's boys."

Some of the players accidentally converſeing with him, found him ſo acute, and maſter of ſo fine a converſation, that, ſtruck therewith, they recommended him to the houſe, in which he was firſt admitted in a very low ſtation; but he did not long remain ſo, for he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf, if not as an extraordinary actor, at leaſt as a fine writer. His name is printed, as the cuſtom was in thoſe times, amongſt thoſe of the other players, before ſome old plays, but without any particular account of what ſort of parts he uſed to play; and Mr. Rowe ſays, That, though he very carefully enquired, he found the top of his performance was the ghoſt in his own Hamlet.

"I ſhould have been much more pleaſed," continues Rowe, "to have learned, from ſome certain authority, which was the firſt play he writ. It would be, without doubt, a pleaſure to any man curious in things of this kind, to ſee and know what was the firſt eſſay of a fancy like Shakeſpear's."

The higheſt date which Rowe has been able to trace, is Romeo and Juliet, in 1597, when the author was thirty-three years old; and Richard II. and III. the next year; viz. the thirty-fourth of his age.

Though the order of time in which his ſeveral pieces were written be generally uncertain, yet there are paſſages in ſome few of them that ſeem to fix their dates. So the chorus

rus at the end of the fourth act of Henry V. by a compliment very handſomely turned to the earl of Eſſex, ſhews the play to have been written when that lord was general to the queen in Ireland; and his eulogium upon queen Elizabeth, and her ſucceſſor king James, in the latter end of Henry VIII. is a proof of that play's being written after the acceſſion of the latter of theſe two princes to the throne of England.

Whatever the particular times of his writings were, the people of the age he lived in, who began to grow wonderfully fond of diverſions of this kind, could not but be highly pleaſed to ſee a genius ariſe amongſt them, of ſo pleaſurable, ſo rich a vein, and ſo plentifully capable of furniſhing their favourite entertainments.

Beſides the advantage which Shakeſpear had over all men in the article of wit, he was of a ſweet, gentle, amiable diſpoſition, and was a moſt agreeable companion; ſo that he became dear to all that knew him, both as a friend and as a poet; and by that means was introduced into the beſt company, and held converſation with the fineſt characters of his time.

Queen Elizabeth had ſeveral of his plays acted before her; and that princeſs was too quick a diſcerner, and rewarder of merit, to ſuffer that of Shakeſpear's to be neglected. It is that maiden princeſs plainly whom he intends by

——A

———A fair veſtal, throned by the weſt.
Midſummer Night Dream.

And, in the ſame play, he gives us a poetical and lively repreſentation of the queen of Scots, and the fate ſhe met with.

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

Queen Elizabeth was ſo well pleaſed with the admirable character of Falſtaff, in the two parts of Henry IV. that ſhe commanded him to continue it in one play more, and to make him in love. This is ſaid to have been the occaſion of his writing the Merry Wives of Windſor. How well ſhe was obeyed, the play itſelf is a proof. And here I cannot help obſerving, That a poet ſeldom ſucceeds in any ſubject aſſigned him, ſo well as in that which is his own choice, and where he has the liberty of ſelecting.

Nothing is more certain, than, that Shakeſpear has failed in the Merry Wives of Windſor: and, though that comedy is not without merit, yet it falls ſhort of his other plays in which Falſtaff is introduced; and that knight

knight is not half ſo witty in the Merry Wives of Windſor as in king Henry IV. The humour is ſcarcely natural, and does not excite to laughter ſo much as the other.

It appears by the epilogue to Henry IV. that the part of Falſtaff was written originally under the name of Oldcaſtle. Some of that family being then remaining, the queen was pleaſed to command him to alter it; upon which he made uſe of the name of Falſtaff. The firſt offence was indeed avoided; but I am not ſure whether the author might not be ſomewhat to blame in his ſecond choice, ſince it is certain that Sir John Falſtaff, who was a knight of the garter, and a lieutenant-general, was a name of diſtinguiſhed merit in the wars with France, in the time of Henry V. and Henry VI.

Shakeſpear, beſides the queen's bounty, was patroniſed by the earl of Southampton, famous in the hiſtory of that time for his friendſhip to the earl of Eſſex. It was to that nobleman he dedicated his poem of Venus and Adonis; and it is reported, that his lordſhip gave our author a thouſand pounds to enable him to go through with a purchaſe he heard he had a mind to make. A bounty, at that time, very conſiderable, as money was then valued. There are few inſtances of ſuch liberality in our times.

There is no certain account when Shakeſpear quitted the ſtage for a private life. Some have thought that Spenſer's Thalia, in the

the Tears of the Muſes, where ſhe laments the loſs of her Willy, in the comic ſcene, relates to our poet's abandoning the ſtage: but it is well known that Spenſer himſelf died in the year 1598; and five years after this we find Shakeſpear's name among the actors in Ben Johnſon's Sejanus, which firſt made its appearance in 1603: nor could he then have any thoughts of retiring, ſince, that very year, a licence, by king James I. was granted to him, with Barbage, Philips, Hemmings, Condel, &c. to exerciſe the art of playing comedies, tragedies, &c. as well at their uſual houſe, called the Globe, on the other ſide the water, as in any other part of the kingdom, during his majeſty's pleaſure. This licence is printed in Rymer's Fœdera. Beſides, it is certain Shakeſpear did not write Macbeth till after the acceſſion of king James I. which he did as a compliment to him, as he there embraces the doctrine of witches; of which his majeſty was ſo fond, that he wrote a book called Dæmonalogy, in defence of their exiſtence; and likewiſe, at that time, began to touch for the evil; which Shakeſpear has taken notice of, and paid him a fine-turned compliment. So that what Spenſer there ſays, if it relates at all to Shakeſpear, muſt hint at ſome occaſional receſs which he made for a time.

What particular friendſhips he contracted with private men, we cannot at this time know, more than that every one who had a true taſte for merit, and could diſtinguiſh men, had generally a juſt value and eſteem for

for him. His exceeding candor and good nature muſt certainly have inclined all the gentler part of the world to love him, as the power of his wit obliged the men of the moſt refined knowledge and polite learning to admire him.

His acquaintance with Ben Johnſon began with a remarkable piece of humanity and good nature. Mr. Johnſon, who was, at that time, altogether unknown to the world, had offered one of his plays to the ſtage, in order to have it acted; and the perſon into whoſe hands it was put, after having turned it careleſly over, was juſt upon returning it to him with an ill-natured anſwer, That it would be of no ſervice to their company; when Shakeſpear luckily caſt his eye upon it, and found ſomething ſo well in it, as to engage him firſt to read it through, and afterwards to recommend Mr. Johnſon, and his writings, to the public.

The latter part of our author's life was ſpent in eaſe and retirement; he had the good fortune to gather an eſtate equal to his wants, and in that to his wiſh, and is ſaid to have ſpent ſome years before his death in his native Stratford. His pleaſant wit and good nature engaged him the acquaintance, and entitled him to the friendſhip of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. It is ſtill remembered in that county, that he had a particular intimacy with one Mr. Combe, an old gentleman, noted thereabouts for his wealth and uſury. It happened that,

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that, in a pleasant conversation amongst their common friends, Mr. Combe merrily told Shakespear, that he fancied he intended to write his epitaph, if he happended to out-live him; and since he could not know what might be said of him when dead, he desired it might be done immediately; upon which Shakespear gave him these lines:

Ten in the hundred lies here engraved,
'Tis an hundred to ten he is not saved:
If any man asketh, who lies in this tomb:
Oh! oh! quoth the devil, 'tis my John-a-Combe.

But the sharpness of the satire is said to have stung the man so severely, that he never forgave it.

Shakespear died in the fifty-third year of his age, and was buried on the north-side of the chancel in the great church at Stratford, where a monument is placed on the wall. The following is the inscription on the grave-stone.

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

He had three daughters, of whom two lived to be married; Judith, the elder, to Mr. Thomas Quincy, by whom she had three sons, who all died without

without children; and Sufannah, who was his favourite, to Dr. John Hall, a phyſician of good reputation in that county. She left one child, a daughter, who was married to Thomas Naſh, Eſq; and afterwards to Sir John Bernard, of Abingdon, but deceaſed likewiſe without iſſue. His dramatic writings were firſt publiſhed together in folio, in 1623, by ſome of the actors of the different companies they had been acted in, and perhaps by other ſervants of the theatre into whoſe hands copies might have fallen, and ſince republiſhed by Mr. Rowe, Mr. Pope, Mr. Theobald, Sir Thomas Hanmer, and Mr. Warburton. Ben Johnſon, in his diſcoveries, has made a ſort of eſſay towards the character of Shakeſpear. I ſhall preſent it to the reader in his own words.

"I remember the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakeſpear, that, in writing, he never blotted out a line. My anſwer hath been, would he had blotted out a thouſand! which they thought had been a malevolent ſpeech. I had not told poſterity this, but for their ignorance, who chuſe that circumſtance to commend their friend by, wherein he moſt faulted; and to juſtify my own character (for I loved the man, and do honour to his memory, on this ſide idolatry, as much as any). He was indeed honeſt, and of an open free nature, had an excellent fancy, brave notions, and gentle expreſſions, wherein he flowed with that facility, that ſometimes it was neceſſary he ſhould be

ſtopped

ſtopped. His wit was in his own power: would the rule of it had been ſo. Many times he fell into thoſe things which could not eſcape laughter; as when he ſaid, in the perſon of Cæſar, one ſpeaking to him,

"Cæſar thou doſt me wrong."

'He replied,

"Cæſar did never wrong, but with juſt cauſe;"

and many others of the like kind; which were ridiculous; but he redeemed his vices with his virtues; there was ever more in them to be praiſed, than to be pardoned.' Ben in his converſation with Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, ſaid, that Shakeſpear wanted art, and ſometimes ſenſe. The truth is, Ben was himſelf a better critic than poet; and though he was ready at diſcovering the faults of Shakeſpear, yet he was not maſter of ſuch a genius as to riſe to his excellencies; and, great as Johnſon was, he appears not a little tinctured with envy. Notwithſtanding the defects of Shakeſpear, he is juſtly elevated above all other dramatic writers. If ever any author deſerved the name of original (ſays Pope) it was he: "His poetry was inſpiration indeed; he is not ſo much an imitator as an inſtrument of nature; and it is not ſo juſt to ſay of him, that he ſpeaks from her, as that ſhe ſpeaks through him. His characters are ſo much nature herſelf, that it is a ſort of injury to call them by ſo diſtant a name as copies

pies of her. The power over our paſſions was likewiſe never poſſeſſed in ſo eminent a degree, or diſplayed in ſo many different inſtances, nor was he more a maſter of the great, than of the ridiculous in human nature, nor only excelled in the paſſions, ſince he was full as admirable in the coolneſs of reflection and reaſoning: his ſentiments are not only in general the moſt pertinent and judicious upon every ſubject, but, by a talent very peculiar, ſomething between penetration and facility, he hits upon that particular point, on which the bent of each argument, or the force of each motive depends." Our author's plays are to be diſtinguiſhed only into comedies and tragedies. Thoſe which are called hiſtories and even ſome of his comedies, are really tragedies, with a mixture of comedy amongſt them. That way of tragi-comedy was the common miſtake of that age, and is indeed become ſo agreeable to the Engliſh taſte, that though the ſevereſt critics among us cannot bear it, yet the generality of our audiences ſeem better pleaſed with it than an exact tragedy. There is certainly a great deal of entertainment in his comic humours, and a pleaſing and well diſtinguiſhed variety in thoſe characters he thought fit to exhibit with. His images are indeed every where ſo lively, that the thing he would repreſent ſtands full before you, and you poſſeſs every part of it; of which this inſtance is aſtoniſhing: it is an image of patience. Speaking of a maid in love, he ſays,

—— "She

——————— " She never told her love,
" But let concealment, like a worm i'th'bud,
" Feed on her damaſk cheek: ſhe pin'd in thought,
" And ſat like patience on a monument, ſmiling at grief.

But what is characteriſtically the talent of Shakeſpear, and which, perhaps is the moſt excellent part of the drama, is the manners of his perſons, in acting and in ſpeaking what is proper for them, and fit to be ſhewn by the poet, in making apparent difference between his characters, and marking every one in the ſtrongeſt manner. Poets who have not a little ſucceeded in writing for the ſtage, have yet fallen ſhort of their great original, in the general power of the drama; none ever found ſo ready a road to the heart; his tender ſcenes are inexpreſſibly moving; and ſuch as are meant to raiſe terror, are no leſs alarming; but then, Shakeſpear does not much ſhine when he is conſidered by particular paſſages; he ſometimes debaſes the nobleſt images in nature, by expreſſions which are too vulgar for poetry. The ingenious author of the Rambler has obſerved that, in the invocation of Macbeth, before he proceeds to the murder of Duncan, when he thus expreſſes himſelf:

——————— " Come thick night
" And veil thee, in the dunneſt ſpoke of hell,
" Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark,
" To cry, hold, hold. That

That the words dunneſt, and blanket, which are ſo common in vulgar mouths, deſtroy, in ſome manner, the grandeur of the image, and were two words of a higher ſignification, and removed above common uſe, put in their place, I may challenge poetry itſelf to furniſh an image ſo noble. Poets of an inferior claſs, when conſidered by particular paſſages, are excellent, but then their ideas are not ſo great, their drama is not ſo ſtriking, and it is plain enough that they poſſeſs not ſouls ſo elevated as Shakeſpear's. What can be more beautiful than the flowing enchantments of Rowe; the delicate and tender touches of Otway and Southern, or the melting enthuſiaſm of Lee and Dryden; but yet none of their pieces have affected the human heart like Shakeſpear's. But I cannot conclude the character of Shakeſpear, without taking notice, that, beſides the ſuffrage of almoſt all wits ſince his time in his favour, he is particularly happy in that of Dryden, who had read and ſtudied him clearly, ſometimes borrowed from him, and well knew where his ſtrength lay. In his prologue to the Tempeſt altered, he has the following lines:

Shakeſpear, who, taught by none, did firſt impart,
To Fletcher wit, to lab'ring Johnſon, art.
He, monarch like, gave there his ſubjects law,
And is that nature which they paint and draw;

Fletcher

Fletcher reach'd that, which on his heights did grow,
While Johnſon crept, and gather'd all below:
'This did his love, and this his mirth digeſt,
One imitates him moſt, the other beſt.
If they have ſince outwrit all other men,
'Tis from the drops which fell from Shakeſpear's pen.
The ſtorm which vaniſh'd on the neighb'ring ſhore,
Was taught by Shakeſpear's Tempeſt firſt to roar,
That innocence and beauty which did ſmile
In Fletcher, grew in his inchanted iſle.
But Shakeſpear's magic could not copy'd be,
Within that circle none durſt walk but he.

The play's of this great author, which are forty-three in number, are as follows:

1. The Tempeſt, a Comedy, acted in the Black Fryars, with applauſe.

2. The two Gentlemen of Verona, a Comedy, writ at the command of queen Elizabeth.

3. The Frſt and Second parts of king Henry IV. The character of Falſtaff in theſe plays is juſtly eſteemed a maſterpiece; in the ſecond part is the coronation of king Henry V. Thoſe are founded upon Engliſh chronicles.

4. The Merry Wives of Windſor, a Comedy, written at the command of queen Elizabeth.

5. Meaſure for Meaſure, a Comedy; the plot of this play is taken from Cynthia Ciralni.

6. The

6. The Comedy of Errors, founded upon Plautus Mænechmi.

7. Much a'do About Nothing, a Comedy; for the plot ſee Arioſto's Orlando Furioſo.

8. Love's Labour loſt, a Comedy.

9. Midſummer Night's Dream, a Comedy.

10. The Merchant of Venice, a Tragi-Comedy.

11. As You Like it, a Comedy.

12. The Taming of a Shrew, a Comedy.

13. All's Well that Ends Well.

14. The Twelfth-Night; or, What you will, a Comedy. In this play there is ſomething ſingularly ridiculous, in the fantaſtical ſteward Malvolio; part of the plot taken from Plautus Mænechmi.

15. The Winter's Tale, a Tragi-Comedy; for the plot of this play, conſult Doraſtus and Fawnia.

16. The Life and Death of King John, an hiſtorical play.

17. The Life and Death of King Richard II. a Tragedy.

18. The Life of King Henry V. an hiſtorical play.

19. The firſt part of King Henry VI. an hiſtorical play.

20. The ſecond part of King Henry VI. with the death of the good Duke Humphrey.

21. The third part of Henry VI. with the death of the Duke of York. Theſe plays contain the whole reign of this monarch.

22. The Life and Death of Richard III. with the Landing of the Earl of Richmond, and the Battle of Bosworth-field. In this part Mr. Garrick was first distinguished.

23. The famous History of the Life of King Henry VIII.

24. Troilus and Cressida, a Tragedy. The plot from Chaucer.

25. Coriolanus, a Tragedy; the story from Roman history.

26. Titus Andronicus, a Tragedy.

27. Romeo and Juliet, a Tragedy; the plot from Bandello's novels. This is perhaps one of the most affecting plays of Shakespear: it was not long since acted fourteen nights together at both houses, at the same time, and it was a few years before revived, and acted twelve nights with applause, at the Little Theatre in the Hay-market.

28. Timon of Athens, a Tragedy; the plot from Lucian's Dialogues.

29. Julius Cæsar, a Tragedy.

30. The Tragedy of Macbeth; the plot from Buchanan, and other Scotch writers.

31. Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, a Tragedy.

32. King Lear, a Tragedy; for the plot, see Leland and Monmouth.

33. Othello, the Moor of Venice, a Tragedy; the plot from Cynthio's Novels.

34. Anthony and Cleopatra; the story from Plutarch.

35. Cymbeline, a Tragedy, the plot from Boccace's novels.

36. Pericles

36. Pericles, Prince of Tyre; an hiſtorical play.

37. The London Prodigal, a Comedy.

38. The Life and death of Thomas Lord Cromwell, the favourite of King Henry VIII.

39. The Hiſtory of Sir John Oldcaſtle, the good Lord Cobham, a Tragedy. See Fox's Book of Martyrs.

40. The Puritan; or, the Widow of Watling-ſtreet, a Comedy.

41. A Yorkſhire Tragedy; this is rather an Interlude, than a Tragedy, being very ſhort, and not divided into acts.

42. The Tragedy of Locrine, the eldeſt Son of King Bruins. See the ſtory in Milton's hiſtory of England.

Our age, which demonſtrates its taſte in nothing ſo truly and juſtly, as in the admiration it pays to the works of Shakeſpear, has had the honour of raiſing a monument to him in Weſtminſter Abbey; to effect which, the Tragedy of Julius Cæſar was acted at the theatre royal in Drury-lane, April 28, 1738; and the profits ariſing from it depoſited in the hands of the earl of Burlington, Mr. Pope, Dr. Mead, and others, in order to be laid out upon the ſame monument. A new prologue and epilogue were ſpoken on that occaſion; the prologue was written by Benjamin Martyn, Eſq; the epilogue by the honourable James Noel Eſq; and ſpoke by Mrs. Porter. On Shakeſpear's monument there is a noble

epitaph, taken from his own Tempeſt, and is excellently appropriated to him: with this let us cloſe his life, only with this obſervation, that his works will never be forgot, till that epitagh is fulfilled. —— When,

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

THE

Bingham Sculp.

Sr. Walter Raleigh.

THE LIFE OF

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH was born in the year 1552, being descended of an ancient family in Devonshire, and when but fourteen, was sent to finish his education at the university of Oxford, where he became a commoner of Oriel College. Here he distinguished himself both by the strength and vivacity of his genius, and his application to his study: he continued here but three years; for in 1569, being only seventeen years old, he was one of the troop of an hundred gentlemen volunteers, whom queen Elizabeth permitted Henry Champernon to transport into France for the service of the protestant princes. Mr. Raleigh had here a good opportunity of acquiring experience in the art of war, and improving himself in the knowledge of the languages, and of men; he did not return till the end of the year 1575, having spent six years in France.

The activity of his temper did not suffer him to rest long at home, for he went into the service of the prince of Orange against the Spaniards, in 1578.

Soon after this he had an opportunity of trying his fortune at ſea; his half brother, Sir Humphry Gilbert, having obtained a patent to plant and inhabit ſome northern parts of America, unpoſſeſſed by any people in alliance with the queen of England, Mr. Raleigh engaged with a conſiderable number of gentlemen in an expedition to Newfoundland; but this proved unſucceſsful, for diviſions ariſing among the volunteers, Sir Humphry, the general, was in 1579, obliged to ſet ſail with only a few of his friends; and, after variety of misfortunes at ſea, returned with the loſs of one of his ſhips in an engagement with the Spaniards, in which Mr. Raleigh was expoſed to great danger.

The next year, 1580, upon the deſcent of the Spaniſh and Italian forces into Ireland, under the pope's banner, for the ſupport of the Deſmonds in the rebellion in Munſter, he obtained a captain's commiſſion; where, under the command of Thomas earl of Ormond, governor of Munſter, he ſurpriſed the Iriſh Kerns at Rakele, and having encloſed them, took every rebel upon the ſpot; among them was one loaded with withies, who being aſked, What he intended to have done with them? boldly anſwered, To have hung up the Engliſh churls; upon which captain Raleigh ordered him to be hanged immediately. He aſſiſted likewiſe at the ſiege of Fort Del Oore, which the Spaniſh ſuccours under San

Joſepho

Josepho their commander, assisted by their Irish confederates, had raised and fortified as a place of retreat. The lord-deputy himself besieged this fort by land, Sir William Winter, the admiral, attacked it by sea, and captain Raleigh commanded in the trenches; it was, however, on the ninth of November 1589, obliged to surrender at discretion: when, by order of the lord-deputy, the greatest part of the garrison were put to the sword, the execution of which fell to the share of the captains Raleigh and Mackworth, who first entered the castle.

During the winter of this year, captain Raleigh had his quarters assigned him at Cork; when observing the seditious practices of David lord Barry, and other ringleaders of the rebellion in those parts, to distress the peaceable, and to excite the disaffected to an insurrection, he took a journey to Dublin, and remonstrated to the lord-deputy the dangerous consequences of these practices, in so strong a manner, that his lordship gave him full commission to seize the lands of lord Barry, to reduce him to peace and subjection, by such means as he should think proper; for which purpose he was furnished with a party of horse: but during this interval, that lord himself burnt the castle to the ground, though it was his principal seat, and laid waste the country round it with greater outrage and destruction, than even the zeal of his enemies would have extended to.

Captain Raliegh in his return to Cork, was attacked by Fitz Edmonds, an old rebel of Barry's faction, at a fort between Youghal and Cork; he was inferior to Fitz-Edmonds in number, yet he forced his way through the enemy, and got over the river; but a gentleman of his company being by some accident thrown in the middle, between the fear of drowning and being taken, called out to the captain for help; who, though he had escaped both dangers, yet ventured into them again to rescue his companion, who in the haste and confusion of remounting, over-leaped his horse, and fell down on the other side into a deep mire, where he must have been suffocated, if the humane Raleigh had not recovered him a second time, and brought him to land. He now waited on the opposite bank, with a staff in one hand and a pistol in the other, for the rest of his campany who were yet to cross the river; but though Fitz-Edmonds had got a recruit of twelve men, yet finding captain Raleigh stand his ground, only exchanged a few rough words with him and retired.

In 1581, the earl of Ormond going to England, his government of Munster was given to captain Raleigh, in commission with Sir William Morgan and captain peers. Raleigh resided for some time at Lismore; but afterwards, returning with his little band of eighty foot and eight horse, to his old quarters at Cork, he received intelligence that Barry was at Clove with several hundred men:

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he resolved to pass through that town, and offer him combat; and accordingly at the town's end met Barry with his forces, whom he charged with prodigious bravery, and put to flight; as he pursued his journey, he overtook another company of the enemy in a plain by a wood side, whom be likewise attacked, though he had only six horsemen with him, expecting probably that his company would soon join him. But the rebels, who had greatly the advantage of numbers, being cut off from the wood, and having no other relief, faced about, and fought very desperately, killing five of the horses belonging to Raleigh's company, and amongst these his own; and he was in extreme danger himself of being overpowered by numbers, if his servant Nicholas Wright had not interposed; who perceiving his master's horse mortally wounded with darts, encountered six of the enemy at once, and killed one of them; while Patric Fagaw rescued Raleigh, after it had been unsuccessfully attempted by James Fitz-Richard, who was then ready to perish; which Raleigh seeing, would not now suffer Wright to fight by him any longer; but ordered him to assist Fitz-Richard, which he immediately did, by rushing into the thiong of the enemy, and dispatching him who pressed upon Fitz-Richard, rescuing the latter from the most imminent danger. In this sharp skirmish many of the rebels perished, and two were carried prisoners to Cork, where Raleigh performed several other services, till the rebels

being reduced, he returned to England, where his eminent accomplishments soon introduced him to the notice of the court, and her majesty's favour. In February 1581-2, he was one of those persons of distinction, who by the queen's command accompanied the duke of Anjou to the Netherlands; and in 1582, on his return, brought letters from the prince of Orange to her majesty. In 1583, he engaged in a second expedition with his brother Sir Humphry Gilbert, to Newfoundland; but having been two or three days at sea, a contagious distemper seized his whole crew, and he was obliged to return to port; however, by this accident, he escaped the misfortunes of that expedition, in which Sir Humphry, after having taken possession of Newfoundland in the right of the crown of England, in his return home, unfortunately perished: but ill success could not divert Raleigh from a scheme, which he thought was of such importance to his country; he therefore drew up an account of its advantages, and laid it before the queen and council, who were so well satisfied with it, that her majesty granted him letters patent in favour of his project; 'containing free liberty to discover such remote heathenish and barbarous lands, as were not actually possessed by any Christian, or inhabited by Christian people.'

Immediately upon this grant, captain Raleigh fitted out two vessels, which reached the gulf of Florida the second of July: they failed

ſailed along the ſhore about one hundred and twenty miles, and at laſt debarked, on a low land, which proved to be an iſland called Wokoken. After taking a formal poſſeſſion of this country in the name of the queen, he carried on a friendly correſpondence with the natives, who ſupplied them with proviſions, and gave them furs and deer ſkins in exchange for trifles; thus encouraged, eight of their crew went twenty miles up the river Occam, and next day came to an iſland called Roanok, the reſidence of the Indian chief, whoſe houſe was built of cedar, and fortified round with ſharp pieces of timber. His wife came out to them, and ordered her people to carry them from the boat on their backs, and ſhewed them many civilities to expreſs her friendly intentions towards them, in the abſence of her huſband. After having gained the beſt information they could of the ſtrength of the Indian nations, and of their connections, alliances, and conteſts with each other, they returned to England, and made ſuch an advantageous report of the fertility of the ſoil, and healthfulneſs of the climate, that the queen favoured the deſign of ſettling a colony in that country, to which ſhe gave the name of Virginia.

About two months after captain Raleigh's return, he was choſen knight of the ſhire for his own county of Devon, and the ſame ſeſſion received the honour of knighthood, a diſtinction the more honourable to him, as

the queen was extremely cautious and frugal in beſtowing of honours; ſhe at the ſame time granted him a patent to licence the vending of wines throughout the kingdom; which was, in all probability, a very lucrative one.

Sir Walter was ſo intent upon planting his new colony in Virginia, that, in 1585, he ſent out a fleet of ſeven ſail, under the command of his couſin, Sir Richard Grenvile, general of the expedition, who came to an anchor at Wokoken, from whence they ſent their compliments to king Wingina, at Roanok; after which the general, and a ſelect company, viſited many Indian towns, at one of which the Indians having ſtolen a ſilver cup, the Engliſh burnt the town, and deſtroyed the corn fields. An act which they had afterwards ſufficient reaſon to repent. The general at laſt returning to his fleet, thought fit to weigh anchor, and ſet ſail for England; when he took in his paſſage a Spaniſh prize worth fifty thouſand pounds, with which they arrived at Plymouth; having left behind, in Virginia, one hundred and ſeven perſons.

The Spaniſh prize above-mentioned was not the only circumſtance of good fortune which happened to Sir Walter this year; the rebellion in Ireland being now totally ſuppreſſed, her majeſty granted him twelve thouſand acres of the forfeited lands; and this great eſtate he planted at his own expence.

Sir Walter, encouraged by this noble grant, fitted out a third fleet for Virginia; where the colony,

colony, having ſuffered great diſtreſſes, had procured a paſſage into England from Sir Francis Drake, who had viſited it in his return from his conqueſt of St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Auguſtine. Raleigh had, in the ſpring of that year, ſent a ſhip of one hundred tons for the ſuccour of that colony; but not arriving before the people had left that country, ſhe returned with all her lading to England.

About fifteen days after, Sir Richard Grenville arrived at Virginia with three ſhips more, well ſtored, for the company of planters which he had left there in 158 ; but, finding neither them, nor the laſt-mentioned ſhip, Sir Richard, unwilling to loſe the poſſeſſion of ſo fine a country, landed fifteen men on the iſland of Roanok, leaving them proviſion for two years, ſet ſail for England, and, in his return, took ſome Spaniſh prizes.

The latter end of the year 1586, her majeſty made Sir Walter Raleigh ſeneſchall of the duties of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord-warden of the ſtannaries in Devonſhire and Cornwall; but theſe preferments expoſed him to the envy of thoſe who were much his inferiors in merit; and even the earl of Leiceſter, who had once been his friend, grew jealous of him, and ſet up, in oppoſition to him, his nephew, the young earl of Eſſex; but neither the factions of the court, nor the aſperſions of the people, whom Raleigh could never conde-

ſcend

ſcend to court, could deter him from attending the duties of his ſeveral employments.

In the year 1587, Raleigh prepared a new colony of one hundred and fifty men for Virginia; appointing Mr. John White governor, and with him twelve aſſiſtants; and incorporated them by the name of the governor and aſſiſtants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia.

On their arrival at Hattaraſs, the governor diſpatched a ſtrong party to Roanok, expecting to find the fifteen men that were left there; but they ſought them in vain. They afterwards found that ſeveral of them had been murdered by the ſavages, and the reſt driven to a remote part of the country. This new colony having entered into an alliance with the natives, conſidered that they ſhould want freſh ſupplies of proviſions; and, wanting an agent to go to England, prevailed on their governor to undertake that office, who returned with his ſhips in the latter end of the year.

Sir Walter, ſollicitous for the ſafety of the colony, prepared a fleet to aſſiſt them; but the apprehenſions of the nation of an invaſion from Spain, in 1588, prevented their ſailing; ſo that governor White could only obtain two ſmall pinnaces, which had the miſfortune to be ſo thoroughly rifled by the enemy, that they were obliged to return back without performing the voyage, to the diſtreſs of the planters abroad, and the regret of their patron at home.

About

About this time, he was advanced to the poſt of captain of her majeſty's guard, and was one of the council of war appointed to conſider of the moſt effectual methods for the ſecurity of the nation; upon which occaſion he drew up a ſcheme which is a proof of his judgment and abilities. But he did not confine himſelf to the mere office of giving advice; he raiſed and diſciplined the militia of Cornwall; and, having performed all poſſible ſervices at land, joined the fleet with a ſquadron of volunteers, and had a conſiderable ſhare in the total defeat of the Spaniſh armada; when his merit, upon ſo important a criſis, juſtly raiſed him ſtill higher in the queen's favour, who now made him gentleman of her privy-chamber, and granted him ſome additional advantages to his wine office.

Don Antonio, king of Portugal, being expelled from his dominions by Philip II. of Spain, queen Elizabeth contributed ſix men of war, and threeſcore thouſand pounds, in order to reinſtate him, and encouraged her ſubjects to concur in that deſign. Sir Walter Raleigh, with Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris, accompanied that prince to Portugal; and, in this expedition, took a great number of hulks belonging to the Hans-towns, laden with Spaniſh goods, proviſions, and ammunition, for a new invaſion of England: and his conduct in the whole affair was ſo pleaſing to her majeſty, that ſhe honoured him, as well as the other commanders, with a gold chain.

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In his return home, he touched on the coaſt of Ireland: here he viſited Spencer, the poet, who mentions the circumſtance of this viſit in a paſtoral, entitled, Collin Clout's come home again. And this poet he brought with him to England, and introduced him to the queen. But this is not to be wondered at, ſince Raleigh himſelf had an excellent genius, as well as taſte for poetry.

Raleigh had now formed a deſign againſt the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies, in order to intercept the plate-fleet, and fitted out a maritime force for that purpoſe, conſiſting of thirteen ſhips of his own and fellow-adventurers; to which the queen added two men of war, the Garland and Foreſight, giving him a commiſſion as general of the fleet, the poſt of lieutenant-general being conferred on Sir John Burgh.

He ſet ſail in February, 1591-2; but the winds proved ſo contrary, that he could not leave the coaſt of England till the ſixth of May; and the next day Sir Martin Forbiſher followed and overtook him with the queen's letters to recall him; but, imagining his honour engaged in the undertaking, he purſued his courſe, though he was informed that the king of Spain had ordered that no ſhips ſhould ſail that year, nor any treaſure be brought from the Weſt-Indies. But, on the eleventh of May, meeting with a ſtorm off Cape Finiſterre, he divided his fleet into two ſquadrons, committing one to Sir John Burgh, and the

other

other to Sir Martin Forbiſher, with orders to the latter to lie off the ſouth cape, to keep in and terrify the Spaniards on their coaſts, while the former lay at the Azores for the caracs from the Eaſt-Indies.

The ſucceſs of theſe directions was anſwerable to the excellent judgment that formed them; for the Spaniſh admiral, collecting his whole naval power to watch Forbiſher, left the caracs unguarded, and the Madre de Dios, then eſteemed the richeſt prize ever brought to England, was ſeized by Sir John Burgh.

But, in the heighth of Sir Walter Raleigh's favour with the queen, he fell under her majeſty's diſpleaſure for being in love with the daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, one of the queen's maids of honour; and the conſequence of the amour diſcovering the intrigue, her majeſty ordered him to be confined for ſeveral months, and diſmiſſed the lady from her attendance; to whom he afterwards made the moſt honourable reparation he could by marriage; in which they were both examples of conjugal affection and fidelity.

While Sir Walter Raleigh was under her majeſty's diſpleaſure, he projected the diſcovery of the extenſive empire of Guiana, in South-America, which the Spaniards had then only viſited, and to this day have never conquered. Sir Walter having provided a ſquadron of ſhips, at a very great expence, the lord high-admiral Howard, and Sir Robert Cecil,

Cecil, conceived ſo good an opinion of the deſign, that they both concurred in it.

He ſet ſail on the twenty ſixth of February, 1594-5, and arrived at the iſle of Trinidad on the twenty-ſecond of March; where he made himſelf maſter of St. Joſeph, a ſmall city, and made the Spaniſh governor priſoner. He then, leaving his ſhips at Curiapan, with an hundred men, in ſeveral little barks ſailed four hundred miles up the river Oronoque, in ſearch of Guiana; but the heat of the weather, and the torrents, obliged him to return; which he did the latter end of the ſummer, 1595.

In the year following, he was ſo far reſtored to favour, that he was engaged in the important expedition to Cadiz; wherein the earl of Eſſex, and the lord high-admiral Howard, were joint commanders. On the twentieth of June they arrived before Cadiz. The lord high-admiral was of opinion that the land-forces ſhould attack the town firſt, that the fleet might not be expoſed to the fire of the ſhips, of the city, and forts adjacent; and the council of war concurred in this opinion: but, as the earl of Eſſex was putting his men into boats, in order to land them, Sir Walter, not happening to have been preſent at the council of war, went directly to the earl, and offered ſuch convincing reaſons againſt it, and for their firſt falling upon the galleons, and ſhips in the harbours, that the earl ſaw the neceſſity of altering his ſcheme, and deſired Sir Walter to diſſuade

diſſuade the admiral from that of landing. He did ſo, the admiral was convinced; and, by Sir Walter's advice, deferred the attack till the next day.

For the particulars of this attack, in which Sir Walter Raleigh diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery and his prudence, and which was attended with ſuch wonderful ſucceſs, we muſt refer our readers to Mr. Birch's account of it. It is ſufficient for us to ſay, that the city was taken and plundered; many of the principal ſhips belonging to the Spaniards were run aſhore; and the galleons, with all their treaſure, burnt, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Engliſh.

Sir Walter continued in this ſtate of baniſhment from the queen till 1597, and then was reſtored to favour, and performed ſeveral other ſignal ſervices. In 1601 he attended the queen in her progreſs: but the death of this princeſs proved a great misfortune to Sir Walter; for her ſucceſſor king James I. had been greatly prejudiced againſt him by the earl of Eſſex; yet he did not diſcover his diſlike for ſome time, but treated him with great kindneſs: however, his majeſty's pacific genius could not reliſh a man of ſo martial a ſpirit. He had not been long upon the throne before Sir Walter was diſmiſſed from his poſt of captain of the guards; and, ſoon after, was charged with being engaged in a plot againſt the king, and with carrying on a ſecret correſpondence with the king of Spain; but no

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clear evidence has yet been produced of his having any concern in it, though he was brought in guilty, and ſentenced to die. As to the trial, we refer our readers to the particular account given by our author, and ſhall only add, that it appeared to Sir John Haws, ſollicitor-general to king William, in ſo bad a light, that he pronounces it very irregular throughout, and that the accuſations did not amount to a legal proof. 'I would know, ſays he, by what law is the depoſition of a perſon who might be brought face to face to the priſoner, read as evidence? I would know by what law it is forbidden that the accuſer ſhould be brought face to face to the accuſed? I would know by what law Brook's depoſition of what the lord Cobham told him of Raleigh was evidence againſt Raleigh? I would know by what law the ſtory Dyer told of what an unknown man ſaid to him at Liſbon of Don Raleigh, was evidence againſt Raleigh? I would know by what ſtatute the ſtatutes of the 25th of Edward III. and 5th of Edward VI. were repealed.'

Sir Walter, not long after his confinement in the Tower, upon the unwearied ſollicitations of his lady, who petitioned the king that ſhe might be priſoner with him, was allowed the conſolation of her company, and his younger ſon Carew was born there in 1604.

The February following his majeſty made him a grant of his forfeited eſtate, for the benefit of his wife and children; but this was only for his own life, for he had, on his reſolving to accept of a challenge from Sir Amias Preſ-

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ton ſome years before, made it over to his eldeſt ſon. But he did not long enjoy it; for Car, the king's new favourite, having no fortune of his own, looking out for one, diſcovered a flaw in the conveyance, upon which an information being exhibited in the exchequer, judgment was given for the crown, and Sherborne, and other of his eſtates, were given to Car in 1609, the king being inflexible to all the petitions of the lady Raleigh for herſelf and her children.

This great man ſoftened the rigours of his long confinement in an application to various kinds of ſtudies. And though he had the queen's protection, and prince Henry for his patron, during the height of the earl of Somerſet's favour, yet he could not obtain his liberty till after the condemnation of that favourite for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury: but at laſt, by means of fifteen hundred pounds given to a relation of the new favourite Sir George Villers, he procured his liberty, after above twelve years confinement in the Tower.

Sir Walter being now at large, had the means of proſecuting his old ſcheme of Guiana, and his majeſty granted him a patent for that purpoſe, at leaſt under the privy-ſeal, if not under the great ſeal of England; which Sir Francis Bacon, on being applied to, aſſured him was a ſufficient pardon for all that was paſt, as the king had made him admiral of his

fleet,

fleet, and given him the power of martial law over his officers and ſoldiers.

The whole expence of this expedition was defrayed by Sir Walter Raleigh and his friends. In their paſſage, they met with various diſappointments; however, in November, they came in ſight of Guiana, and anchored five degrees off the river Caliana.

Here Raleigh was received with the utmoſt joy by the Indians, who offered him the ſovereignty of the country, which he declined. His extreme ſickneſs preventing his attempting the diſcovery of the mines in perſon, he deputed captain Keymis to that ſervice, ordering five ſhips to ſail into the river Oronoque; but, three weeks after, landing by night nearer a Spaniſh town than they expected, they were ſet upon by the Spaniſh troops, who were fore-armed for their coming.

This unexpected attack ſoon threw them into confuſion; and, had not ſome of the leaders animated the reſt, they had all been cut to pieces: but the others, by their example, ſoon rallying, they made ſuch a vigorous oppoſition, that they forced the Spaniards to retreat.

In the warmth of the purſuit, the Engliſh found themſelves at the Spaniſh town before they knew where they were. Here the battle was renewed, and they were aſſaulted by the governor himſelf, and four or five captains, at the head of their companies, when captain Raleigh,

leigh, the eldeſt ſon of Sir Walter, hurried on by the heat and impatience of youth, not waiting for the muſketeers, ruſhed forward, at the head of a company of pikes, and, having killed one of the Spaniſh captains, was ſhot by another; but, preſſing ſtill forward with his ſword, upon the captain who had ſhot him, the Spaniard, with the butt end of his muſket, felled him to the ground, and put an end to his life; when his ſerjeant immediately thruſt the Spaniſh captain through the body with his halbert. Two other captains, and the governor himſelf, fell in this engagement.

The Spaniſh leaders being all thus diſpatched, the reſt fled; ſome took ſhelter about the market-place, from whence they killed and wounded the Engliſh at pleaſure; ſo that there was no way left for ſafety but by firing the town, and driving the enemy to the woods and mountains.

Captain Keymis had now an opportunity of viſiting the mine, which he attempted with captain Thornhurſt, Mr. W. Herbert, Sir John Hamden, and others; but, upon their falling into an ambuſcade, in which they loſt many of their men, they returned to Sir Walter, without diſcovering the mine, alledging the reaſon mentioned above.

As ſome mitigation of their ill ſucceſs, and as an inducement to further hopes, Keymis produced two ingots of gold, which they had found in the town, together with a large quantity of papers found in the governor's ſtudy.

Among

Among these were four letters, which discovered not only Raleigh's whole enterprize to have been betrayed, but his life hereby put into the power of the Spaniards. These letters also discovered the preparations made by the Spaniards to receive Raleigh.

To the just indignation which he conceived upon this occasion, was added the mortification of finding that Keymis had made no trial of the mine. He reproached that captain with having undone him, and wounded his credit with the king past recovery. This affected Keymis so sensibly, that he retired to his cabbin, where he shot himself; but, finding the wound not mortal, he dispatched himself with a knife, which he thrust into his heart.

The ill state of Sir Walter's health would not suffer him to repair Keymis's neglect. He was incapable of such a voyage, and, at the same time, was in continual apprehension of being attacked by the Spanish armada, sent out on purpose to lay wait for and destroy him; but the enemy missed him, by staying in the wrong place.

On Sir Walter's return home, he found that king James had published a proclamation declaring his detestation of his conduct, asserting that his majesty had, by express limitation, restrained and forbid Raleigh, from attempting any act of hostility against his dear brother of Spain; yet it is evident, that the commission contained no such limitation.

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This proclamation, however, did not deter Sir Walter from landing, who resolved to surrender himself into the king's hands, to whom he wrote a letter in defence of himself. He was seized on the road to London, and returned with the officers to Plymouth.

On the seventh of August, he arrived at London, where he was permitted the confinement of his own house; but having good reason not to trust himself to the mercy of the court, he formed a design to escape into France; which being discovered, he was seized in a boat below Woolwich, and was, on the tenth of August, committed to the Tower.

His death was now absolutely determined, yet it was not easy to find a method to compass it, since his conduct in his late expedition, could not be stretched in law to such a sentence; it was resolved therefore to sacrifice him to Spain, in a manner that has justly exposed the court to the abhorrence of all succeeding ages, by calling him down to judgment on his former sentence, passed fifteen years before. Thus, by a strange contariety of proceedings, he, who had been condemned for being a friend to the Spaniards, now lost his life for being their enemy.

In consequence of this resolution, he, having the day before received notice to prepare himself for death, was, on the twenty-eighth of October, taken out of his bed, in the hot fit of an ague, and carried to the King's

Bench bar, at Weſtminſter, where the chief-juſtice ordered the record of his conviction and judgment in 1603, to be read; and then demanded, What he had to offer why execution ſhould not be awarded againſt him? To this Sir Walter pleaded his commiſſion for his laſt voyage, which implied a reſtoring life to him, by giving him power, as marſhal, on the life and death of others. He then began to juſtify his conduct in that voyage; but the court refuſed to hear him, and he was ordered for execution the next day. He then deſired he might not be cut off ſo ſuddenly, calling upon God to be his judge, before whom he ſhould ſhortly appear, That he was never diſloyal to his majeſty, "which I will juſtify," ſaid he, "where I ſhall not fear the face of any king on earth."

The ſame day a warrant for his execution was produced, though his majeſty was retired into the country. Sir Walter eat his breakfaſt heartily that morning, ſmoaked his pipe, and made no more of death than if he had been to take a journey, when, being conducted to the old palace-yard, Weſtminſter, with a chearful countenance he ſaluted the lords, knights, and gentlemen there preſent. After which a proclamation was made for ſilence, and he addreſſed himſelf to ſpeak in this manner.

"I deſire to be borne withal, for this is the third day of my fever; and, if I ſhall ſhew any weakneſs, I beſeech you to attribute it to my

my malady, for this is the hour in which it is wont to come."

Then pauſing a while, he ſat, and directed himſelf towards a window, where the lords of Arundel, Northampton, and Doncaſter, with ſome other lords and knights, ſat, and ſpoke as followeth:

"I thank God, of his infinite goodneſs, that he hath brought me to die in the light, and not in darkneſs." But, by reaſon that the place where the lords, &c. ſat, was ſome diſtance from the ſcaffold, that he perceived they could not well hear him, he ſaid, "I will ſtrain my voice, for I would willingly have your honours hear me."

But lord Arundel ſaid, "Nay, we will rather come down to the ſcaffold;" which he and ſome others did. Where being come, he ſaluted them ſeverally, and then began again to ſpeak as followeth.

"As I ſaid, I thank God heartily, that he hath brought me into the light to die; and, that he hath not ſuffered me to die in the dark priſon of the Tower, where I have ſuffered a great deal of miſery and cruel ſickneſs; and, I thank God that my fever hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed to God it might not. There are two main points of ſuſpicion that his majeſty, as I hear, hath conceived againſt me. To reſolve your lordſhips wherein his majeſty cannot be ſatisfied, which I deſire to clear, and to reſolve your lordſhip's of:

"One is, That his majesty hath been informed, that I have often had plots with France; and his majesty hath good reason to induce him thereunto. One reason that his majesty had to conjecture so, was, that, when I came back from Guiana, being come to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go in a bark to Rochel; which was, for that I would have made my peace before I had come to England.

"Another reason was, That, upon my flight, I did intend to fly into France, for the saving of myself, having had some terror from above.

"A third reason, that his majesty had reason to suspect, was, The French agent's coming to me. Besides, it was reported, that I had a commission from the French king at my going forth. These are the reasons that his majesty had, as I am informed, to suspect me.

"But this I say, for a man to call God to witness to a falshood at the hour of death, is far more grievous and impious; and that a man that so doth cannot have salvation, for he hath no time for repentance. Then what shall I expect, that am going instantly to render up my account? I do therefore call God to witness, as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to see him in his kingdom, which I hope I shall within this quarter of this hour, I never had any commission from the French king,

king, nor ever ſaw the French king's hand-writing in all my life; neither knew I that there was a French agent, nor what he was, till I met him in my gallery, at my lodging, unlooked for. If I ſpeak not true, O Lord, let me never enter into thy kingdom.

"The ſecond ſuſpicion was, That his majeſty had been informed, that I ſhould ſpeak diſhonourably and diſloyally of my ſovereign; but my accuſer was a baſe Frenchman, and a runnagate fellow; one that hath no dwelling; a kind of chymical fellow; one that I knew to be perfidious: for, being by him drawn into the action of fearing myſelf at Wincheſter, in which I confeſs my hand was touched, he, being ſworn to ſecreſy over-night, revealed it the next morning.

"But this I ſpeak now, what have I to do with kings? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I fear them; I have only now to do with my God, in whoſe preſence I ſtand; therefore to tell a lie, were it to gain the king's favour, were vain. Therefore, as I hope to be ſaved at the laſt judgment-day, I never ſpoke diſloyally, or diſhoneſtly, of his majeſty in all my life; and therefore I cannot but think it ſtrange that that French-man, being ſo baſe and mean a fellow, ſhould be ſo far credited as he hath been. I have dealt truly, as I hope to be ſaved; and I hope I ſhall be believed. I confeſs I did attempt to eſcape; I cannot excuſe it, but it was only to ſave my life. And I do likewiſe confeſs,

that I did feign myself to be ill disposed and sick at Salisbury; but I hope it was no sin, for the prophet David did make himself a fool, and suffered spittle to fall down upon his beard, to escape from the hands of his enemies, and it was not imputed unto him: so, what I did, I intended no ill, but to gain and prolong time until his majesty came, hoping for some commiseration from him. But I forgive this French-man, and Sir Lewis Stewkeley, with all my heart; for I have received the sacrament this morning of Mr. dean of Westminster, and I have forgiven all men; but, that they are perfidious, I am bound in charity to speak, that all men may take heed of them.

"Sir Lewis Stewkeley, my keeper and kinsman, hath affirmed that I should tell him, that my lord Carew, and my lord of Doncaster here, did advise me to escape; but I protest, before God, I never told him any such thing; neither did the lords advise me to any such matter; neither is it likely that I should tell him any such thing of two privy-counsellors; neither had I any reason to tell him, or he to report it; for it is well known, he left me six, seven, eight, nine, and ten days together alone, to go whither I listed, whilst he rode himself about the country.

"He further accused me, that I should shew him a letter, whereby I did signify unto him, that I would give him ten thousand pounds for my escape; but God cast my soul into everlast-

everlasting fire, if I made any such proffer of ten thousand pounds, or one thousand; but, indeed, I shewed him a letter, that, if he would go with me, there should be order taken for his debts when he was gone; neither had I ten thousand pounds to give him; for, if I had had so much, I could have made my peace with it better another way than in giving it to Stewkeley.

"Further, when I came to Sir Edward Pelham's house, who had been a follower of mine, and who gave me good entertainment, he gave out, that I had received some dram of poison; when I answered him, that I feared no such thing, for I was well assured of them in the house, and therefore wished him to have no such thought. Now God forgive him, for I do; and I desire God to forgive him. I will not only say, God is a God of revenge; but I desire God to forgive him, as I do desire to be forgiven of God."

Then looking over his note of remembrance, "Well," said he, "thus far have I gone; a little more, a little more, and I will have done by and by.

"It was told the king that I was brought per force into England, and that I did not intend to come again; but Sir Charles Parker, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Leake, and divers know how I was dealt withal by the common soldiers, which were one hundred and fifty in number, who mutinied, and sent for me to come

into the ſhip to them, for unto me they would not come; and there I was forced to take an oath that I would not go into England till that they would have me; otherwiſe they would have caſt me into the ſea; and therewithall they drove me into my cabbin, and bent all their forces againſt me.

"Now, after I had taken this oath, with wine and other things, ſuch as I had about me, I drew ſome of the chiefeſt to deſiſt from their purpoſes; and, at length, I perſuaded them to go into Ireland; which they were willing unto, and would have gone into the north parts of Ireland; which I diſſuaded them from, and told them that they were Red-Shanks that inhabited there; and with much ado I perſuaded them to go into the ſouth parts of Ireland, promiſing them to get their pardons, and was forced to give them one hundred and twenty five pounds at Kinſale, to bring them home, otherwiſe I had never got from them.

"I hear likewiſe there was a report that I meant not to go to Guiana at all, and that I knew not of any mine, nor intended any ſuch thing or matter, but only to get my liberty, which I had not the wit to keep.

"But I proteſt it was my full intent, and for gold; for gold, for the benefit of his majeſty and myſelf, and of thoſe that ventured and went with me, with the reſt of my countrymen; but he that knew the head of the mine

mine would not discover it, when he saw my son was slain, but made away himself."

Then turning to the earl of Arundel, he said, "My lord, being in the gallery of my ship, at my departure, I remember your honour took me by the hand, and said, You would request one thing of me; which was, That, whether I made a good voyage or a bad, I should not fail but to return again into England; which I then promised you, and gave you my faith I would; and so I have." To which my lord answered, "It is true, I do very well remember it, they were the very last words I spake unto you."

"Another slander was raised of me, That I would have gone away from them, and left them at Guiana. But there was a great many worthy men that accompanied me always; as my serjeant-major, George Raleigh, and divers others, which knew my intent was nothing so.

"Another opinion was held of me, that I carried with me to sea sixteen thousand pieces, and that was all the voyage I intended, only to get money into my hands. As I shall answer it before God, I had not in all the world in my hands, or others to my use, either directly, or indirectly, above a hundred pounds; whereof, when I went, I gave my wife twenty-five pounds thereof; but the error thereof came, as I perceived, by looking over the scrivener's books, where they found the bills

of adventure arising to a great sum, so raised that false report.

"Only I will borrow a little time of Mr. sheriffs to speak of one thing, that doth make my heart to bleed to hear that such an imputation should be laid upon me; for 'tis said, that I should be a persecutor of the death of the earl of Essex; and, that I stood in a window over-against him, when he suffered, and puffed out tobacco in disdain of him. God I take to witness, I shed tears for him when he died; and, as I hope to look God in the face hereafter, my lord of Essex did not see my face when he suffered, for I was afar off in the Armory, where I saw him, but he saw not me.

"I confess indeed I was of a contrary faction, but I know my lord of Essex was a noble gentleman, and that it would be worse with me when he was gone, for I got the hate of those which wished me well before, and those that set me against him, afterwards set themselves against me, and were my greatest enemies; and my soul hath many times been grieved that I was not nearer him when he died; because, as I understood afterwards, that he asked for me at his death to have been reconciled unto me. And these be the material points I thought good to speak of; and I am now, at this instant, to render up an account to God; and I protest, as I shall appear before him, this that I have spoken is true; and I hope I shall be believed."

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Then a proclamation being made, that all men ſhould depart the ſcaffold, he prepared himſelf for death; giving away his hat, his cap, with ſome money, to ſuch as he knew that ſtood near him. And then, taking his leave of the lords, knights, gentlemen, and others of his acquaintance; and, amongſt the reſt, taking his leave of my lord Arundel, he thanked him for his company, and entreated him to deſire the king, that no ſcandalous writing to defame him might be publiſhed after his death; ſaying further unto him, "I have a long journey to go, and therefore I will take my leave."

Then putting off his doublet and gown, he deſired the headſman to ſhew him the axe; which not being ſuddenly granted unto him, he ſaid, "I pr'ythee let me ſee it. Doſt thou think that I am afraid of it?" So it being given unto him, he felt along upon the edge of it; and, ſmiling, ſpake unto Mr. ſheriff, ſaying, "This is a ſharp medicine, but it is a phyſician that will cure all diſeaſes." After which, going to and fro upon the ſcaffold on every ſide, he entreated the company to pray to God to give him ſtrength.

The executioner kneeling down aſked him forgiveneſs; and he, laying his hand upon his ſhoulder, forgave him.

Then being aſked which way he would lay himſelf on the block, he made anſwer, and ſaid, "So the heart be ſtrait, it is no matter which way the head lieth." So, laying his

head on the block, his face being towards the eaſt, the headſman, throwing down his own cloak, becauſe he would not ſpoil the priſoner's gown, he, giving the headſman a ſign when he ſhould ſtrike, by lifting up his hands, the executioner ſtruck off his head at two blows, his body never ſhrinking nor moving. His head was ſhewn on each ſide of the ſcaffold, and then put into a red leather bag, and his wrought velvet gown thrown over it, which was afterwards conveyed away in a mourning coach of his lady's.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to the King the Night before his Death.

THE life which I had, moſt mighty prince, the law hath taken from me, and I am now but the ſame earth and duſt, out of which I was made. If my offence had any proportion with your majeſty's mercy, I might deſpair; or, if my deſerving had any quantity with your majeſty's unmeaſurable goodneſs, I might yet have hope: but it is you that muſt judge, and not I. Name, blood, gentility, or eſtate, I have none: no, not ſo much as a being; no, not ſo much as a vitam planta. I have only a penitent ſoul in a body of iron, which moveth towards the loadſtone of death, and cannot be withheld from touching it, except your majeſty's mercy turn the point towards me that expelleth. Loſt I am for hearing of vain

vain man, for hearing only, and never believing nor accepting. And ſo little account I made of that ſpeech of his, which was my condemnation (as my forſaking him doth truly witneſs) that I never remembered any ſuch thing till it was at my trial objected againſt me. So did he repay my care, who cared to make him good, which I now ſee no care of man can effect. But God, for my offence to him, hath laid this heavy burden on me, miſerable and unfortunate wretch that I am. But, for not loving you, my ſovereign, God hath not laid this ſorrow on me; for He knows, with whom I am not in caſe to lye, that I honoured your majeſty by fame, and loved and admired you by knowledge; ſo that, whether I live or die, your majeſty's loving ſervant I will live and die.

If now I write what ſeems not well-favoured, moſt merciful prince, vouchſafe to aſcribe it to the counſel of a dead heart, and to a mind that ſorrow hath confounded: but the more my miſery is, the more is your majeſty's mercy, if you pleaſe to behold it; and the leſs I can deſerve, the more liberal your majeſty's gift ſhall be. Herein you ſhall only imitate God, giving free life: and by giving to ſuch a one from whom there can be no retribution, but only a deſire to pay a lent life with the ſame great love which the ſame great goodneſs ſhall beſtow on it.

This being the firſt letter which ever your majeſty received from a dead man, I humbly

ſubmit

ſubmit myſelf to the will of God, my ſupreme Lord, and ſhall willingly and patiently ſuffer whatſoever it ſhall pleaſe your majeſty to afflict me withal.

WALTER RALEIGH.

The Copy of Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to his Wife, the Night before his Death.

YOU ſhall now receive, my dear wife, my laſt words in theſe my laſt lines. My love I ſend you, that you may keep it when I am dead; and my counſel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, by my will, preſent you with ſorrows, dear Beſs, let them go into the grave with me, and be buried in the duſt: and, ſeeing that it is not God's will that I ſhould ſee you any more in this life, bear it patiently, and with a heart like thyſelf

Firſt, I ſend you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words can rehearſe, for your many travails, and care taken for me; which, though they have not taken effect, as you wiſhed, yet my debt to you is not the leſs; but pay it I never ſhall in this world.

Secondly, I beſeech you, for the love you bare me living, do not hide yourſelf many days, but, by your travels, ſeek to help your miſerable fortunes, and the right of your poor child.

child. Thy mourning cannot avail me, I am but duſt.

Thirdly, you ſhall underſtand that my land was conveyed, bona fide, to my child. The writings were drawn at Midſummer was twelve months; my honeſt couſin Brett can teſtify ſo much, and Dolberry too can remember ſomewhat therein: and, I truſt my blood will quench their malice that have cruelly murdered me; and, that they will not ſeek alſo to kill thee and thine with extreme poverty.

To what friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of trial; and I perceive that my death was determined from the firſt day. Moſt ſorry I am, God knows, that, being thus ſurprized with death, I can leave you in no better eſtate: God is my witneſs I meant you all my office of wines, or all that I could have purchaſed by ſelling it, half my ſtuff, and all my jewels, but ſome one for the boy; but God hath prevented all my reſolutions: that great God that ruleth all in all: but, if you can live free from want, care for no more, the reſt is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repoſe yourſelf upon him; and therein you ſhall find true and laſting riches, and endleſs comfort: for the reſt, when you have travelled and wearied your thoughts over all ſorts of worldly cogitations, you ſhall but ſit down by ſorrow in the end. Teach your ſon alſo to love and fear God, whilſt he is yet young, that the

fear

fear of God may grow with him; and then God will be a husband to you, and a father to him; a husband and a father which cannot be taken from you.

Bailey oweth me two hundred pounds, and Adrian six hundred pounds, in Jersey. I also have much owing me besides. The arrearages of the wines will pay your debts: and, howsoever you do, for my soul's sake, pay all poor men. When I am gone, no doubt but you shall be sought to, for the world thinks that I was very rich. But take heed of the pretences of men and their affections, for they last not but in honest and worthy men; and no greater misery can befal you in this life than to become a prey, and afterwards to be despised. I speak not this, God knows, to dissuade you from marriage, for it will be best for you both in respect of the world and of God. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine; Death hath cut us asunder; and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me. Remember your poor child for his father's sake, who chose you, and loved you in his happiest times.

Get those letters, if it be possible, which I writ to the lords, wherein I sued for my life. God is my witness, it was for you and yours that I desired life; but it is true that I disdained myself for begging of it: for know it, my dear wife, that your son is the son of a true man, and who, in his own respect, despiseth death and all his mishapen and ugly forms. I cannot

cannot write much. God, he knows how hardly I ſteal this time while others ſleep; and it is alſo time that I ſhould ſeparate my thoughts from the world.

Beg my dead body, which living was denied thee; and either lay it at Sherburne, (and, if the land continue) or in Exeter-church, by my father and mother.

I can ſay no more, time and death call me away. The everlaſting, powerful, infinite, and omnipotent God; that almighty God, who is goodneſs itſelf, the true life and true light, keep thee and thine; have mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my perſecutors and accuſers, and ſend us to meet in his glorious kingdom. My dear wife farewel. Bleſs my poor boy. Pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in his arms.

Written with the dying hand of ſometimes thy huſband, but now, alas! overthrown,

WALTER RALEIGH.

A gentleman, who writes the hiſtory of Raleigh's life, informs us, That, coming from Ireland, and being equipped in a very good habit, which it ſeems was the greateſt part of his eſtate (and which, he well obſerves, is one of the beſt means of introducing a man into the world whoſe worth is unknown) as the queen was walking in the park, and coming to a watry place, where ſhe found ſome difficulty to get over, Sir Walter immediately pulled off a new pluſh coat he had on, and laid

laid it down for her majeſty to tread on; which the queen was extremely pleaſed with, and ſoon after took occaſion to requite.

To ſuch lucky accidents ſometimes do men owe their ſucceſs. The greateſt merit is often defeated by a kind of criminal modeſty, or a want of opportunity to diſcover itſelf; while the forward and bold, though the moſt empty worthleſs things in nature, often arrive at the higheſt preferments; but this was not the caſe of Sir Walter. He was a gentleman of a good preſence, handſome, and well proportioned; had a ſtrong and natural wit, and a better judgment; a voluble tongue, and good addreſs; and to theſe he had added a general learning, being an indefatigable reader, even while engaged in the ſervice by ſea or land; and a great obſerver of men and times.

His motto, ſays the writer of his life, was, Tam Marti quam Mercurio; though we find it in Collier to be, Either die nobly, or live honourably.

Five hours he uſed to ſleep, four he read, two he ſpent in diſcourſe, and the reſt he allotted for buſineſs. There was not an expert ſoldier or ſeaman but he conſulted; no valuable treatiſe of navigation, whether printed or manuſcript, but he read: obſerving that there was nothing of greater conſequence, for the advancement of learning, than the finding out the plaineſt and moſt compendious way of knowing and teaching things in every ſcience.

During

During his confinement in the Tower, he composed that excellent work, entitled, The History of the World; from whence, indeed, the character of this gentleman may be best collected, every man being best known by his works.

On his return to England, after his last expedition, not doubting but that he should be made a sacrifice to the Spaniard, he sent for Mr. Burre, who had printed his first volume of The History of the World, and asked him how it sold. Burre answered, It sold so slowly it had undone him; which it seems was false. Whereupon Sir Walter took the other part, which was unprinted, out of his desk, and sighing said, "Ah! my friend, hath the first part undone thee? The second volume shall undo no more; this ungrateful world is unworthy of it: and immediately threw it into the fire, and set his foot upon it till it was consumed.

Besides his History of the World, he wrote a treatise called, The Cabinet Council; containing the arts of government: An Accurate Account of his Catholic Majesty's power and Riches: The Rise and Ruin of the Saracen Empire: A Treatise of Mines and Minerals: The Prerogatives of Parliaments: another treatise, entitled, Instructions to his Son and his Posterity; and several speeches and arguments in several parliaments.

His

His body was interred in the chancel of St. Margaret's church, Weſtminſter; but his head was long preſerved in a caſe by his widow, who ſurvived him twenty years.

In a word, Sir Walter Raleigh fell, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, a ſacrifice to a contemptible adminiſtration, and the reſentment of a mean prince: a man of ſo great abilities, that neither that nor the preceding reign produced his equal. His character was a combination of almoſt every eminent quality: he was the ſoldier, ſtateſman, and ſcholar, united; and, had he lived with the heroes of antiquity, he would have made a juſt parallel to Cæſar and Xenophon, like them being maſter of the ſword and the pen. So that he was enabled, as a poet beautifully expreſſes it, to enrich the world with his priſon-hours.

As the ſentence of Raleigh blackens but his king, ſo his memory will be ever dear to the lovers of learning, and of their country; and, tho' he makes not a very great figure as a poet, having buſineſs of greater importance continually upon his hands; yet it would be an unpardonable negligence not to mention him in that character.

We ſhall cloſe this article with a ſpecimen of Sir Walter's poetry in a piece called, The Viſion of the Fairy Queen.

Methought

Methought I ſaw the grave where Laura lay,
Within that temple where the veſtal flame
Was wont to burn; and paſſing by that way,
To ſee that bury'd duſt of living fame,
Whoſe tomb fair Love and fairer Virtue kept,
All ſuddenly I ſaw the Fairy Queen;
At whoſe approach the ſoul of Petrarch wept,
And, from henceforth, thoſe graces were not ſeen;
For they this queen attended; in whoſe ſtead
Oblivion laid him down in Laura's hearſe:
Hereat the hardeſt ſtones were ſeen to bleed,
And groans of bury'd ghoſts the heavens did pierce;
Where Homer's ſpright did tremble all for grief,
And curs'd th' acceſs of that cœleſtial thief.

THE

THE LIFE OF

BEN. JOHNSON.

BEN. JOHNSON, ſo famous for being one of the fathers of the Engliſh ſtage, in dramatic poetry, was the fruit of a poſthumous birth, and came into the world about a month after the death of his father. Being born in Weſtminſter, he was put to a private ſchool in the church of St. Martin's in the fields; but removed thence, at a proper age, to that of the royal foundation, where Camden became his maſter. As his father was a gentleman and a clergyman, this ſtep ſeems to have been taken in the view of breeding him to the church. But the widow being left in narrow circumſtances, thought fit not to refuſe an offer of marriage, which was made to her by a bricklayer; and, after her ſon had continued ſome years at Weſtminſter-ſchool, and made an extraordinary progreſs in claſſical learning, ſhe took him away, and obliged him to work under his ſtep-father.

This was nipping the firſt ſprig of his dawning hopes in the bud; his ſpirit was not of a temper to take the bent of ſo mortifying a change. In the depth of his reſentment, he left his mother; and enliſting himſelf a ſoldier,

was

Tringham Sculp

Ben. Johnson

was carried to the Engliſh army, then engaged againſt the Spaniards in the Netherlands. Here he acquired a degree of military glory, which rarely falls to the lot of a common man in that profeſſion. In an encounter with a ſingle man of the enemy, he ſlew his opponent; and ſtripping him, carried off the ſpoils in the view of both armies.

Upon his return home, he followed the bent of his inclination; and reſuming his ſtudies, went to St. John's college in Cambridge. But here he had ſoon the misfortune to undergo a ſecond mortification. The ſhortneſs of his purſe not ſupplying him with the decent conveniencies of a learned eaſe, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of quitting the ſeat of the muſes, after a ſhort ſtay there. In this exigence he took a courſe, not uncommon to perſons of ſuch a genius under the like diſtreſs. He applied to the play-houſes, and was admitted into an obſcure one, called the Green Curtain, in the neighbourhood of Shoreditch and Clerkenwell. He had not been long in this ſtation, when, not contenting himſelf with the buſineſs of an actor only, he took up his pen, and wrote ſome pieces for the ſtage. But his performances either way did no credit to his genius.

During his continuance in this humble ſtation, he had a quarrel with one of the players; who ſending him a challenge, there enſued a duel, wherein Johnſon killed his adverſary. For this offence being thrown into priſon, under

under that misfortune, his ſpirit, was ſunk into ſuch a degree of melancholy, that he became a fit object to be ſubdued by the crafty attacks of a popiſh prieſt; who, officiouſly viſiting him in his confinement, prevailed upon him to renounce the doctrine he was bred in, and become a Roman catholic, and he remained twelve years within the pale of that church. But not long after this change in his religious condition, he alſo made a change in his civil one, and took to himſelf a wife, having firſt obtained his releaſement from priſon. His ſpirit revived with his liberty; and, maugre all the diſcouragements he met with, he went on digging in the poetic mine, and, by dint of unparalleled induſtry, improved his genius ſo much, that at length he produced a play; which having the good fortune to fall into the hands of Shakeſpear, that humane good-natured bard, reſolving to do full juſtice to its merit, brought it upon the ſtage, where he was a manager, and acted a part in it himſelf.

Thus encouraged, his genius ripened apace, and his comedy, intitled, Every Man in his Humour, made its appearance on the ſame ſtage in 1598. This was followed the next year by Every Man out of his Humour. And he continued, in like manner, to furniſh a new play every year, till he was called off by the maſques and entertainments made for the reception of king James I. on his acceſſion to the throne of England. He was continually retained

retained in this employ, on all occaſions, during his whole life afterward.

But theſe ſlighter efforts of his muſe did not wholly occupy his genius. Both inclination and ambition concurred in prompting him to the graver and weightier works of the drama. Accordingly, in 1605, came out his comedy of Volpone, or the Fox; which being wholly finiſhed in the ſpace of five weeks, did not hinder him from indulging the ſourneſs of his temper, in a ſatirical comedy, called, Eaſtward-Hoe, written about this time againſt the Scotch nation. In this piece of intemperance, Chapman and Marſton were his coadjutors; and they were all three committed to priſon, and brought in danger of loſing their ears and noſes in the pillory; but, however, had the good fortune to obtain a pardon.

To repair this fault, Johnſon ſacrificed both his time and his muſe, almoſt intirely, to gratify the taſte of the court in maſques, for ſome years; ſo that his next play did not make its appearance till 1609. But he made ſome amends for the length of this interval, by the perfection of the piece, which he intitled, Epicene, or the Silent Woman; this being generally eſteemed the moſt exact and finiſhed comedy that our nation hath produced. And the next year he brought forth The Alchemiſt, one of the beſt of his comedies; but that was followed the enſuing year, 1611, by the worſt of his tragedies, intitled Cataline.

In 1613 our author took a tour to Paris, where he was admitted to an interview and conversation with cardinal Perron, whom he treated with all that frankness and bluntness which was so much his nature. It was about this time that he commenced a quarrel with Inigo Jones, whom he therefore made the subject of his ridicule, in his next comedy, called Bartholomew-Fair, acted in 1614. That was succeeded by The Devil's an Ass, in 1616. This year he published his works in one folio volume; and the poet-laureat's salary, of an hundred marks per annum, was settled upon him for life, by king James I. the same year.

Crowned with these honours by his prince, he saw the most distinguished wits of his time crowding his train and courting his acquaintance. And, in that spirit, he was invited to Christ-Church in Oxford, by Dr. Corbet, then senior-student of that college. Our poet gladly accepted the invitation; and, having passed some time in cultivating his muse in that delightful seat, he received an additional attestation of his merit from the university, who presented him with the honorary degree of master of arts, at the act in 1619. On the death of the laureat, Samuel Daniel, in October following, Johnson succeeded to that post, the duty of which had been chiefly performed by him a long time before.

The year had not yet expired, when our now crowned laureat took a tour into Scotland, on

on purpose to visit a favourite brother-poet, Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden in that country. He passed some months with this ingenious friend, to whom he opened his heart with a most unreserved freedom and confidence, the sweetest gift of friendship. Our author was much pleased with the adventures of this journey, and celebrated them in a particular poem; which, with several more of his productions, being accidentally burnt, about two or three years afterwards, that loss drew from him a poem, which he called, An Execration upon Vulcan. He seems to have let no year pass without the amusement of writing some of these smaller pieces. And those, with the masques, which the office of poet-laureat then particularly called for every Christmas, filled up the interval to the year 1625; when his comedy, intitled, The Staple of News, appeared upon the stage. Not long afterwards he fell into an ill state of health, which, however, did not hinder the discharge of his duty at court. And he found time also to gratify the more agreeable exercise of play-writing; for, in 1629, he brought another comedy, called, The New Inn, or the light Heart, to the theatre. But here his adversaries prevailed over him; the play was hissed out of the house on its first appearance there; and our laureat had recourse to his pride for a revenge, which dictated an ode to himself, threatning to leave the stage. This œconomy having reduced his finances to a low ebb, the

king graciouſly ſent him a purſe of an hundred pounds. That goodneſs was properly and in character repaid by an epigram, addreſſed to his royal benefactor, which, for ſome ſpecial reaſons, is inſerted here.

Great Charles, among the holy gifts of grace,
Annexed to thy perſon and thy place,
'Tis not enough (thy piety is ſuch)
To cure the called king's-evil with a touch,
But thou wilt yet a kingly maſt'ry try,
To cure the poet's evil, poverty:
And in theſe cures doſt to thyſelf enlarge,
As thou doſt cure our evil at thy charge.
Nay, and in this thou ſhew'ſt to value more,
One poet, than of other folks ten ſcore.
O piety! ſo to weigh the poor's eſtates,
O bounty! ſo to difference the rates.
What can the poet with his king may do,
But that he cure the people's evil too?

But his majeſty's munificence did not ſtop here; he augmented the laureat's ſalary of an hundred marks, to an hundred pounds a year, together with the addition of a tierce of canary wine; which penſion has been continued to his ſucceſſors in that office ever ſince. Our poet drew up a petition for this favour, in the following form:

The humble petition of poor Ben,
To th' beſt of monarchs, maſters, men,
King Charles.

Doth

Doth moſt humbly ſhew it,
To your majeſty, your poet:
That whereas your royal father
James the bleſſed, pleaſed the rather,
Of his ſpecial grace to letters,
To make all the muſes debtors
To his bounty: by extenſion
Of a free poetic penſion,
A large hundred marks annuity,
To be given me in gratuity,
For done ſervice, and to come:
And that this ſo accepted ſum;
Or diſpenſed in books or bread,
(For on both the muſe was fed)
Hath drawn on me from the times,
All the envy of the rhimes,
And the rat'ling pit-pat noiſe
Of the leſs poetic boys,
When their pot-guns aim to hit,
With their pellets of ſmall wit,
Parts of one (they judg'd) decay'd,
But we laſt out ſtill unlay'd.
Pleaſe your majeſty to make,
Of your grace, for goodneſs' ſake,
Thoſe your father's marks your pounds:
Let their ſpite (which now abounds)
Then go on, and do its worſt,
This would all their envy burſt:
And ſo warm the poet's tongue,
You'll read a ſnake in his next ſong.

King Charles the firſt's perſonal character makes it no improbable ſuppoſition, that theſe

acts of favour might be in some measure the effects of his compassion for this servant, who began now to sink into a visible decay both of body and mind. 'Tis true, we have two comedies wrote by him afterwards; but they are such, as hath not been unfitly called his dotage; and he found himself under a necessity of absolutely laying down his pen soon after the year 1634.

His disorder was the palsey, which put a period to his life in August 1637, in the sixty-third year of his age. He was interred three days afterwards in Westminster Abbey, at the north west end, near the belfrey. Over his grave was laid a common pavement-stone, with this laconic inscription, O rare Ben. Johnson. It was done at the expence of Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Young, of Great-Milton in Oxfordshire. But a much better monument was raised to his memory six months afterwards, when there came out a collection of elegies and poems, intitled, Johnsonicus Verbius: or, the Memory of Ben. Johnson revived by the Friends of the Muses. And presently after, there was a design set on foot to erect a marble monument with his statue, and a considerable sum of money was collected for the purpose; but the breaking out of the rebellion prevented the carrying it into execution, and the money was returned. The bust, in bas-relieve, with the former inscription under it, that is now fixed to the wall in the Poets Corner, near the south-east entrance into

to the abbey, was ſet up by that great patron of learning, the ſecond earl of Oxford, of the Harley family.

As to our poet's own family, it became extinct in him, for he ſurvived all his children. As to his perſon and character, if we may depend on his own deſcription, his body was large, corpulent, and bulky, and his countenance hard and rocky; ſo that his figure greatly reſembled that of Sir John Falſtaff, and conſequently could not be much leſs apt to raiſe laughter. Nor was the caſt of his temper and natural diſpoſition at all more reſpectable, as repreſented by his friend Mr. Drummond, who obſerves him to be "A great lover and praiſer of himſelf; a contemner and ſcorner of others; chuſing rather to loſe his friend than his jeſt; jealous of every word and action of thoſe about him, eſpecially after drink, which was one of the elements in which he lived; a diſſembler of the parts which reigned in him; a bragger of ſome good that he wanted; he thought nothing right, but what either himſelf or ſome of his friends had ſaid or done. He was paſſionately kind and angry; careleſs either to gain or keep; vindictive, but if he was well anſwered, greatly ſhagrined; interpreting the beſt ſayings and deeds often to the worſt. He was for any religion, being verſed in both; oppreſſed with fancy, which over-maſtered his reaſon; a general diſeaſe among the poets." He had a very ſtrong memory; for he tells us himſelf

in his Discoveries, that in his youth he could have repeated whole books that he had read, and poems of some select friends, which he thought worth charging his memory with.

As to his genius, the character of it, in respect to dramatic poetry, has been already touched upon. To which must be added Mr. Pope's remark, that, "When our author got possession of the stage, he brought critical learning into vogue; and that this was not done without difficulty, which appears from those frequent lessons (and indeed almost declamations) which he was forced to prefix to his first plays, and put into the mouths of his actors, the grex, chorus, &c. to remove the prejudices and reform the judgment of his hearers. 'Till then the English authors had no thoughts of writing upon the model of the ancients: their tragedies were only histories in dialogue, and their comedies followed the thread of any novel as they found it, no less implicitly than if it had been true history."

Ben. Johnson appears to have had no nice ear for poetry; however, Mr. Drummond declares that his inventions were smooth and easy. He does not appear to have had much conception of those breaks and rests, or of adapting the sound of his verse to the sense, which are the chief beauties of our best and modern poets. 'Tis universally agreed, with his last-mentioned friend, that translation or imitation was his most distinguished talent, wherein he excelled all his contemporaries; and

and besides his new-forming our drama after the ancient models, he gave us the first Pindaric ode in the English language that has a just claim to that title.

After the edition of his works already mentioned, they were reprinted in 1716, in six volumes octavo; and another edition has been lately printed in 1756, seven volumes octavo, with some notes and additions by P. Whalley, late fellow of St. John's college in Oxford; who hath likewise inserted Johnson's comedy, intitled, The Case is Alter'd, not in any former edition. And since this last editor declares, he should not have omitted our author's verses, prefixed to May's translation of Lucan, had they come to his hands in time, we have thought proper not to conclude this memoir, without inserting a copy of those verses,

To my chosen friend,
The learned translator of Lucan,
Thomas May, Esq;

When, Rome, I read thee in thy mighty pair,
And see both climbing up the slippery stair
Of fortune's wheel, by Lucan driven about,
And the world in it, I began to doubt,
At every line some pin thereof should slack
At least, if not the general engine crack;
But when again I view the parts so poiz'd
And those in number so, and measure rais'd;
As neither Pompey's popularity,
Cæsar's ambition, Cato's liberty,

Calm Brutus' tenor ſtart, but all along
Keep due proportion in the ample ſong.
It makes me, raviſh'd with juſt wonder, cry,
What muſe, or rather god of harmony,
Taught Lucan theſe true deeds? Replies my ſenſe,
What gods but thoſe of arts and eloquence?
Phœbus and Hermes? they whoſe tongue or pen,
Are ſtill th' interpreters 'twixt gods and men.
But who hath them interpreted, and brought,
Lucan's whole frame unto us, and ſo wrought,
As not the ſmalleſt joint, or gentleſt word,
In the great maſs, or machine, there is ſtirr'd.
The ſelf ſame genius, ſo the work will ſay,
The ſon tranſlated, or the ſon of May.

Your true friend to judgment,

BEN. JOHNSON.

There is reaſon to believe that he had a deſign to write an epic poem, and was to call it Chrologia, or the Worthies of his country, all in couplets, as he deteſted all other rhime. It is likewiſe ſaid, that he actually wrote a diſcourſe on poetry, both againſt Campion and Daniel, eſpecially the laſt, where he proved couplets to be the beſt ſort of verſes.

Tringham Sculp

Sr. Francis Bacon

THE LIFE OF

SIR FRANCIS BACON.

FRANCIS BACON was the youngeſt ſon of Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper, and afterwards lord high-chancellor, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, by his ſecond wife, who was daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, preceptor to Edward VI. Sir Nicholas appears to have been a man of wit as well as integrity and learning; for, when the queen, in a viſit to him at his ſeat in Hertfordſhire, told him, ſhe thought his houſe too little for him; "No, madam," replied he, "but your majeſty has made me too great for my houſe." And his lady too was a woman of great learning, having tranſlated from the Latin biſhop Jewel's Apology for the Church of England.

Their youngeſt ſon, Francis, was born at York-houſe, in the Strand, on the twenty-ſecond of January, 1561; the brightneſs of whoſe parts began early to appear: inſomuch that queen Elizabeth herſelf, while he was but a boy, took a particular delight in trying him with queſtions; and received ſo much ſatiſfaction from the good ſenſe and manlineſs of his anſwers, that ſhe was wont to call him, in mirth, her young lord-keeper. Among others, ſhe having one day aſked him, how old he

was; he anſwered readily, "Juſt two years younger than your majeſty's happy reign."

His proficiency in learning was ſo rapid, that, in the twelfth year of his age, he was entered a ſtudent of Trinity-college, Cambridge; and went through all his courſes there by the time he was ſixteen; when his father ſent him to Paris, and recommended him to Sir Amias Powlet, then the queen's ambaſſador in France, who took particular notice of him.

Whilſt abroad, he did not ſpend his time, as our young gentlemen uſually do, in learning the vices, ſopperies, and follies of foreigners; but in ſtudying their conſtitution of government and manners, and the characters and views of their princes and miniſters; and, in the nineteenth year of his age, he wrote a paper of obſervations on the then general ſtate of Europe, which is ſtill extant among his works.

On the twentieth of February, 1579, our young gentleman's father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, died, after having held the ſeals as keeper, or chancellor, for twenty years; but, as queen Elizabeth's reign was more remarkable for her miniſters gaining honour than for their gaining riches, he left his ſon Francis, who was the youngeſt of five, but a very ſmall fortune; ſo that he was obliged to betake himſelf to the profeſſion of the law for a ſubſiſtence: for which purpoſe he entered himſelf of Gray's-Inn, and ſoon became ſo eminent in that profeſſion,

feſſion, that, at the age of twenty-eight, he was appointed by queen Elizabeth her learned council extraordinary.

As Sir William Cecil, lord-treaſurer to queen Elizabeth, afterwards lord Burleigh, had married our young gentleman's aunt, or mother's ſiſter, he frequently applied to him for ſome place of credit and ſervice in the ſtate; but Sir William never got any thing for him, except the reverſion of the office of regiſter to the Star-chamber, then reckoned worth one thouſand ſix hundred pounds a year, which did not fall to him till near twenty years afterwards; and, as he probably thought himſelf neglected by his uncle, he attached himſelf ſtrongly to the earl of Eſſex; which of courſe made his uncle, and alſo his couſin, Sir Robert Cecil, his enemy; for, when the earl, a little before his fall, warmly ſollicited his being made ſollicitor-general, it was oppoſed by his couſin, Sir Robert, who repreſented him to the queen as a man of mere ſpeculation, and more likely to diſtract her affairs than to ſerve her uſefully and with judgment: and, as the earl found he could not ſerve him in this way, he gave him a recompence out of his own eſtate, by making him a preſent of Twitenham-park and its garden of paradiſe.

Upon this unfortunate nobleman's fall, Mr. Bacon, as one of the queen's council, was employed by the crown, along with Sir Edward Coke, the attorney-general, to manage

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the trial againſt his lordſhip; and ambition got ſo far the better of his gratitude, that he not only accepted of the employment, but, after the earl's execution, he, at the deſire of the miniſters, wrote and publiſhed that piece, ſtill extant among his works, entitled, A Declaration of the Treaſon of Robert, earl of Eſſex.

This quite ruined him in the public eſteem, which was probably the deſign of the miniſters, and perhaps did him no ſervice in the opinion of his ſovereign; but ſuch was the brightneſs of his parts, that he ſoon recovered both in the next reign; for he was knighted by king James I. ſoon after his acceſſion; in 1607, he was made ſolicitor-general; and, in 1613, when he was made attorney-general, his character with the public was ſo well reeſtabliſhed, that, upon a queſtion in the houſe of commons, whether the attorney-general could be a member of the houſe, as he was an officer who was obliged to attend upon the other; the queſtion was carried in the affirmative, out of a particular regard to him; and it was therefore declared that it ſhould be no precedent.

With regard to politics, Sir Francis Bacon appears to have been a mere time-ſerver, an humble ſuitor to every miniſter he thought uppermoſt, and his proſecutor as ſoon as down. His behaviour towards the earl of Eſſex we have already ſeen. After that earl's death, he attached himſelf to his couſin, Sir Robert Cecil,

Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate, and afterwards earl of Saliſbury, though he knew him to be privately no true friend; and, accordingly, during his life, he never roſe higher than to be ſollicitor-general. He then made his court to the earl of Somerſet, who had become a favourite, and was created viſcount Rocheſter, juſt before the death of Saliſbury; and by his means it probably was that Sir Francis was made attorney-general; a place then worth ſix hundred pounds a year, as he himſelf acknowledged.

Upon Somerſet's fall, Sir Francis Bacon, then attorney-general, became one of his chief proſecutors; and, from that time, began to make his court to Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham; to whom he was ſo ſubſervient, that he ſubmitted to be a ſort of ſteward for thoſe great eſtates beſtowed upon this young favourite by the king. However, it appears from his letters, and other writings, that he generally gave good advice to his patrons; but, when he found that they would not follow his, he was ready to follow theirs without reſerve; though it does not appear that he was any way concerned in the treaſonable practices of the earl of Eſſex; which was, perhaps, more owing to his want of courage than his want of ambition.

As Sir Francis was extremely ſubmiſſive, and often uſeful to his patrons; ſo he was diligent, and but too ready to uſe any means, for getting the better of thoſe he thought his rivals;

rivals; as appeared upon the resignation of the old lord-chancellor Egerton in 1617. The seals he was highly ambitious of; and, as he looked upon Sir Edward Coke as his rival, he took care to represent him to the king and Buckingham, as one who abounded in his own sense, and who, by an affectation of popularity, was likely to court the good will of the people at the hazard of the prerogative. In this he was the more easily believed, as Sir Edward had been but the year before chief-justice, because the ministers found him not so ductile as they inclined he should.

Accordingly the seals were delivered to Sir Francis, with the title of lord-keeper; and, as Buckingham found him ready to put the seals to every patent, and every thing he desired, he got him created lord-high-chancellor of England, and baron of Verulam, in 1619; and, the year following, viscount of St. Albans.

How short-lived do we often find human greatness! In 1621, king James was forced to call a parliament; and, as the nation was highly dissatisfied with the conduct both of Buckingham and the chancellor, the house of commons set on foot a strict scrutiny into the conduct of both. King James wanted money so much, that he could not dissolve them; but, to divert them from the prosecution of his favourite, Buckingham, the monopolies and illegal patents were all cancelled and recalled by proclamation; and the court permitted, under-

under-hand, the prosecution of the chancellor: in consequence of which, he was impeached by the house of commons of corrupt practices, in causes depending before him, as chief judge of equity; so entirely had he lost that great character, which, but seven years before, he had among the commons, when he was made attorney-general.

As the court thought that his condemnation and punishment would satisfy the commons, and divert them entirely from the prosecution of Buckingham; but were at the same time afraid, that, if he appeared and stood upon his defence, his eloquence, and what he had to offer against the charge, might procure an acquittal, they commanded him not to appear in person, but to send a confession of all he was accused of to the house in writing; which arbitrary command he was so faint-hearted as to comply with, trusting to the king's promise, that he should have a pardon, and a remission of his fine, together with a pension during life: and, upon his confession, he was sentenced to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure; to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment in the commonwealth; and never to sit again in parliament, or come within the verge of the court.

Thus this great man was made the scape-goat, as it often happens, for a higher criminal; and, though he had, in his life-time, got a great deal of money by his posts and his

his profeſſion, for he was in every great cauſe that happened whilſt he was at the bar, yet he had purchaſed but a very ſmall eſtate of about ſix hundred pounds a year; and was ſo far from having any ready-money, that he was conſiderably in debt; occaſioned by his indulgence to his ſervants, and by his being cheated and defrauded by them: nay, his condemnation was chiefly owing to their exactions and the bribes they had taken whilſt he was chancellor, though it is plain he was not influenced by them in his decrees, as no one of them was ever reverſed. And, at laſt, he became ſenſible of his error with reſpect to his ſervants; for, during his proſecution, as he was paſſing through a room where they were ſitting, upon ſight of him they all ſtood up; on which he cried, "Sit down my maſters; your riſe hath been my fall."

The king ſoon releaſed him from the Tower, made a grant of his fine to ſome truſtees for his benefit, and ſettled upon him a penſion of one thouſand eight hundred pounds a year; but, as he applied moſt of his income to the payment of his debts, he lived always after in a very mean condition; and, though the king, in a very ſhort time afterwards, granted him a full and entire pardon of his whole ſentence; whereupon he was ſummoned to the firſt parliament of king Charles I. yet he did not live long to enjoy theſe favours; for, as he was making ſome experiments at Highgate, he was ſuddenly ſtruck in the head and ſtomach;

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and, being carried to the earl of Arundel's houſe there, he expired, after a week's illneſs, on the ninth of April, 1626, without any iſſue by his wife, who was a daughter of alderman Barnham, of London, whom he married when about the age of forty, and with whom he received a plentiful fortune.

Notwithſtanding the great hurry and buſtle he appears to have been concerned in, from his firſt entering upon buſineſs, to the moment of his condemnation; yet, even during that buſy time, he often employed himſelf in making experiments, and publiſhed ſome of his philoſophical works; which is a proof of the vaſt extent of his genius.

From them it appears, that he may juſtly be reckoned the chief among thoſe who firſt began to free the world from the ſlaviſh chains of the old ſcholaſtic learning, and to introduce true philoſophy and uſeful knowledge; therefore, whatever he may have deſerved for his politics from the generation in which he lived, to poſterity his memory has been, and will always be, ſacred.

To conclude, his character ſeems to have been a perfect contraſt; for he appears to have been ambitious, yet daſtardly; ſtudious, yet buſtling; avaritious, yet negligent of money; virtuous, yet venal; fond of a character, yet ready to ſacrifice it upon every occaſion; and of a penetrating and ſolid judgment in all ſorts of literature, but weak in the conduct of life. If he had confined his ambition to that of being

ing a great philoſopher and a learned man, as he had friends enough to have provided for him in ſome fine-cure poſt that would have furniſhed him a handſome ſubſiſtence, he might have lived happily, and died with glory unſullied; but he affected to be a ſtateſman, and might indeed have been a uſeful miniſter to a great and wiſe prince; but, as his lot was under a weak one, and, as he had not the reſolution to adhere to the counſels he gave, he lived in continual agonies, and died under a public reproach.

How common is it for men, even of the moſt ſhining talents, to miſtake the true road to happineſs!

THE

Tringham Sculp

Villiers Duke of Buckingham

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE VILLIERS.

(Written by a courtier of thoſe times.)

GEORGE VILLIERS, duke of Buckingham, was born in the year 1592, on the twentieth of Auguſt, at Brookeby in Leiceſterſhire, where his anceſtors had chiefly continued about the ſpace of four hundred years, rather without obſcurity, than with any great luſtre, after they had long before been ſeated at Kinalton in the county of Nottingham. He was the third ſon of George Villiers, knight, and Mary, late counteſs of Buckingham, and daughter to Anthony Beaumont of Coleorton, Eſq; names on either ſide well known of ancient extraction. He was nurtured where he had been born, in his firſt rudiments, till the years of ten; and from thence ſent to Billiſden-ſchool in the ſame county, where he was taught the principles of muſic, and other ſlight literature, till the thirteenth of his age; at which time his father died. Then his beautiful and provident mother (for thoſe attributes will not be denied her) took him home to her houſe at Goodby, where ſhe had him in eſpecial care; ſo as he was firſt (as

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we may ſay) a domeſtic favourite; but finding him (as it ſhould ſeem) by nature little ſtudious and contemplative, ſhe choſe rather to endue him with converſive qualities and ornaments of youth, as dancing, fencing, and the like; not without aim then, perchance, (though far off) at a courtier's life: to which leſſons he had ſuch a dextrous proclivity, as his teachers were fain to reſtrain his forwardneſs; to the end that his brothers, who were under the ſame training, might hold pace with him.

About the age of eighteen, he travelled into France, where he improved himſelf well in the language, for one that had ſo little gramatical foundation: but more in the exerciſes of that nobility, for the ſpace of three years, and yet came home in his natural plight, without affected forms (the ordinary diſeaſe of travellers). After his return, he paſſed again one whole year (as before) at Goodby, under the wing and counſels of his mother: and then was forward to become a ſuitor at London to Sir Roger Aſhton's daughter, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to king James, and maſter of the robes. About which time, he fell into intrinſical ſociety with Sir John Greham, then one of the gentlemen of his majeſty's privy-chamber: who, I know not upon what luminaries he eſpied in his face, diſſuaded him from marriage, and gave him rather encouragement to woo fortune in court. Which advice ſunk well into his fancy; for within ſome

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while, the king had taken upon certain glances (whereof the first was at Apthorpe, in a progress) such liking of his person, that he resolved to make him a master-piece, and to mould him, as it were, platonically to his own idea. Neither was his majesty content only to be the architect of his fortune, without putting his gracious hand likewise to some part of the work itself. Insomuch as it pleased him to descend, and to avail his goodness even to the giving of his foresaid friend, Sir John Greham, secret directions, how, and by what degrees he should bring him into favour. But this was quickly discovered by him, who was then as yet in some possession of the king's heart. For there is nothing more vigilant, nothing more jealous than a favourite, especially towards the waining-time and suspect of satiety. So as many arts were used to discuss the beginning of new affection. All which, notwithstanding, there was conveyed to Mr. Villiers an intimation of the king's pleasure to wait, and to be sworn his servant; and shortly after, his cup-bearer at large; and the summer following he was admitted into ordinary. After which time favours came thick upon him (liker main showers, than sprinkling drops or dews) for the next St. George's-day he was knighted, and made gentleman of the king's bed-chamber; and the very same day had an annual pension given him, for his better support, of one thousand pounds, out of the court of wards.

At

At New-year's-tide following, the king chose him master of the horse. After this he was installed of the most noble order. And in the next August he created him baron of Whaddon, and viscount Villiers. In January of the same year, he was advanced earl of Buckingham, and sworn here of his majesty's privy-council; as if a favourite were not so before.

The March ensuing, he attended the king into Scotland, and was likewise sworn a counsellor in that kingdom; where he carried himself with singular sweetness of temper, as it behoved him, being new in favour, and succeeding one of their own, to study a moderate stile among those generous spirits.

About New year's-tide, after his return from thence, (for those beginnings of years were very propitious to him, as if kings did chuse remarkable days to inaugurate their favours, that they may appear acts as well of the times, as of the will) he was created marquis of Buckingham, and made lord-admiral of England; chief-justice in eyre of all the parks and forests on the south side of Trent; master of the King's-bench office, (none of the unprofitable pieces); head steward of Westminster, and constable of Windsor-castle.

But these offices and dignities already rehearsed, and those of the like nature, which shall after be set down in their place, were but the facings, or fringes, of his greatness, in

in comparison of that trust which his most gracious master did cast upon him in the one-and-twentieth year of his reign, when he made him the chief concomitant of his heir apparent, and only son, Charles, prince of Wales, in a journey of much adventure, and which (to shew the strength of his privacy) had been before not communicated with any other of his majesty's most reserved counsellors at home, being carried with great closeness, liker a business of love than state; as it was in the first intendment.

They began their motion in the year 1623, on Tuesday the eighteenth of February, from the marquis's house of late purchase, at New Hall in Essex, setting out with disguised beards, and with borrowed names of Thomas and John Smith. And then attended with none, but Sir Richard Greham, master of the horse to the marquis, and of inward trust about him. When they passed the river against Gravesend, for lack of silver, they were fain to give the ferry-man a piece of two-and-thirty shillings, which struck the poor fellow into such a melting tenderness, that so good gentlemen should be going (for so he suspected) about some quarrel beyond sea, as he could not forbear to acquaint the officers of the town with what had befallen him, who sent presently post for their stay at Rochester, through which they were passed before any intelligence could arrive. On the brow of the hill beyond that city, they were somewhat perplexed by espy-

ing the French ambaſſador, with the king's coach, and other attending him, which made them baulk the beaten road, and teach poſt hackneys to leap hedges.

At Canterbury, whither ſome voice (as it ſhould ſeem) was run on before, the mayor of the town came himſelf to ſeize on them, as they were taking freſh horſes, in a blunt manner, alledging firſt a warrant to ſtop them, from the council, next from Sir Lewis Lewkner, maſter of the ceremonies, and laſtly from Sir Henry Manwaring, then lieutenat of Dover Caſtle. At all which confuſed fictions, the marquiſs had no leiſure to laugh, but thought beſt to diſmaſk his beard, and ſo told him, that he was going covertly with ſuch ſlight company, to take a ſecret view (being admiral) of the forwardneſs of his majeſty's fleet, which was then in preparation on the narrow ſeas: this, with much ado, did ſomewhat handſomely heal the diſguiſement. On the way afterwards, the baggage poſt boy, who had been at court, got (I know not how) a glimmering who they were; but his mouth was eaſily ſhut. To Dover, through bad horſes and thoſe petty impediments, they came not before ſix at night; where they found Sir Francis Cottington, then ſecretary to the prince, now baron of Hanworth, and Mr. Endymion Porter, who had been ſent before to provide a veſſel for their tranſportation. The foreſaid knight was conjoined for the nearneſs of his place on the prince's affairs; and

and for his long residence in the court of Spain, where he had gotten singular credit even with that cautious nation, by the temper of his carriage. Mr. Porter was taken in, not only as a bed-chamber servant of confidence to his highness, but likewise as a necessary and useful instrument, for his natural skill in the Spanish tongue. And these five were at the first the whole parade of his journey.

The next morning, for the night was tempestuous, on the nineteenth of the aforesaid month, taking shipping at Dover about six of the clock, they landed the same day at Boulogne in France, near two hours after noon; reaching Monstruel that night (like men of dispatch) and Paris the second day after, being Friday the one-and-twentieth. But some three posts before, they had met with two German gentlemen that came newly from England, where they had seen at New-market the prince and the marquiss taking coach together with the king, and retaining such a strong impression of them both, that they now bewrayed some knowledge of their persons; but were out-faced by Sir Richard Greham, who would needs persuade them they were mistaken. Which in truth is no very hard matter, for the very strangeness of the thing itself, and almost the impossibility to conceive so great a prince and favourite so suddenly metamorphosed into travellers, with no greater train, was enough to make any man living unbelieve his senses.

At Paris the king ſpent one whole day to give his mind ſome contentment in viewing of a famous city and court, which was a neighbour to his future eſtates. But for their better veiling of their viſages, his highneſs and the marquiſs bought each of them a periwig, ſomewhat to overſhadow their foreheads. Of the King they got a ſight after dinner in a galiery, where he was ſolacing himſelf with familiar pleaſures. And of the queen-mother as ſhe was at her own table; in neither place deſcried, no, not by monſieur Cadinet, who ſaw them in both, and had been lately ambaſſador in England. Towards evening, by a meer chance, in appearance, though underlined with a providence, they had a full ſight of the queen-infanta, and of the princeſs Henrietta Maria, with other great ladies, at the practice of a maſquing dance, which was then in preparation; having over-heard two gentlemen who were tending towards that ſight, after whom they preſſed, and were let in by the duke De Mount Baſon, the queen's lord-chamberlain, out of humanity to ſtrangers, when divers of the French went by.

From the next day, when they departed at three of the clock in the morning from Paris, the twenty-third of February, were ſpent ſix days at Bayone, the laſt town of France, having, before, at Bourdeaux, bought them five riding-coats, all of one colour and faſhion, in a kind of noble ſimplicity; where Sir

Francis

Francis Cottington was employed in a fair manner to keep them from being entertained by the duke De Espernon, telling him they were gentlemen of mean degree, and formed yet to little courtship, who perchance might otherwise (being himself no superficial man in the practices of the world) have pierced somewhat deeper than their out-side.

They were now entered into the deep time of lent, and could get no flesh in their inns. Whereupon fell out a pleasant passage: There was near Bayone an herd of goats with their young ones, upon which sight, the said Sir Richard Gretham tells the marquiss, he would snap one of the kids, and make some shift to carry him close to their lodging. Which the prince over-hearing, Why Richard, says he, do you think you may practice here your old tricks again upon the borders? Upon which words, they first gave the goat-heard good contentment, and then while the marquiss and his servant, being both on foot, were chasing the kid about the stack, the prince from horse-back killed him in the head with a Scottish pistol.

At Bayone, the count De Gramont, governor of that jealous key, took an exquisite notice of their persons and behaviour, and opened himself to some of his train, That he thought them to be gentlemen of much more worth than their habits bewrayed; yet he let them courteously pass. And four days after this they arrived at Madrid, being Wednes-

day the fifth of March. Having gone thus far, I shall not need to relate the affluence of young nobles and others from hence into Spain, after the voice of our prince's being there had been quickly noised, and at length believed; neither will it be necessary to consider the arts of Rome, where now all engines were whetted (though by the divine blessing very vainly) when they had gotten a prince of Great Britain upon catholic ground, as they use to call it.

This, and the whole matter of negociation there, the open entertainments, the secret working, the apprehension on both sides, the appearance on neither; and in sum, all the circumstances and respect of religion and state intermixed together in that commixture, will better become a royal history, or a council-table, than a single life. Yet we cannot omit some things which intervened at the meeting of two Pleiades, not unlike that which astrologers call a conjunction of planets, of no very benign aspect the one to the other; the marquiss of Buckingham, and the Conde d'Olivares. They had some sharper and some milder differences, which might easily happen in such an intervene of grandees, both vehement on the parts which they swayed. But the most remarkable was upon supposition of the Condes, that the marquiss had intimated unto her some hopes of the prince's conversion; which coming into debate, the marquiss so roundly disavowed this gilded dream,

dream, as Olivares alledged he had given him La-Mentida, and thereupon forms a compliment to the prince himself; which Buckingham denying, and yet Olivares persisting in the said compliment, the marquis, though now in strange hands, yet seeing both his honour and the truth at stake, was not tender likewise to engage his life, but replied with some heat, that the Condes asseveration would force him to do that which he had not done before; for now he held himself tied in terms of a gentleman, to maintain the contrary to his affirmative in any sort whatsoever. This was the highest and the harshest point that occurred between them; which that it went so far, was not the duke's fault; nor his fault neither (as it should seem) that it went no farther. There was another memorable passage one day of gentler quality, and yet eager enough. The Conde d'Olivares told the marquis of a certain flying noise, that the prince did plot to be secretly gone: to which the marquis gave a well tempered answer, That though love had made his highness steal out of his own country, yet fear would never make him run out of Spain in other manner than should become a prince of his royal and generous virtues.

In Spain they stayed near eight entire months, during all which times, who but Buckingham lay at home under millions of maledictions? Which yet, at the prince's safe arrival in the West, did die, and vanish here and there into praises and eulogies, according

to the contrary motions of popular waves. And now, to sum up the fruit of the journey, discourses ran thus among the clearest observers. It was said, that the prince himself, without any imaginable stain of his religion, had by the sight of foreign courts, and observations of the different natures of people, and the rules of government, much excited and awakened his spirits, and corroborated his judgment. And as for the marquiss, there was note taken of two great additions which he had gained: First, he was returned with increase of title, having there been made duke, by patent sent him, which was the highest degree whereof an English subject could be capable. But the other was far greater, tho' closer; for by so long and so private, and so various consociation with a prince of such excellent nature, he had now gotten as it were two lives in his own fortune and greatness; whereas otherwise the estate of a favourite is but at best a tenant at will, and rarely transmitted. But concerning the Spanish commission, which in public conceit was the main scope of the journey, that was left in great suspence, and after some time utterly laid aside; which threw the duke, amongst free wits, under censures.

The most part were apt to believe, that he had brought down some deep distaste from Spain, which exasperated his counsels; neither was there wanting some other that thought him

him not altogether void of a little ambition, to ſhew his power either to knit or diſſolve.

Howſoever, the whole ſcene of affairs was changed from Spain to France; there now lay the proſpective. Which alteration being generally liked, and all alterations of ſtate being ever attributed to the powerfulleſt under princes, the duke became ſuddenly and ſtrangely gracious among the multitude, and was even in parliament highly exalted; ſo as he did ſeem for a time to have overcome that natural incompatibility, which, in the experience of all ages, hath been noted between the vulgar and the ſovereign favour. But this was no more than a mere bubble or blaſt, and, like an ephemeral fit of applauſe, as will appear in the ſequel of his life.

After his return from Spain, he was made lord-warden of the cinque-ports, (which is, as it were, a ſecond admiralty) and ſteward likewiſe of the manour of Hampton-court. Dignities and offices ſtill growing of truſt or profit; and the king now giving not only out of beneficent diſpoſition, but a very habitual and confirmed cuſtom.

One year, ſix months, and two days after the joyful reception of the prince his ſon from Spain, king James accompliſhed at Theobalds his own days on earth. Under whom the duke had run a long courſe of calm and ſmooth proſperity: I mean long, for the ordinary life of favour; and the more notable, becauſe it had been without any viſible eclipſe

or wave in himſelf, amidſt divers variations in others.

The moſt important and preſſing care of a new and vigorous king, was his marriage, for an immediate eſtabliſhment of the royal line; wherein the duke having had an eſpecial hand, he was ſent to conduct hither the princeſs Henrietta Maria, youngeſt daughter to the great Henry of Bourbon; of whom his majeſty, as hath been ſaid, had an ambulatory view in his travels. He was accompanied with no peer but the earl of Montgomery.

Now this embaſſy, though it had a private ſhew, being charged with more formality than matter (for all the eſſential conditions were before concluded) could howſoever want no ornaments or bravery to adorn it. Among which, it is worthy of a litttle remembrance, that the duke, one ſolemn day, gorgeouſly clad in a ſuit all over ſpread with diamonds, and having loſt one of them of good value, perchance as he might be dancing, after his manner, with lofty motion, it was ſtrangely recovered again the next morning in a court full of pages: ſuch a diligent attendant was fortune every where, both abroad and at home.

After this fair diſcharge, all civil honours having ſhowered on him before, there now fell out great occaſions to draw forth his ſpirits into action; a breach firſt with Spain, and not long after with France itſelf, notwitſtanding ſo ſtrait an affinity ſo lately treated with the one, and actually accompliſhed with the other:

as

as if, indeed, according to that pleasant maxim of state, kingdoms were never married. This must of necessity involve the duke in business enough to have overset a lesser vessel, being the next commander under the crown of ports and ships.

But he was noted willingly to embrace those overtures of public employment: for, at the parliament at Oxford, his youth and want of experience in maritime service had somewhat been shrewdly touched, even before the sluices and flood-gates of popular liberty were yet set open: so, as to wipe out that objection, he did now mainly attend his charge, by his majesty's untroubled and serene commands, even in a tempestuous time.

Now the men fell a rubbing of armour, which a great while had lain oiled; the magazines of munition were viewed; the officers of remains called to account; frequent councils of war, as many private conferences with expert seamen; a fleet in preparation for some attempt upon Spain; the duke himself personally employed to the states-general; and with him joined, in full commission, the earl of Holland, a peer both of singular grace and solidity, and of all sweet and serviceable virtue for public use.

These two nobles, after a dangerous passage from Harwich, wherein three of their ships were foundered, arrived the fifth day at the Hague in Holland. Here they were to enter a treaty, both with the states themselves,

and with the miniſters of divers allied and confederate princes, about a common diverſion for the recovery of the palatinate where the king's only ſiſter's dowry had been raviſhed by the German eagle, mixed with Spaniſh feathers: a princeſs reſplendent in darkneſs, and whoſe virtues were born within the chance, but without the power of Fortune.

Here it were injurious to overſlip a noble act in the duke during this employment. There was a collection of certain rare manuſcripts, exquiſitely written in Arabick, and ſought in the moſt remote parts by the diligence of Erpenius, the moſt excellent linguiſt. Theſe had been left to the widow of the ſaid Erpenius, and were upon ſale to the Jeſuits at Antwerp, liquoriſh chapmen of ſuch ware: whereof the duke getting knowledge by his worthy and learned ſecretary, doctor Maſon, intervetted the bargain, and gave the poor widow for them five hundred pounds; a ſum above their weight in ſilver; and a mixed act both of bounty and charity; the more laudable by being out of his natural element. Theſe were they which, after his death, were as nobly preſented as they had been bought, to the univerſity of Cambridge, by the dutcheſs dowager, as ſoon as ſhe underſtood, by the aforeſaid doctor Maſon, her huſband's intention, who had a purpoſe likewiſe to raiſe in the ſaid univerſity, whereof he was chancellor, a fair caſe for ſuch monuments, and to furniſh it with other

other choice collections from all parts, at his own charge.

The aforesaid negotiation, though prosecuted with heat and probable appearance of great effects, took up a month before the duke's return; and then at home he met no good news of the Cadiz attempt. In the preparation thereof, though he had spent much sollicitude, ex officio, yet it principally failed, as was thought, by late setting out, and by some contrariety of weather at sea; whereby the particular design took vent before-hand; a point hardly avoidable in actions of noise, especially where the great Indian key to all cabinets is working.

Not long after this, the king, pondering in his wisdom the weight of his foreign affairs, found it fit to call a parliament at Westminster. This was that assembly where there appeared a sudden and marvellous conversion in the duke's case, from the most exalted (as he had been both in another parliament, and in common voice before) to the most depressed now; as if his condition had been capable of no mediocrities: and it could not but trouble him the more, by happening when he was so freshly returned out of the Low-Country provinces, out of a meritorious employment in his inward conceit and hope. Which being the single example that our annals have yielded, from the time of William de la Pool, duke of Suffolk, under Henry VI. of such a concurrence

of two extremes, within so short a time, by most of the same commenders and disprovers.

This strange phænomenon began from a travelled doctor of physic, of bold spirit and of able elocution; who, being returned one of the burgesses, which was not ordinary in one of his coat, fell, by a metaphorical allusion, translated from his own faculty, to propound the duke's as a main cause of many infirmities in the state, or near that purpose; being sure enough of seconds, after the first onset, in the lower house. As for any close intelligence that they had before-hand with some in the higher, though that likewise was said, there wants ground to affirm, or believe it more than a general conceit; which perhaps might run of the working of envy amongst those that were nearest the object, which we see so familiar, both in natural and moral causes.

The duke's answers to his appeachments, in number thirteen, were very diligently and civilly couched; and, though his heart was big, yet they all savour of an humble spirit, one way, equitable consideration, which could not but possess every vulgar conceit, and somewhat allay the whole matter; that, in the bolting and sifting of near fourteen years of such power and favour, all that came out could not be expected to be pure, and white, and fine meal; but must needs have withal among it a certain mixture of padar and bran, in this lower age of human fragility. How-

soever

ſoever this tempeſt did only ſhake and not rent his ſails: for his majeſty, conſidering that almoſt all his appeachments were without the compaſs of his own reign; and, moreover, that nothing alledged againſt him had, or could be, proved by oath, according to the conſtitution of the houſe of commons; which the duke himſelf did not forget in the preface of his anſwers: and, laſtly, having had ſuch experience of his fidelity, and obſervance abroad, where he was chief in truſt, and in the participation of all hazards, found himſelf engaged in honour, and in the ſenſe of his own natural goodneſs, to ſupport him at home from any further inquietude, and too dear buy his higheſt teſtimonies of divers important imputations; whereof the truth is beſt known to his majeſty while he was prince.

The ſummer following this parliament, after an embarque of our trading ſhips in the river of Bourdeaux, and other points of ſovereign affront, there ſucceeded the action of Rheez, wherein the duke was perſonally employed on either element, both as admiral and general, with hope in that ſervice to recover the public good will, which he ſaw, by his own example, might quickly be won and loſt. This action found more honourable cenſure, even from ſome of the French writers, than it had generally amongſt ourſelves at home: as, touching the duke's own deportment in that iſland, there was matter of glory and grief ſo equally diſtributed on both ſides,

as

as if Fortune had meant we ſhould quickly be friends again.

The duke's carriage was ſurely noble throughout. To the gentlemen, of fair reſpect; bountiful to the ſoldier, according to any ſpecial value which he ſpied in any; tender and careful of thoſe that were hurt; of unqueſtionable courage in himſelf, and rather fearful of fame than danger. In his countenance, which is the part that all eyes interpret, no open alteration, even after the ſuccours which he expected did fail him; but the leſs he ſhewed without, the more it wrought inſtrinſically, according to the nature of ſuppreſſed paſſions: for certain it is, that, to his often mentioned ſecretary, Dr. Maſon, whom he laid in a pallet near him, for natural ventilation of his thoughts, he would, in the abſence of all other ears and eyes, break out into bitter and paſſionate irruptions, proteſting, That never his diſpatches to divers princes, nor the great buſineſs of a fleet, of an army, of a ſiege, of a treaty, of war, of peace, both on foot together, and all of them in his head at a time, did not ſo much break his repoſe, as a conceit, That ſome at home, under his majeſty, of whom he had well deſerved, were now content to forget him.

Of their two forts, he could not take the one, nor would he take the other; but, in the general town, he maintained a ſeizure and poſſeſſion of the whole three months and eighteen days; and, at the firſt deſcent on ſhore, he

he was not immured with a wooden veſſel, but he did countenance the landing in his long-boat; where ſucceeded ſuch a defeat of near two hundred horſe, (and theſe not, by his gueſs, mounted in haſte, but the moſt part gentlemen of family and great reſolution) ſeconded with two thouſand foot, as all circumſtances well ballanced on either ſide, may ſurely endure a compariſon with any of the braveſt impreſſions in antient time.

In the iſſue of the whole buſineſs, he ſeems charged in opinion with a kind of improvident conſcience, having brought of that with him to camp, perchance, too much from a court where Fortune had never deceived him. Beſides, we muſt conſider him yet but rude in the profeſſion of arms, though greedy of honour, and zealous in the cauſe.

At his return to Plymouth, a ſtrange accident befel him; perchance not ſo worthy of memory for itſelf, as for that it ſeemeth to have a kind of prelude to his final period.

Lord Goring, a gentleman of true honour, and of vigilant affections for his friend, ſent to the duke, in all expedition, an expreſs meſſenger, with adviſement, to aſſure his own perſon by declining the ordinary road to London; for, that he had credible intelligence of a plot againſt his life, to be put in execution upon him in his ſaid journey towards the court.

The duke meeting the meſſenger on the way, read the letter, and ſmothering it in his pocket,

pocket, without the leaſt imaginable apprehenſion, rode forward, his company being, about that time, not above ſeven or eight in number, and thoſe no otherwiſe provided for their defence than with ordinary ſwords.

After this, the duke had advanced three miles before he met with an old woman, near a town in the road, who demanded, Whether the duke were in the company? and bewraying ſome eſpecial occaſion to be brought to him, was led to his horſe-ſide; where ſhe told him, that, in the very next town where he was to paſs, ſhe had heard ſome deſperate men vow his death; and thereupon would have directed him about by a ſurer way.

This old woman's caſual acceſs, joined with that deliberate advertiſement which he had before from his noble friend, moved him to participate both the tenour of the ſaid letter, and all the circumſtances, with his company; who were jointly upon conſent that the woman had adviſed him well. Notwithſtanding all which importunity, he reſolved not to wave his way upon this reaſon, perhaps more generous than provident, that if, as he ſaid, he ſhould but once, by ſuch a diverſion, make his enemy believe he were afraid of danger, he ſhould never live without.

Hereupon his young nephew, lord viſcount Fielding, being then in his company, out of a noble ſpirit, beſought him, that he would, at leaſt, honour him with his coat and blue ribbon, thorough the town, pleading his uncle's

cle's life, whereupon lay the property of his whole family, was of all things under Heaven, the moſt precious unto him; and undertaking ſo to geſture and muffle up himſelf in his hood, as the duke's manner was to ride in cold weather, that none ſhould diſcern him from him; and ſo he ſhould be at the more liberty for his own defence. At which ſweet propoſition, the duke caught him in his arms, and kiſſed him; yet would not, as he ſaid, accept of ſuch an offer from a nephew, whoſe life he tendered as much as himſelf; and ſo liberally rewarded the poor creature for her good will. After ſome ſhort directions to his company, how they ſhould carry themſelves, he rode on without perturbation of his mind. He was no ſooner entered into the town, but a ſcamling ſoldier clapt hold of his bridle, which he thought was in a begging, or (perchance ſomewhat worſe) in a drunken faſhion; yet a gentleman of his train that rode a pretty diſtance behind him, conceiving by the premiſes it might be a beginning of ſome miſchievous intent, ſpurred up his horſe, and with a violent ruſh ſevered him from the duke, who with the reſt went on quickly through the town: neither was there any further enquiry into that practice, the duke, peradventure, thinking it wiſdom not to reſent diſcontentments too deep.

At his return to the court he found no change in faces, but ſmothered murmurings for the loſs of ſo many gallant gentlemen; againſt which his friends did oppoſe in their

diſcourſes

discourses the chance of war, together with a gentle expectation for want of supply in time. But after the complaints in parliament, and the unfortunate issue at Rheez, the duke's fame fell more and more in obloquy among the mass of people, whose judgments are only reconciled with good successes: so as he saw plainly that he must abroad again to rectify by his best endeavour under the public service, his own reputation. Whereupon new preparatives were in hand, and partly reparatives of the former beaten at sea. And in the mean while, he was not unmindful in his civil course, to cast an eye upon the ways, to win unto him such as have been of principal credit in the lower house of parliament, applying lenitives, or subducting from that part where he knew the humours were sharpest: amidst which thoughts, he was surprised with a fatal stroke, written in the black book of necessity.

There was a younger brother, of mean fortune, born in the county of Suffolk, by name John Felton, by nature of a deep, melancholy, silent, and gloomy constitution, but bred in the active way of a soldier; and thereby raised to the place of lieutenant to a company of foot, in the regiment of Sir James Ramsey. This was the man that closely within himself had conceived the duke's death. But what may have been the immediate or greatest motive of that felonious conception, is even yet in the clouds.

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It was ſaid at firſt, that he had been ſtung with a denial of his captain's place, who died in England; whereof thus much indeed is true, that the duke, before he would inveſt him in the ſaid place, adviſing firſt (as his manner was) with his colonel; he found him to interpoſe for one Powel, his own lieutenant, a gentleman of extraordinary valour, and according to military cuſtom, the place was good, that the lieutenant of the colonel's company might well pretend to the next vacant captainſhip, under the ſame regiment; Which Felton acknowledged to be in itſelf very uſual and equitable, beſides the ſpecial merit of the perſon. So as the aforeſaid conceit of ſome rancour harboured upon this denial had no true ground. There was another imagination, that between a knight of the ſame county (whom the duke had lately taken into ſome good degree of favour) and the ſaid Felton, there had been ancient quarrels, not yet well healed, which might perhaps lie feſtering in his breaſt, and by a certain inflamation produce this effect. But that carries ſmall probability, that Felton would ſo deface his own act, as to make the duke no more than an oblique ſacrifice to the fumes of his private revenge upon a third perſon.

Therefore the truth is, that, either to honeſt a deed after it was done, or to ſlumber his conſcience in the doing, he ſtudied other incentives, alledging, not three hours before his execution, to Sir Richard Greſham, two only

inducements

inducements thereof. The firſt, as he made it in order, was a certain libellous book, written by one Egglestone, a Scottiſh phyſician, which made the duke one of the foulest monſters upon earth; and indeed, unworthy not only of life in a Chriſtian court, and under ſo virtuous a king, but of any room within the bounds of humanity, if his prodigious predictions had the leaſt ſemblance of truth. The ſecond was, the remonſtrance itſelf of the lower houſe of parliament againſt him, which perchance, he thought the faireſt cover, ſo he put in the ſecond place. Whatſoever were the true motives, which none can determine but the prince of darkneſs itſelf, he did thus proſecute the effect.

In a by-cutler's ſhop on Tower-hill, he bought a ten-penny knife, and the ſheath thereof he ſewed to the lining of his pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the blade alone with one hand, for he had maimed the other. This done, he made ſhift, partly as it is ſaid, on horſeback, and partly on foot, to get to Portſmouth, for he was indigent and low in money, which perhaps might have a little edged his deſperation. At Portſmouth on Saturday, being the twenty-third of Auguſt of that current year, he preſſed without any ſuſpicion in ſuch a time of ſo many pretenders to employment, into an inward chamber, where the duke was at breakfaſt (the laſt of his repaſts in this world) accompanied with men of quality and action, with monſieur de Soubes, and Sir Thomas

Thomas Fryer. And there, a little before the duke's rising from the table, he went and stood expecting till he should pass through a kind of lobby, between that room and the next, where were divers attending him. Towards which passage, as I conceive, somewhat darker than the chamber which he voided, while the duke came, with Sir Thomas Fryer close at his ear, in the very moment as the said knight withdrew himself from the duke, this assassin gave him, with a back blow, a deep wound in his left side, leaving the knife in his body; which the duke himself pulling out, on a sudden effusion of spirits, he sunk down under the table in the next room, and immediately expired.

Certain it is, that some good while before, Sir Clement Throgmorton, a gentleman then living, of grave judgment, had in a private conference advised him to wear a privy-coat, whose council the duke received very kindly; but gave him this answer, That against any popular fury, a shirt of mail would be but a silly defence; and for any single man's assault, he took himself to be in no danger. So dark is destiny.

One thing in this enormous accident, is beyond all wonder: That within the space of not many minutes after the fall of the body, and removal thereof into the first room, there was not a living creature in either of the chambers, not more than if it had lain in the sands of Æthiopia; whereas commonly, in such

cases, you shall note every where a great and sudden conflux of people unto the place, to hearken and to see. But it should seem the very horror of the fact had stupified all curiosity, and so dispersed the multitude, that it is thought even the murderer himself might have escaped (who gave the blow none could affirm) if he had not lingered about the house below, not by any confused arrest of conscience, as hath been seen in like examples, but by very pride in his own deed, as if in effect there were little difference between being rembembered by a virtuous fame, or an illustrious infamy. Thus died this great peer, in the thirty-sixth year of his age compleat, and three days over, in a time of great recourse unto him, and dependence upon him, the house, and town full of servants and suitors, his dutchess in an upper room, scarce yet out of bed; and the court at that time not above six or nine miles from him, which had been the stage of his greatness.

As to any ominous presagement before his end, it is reported, that being to take his leave of my lord's grace of Canterbury, then bishop of London, whom he knew well planted in the king's unchangeable affection by his own great abilities; after courtesies of course had passed between them: My lord says the duke, I know your lordship hath very worthily good accesses unto the king our sovereign, let me pray you to put his majesty in mind to be good, as I noways distrust, to my poor wife

and

and children. At which words, or at his countenance in the delivery, or at both, my lord bishop being somewhat troubled, took the freedom to ask him, whether he had never any secret abodement in his mind. No, replied the duke, but I think some adventure may kill me as well as another man.

The very day before he was slain, feeling some indisposition of body, the king was pleased to give him the honour of a visit, and found him in his bed; where, and after much serious and private discourse, the duke, at his majesty's departing, embraced him in a very unusual and passionate manner, and in like sort his friend the earl of Holland, as if his soul had divined he should see them no more: which infusions towards fatal ends, had been observed by some authors of no light authority.

On the very day of his death, the countess of Denbigh received a letter from him; whereunto all the while she was writing her answer, she bedewed the paper with her tears; and after a most bitter passion (whereof she could yield no reason, but that her dearest brother was to be gone) she fell down in a swoon. Her said letter ended thus: "I will pray for your happy return, which I look at with a great cloud over my head, too heavy for my poor heart to bear without torment; but I hope the great God of heaven will bless you."

The day following, the bishop of Ely, her devoted friend, who was thought the fittest preparer of her mind to receive such a doleful accident, came to visit her; but hearing she was at rest, he attended till she should awake of herself, which she did with the affrightment of a dream, Her brother seemed to pass through a field with her, in her coach; where hearing a sudden shout of the people, and asking the reason, it was answered to have been for joy that the duke of Buckingham was sick. Which natural impression she scarce had related unto her gentlewoman, before the bishop was entered into her bed-chamber for a chosen messenger of the duke's death.

But the most remarkable instance of all is the famous story of the apparition, which we have from lord Clarendon.

"There was an officer in the king's ward-robe in Windsor Castle, of a good reputation for honesty and discretion, and then about the age of fifty years or more.

"This man had in his youth been bred in a school in the parish where Sir George Villiers, the father of the duke, lived, and had been much cherished and obliged in that season of his age by the said Sir George, whom afterwards he never saw.

"About six months before the miserable end of the duke of Buckingham, about midnight, this man being in his bed at Windsor, where his office was, and in very good health, there appeared to him on the side of his bed, a man of

of a very venerable aſpect, who drew the curtains of his bed, and fixing his eyes upon him, aſked him if he knew him.

"The poor man, half dead with fear and apprehenſion, being aſked the ſecond time, whether he remembered him, and having in that time called to his memory the preſence of Sir George Villiers, and the very cloaths he uſed to wear, in which at that time he ſemed to be habited, he anſwered him, that he thought him to be that perſon; he replied, he was in the right, that he was the ſame, and that he expected a ſervice from him, which was, that he ſhould go from him, to his ſon the duke of Buckingham, and tell him, if he did not ſomewhat to ingratiate himſelf to the people, or at leaſt to abate the extreme malice which they had againſt him, he would be ſuffered to live but a ſhort time.

"After this diſcourſe he diſappeared, and the poor man (if he had been at all waking) ſlept very well till morning, when he believed all this to be a dream, and conſidered it no otherwiſe.

"The next night, or ſhortly after, the ſame perſon appeared to him again, in the ſame place, and about the ſame time of the night, with an aſpect a little more ſevere than before, and aſked him, whether he had done as he had required of him; and perceiving he had not, gave him very ſevere reprehenſions, told him he expected more compliance from him,

and that if he did not perform his commands, he ſhould enjoy no peace of mind; but ſhould always be purſued by him: upon which he promiſed him to obey. But the next morning waking out of a good ſleep, though he was exceedingly perplexed with the lively repreſentation of all particulars to his memory, he was ſtill willing to perſuade himſelf that he had only dreamed, and conſidered that he was a perſon at ſuch a diſtance from the duke, that he knew not how to find out any admiſſion to his preſence, much leſs had any hope to be believed in what he ſhould ſay; ſo with great trouble and unquietneſs he ſpent ſome time in thinking what he ſhould do: and in the end reſolved to do nothing in the matter.

"The ſame perſon appeared to him the third time with a terrible countenance, and bitterly reproaching him for not performing what he had promiſed to do. The poor man had, by this time, recovered the courage to tell him, that in truth he had deferred the execution of his commands, upon conſidering how difficult a thing it would be for him to get any acceſs to the duke, having acquaintance with no perſon about him; and if he ſhould obtain admiſſion to him, he ſhould never be able to perſuade him that he was ſent in ſuch a manner; that he ſhould at leaſt be thought to be mad, or to be ſet on and employed by his own, or the malice of other men to abuſe the

the duke; and so he should be sure to be undone.

"The person replied, as he had done before, that he should never find rest till he should perform what he had required, and therefore he were better to dispatch it; that the access to his son was known to be very easy, and that few men waited long for him; and for the gaining him credit he would tell him two or three particulars, which he charged him never to mention to any person living but to the duke himself; and he should no sooner hear them but he should believe all the rest he should say; and so repeating his threats, he left him.

"In the morning the poor man, more confirmed by the last appearance, made his journey to London, where the court then was; he was very well known to Sir Ralph Freeman, one of the masters of requests, who had married a lady that was nearly allied to the duke, and was himself well received by him: to him this man went, and though he did not acquaint him with all the particulars, he said enough to let him know there was something extraordinary in it; and the knowledge he had of the sobriety and discretion of the man, made the more impression on him: he desired that by his means he might be brought to the duke, in such a place and in such a manner as should be thought fit, affirming that he had much to say to him, and of such a nature as

would require much privacy, and ſome time and patience in the hearing.

"Sir Ralph promiſed he would ſpeak firſt with the duke of him, and then he ſhould underſtand his pleaſure; and accordingly, the firſt opportunity he did inform him of the reputation and honeſty of the man, and then what he deſired, and of all he knew of the matter.

"The duke, according to his uſual openneſs and condeſcention, told him, that he was the next day early to hunt with the king; that his horſes ſhould attend him at Lambeth-Bridge, where he ſhould land by five of the clock in the morning; and if the man attended him there at that hour, he would walk and ſpeak with him as long as ſhould be neceſſary.

"Sir Ralph carried the man with him the next morning, and preſented him to the duke at his landing, who received him courteouſly, and walked aſide in conference near an hour; none but his own ſervants being at that hour in that place; and they and Sir Ralph at ſuch a diſtance, that they could not hear a word, though the duke ſometimes ſpoke loud, and with great emotion, which Sir Ralph the more eaſily obſerved and perceived, becauſe he kept his eyes always fixed upon the duke, having procured the conference upon ſomewhat he knew was extraordinary.

"The man told him, in his return over the water, that when he mentioned thoſe particu-

lars

lars which were to gain him credit (the ſubſtance whereof he ſaid he durſt not impart unto him) the duke's colour changed, and he ſwore he could come at that knowledge only by the devil, for that thoſe particulars were only known to himſelf and to one perſon more, who he was ſure would never ſpeak of it.

"The duke purſued his purpoſe of hunting, but was obſerved to ride all the morning with great penſiveneſs and in deep thoughts, without any delight in the exerciſe he was upon; and before the morning was ſpent, left the field, and alighted at his mother's lodgings in Whitehall, with whom he was ſhut up for the ſpace of two or three hours; the noiſe of their diſcourſe frequently reaching the ears of thoſe who attended in the next rooms. And when the duke left her, his countenance appeared full of trouble, with a mixture of anger; a countenance that was never before obſerved in him in any converſation with her, towards whom he had a profound reverence; and the counteſs herſelf (for though ſhe was married to a private gentleman, Sir Thomas Compton, ſhe had been created counteſs of Buckingham ſhortly after her ſon had aſſumed that title) was at the duke's leaving her found overwhelmed in tears, and in the higheſt agony imaginable.

"Whatever there was of all this, it is a notorious truth, that when the news of the duke's murder (which happened within a few months

after) was brought to his mother, ſhe ſeemed not in the leaſt degree ſurpriſed, but received it as ſhe had foreſeen it; nor did afterwards expreſs ſuch a degree of ſorrow as was expected from ſuch a mother for the loſs of ſuch a ſon."

This ſtory is related with ſome little circumſtantial difference by ſeveral conſiderable authors, who all ſeem to agree in the moſt material parts of it.

Fame, though with ſome privacy, ſays, that the ſecret token was an inceſtuous breach of modeſty between the duke and a certain lady too nearly related to him, which it ſurpriſed the duke to hear of; and that as he thought he had good reaſons to be ſure the lady would not tell it of herſelf, ſo he thought none but the devil could tell it beſides her; and this aſtoniſhed him, ſo that he was very far from receiving the man ſlightly, or laughing at his meſſage.

He took to wife, eight years and two months before his death, the lady Catherine Manners, heir general to the noble houſe of Rutland, who, beſides a ſolid addition to his eſtate, brought him three ſons and a daughter, called the lady Mary, his firſt born; his eldeſt ſon died at nurſe, before his journey to Rheez; and his third, the lord Francis, was born after his father's death; ſo as neither his firſt nor his laſt were participant of any ſenſe of his misfortunes or felicities: his ſecond ſon, now

duke

duke of Buckingham, was born to chear him on his return from that unlucky voyage.

For these sweet pledges, and no less for the unquestionable virtues of her person and mind, he loved her dearly, and well expressed his love in an act and time of no simulation towards his end, bequeathing her all his mansion-houses during her natural life, and a power to dispose of his whole personal estate, together with a fourth part of his lands in jointure; he left his elder brother of the same womb a viscount, and his younger brother an earl; Sir Edward Villiers, his half-brother on the father's side, he either preferred or removed (call it how you will) from his step mother's eye to the presidentship; where he lived in singular estimation for his justice and hospitality; and died with as much grief of the whole province, as ever any governor did (before his religious lady of sweet and noble disposition) adding much to his honour. The eldest of the brethren, and heir of the name, was made a baronet, but abstained from court, enjoying perhaps the greater greatness of self-fruition.

He left his mother a countess by patent in her own person, which was a new leading example, grown before somewhat rare, since the days of queen Mary. His sister of Denbigh (that right character of a good lady) he most humbly recommended to the queen; who after a discharge of some French in her court

that were to return, took her into three ſeveral places of honour and truſt.

In ſhort, not to inſiſt on every particular branch of thoſe private preferments, he left all his female kindred, of the entire or half blood, deſcending of the name of Villiers or Beaumont, within any near degree, either matched with peers of the realm actually, or hopefully with earls ſons and heirs; or at leaſt with knights, or doctors of divinity, and of plentiful condition: he did not much ſtrengthen his own ſubſiſtence in court, but ſtood there on his own feet, for the truth is, the moſt of his allies rather leaned upon him, than ſhoared him up. His familiar ſervants, either about his perſon in ordinary attendance, or about his affairs of ſtate, as his ſecretaries; or of office, as his ſteward; or of law, as that worthy knight whom he long uſed to ſollicit his cauſes; he left all, both in good fortune, and, which is more, in good fame.

THE

J. Thompson sculp.

Lord Strafford.

THE LIFE OF

THOMAS WENTWORTH.

THOMAS WENTWORTH was the ſon of Sir William Wentworth, baronet, and Anne, daughter and heir to Sir Robert Atkins of Stowell, in the county of Glouceſter, knight; and was born on the thirteenth of April 1593, ſeven minutes after three in the afternoon: the famous Lilly, who calculated his nativity, having laid down aſtrological reaſons for his violent death.

He was a perſon of moſt extraordinary accompliſhments, which raiſed him to very ſignal honours and preferments. He at firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf amongſt the king's oppoſers; for which reaſon he was, in the year 1625, made ſheriff of Yorkſhire, to prevent his being choſen member of parliament. In 1626, he was put in confinement for refuſing to contribute to the loan, then exacted by Charles I. In the parliament, in 1627, he ſignalized himſelf as a patriot, upon occaſion of the inquiry made into the grievances of the nation by the commons. The abuſes which they took into conſideration, were billetting of ſoldiers, loans by benevolence and privy-ſeals, impriſonment of gentlemen refuſing to lend,

denial of release upon a habeas corpus; and, amongst many speeches made upon this occasion, none were taken more notice of than that made by Sir Thomas Wentworth against the government. But he observed that those things were not to be imputed to the king, but the ministers, who had formed the design of stretching the prerogative beyond its due bounds. "They have brought the crown into greater want than ever," said he, "by anticipating the revenues: and can the shepherd be thus smitten, and the sheep not scattered? They have introduced a privy-council, ravishing at once the spheres of all ancient government, imprisoning us without either bail or bond. They have taken from us, what? What shall I say? Indeed, what have they left us? All means of supplying the king, and ingratiating ourselves with him, taking up the root of all property."

As he was one of the greatest geniuses then in England, the king could not but be sensible that his parts and capacity might be highly serviceable to him if he could gain him to his side. He endeavoured it therefore, after, or perhaps before, the dissolution of the parliament, and succeeded so well, that Wentworth, before it was ended, became one of the greatest ticklers for the royal authority, or rather for the despotic power the king had a mind to introduce.

Upon this account the king thought him the fittest person to be entrusted with the presidentship

dentſhip of the council in the north. He was at the ſame time created baron Wentworth, of Wentworth-wood-houſe; and, on the tenth of December following, viſcount Wentworth of the ſame place, and was made one of the privy council; in all which truſts he acquitted himſelf much to the ſatisfaction of his prince, whoſe revenue he greatly improved. His next ſtep of preferment was to be lord-deputy of Ireland, where he preferred learned and pious men who were attached to epiſcopacy. He moreover raiſed eight regiments for the king's ſervice, each conſiſting of one thouſand men; but before he had diſpoſed of theſe forces into neceſſary quarters, he was recalled to England, and made lieutenant-general to the earl of Northumberland, who commanded the army which was going to be employed againſt the Scots, who had then invaded the kingdom.

On the twelfth of January, 15 Charles I. he was created baron of Raby, and earl of Strafford; and was alſo made knight of the garter, on the twelfth of September 1640; but things not ſucceeding well in Ireland under Sir Chriſtoper Wandesford, maſter of the rolls there, whom he had left deputy in his room; and the parliament of England by this time entering into ſecret engagements with the Scots, the earl of Strafford's ruin was brought about not long after. He had ſo entirely devoted himſelf to the king, that, in his two great offices of preſident of the court of York, and lord-

lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he had no other view but to ſtretch the prerogative-royal, and increaſe the king's revenues. His proud and haughty carriage had given no leſs offence to the public than his actions, whereby he ſtrove to eſtabliſh an arbitrary power. He was therefore the firſt among thoſe who paſſed for the authors of the grievances upon whom the ſtorm fell.

On the eleventh of November, eight days after the opening of the parliament, Mr. Pym having deſired and obtained his deſire of the commons, that the doors of the houſe might be locked, and the outward room cleared of ſtrangers, informed them, that there were ſeveral complaints againſt the earl of Strafford, which gave juſt grounds to accuſe him of high treaſon. The houſe having received this information, immediately appointed a committee of ſeven, who withdrew into another room, and conferring together, reported ſhortly after, that it was their opinion, there was juſt cauſe to impeach the earl of Strafford. Then Mr. Pym was ordered to go to the houſe of lords, and accuſe the earl of high treaſon, in the name of the commons. He had orders alſo to tell the lords, that the commons would, in due time, produce the articles of accuſation, and deſired that the accuſed might, till then, be put in ſafe cuſtody. The earl of Strafford had that very day quitted the army, and taken his place in the houſe of lords. He had been appriſed before he left the army that a deſign

was

was formed to attack him: but, whether through pride, or a perſuaſion that, having done nothing without the king's authority, he was ſecure, he ſlighted the advice, and would be preſent in the parliament. Indeed, ſome months before, the king's protection was more than ſufficient to ſcreen him from all danger; but the face of affairs was changed, and it ſeems ſurpriſing that a perſon of ſo excellent an underſtanding, could imagine, that the king was able to protect him at ſuch a juncture.

No ſooner had the commons impeached the earl, but the lords committed him to the cuſtody of the black-rod, and ſome days after ſent him to the Tower. The proceſs againſt him could not be ready to be tried till the twenty-ſecond of March, 1640-1. The trial laſted till the twelfth of April, and then the commons, who had been preſent all the while, perceiving, doubtleſs, that the ſentence would not prove as rigorous as they deſired, reſolved to proceed againſt the earl by way of bill of attainder.

They voted, therefore, on the ſixteenth and nineteenth of April, that it was ſufficiently proved, that the earl of Strafford had endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government into the realms of England and Ireland; and that, conſequently, he was guilty of high-treaſon.

On

On the twenty first of the same month, the bill of attainder was passed, there being two hundred and four for it, and fifty nine against it. The bill met with so great opposition in the house of peers, that it was very doubtful whether it would be passed or thrown out; for which reason, on the twenty-fourth, was presented to both houses a petition, subscribed by above forty thousand inhabitants of London, setting forth the causes of their suspicions and fears; and, amongst others, that justice was not yet executed upon the earl of Strafford; and, that there was reason to dread some secret plot against the parliament.

The twenty-eighth of April, the commons sent a message to the lords, that they had received information, that the earl of Strafford had a design to make an escape out of the Tower; that the guard about him was weak; and therefore desired he might be kept close prisoner, and his guards strengthened; to which the lords consented.

The first of May, the king came to the parliament, and, in a speech to both houses, said, That, having been present at the trial of the earl of Strafford, he could not in conscience condemn him of high-treason, though he thought him guilty of misdemeanours: therefore he desired the lords to find some way to bring him out of this great streight. The commons were very much troubled and discontented with this speech, and directly adjourned

journed till the third of May; on which day a great multitude at Weſtminſter inſulted and threatened the lords, as they were going to the houſe, crying out, Juſtice! Juſtice!

It was no eaſy matter for the lords to avoid doing what the commons deſired. In the firſt place, they had inſpired the nation with ſuch a terror, that no one durſt oppoſe their reſolutions, for fear of being thought to have ill deſigns, and expoſed to inevitable ruin. Secondly, the people ſtill continued to flock about Weſtminſter, and openly threatened the lords. Thirdly, the multitude preſented the ſame day a petition to the lords, demanding juſtice againſt the earl of Strafford, and that their lordſhips would pleaſe to free them from the fear of a conſpiracy. Fourthly, on the morrow, being the fourth of May, the people getting together again at Weſtminſter in greater numbers than the day before, ſome incendiaries paſted up againſt a wall in the old palace-yard, the names of fifty-ſix members, and called them Straffordians, and betrayers of their country. Laſtly, the ſame day the multitude preſented to the lords another petition, ſaying, that they underſtood the Tower was going to receive a garriſon of men, not of the hamlets, as uſually, but conſiſting of other perſons, under the command of a captain, a great confident of the earl of Strafford's; which was done to make way for the earl's eſcape.

Upon

Upon this petition, the houſe ſent ſix peers to go and examine Sir William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, about the truth of the matter. Balfour anſwered, it was true he had his majeſty's order to receive one hundred men into the Tower, and captain Billingſly to command them, and to receive only ſuch men as the captain ſhould bring to him; but underſtanding now their lordſhip's pleaſure, he would receive no other guard into the Tower but the hamlet-men.

The lords further declared, at a conference with the commons, that they were drawing to a concluſion of the bill of attainder; but were ſo encompaſſed with multitudes of people, that they might be conceived not to be free; and therefore deſired the commons to join with them, to find out ſome way to ſend the people to their homes. Then they debated the proteſtation which had before been drawn up in order to be ſigned by all the members; the purport of which was, that each member ſhould do all that lay in his power to defend the religion of the church of England, and the privileges of parliament; and ſhould do all in his power to bring to condign puniſhment all that by force or conſpiracy ſhould do any thing againſt either.

This proteſtation being paſſed, and taken by four hundred and thirty-three commoners, and one hundred and ſix lords, including the biſhops and judges, the commons ordered Dr. Burgeſs

Burgeſs to acquaint the multitude with the proteſtation taken by both houſes, and that they were deſired to retire to their houſes. The multitude, having received this information, departed.

The parliament of Ireland was no ſooner informed that the earl of Strafford was in the Tower, but they ſent a committee of both houſes to England, to lay before the parliament remonſtrances concerning the grievances the Iriſh endured under that lord's adminiſtration. Theſe remonſtrances contained the very ſame charge, aſſerted in twenty-eight articles, exhibited againſt him by the parliament of England.

The proceſs was not ready to be judged till the twenty-ſecond of March, 1640-1, and laſted till the twelfth of April. It would be too long-winded a work to give a particular account of the proofs, depoſitions of evidences, anſwers of the party accuſed upon each article, and replies of the commons. To give a general idea of the thing, it will ſuffice to ſay, in two words, that the impeachment running wholly upon the earl of Strafford's pretended intention to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the greateſt part of the crimes he was accuſed of, could not be accounted crimes of high-treaſon, but on ſuppoſition of this ſame intention; and therefore the managers of the proſecution inſiſted upon every one of the articles in order to prove this intention; maintaining, that, though each of

them

them was not capable of proving it, they were, however, all together, a demonſtration of the ſame: but, beſides that each of theſe articles was not equally well proved, it remained alſo to decide, whether the intention could render a man guilty of treaſon. The council for the earl of Strafford maintained, that, although, by the law, the bare intention of killing the king was high treaſon; it did not follow that the intention could be conſidered in the ſame light with reſpect to other kinds of treaſon, on which the law had not decided in the ſame manner. On the other hand, the earl of Strafford ſhewed, that none of the particular crimes he was charged with, could be deemed treaſon; and, that an hundred felonies could never make one treaſonable crime.

The nineteenth of April, it was voted by the commons, that the endeavour of the earl of Strafford to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the realms of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government in both thoſe kingdoms, was high-treaſon. Two days after, a bill of attainder was brought in againſt the earl. The bill was read twice in the morning, and the third time in the afternoon; and paſſed with the majority of two hundred and four againſt fifty-nine; after which it was ſent up to the lords.

Among the oppoſers of the bill, the lord Digby diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a very eloquent ſpeech; wherein he endeavoured to ſhew, that the

the condemning the earl of Strafford in that manner was a downright murder. Great exceptions were taken at this ſpeech; and, though the houſe did not ſeem to take much notice of it at firſt, they ordered afterwards, that it ſhould be burned by the common hangman.

The bill of attainder had not preſently the effect the commons wiſhed; the lords were in no haſte to examine it, or to anſwer the impatience of the commons; they had a mind firſt to weigh arguments for and againſt the bill.

In this interval, ſeveral thouſands of inhabitants of London preſented to both houſes a petition againſt the earl, ſaying he was a ſworn enemy to the city. The twenty-eighth of April, Mr. St. John made a ſpeech to the lords to prove that the bill of attainder was not contrary to law; and, on the firſt of May, the king came to the parliament, and made the following ſpeech to both houſes;

"My Lords,

"I HAD not any intention to have ſpoken to you of this buſineſs this day, which is the great buſineſs of the earl of Strafford, becauſe I would do nothing that might ſerve to hinder your occaſions; but now it comes to paſs, that, ſeeing of neceſſity I muſt have part in the

the judgment, I think it most necessary for me to declare my conscience therein. I am sure you all know that I have been present at the hearing of this great case, from the one end to the other; and I must tell you, that I cannot condemn him of high-treason; it is not fit for me to argue the business; I am sure you will not expect that; a positive doctrine best becomes the mouth of a prince; yet I must tell you three great truths, which I am sure nobody knows so well as myself.

"First, That I had never any intention of bringing over the Irish army into England; nor ever was advised by any body so to do. Secondly, That there was never any debate before me, neither in public council nor at private committee, of the disloyalty of my English subjects; nor ever had I any suspicion of them. Thirdly, I was never councelled by any one to alter the least of any of the laws of England, much less to alter all the laws. Nay, I must tell you this, I think no body durst ever be so impudent to move me in it; for, if they had, I should have put such a mark upon them, and made them such an example, that all posterity should know my intentions by it; for my intention was ever to govern according to law, and no otherwise.

"I desire to be rightly understood. I told you, in my conscience I cannot condemn him of high-treason; yet I cannot say I can clear him of misdemeanours: therefore I hope you may

may find a way to ſatisfy juſtice and your own fears, and not preſs upon my conſcience. Yet I muſt declare unto you, that, to ſatisfy my people, I would do great matters; but this of conſcience, no fear, no reſpect whatever, ſhall ever make me go againſt it. Certainly I have not ſo ill deſerved of the parliament at this time, that they ſhould preſs me in this tender point, and therefore I cannot expect that you will go about it. Nay, I muſt confeſs, for matters of miſdemeanours, I am ſo clear in that, that, though I will not chalk out the way, yet, let me tell you, that I do think my lord of Strafford is not fit hereafter to ſerve me, or the commonwealth, in any place of truſt; no, not ſo much as that of a conſtable: therefore I leave it to you, my lords, to find ſome ſuch way as may bring me out of this great ſtreight, and keep ourſelves and the kingdom from ſuch great inconveniences. Certainly he that thinks him guilty of high-treaſon, in his conſcience may condemn him of miſdemeanours."

The earl of Clarendon inſinuates, that the lord Say adviſed the king to make this ſpeech, in order to draw him into a ſnare, and render the earl of Strafford's ruin more ſure. Certain it is, when Strafford was told, by his overjoyed friends, that the king had made a warm ſpeech in his favour to both houſes, he received it as his doom; and told them, The king's kindneſs had ruined him, and that he

had

had little else to do but to prepare himself for death. Indeed, the commons were highly offended with the king's speech, saying, It was an unprecedented thing, that he should meddle with bills before they were presented to him; and, that it had a tendency to take away the freedom of votes. Upon this they adjourned till Monday, the third of May.

When the bill of attainder against the earl passed both houses, the king was in the greatest agitation and perplexity. He loved Strafford, and was convinced that he had done nothing but what was conformable to his intentions and the maxims he would have introduced into the government. He might be guilty, with regard to the people, upon many accounts; but certainly he was not so with respect to the king, who had always approved of his conduct: besides, his majesty had protested, in full parliament, that he could not, nor would, do any thing against his conscience; and he did not believe in his conscience that the earl was guilty. On the other hand, if he consented to the bill of attainder, after having declared that it was against his conscience, he would shew that he was reduced to this extremity by the necessity of his affairs, so would not be thanked for it, and, for the time to come, would be able to refuse his parliament nothing: but, if he rejected the bill, he plainly perceived the consequences his refusal might be attended with; and, that, at least, he should be accused of denying his people

people juſtice, contrary to the advice of both houſes of parliament.

It ſeems probable that, in this extremity, ſome one adviſed the king to diſſolve the parliament; at leaſt the commons imagined he had no other expedient left to extricate himſelf from the difficulty he was involved in; and therefore, to deprive him of this refuge, the ſame day, the fourth of May, they ordered the bringing in of a bill for the continuance of the preſent parliament, that it might not be diſſolved without the conſent of both houſes.

Then the king called his privy-council together, and ſent for his lawyers. He laid before them his ſcruples, and the reaſons which ought to prevent him from giving his conſent to the bill: but Juxon, biſhop of London, was the only perſon that ventured to adviſe the king to reject a bill preſented to him by both houſes. All the reſt did their utmoſt to perſuade him to ſatisfy his people, alledging that the life of any perſon ought not to be put in the ballance with the ſafety of the kingdom. With regard to his ſcruples, they told him, that he might conſult his biſhops, who would give him the beſt advice.

The king, not meeting with the ſatisfaction he expected from his council, ſent for ſome biſhops to adviſe with. It is affirmed, that Neile, archbiſhop of York, ſaid to him upon this occaſion, that there was a private and a public conſcience; that his public conſcience,

as a king, might not only dispense with, but oblige, him to do that which was against his private conscience as a man; and so, in plain terms, advised him, even for conscience sake, to pass the act.

What helped the most, however, to determine Charles, was a letter from Strafford himself, who, hearing the straits the king was in, humbly besought him to pass the bill, to remove him out of the way, towards a blessed agreement, which he doubted not God would for ever establish between him and his subjects: adding, that his consent would more acquit his majesty to God than all the world could do besides. To a willing man there is no injury. At least, the king, no longer able to withstand the pressing instances of the parliament, and his own counsellors, or, rather, the fear of the calamities he foresaw might befal him and his posterity, if he refused to consent to the bill, signed a commission to three lords to pass it in his name.

But, notwithstanding the earl of Strafford's letter, when the king sent secretary Carleton to him, to acquaint him with what was done, and the motives of it, the earl seriously asked the secretary, whether his majesty had passed the bill or not; as not believing, without some astonishment, that the king would have done it: and, being again assured that it was passed, he rose from his chair, lifted up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand on his heart, and said, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in any

of

of the ſons of men, for there is no help in them."

On Wedneſday, the twelfth of May, 1641, being come to the place of execution, he mounted the ſcaffold, made his obeiſances, and began to take his laſt farewel of his friends, who appeared much more concerned than himſelf. Obſerving his brother, Sir George Wentworth, to weep exceſſively, "Brother," ſaid he, with a chearful briſkneſs, "What do you ſee in me to deſerve theſe tears? Doth any indecent fear betray in me a guilt, or my innocent boldneſs any atheiſm? Think now that you are accompanying me the third time to my marriage-bed: never did I throw off my cloaths with greater freedom and content than in this preparation to my grave. That ſtock," pointing to the block, "muſt be my pillow; here ſhall I reſt from all my labours; no thoughts of envy, no dreams of treaſon, jealouſies or cares for the king, the ſtate, or myſelf, ſhall interrupt this eaſy ſleep: therefore, brother, with me, pity thoſe who, beſides their intention, have made me happy; rejoice in my happineſs, rejoice in my innocence."

Then kneeling down, he made this proteſtation: "I hope, gentlemen, you do think, that neither the fear of loſs, nor love of reputation, will ſuffer me to belye God and my own conſcience at this time. I am now in the very door, going out, and my next ſtep muſt be from time to eternity either of peace or pain.

To clear myſelf before you all, I do here ſolemnly call God to witneſs, I am not guilty, ſo far as I can underſtand, of the great crime laid to my charge; nor have ever had the leaſt inclination or intention to damnify or prejudice the king, the ſtate, the laws, or the religion, of this kingdom; but, with my beſt endeavours, to ſerve all, and to ſupport all; ſo may God be merciful to my ſoul."

Then riſing up, he ſaid he deſired to ſpeak ſomething to the people, but was afraid he ſhould be heard but by few, in regard of the noiſe; but having firſt fitted himſelf to the block, and riſing again, he thus addreſſed himſelf to the ſpectators.

"My lord-primate of Ireland, and my lords, and the reſt of theſe noble gentlemen: it is a great comfort to me to have your lordſhips by me this day, becauſe I have been known to you a long time; and I now deſire to be heard a few words. I come here by the good will and pleaſure of almighty God, to pay that laſt debt I owe to ſin, which is death; and, by the bleſſing of that God, to riſe again, thro' the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, to righteouſneſs and life eternal." Here he was a little interrupted.

"My lords, I am come hither to ſubmit to that judgment which hath paſſed againſt me, I do it with a very quiet and contented mind; I thank God I do freely forgive all the world; a forgiveneſs that is not ſpoken from the teeth outward, as they ſay, but from the very heart:

I ſpeak

I ſpeak it in the preſence of almighty God, before whom I ſtand, that there is not a diſpleaſing thought ariſing in me towards any man living. I thank God I can ſay it, and truly too, my conſcience bearing me witneſs, that, in all my employments, ſince I had the honour to ſerve his majeſty, I never had any thing in the purpoſe of my heart, but what tended to the joint and individual proſperity of king and people, although it hath been my ill fortune to be miſconſtrued.

"I am not the firſt that hath ſuffered in this kind; it is the common portion of us all, while we are in this life, to err; righteous judgment we muſt wait for in another place, for here we are very ſubject to be misjudged one of another. There is one thing that I deſire to free myſelf of, and I am very confident," ſpeaking it now with much chearfulneſs, "that I ſhall obtain your chriſtian charity in the belief of it. I was ſo far from being againſt parliaments, that I did always think the parliaments of England were the moſt happy conſtitutions that any kingdom or nation lived under, and the beſt means, under God, to make the king and people happy.

"For my death, I here acquit all the world, and beſeech the God of heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though, in the intentions and purpoſes of my heart, I am not guilty of what I die for: and, my lord-primate, it is a great comfort for me, that his

majesty conceives me not meriting so severe and heavy a punishment as is the utmost execution of this sentence. I do infinitely rejoice in this mercy of his, and I beseech God to return it into his own bosom, that he may find mercy when he stands most in need of it.

"I wish this kingdom all the prosperity and happiness in the world; I did it living, and now dying it is my wish. I do most humbly recommend this to every one who hears me, and desire they would lay their hands upon their hearts, and consider seriously, whether the beginning of the happiness and reformation of a kingdom should be written in letters of blood. Consider this when you are at your homes, and let me be never so unhappy, as that the least drop of my blood should rise up in judgment against any one of you; but I fear you are in a wrong way.

"My lords, I have but one word more, and with that I shall end. I profess that I die a true and obedient son to the church of England, wherein I was born, and in which I was bred. Peace and prosperity be ever to it.

"It hath been objected (if it were an objection worth the answering) that I have been inclined to popery; but I say truly from my heart, that, from the time that I was one and twenty years of age, to this present, going

now

now upon forty-nine. I never had in my heart to doubt of this religion of the church of England; nor ever had any man the boldness to suggest any such thing to me to the best of my remembrance: and so, being reconciled by the merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, into whose bosom I hope I shall shortly be gathered, to those eternal happinesses which shall never have end. I desire heartily the forgiveness of every man for any rash or unadvised words, or any thing done amiss: and so, my lords and gentlemen, farewel; farewel all things of this world.

"I desire that you would be silent, and join with me in prayer; and, I trust in God, we shall all meet and live eternally in Heaven; there to receive the accomplishment of all happiness; where every tear shall be wiped away from our eyes, and every sad thought from our hearts: and so God bless this kingdom, and Jesus have mercy on my soul."

Then turning himself about, he saluted all the noblemen, and took a solemn leave of all considerable persons upon the scaffold, giving them his hand. After that, he said, gentlement, I would say my prayers, and entreat you all to pray with me, and for me; then his chaplain laid the book of common-prayer upon the chair before him as he kneeled down, on which he prayed almost a quarter of an hour, and then as long, or longer, without the book, and concluded with the Lord's prayer.

Standing up, he espied his brother, Sir George Wentworth, and called to him, saying, "brother, we must part; remember me to my sister, and to my wife, and carry my blessing to my son, and charge him that he fear God, and continue an obedient son to the church of England, and warn him that he bear no private grudge, or revenge, toward any man concerning me; and bid him beware that he meddle not with church-livings, for that will prove a moth and a canker to him in his estate; and wish him to content himself to be a servant to his country, not aiming at higher preferments. Carry my blessing also to my daughters, Anne and Arabella, charge them to serve and fear God, and he will bless them; not forgetting my little infant, who yet knows neither good nor evil, and cannot speak for itself; God speak for it and bless it. Now," said he, "I have nigh done; one stroke will make my wife husbandless, my dear children fatherless, and my poor servants masterless, and will separate me from my dear brother, and all my friends; but let God be to you and them all in all."

After this going to take off his doublet, and to make himself ready, he said, "I thank God I am not afraid of death, nor daunted with any discouragement rising from any fears, but do as chearfully put off my doublet at this time, as ever I did when I went to bed; then

then he put off his doublet, wound up his hair with his hands, and put on a white cap.

Then he called, Where is the man that is to do this laſt office? (meaning the executioner) call him to me; when he came and aſked him forgiveneſs, he told him, he forgave him and all the world. Then kneeling down by the block, he went to prayer again himſelf, the primate of Ireland kneeling on the one ſide, and the miniſter on the other: to the which miniſter, after prayer, he turned himſelf, and ſpake ſome few words ſoftly, having his hands lifted up, and cloſed with the miniſter's hands. Then bowing himſelf to lay his head upon the block, he told the executioner, That he would firſt lay down his head to try the fitneſs of the block, and take it up again, before he would lay it down for good and all; and ſo he did: and before he laid it down again, he told the executioner, That he would give him warning when to ſtrike, by ſtretching forth his hands; and preſently laying down his neck upon the block, and ſtretching forth his hands; the executioner ſtruck off his head at one blow; and taking it up in his hand, ſhewed it to all the people, and ſaid, "God ſave the King."

His body was afterwards embalmed, and appointed to be carried into Yorkſhire, there to be buried amongſt his anceſtors.

Lord Clarendon, ſpeaking of the earl of Strafford, gives him the following character.

He was, ſays he, a man of too high and ſevere a deportment, and too great a contemner of ceremony to have many friends at court, and therefore could not but have enemies enough. He was a perſon of great parts, and extraordinary endowments of nature, not unadorned with ſome addition of art and learning, though that again was more improved and illuſtrated by the other; for he had a readineſs of conception, and ſharpneſs of expreſſion, which made his learning thought more than, in truth, it was. His firſt inclinations and addreſſes to the court were only to eſtabliſh his greatneſs in the country, where he apprehended ſome acts of power from the lord Saville, who had been his rival always there, and of late had ſtrengthened himſelf by being made a privy-counſellor and officer at court: but his firſt attempts were ſo proſperous, that he contented not himſelf with being ſecure from that lord's power in the country, but reſted not till he had bereaved his adverſary of all power and place in court, and ſo ſent him down a moſt abject, diſconſolate old man, to his country, where he was to have the ſuperintendency over him too, by getting himſelf, at this time, made lord-preſident of the North: These ſucceſſes, applied to a nature too elate and haughty of itſelf, and a quicker progreſs into the greateſt employments and truſt than uſual, made him more tranſported with diſdain of other men, and more contemning the

forms

ſerms of buſineſs, than haply he would, if he had met with ſome interruptions in the beginning, and had paſſed in a more leiſurely gradation to the office of a ſtateſman. He was a perſon of great obſervation, and a piercing judgment, both in things and perſons; but his too good ſkill in perſons, made him judge the worſe of things, for it was his misfortune to be in a time when very few wiſe men were equally employed with him; and ſcarce any but the lord Coventry (whoſe truſt was more confined) whoſe faculties and abilities were equal to his: ſo that upon the matter he relied wholly upon himſelf; and diſcerning many defects in moſt men, he too much neglected what they ſaid or did. Of all his paſſions his pride was the moſt predominant, which a moderate exerciſe of ill fortune might have corrected and reformed; and which was, by the hand of heaven, ſtrangely puniſhed, by bringing his deſtruction upon him by two things, which he moſt deſpiſed, the People, and Sir Harry Vane. In a word, the epitaph which Plutarch records, that Sylla wrote for himſelf, may not be unfitly applied to him: "That no man ever did exceed him, either in doing good to his friends, or in doing miſchief to his enemies," for his acts of both kinds were moſt notorious.

APPENDIX.

An ACCOUNT of The Philosophical Works of LORD BACON.

I. THE First Part of Essays, or Counsels, Civil and Moral: an admirable work; in which our author instructs men in the most useful principles of wisdom and prudence, and teaches how to acquire what are esteemed the greatest blessings, and how to avoid the evils which are most dreaded in the conduct of human life. His penetration, exactness, and perfect skill in all the offices of civil life, appeared to great advantage in this performance; which, as our author himself was sensible, proved

proved of great ſervice to his character, and promoted the high eſteem that was already conceived of his parts and learning.

The reaſon why Mr. Bacon publiſhed theſe eſſays at this time, is aſſigned in his dedication of them to his brother Mr. Anthony Bacon; which was, that many of them had ſtolen abroad in writing, and were very likely to come into the world, in print, with more imperfections than the author thought it juſt to take upon himſelf.

About ſixteen years afterwards, he had thoughts of publiſhing a new edition of them, which he intended to dedicate to prince Henry; and in his dedication he inſerted a very clear and candid account of the book.

"To write juſt treatiſes," ſays he, "requires leiſure in the writer, and leiſure in the reader; and therefore are not ſo fit either in your highneſs's princely affairs, or in regard of my continual ſervice; which is the cauſe that hath made me chuſe to write certain brief notes, ſet down rather ſignificantly than curiouſly, which I have called Eſſays. The word is late, but the thing is antient; for Seneca's epiſtles to Lucilius, if you mark them well, are but eſſays; that is, diſperſed meditations, though conveyed in the form of epiſtles. Theſe labours of mine, I know, cannot be worthy of your highneſs; for what can be worthy of you! But my hope is, they may be as grains of ſalt, that will rather give you an appetite than offend you with ſatiety: and, although

although they handle those things, wherein both mens lives and their persons are most conversant, yet what I have attained I know not; but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar, but of a nature whereof a man shall find much in experience and little in books; so as they are neither repetitions nor fancies."

Sir Francis Bacon designed to have prefixed this epistle to his essays, printed in the year 1612; but was prevented by the prince's death. Yet it was so well liked by Mr. Matthew, that he inserted it in his declaration to the duke of Tuscany, before his translation of those essays printed in 1618. This second edition, when published, the author addressed to Sir John Constable, his brother-in-law. He afterwards sent them abroad, revised and enlarged in Latin and English, dedicating them in both languages to the duke of Buckingham; in which dedication he tells his grace, that he thought it agreeable to his affection and obligations to prefix his name before them, because he conceived they might last as long as books last.

There are other places in our author's writings, in which these essays are mentioned, and in which he expresses a particular sense of their usefulness to mankind; and redounding as much or more to his honour than those large and extensive works which had cost him much greater pains and labour; in which he certainly was not mistaken.

II. The

II. The two books of Francis Bacon, Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Human; to the king. We have a large and excellent account of this work given us by the learned Dr. Tenison, who, speaking of the great instauration of the sciences, which our author divided into six parts, proceeds thus, "The first part proposed was, the partition of the sciences; and this the author perfected in that golden treatise, Of the Advancement of Learning, addressed to king James; a labour which he termed a comfort to his other labours. This he first wrote in two books in the English tongue; in which his pen excelled: and of this first edition, that is to be meant which, with some truth, and more modesty, he wrote to the earl of Salisbury, telling him, That, in his book, he was contented to awake better spirits, being himself like a bell-ringer, who is first up to call others to church.

"Afterwards he enlarged those two discourses, which contained especially the aforesaid partition, and divided the matter of it into eight books; and, knowing that this work was desired beyond the seas; and being also aware, that books written in a modern language, which receiveth much change, in a few years were out of use; he caused that part of it which he had written in English, to be translated into the Latin tongue by Mr. Herbert, and some others, who were esteemed masters in the Roman eloquence. Notwithstanding

ſtanding which, he ſo ſuited the ſtile to his conceptions, by a ſtrict caſtigation of the whole work, that it may deſervedly ſeem his own.

The tranſlation of this work, that is, of much of the two books written by him in Engliſh, he firſt commended to Dr Playſer, a profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Cambridge; uſing, among others, theſe words to him:

'The privateneſs of the language conſidered, wherein the book is written, excluding ſo many readers; as, on the other ſide, the obſcurity of the argument in many parts of it, excludeth many others; I muſt account it a ſecond birth of that work, if it might be tranſlated into Latin, without manifeſt loſs of the ſenſe and matter: for this purpoſe, I could not repreſent to myſelf any man, into whoſe hands I do more earneſtly deſire the work ſhould fall than yourſelf; for by that I have heard and read, I know no man a greater maſter in commanding words to ſerve matter.'

"The doctor was willing to ſerve ſo excellent a perſon, and ſo worthy a deſign; and, within a while, ſent him a ſpecimen of a Latin tranſlation. But men generally come ſhort of themſelves when they ſtrive to outdo themſelves; they put a force upon their natural genius, and, by a ſtraining of it, crack and diſable it; and ſo it ſeems it happened to that worthy and elegant man upon this great occaſion; he would be over accurate; and he

he ſent a ſpecimen of ſuch ſuperfine Latinity, that the lord Bacon did not encourage him to labour further in that work; in the penning of which, he deſired not ſo much neat and polite, as clear, maſculine, and apt expreſſion.

"The whole of this book was rendered into Engliſh by Dr. Gilbert Wats of Oxford, and the tranſlation has been well received by many, but ſome there were who wiſhed, that a tranſlation had been ſet forth, in which the genius and ſpirit of the lord Bacon had more appeared; and I have ſeen a letter, written by a certain gentleman to Dr. Rawley, wherein they thus importune him for a more accurate verſion by his own hand:

'It is our humble ſuit to you, and we do earneſtly ſollicit you, to give yourſelf the trouble to correct the too much defective tranſlation of De Augmentis Scientiarium; which Dr. Wats hath ſet forth. It is a thouſand pities ſo worthy a piece ſhould loſe its grace and credit by an ill expoſitor; ſince thoſe perſons who read that tranſlation, taking it for genuine, and upon that preſumption not regarding the Latin edition, are thereby robbed of the benefit; which, if you would pleaſe to undertake the buſineſs, they would receive.' This tendeth to the diſhonour of that noble lord, and the hindrance of the advancement of learning.

"This work hath been alſo tranſlated into French, upon the motion of the marquis Fiat; but

but in it there are many things wholly omitted, many things perfectly mistaken, and some things, especially such as relate to religion, wilfully perverted; insomuch that, in one place, he makes his lordship to magnify the Legend; a book sure of little credit with him, when he thus begins one of his essays: 'I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than, that this universal frame is without a mind.'

"The fairest and most correct edition of this book in Latin, is that in folio, printed at London, anno 1623; and whosoever would understand the lord Bacon's cypher, let him consult that accurate edition; for, in some other editions which I have perused, the form of the letters of the alphabet, in which much of the mystery consisteth, is not observed; but the Roman and Italic shapes of them are confounded.

"To this book we may reduce the first four chapters of that imperfect treatise, published in Latin by Isaac Gruter, and called, The Description of the Intellectual Globe: they being but a rude draught of the partition of the sciences, so accurately and methodically disposed in the book Of the Advancement of Learning. To this also we may reduce the treatise called Thema Cœli, published likewise in Latin by Gruter; and it particularly belongeth to the fourth chapter and the third book of it, us being a discourse tending to an improvement of the system of the heavens; which

which is treated of in that place; the houſes of which, had God granted him life, he would have underſtood as well almoſt as he did his own.

"For the ſame reaſon, we may reduce to the ſame place Of the Advancement, the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh chapter of the Deſcriptio Globi Intellectualis, above mentioned."

III. Cogitata & Viſa; containing the ground-work, or plan, of his famous Novum Organum; ſo eſſential a part of his Inſtauration that it ſometimes bears that title. He was ſenſible of the difficulties that would attend his great deſign of building up the whole palace of wiſdom anew; and, that he might be the better able to overcome thoſe difficulties, he was deſirous of ſeeing what they were, before he undertook his large work; of which this piece was no more than the out-lines.

We may form a true notion of what he ſought, by conſidering the letter which he wrote to the learned biſhop Andrews, when he ſent him the diſcourſe of which we are ſpeaking.

"Now your lordſhip hath been ſo long in the church and the palace, diſputing between kings and popes, methinks you ſhould take pleaſure to look into the field, and refreſh your mind with ſome matter of philoſophy, though the ſcience be now, through age, waxed a child again, and left to boys and young men; and becauſe you were wont to make me believe you took a liking to my writings,

writings, I ſend you ſome of this vacation's fruits, and thus much more of my mind and purpoſe. I haſten not to publiſh; periſhing I would prevent; and I am forced to reſpect as well my times as the matter; for with me it is thus, and I think with all men in my caſe. If I bind myſelf to an argument, it loadeth my mind; but, if I rid my mind of the preſent cogitation, it is rather a recreation. This hath put me into theſe Miſcellanies, which I purpoſe to ſuppreſs, if God give me leave to write a juſt and perfect volume of Philoſophy, which I go on with, though ſlowly. I ſend not your lordſhip too much, leſt it may glut you.

"Now let me tell you what my deſire is. If your lordſhip be ſo good now, as when you were the good dean of Weſtminſter, my requeſt to you is, that, not by pricks, but by notes, you will make known unto me whatſoever ſhall ſeem unto you either not current in the ſtile, or harſh to credit and opinion, or inconvenient for the perſon of the writer; for no man can be judge and party: and, when our minds judge by reflection of ourſelves, they are more ſubject to error: and, though, for the matter itſelf, my judgment be in ſome things fixed, and not acceſſible by any man's judgment that goeth not my way; yet, even in thoſe things, the admonition of a friend may make me expreſs myſelf diverſly."

He likewiſe recommended, with the ſame view, the peruſal of the Cogitata & Viſa to

Sir

Sir Thomas Bodley, who wrote him a very full answer; which, together with the piece itself, is printed amongst the Latin works of our author.

There is also, in the last collection of Mr. Stephens, a small discourse in English, under the Latin title of Filum Labyrinthi; sive Formula Inquisitionis, ad Filios. Pars Prima. This we plainly see was the original of the Cogitata & Visa, and the first draught of our author's first plan. Of this very short treatise, the three first paragraphs, which may serve as a specimen of the whole, run thus.

"Francis Bacon thought in this manner, the knowledge whereof the world is now possessed, especially that of nature, extendeth not to magnitude and certainty of works, the physician pronounces many diseases incurable, and faileth oft in the rest: the alchymists wax old and die in hopes: the magicians perform nothing that is permanent and profitable: the mechanics take small lights from natural philosophy, and do but spin out their own little threads: Chance sometimes discovereth inventions, but that worketh not in years but ages; so he saw well that the inventions known are very imperfect; and that new are not like to be brought to light but in great length of time; and that those are come not to light by philosophy.

"He thought also this state of knowledge was the worse, because men strive, against them-

themſelves, to ſave the credit of ignorance, and ſo ſatisfy themſelves in this poverty: for the phyſician, beſides the cauteles of practice, hath this general cautele of art; that he diſcharges the weakneſs of his art upon ſuppoſed impoſſibilities; neither can his art be condemned when itſelf judgeth. That philoſophy alſo, out of which the knowledge of phyſic which now is in uſe is hewed, receiveth certain poſitions and opinions, which, if they be well weighed, induce this perſuaſion, that no great works are to be expected from art and the hand of man; as, in particular, that opinion that the heat of the ſun and fire differ in kind; and that other, in compoſition is the work of man, and mixture is the work of nature; and the like; all tending to the circumſcription of man's power, and to artificial deſpair; killing in men not only the comfort of imagination, but the induſtry of trial; only upon vain glory, to have their art thought perfect, and that all is impoſſible that is not already found. The alchymiſt diſcharges his art upon his own errors; either ſuppoſing a miſunderſtanding of the words of his authors, which maketh him liſten after auricular traditions, or elſe a failing in the true proportions and ſcruples of practice, which maketh him renew infinitely his trials; and finding alſo that he lighteth upon ſome mean experiments and concluſions by the way, feedeth upon them, and magnifieth them to the moſt,

and

and ſupplieth the reſt in hopes. The magician, when he findeth ſomething, as he conceiveth, above nature effected, thinketh, when a breach is once made in nature, that it is all one to perform great things and ſmall; not ſeeing that they are but ſubjects of a certain kind, wherein magic and ſuperſtition hath played in all times. The mechanical perſon, if he can refine an invention, or put two or three obſervations; or practices, together in one, or couple things better with their uſe, or make the work in leſs or greater volume, taketh himſelf for an inventor. So he ſaw well, that men either perſuade themſelves of new inventions as of impoſſibilities; or elſe think they are already extant but in ſecret and in few hands; or, that they account of thoſe little induſtries and additions, as of inventions; all which turneth to the averting of their minds from any juſt and conſtant labour, to invent further in any quantity.

"He thought, alſo, that, when men did ſet before themſelves the variety and perfection of works produced by mechanical arts, they are apt rather to admire the proviſions of man, than to apprehend his wants; not conſidering that the original inventions and concluſions of nature, which are the life of all that variety, are not many, nor deeply fetched; and that the reſt is but the ſubtle and ruled motion of the inſtrument and hand; and that the ſhop therein is not unlike the library,

brary, which, in ſuch number of books, containeth, for the greater part, nothing but iterations, varied ſometimes in form, but not new in ſubſtance: ſo he ſaw plainly that opinion of ſtore was a cauſe of want; and that both works and doctrines appear many and are few."

We may from hence conceive the manner in which this piece was written, and how well it was ſuited to ſerve the author's purpoſe of ſo far manifeſting his own deſign, as to obtain a tolerable account of the ſtrongeſt and beſt founded objections which could be brought againſt it, ſo as that, in his larger work, he might either correct his own faults, or ſhew ſuch as were inclined to criticize his performance, theirs.

IV. Of the Wiſdom of the Antients. There have been very few books publiſhed, either in this or in any other nation, which either deſerved or met with more general applauſe than this, and ſcarce any that are like to retain it longer; for, in all this performance, Sir Francis Bacon gave a ſingular proof of his capacity to pleaſe all parties in literature; as, in his political conduct, he ſtood fair with all the parties in the nation. The admirers of antiquity were charmed with this diſcourſe, which ſeems expreſly calculated to juſtify their admiration: and, on the other hand, their oppoſites were no leſs pleaſed with a piece, from which they thought they could demonſtrate, that the ſagacity

gacity of a modern genius had found out much better meanings for the antients than ever were meant by them.

In his introduction to this book, he gives a large and very clear account of the reasons which induced him to believe, that, notwithstanding the seeming absurdities in the fabulous histories of the antients, there was, however, something at the bottom which deserved to be examined into and enquired after. These observations, which are full of very curious learning, he concludes thus:

"But the argument of most weight with me is this; that many of these fables by no means appear to have been invented by the persons who relate and divulge them; whether Homer, Hesiod, or others: for, if I were assured they first flowed from those latter times, and authors that transmit them to us, I should never expect any thing singularly great or noble from such an origin. But whoever attentively considers the thing, will find that these fables are delivered down and related by those writers, not as matters then first invented and proposed, but as things received and embraced in earlier ages: besides, as they are differently related by writers nearly of the same ages, 'tis easily perceived, that the relators drew from the common stock of antient tradition, and varied but in point of embellishment; which is their own; and this principally raises my esteem of these fables; which I receive not as the product of the age, or invention of the

 poets;

poets; but as ſacred relicks, gentle whiſpers, and the breath of better times, that, from the traditions of more antient nations, came at length into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks. But if any one ſhall, notwithſtanding this, contend that allegories are always adventitious, or impoſed upon the antient fables, and no way native, or genuinely contained in them, we might here leave him undiſturbed in that gravity of judgment he affects, though we cannot help accounting it ſomewhat dull and phlegmetic; and, if it were worth the trouble, to proceed to another kind of argument.

"Men have propoſed to anſwer two different and contrary ends by the uſe of parable; for parables ſerve as well to inſtruct and illuſtrate, as to wrap up and envelope; ſo that, though, for the preſent, we drop the concealed uſe, and ſuppoſe the antient fables to be vague, undeterminate things, formed for amuſement, ſtill the other uſe muſt remain and can never be given up: and every man of any learning muſt readily allow, that this method of inſtructing is grave, ſober, and exceedingly uſeful, and ſometimes neceſſary in the ſciences, as it opens an eaſy and familiar paſſage to the human underſtanding in all new diſcoveries, that are abſtruſe, and are out of the road of vulgar opinions.

"Hence, in the firſt ages, when ſuch inventions and concluſions of the human reaſon, as are not trite and common, were new and little

the known, all things abounded with fables, parables, ſimilies, compariſons, and alluſions, which were not intended to conceal, but to inform and teach, whilſt the minds of men continued rude and unpractiſed in matters of ſubtilty or ſpeculation, or even impatient, or in a manner uncapable of receiving ſuch things as did not directly fall under and ſtrike the ſenſes: for, as hieroglyphics were in uſe before writing, ſo were parables in uſe before arguments; and, even to this day, if any man would let new light in upon the human underſtanding, and conquer prejudice, without raiſing conteſts, animoſities, oppoſition, or diſturbance, he muſt ſtill go in the ſame path, and have recourſe to the like method of allegory, metaphor, and alluſion.

"To conclude, the knowledge of the early ages was either great or happy; great, if they by deſign made this uſe of trope and figure; happy, if, whilſt they had other views, they afforded matter and occaſion to ſuch noble contemplations. Let either be the caſe, our pains, perhaps, will not be miſemployed, whether we illuſtrate antiquity, or the things themſelves. The like, indeed, has been attempted by others; but, to ſpeak ingenuouſly, their great and voluminous labours have almoſt deſtroyed the energy, the efficacy, and grace of the thing; whilſt, being unſkilled in nature, and their learning no more than that of common-place, they have applied the ſenſe of

the parables to certain general and vulgar matters, without reaching to their real purport, genuine interpretation, and full depth.

"For myself, therefore, I expect to appear new in these common things, because, leaving untouched such as are sufficiently plain and open, I shall drive only at those that are either deep or rich."

In this admirable work, our author has laid open, with great sagacity and penetration, the secret meaning of the physical, moral, and political fables of antiquity; in doing which, he very wisely and prudently took occasion to throw out many observations of his own; for which he could not have found otherways so fit and favourable an opportunity.

He published this treatise in Latin; in which language he seems to have wrote it; and dedicated it to his cousin, the lord-treasurer Salisbury, and the university of Cambridge. This work has been very often reprinted since, and, except his essays, is, of all his writings, the most generally known and esteemed. Sir Arthur Gorges rendered the whole into English, which is usually added to the author's essays; and it is to this book the great poet, as well as traveller, Mr. George Sandys, doth, in his learned notes on his version of Ovid's Metamorphoses, acknowledge himself to be much indebted, stiling my lord St. Albans the crown of all modern authors.

V. In

V. In 1620, he presented to king James I. his Novum Organum; which, of all his philosophical works, he the most highly valued.

In order to give the reader a just idea of the value and importance of this work, we will first describe the nature of it, and then mention the judgment passed thereon by some of the greatest ornaments of the republic of letters. The design of the Novum Organum was, to execute the second part of the Instauration, by advancing a more perfect method of using the rational faculty than men were before acquainted with; in order to raise and improve the human understanding, as far as its present imperfect state admits; and enable it to conquer and interpret the difficulties and obscurities of nature. With this view it undertakes the care and conduct of the understanding, and draws out and describes the apparatus and instruments of reasoning; whence it appears to endeavour at a new kind of logic, though greatly superior to the common; which, through the abuses crept into it, appears fitter to corrupt than strengthen and improve the mind; for the scope and use of this new logic is not to discover arguments and probable reasons, but arts and works.

It is divided into two principal parts: viz. into a preparatory part, and one that is scientifical and instructive. The first part tends to prepare and purge the mind, and fit it to receive and use the instructions and instruments laid down in the second; the mind, like a

mirror requiring to be levelled and polished, or discharged of its false imaginations and perverted notions, before it can be set to receive and reflect the light of truth and just information: and the levelling part is of four kinds, with respect to the four different sorts of idols, or false notions, that possess the mind. These idols are either acquired or natural; and proceed either from the doctrines and sects of philosophers, the perverted and corrupt laws and methods of demonstration; or else are innate and inherent in the very constitution of the mind itself.

The first labour, therefore, is to discharge and free the mind from its swarms of false theories, which occasion such violent conflicts and oppositions. The next point is to release it from the slavery of perverted demonstrations: and the last is to put a check upon this seduceing power of the mind, and either to pluck up those innate idols by the root, or, if that cannot be done, to point them out, that they may be thoroughly known and watched, and so have the depravities which they occasion corrected. This levelling part, therefore, is performed by three kinds of confutations: viz. the confutation of philosophies, the confutation of demonstrations, and the confutation of the natural unassisted reason.

When thus the mind is rendered equable and unbiassed, the work proceeds to set it in a proper situation; and, as it were, with a benevolent aspect to the remaining instructions; whereby

whereby the buſineſs of preparing the mind is ſtill further carried on; and the whole drift of this enſuing part is only to poſſeſs mankind with a juſt opinion of the whole Inſtauration for a time, that they may wait with patience the iſſue and event thereof, upon ſolid aſſureances of ſome conſiderable benefit and advantage from it when its ſcope ſhall come to be well underſtood; and thence it proceeds diſtinctly to obviate all the objections and falſe ſuſpicions which may be raiſed about it, through the prevailing notions and prejudices drawn from religious conſiderations, thoſe of abſtract ſpeculation, natural prudence, diſtruſt, levity, &c. thus endeavouring to pacify and allay every wind of oppoſition.

To render this preparation ſtill more compleat and perfect, the next thing is, to raiſe the mind from the languor and torpidity it may contract from the apparent miraculous nature of the thing; and, as this wrong diſpoſition of the mind cannot be rectified without the diſcovery of cauſes, the work proceeds to mark out all the impediments which have hitherto perverſly retarded and blocked the way of true philoſophy; and thus makes it appear no wonder at all that mankind ſhould have been ſo long entangled and perplexed with errors.

When the ways of removing theſe impediments are ſhewn, there follows a chain of arguments for eſtabliſhing a ſolid foundation of

hope, for the better ſucceſs of genuine and and ſerviceable philoſophy in future; for it is hereby demonſtrated, that, though the interpretation of nature intended by the Inſtauration may indeed be difficult, yet much the greater parts of the difficulties attending it are in the power of man to remove; as ariſing, not from the nature of the ſenſes and things themſelves, but only require that the mind be rectified, in order to their removal: and this firſt general part concludes with an account of the excellence of the end in view.

The preparatory part being thus diſpatched, the work proceeds to the buſineſs of information, the perfecting of the underſtanding, and the delivery of the art of working with this new machine in the interpretation of nature. This is laid down in three ſeveral branches, with regard to the ſenſe, the memory, and the reaſon; each whereof is aſſiſted in its turn.

This work he addreſſed to his majeſty, who, in his letter dated October 16, 1620, tells him, that he could not have made him a more acceptable preſent; and, that, for his part, he could not expreſs his thanks better, than by informing him of the reſolution he had taken to read it through with care and attention, though he ſhould ſteal ſome hours from his ſleep, having otherwiſe as little ſpare time to read as his lordſhip had to write it; with many other gracious expreſſions which fully demonſtrate

monſtrate how much the chancellor was in the king's good graces, and how high an eſteem he had for his parts and learning.

The famous Sir Henry Wotton, to whom his lordſhip ſent three copies of this book, wrote him a large letter of praiſe in return; which, as we have no room for compliments, we ſhall omit. He received the like tribute of commendation from ſuch as were the moſt learned, or ſo affected to be thought, in this and in the neighbouring nations; yet, after all, this performance was rather praiſed than read, and more generally applauded than underſtood. This produced a kind of latent cenſure, a ſort of owl like criticiſm, that durſt not abide day-light. Honeſt Ben. Johnſon produced this to the world a little after our author's death; when he very generouſly, as well as judiciouſly, gave this character of the Novum Organum: That, though, by moſt ſuperficial men, who cannot get beyond the title of Nominals, it is not penetrated or underſtood, really openeth all defects of learning whatſoever, and is a book,

Qui longum noto ſcriptori prorogat ævum.

To lateſt times ſhall hand the author's name.

We need not wonder at this, when we conſider the pains it coſt the noble Verulam: for Dr. Rawley aſſures us, that he had ſeen twelve copies reviſed, altered, and corrected, year by

year, before it was reduced into the form in which it was published. We must however allow that it is not absolutely perfect, as appears from what a most ingenious and judicious writer has delivered upon it, with that modesty, circumspection, and good sense, which is discernible in all his writings. The person I mean, is the late learned and excellent Mr. Baker, of St. John's college in Cambridge; who allows that my lord Bacon saw clearer into the defects of the art of reasoning than most men did; and, being neither satisfied with the vulgar logic, nor with the reformations that were made, suitable to his vast and enterprising genius, attempted a logic wholly new and plain, which is laid down in his Novum Organum.

"The way of syllogising," says he, "seemed to him very fallacious, and too dependent upon words to be much relied on; his search was after things; and therefore he brought in a new way of arguing from induction, and that grounded upon observations and experiments." But the same gentleman observes, That "this plan, as laid by him, looks liker an universal art than a distinct logic; and the design is too great, and the induction too large, to be made by one man, or any society of men in one age, if at all practicable; for, whatever opinion he might have of the conclusiveness of this way, one cross circumstance in an experiment would as easily overthrow his induction, as an ambiguous word

word would diſorder a ſyllogiſm; and a man needs only make a trial in any part of natural hiſtory, as left us by my lord Bacon, to ſee how concluſive his induction was like to have been. To ſay nothing, that, notwithſtanding his blaming the common logics, as being too much ſpent in words, himſelf runs into the fault he condemns; for what elſe can we make of his Idola Tribus, Idola Specus, Fori, Theatri; or of his Inſtantiæ Solitariæ, Migrantes, Oſtenſivæ, Clandeſtinæ, Conſtitutivæ, &c. but fine words put to expreſs very common and ordinary things?

"After the way of free-thinking had been laid open by my lord Bacon, it was ſoon after greedily followed; for the underſtanding affects freedom as well as the will, and men will purſue liberty though it ends in confuſion."

There is certainly a great deal of truth in what Mr. Baker ſays, with regard to the conſequences of lord Verulam's philoſophy, and the manner in which it has been proſecuted; but ſurely this ought not to be imputed to him, who, if I underſtand him at all, was, of all philoſophical writers, the leaſt addicted to free-thinking. Of this opinion is the famous Morhof, who beſtows the higheſt praiſes on the work of which we are now ſpeaking; making no ſcruple to declare, that he had found but very little in the books ſince written by Engliſhmen, the grounds of which he had not long before met with in Bacon; the extent of whoſe genius ſtruck him with admiration,

as it must do every man who takes the pains to understand him; because, though this new logic of his be very difficult, and requires much study and application to master it, yet it leads to the knowledge of things, and not of words.

Mr. Voltaire, in his letters concerning the English nation, remarks, That the best, and most singular, of all his pieces, is that which is most useless and least read. "I mean," says our author, "his Novum Scientiarium Organum. This is the scaffold with which the new philosophy was raised; and, when the edifice was built, part of it at least, the scaffold was no longer of service. The lord Bacon was not yet acquainted with nature, but then he knew, and pointed out the several paths that led to it. He had despised, in his younger years, the thing called philosophy in the universities; and did all that lay in his power to prevent those societies of men, instituted to improve human reason, from depraving it by their quiddities, their horrors of vacuum, their substantial forms, and all those impertinent terms, which not only ignorance had rendered venerable, but which had been made sacred by there being ridiculously blended with religion."

There cannot be any thing more honourable for the memory of this great person, than the testimony of the writer before-mentioned, who, it is certain, has not shewn too great a readiness to praise or commend any body, and much

less

leſs the Engliſh authors, whom, except Newton, he ſeems to applaud with reluctance. There is, however, one thing in his judgment of this work, which deſerves to be particularly conſidered: and that is, his compariſon of it to a ſcaffold; which, it cannot be denied, is, at once, very juſt and very ſignificant; but then it is not very eaſy to know, what this great critic means by repreſenting it as uſeleſs, and aſſigning that as a reaſon why this treatiſe is now ſo little read or underſtood. The very contrary of this ſeems to be the fact: the new philoſophy ſtands like a vaſt magnificent palace, in ſome places half finiſhed, in others the walls carried up to a moderate height; in ſome, juſt raiſed above the ground; in others, hardly marked out. What reaſon, therefore, for taking away the ſcaffold? Or, rather, What reaſon to expect the work ſhould ever be finiſhed, at leaſt thoroughly and regularly, if the ſcaffold be taken away?

The truth of the matter is, that ſeveral who have wrought upon this noble ſtructure ſince, have erected ſcaffolds for their own uſe, of their own contrivance; and, when they have, in ſome meaſure, finiſhed the part they were about, taken them away, and concealed from the eye of the public their manner of working. Others again have attempted to raiſe ſcaffolds from the lights received from our author; and, ſo far as they have copied them, have done this with great ſucceſs.

But

But lord Verulam's was a more noble design: he knew that the life of one man could not suffice for the finishing, even a small part of this stately edifice; and therefore he spent so many years in constructing this scaffold, which might have served for perfecting and compleating the whole work, if others had been as diligent in pursuing his plan, as he was studious and careful, in rendering it every way fit for the use which he designed.

This is the true account, and the only true one, of the Novum Organum; and one may safely venture to assert, That, if his design had been pursued with that steadiness which it deserved, the new philosophy had been by this time, not only more perfect than it is, but more perfect than it is ever like to be, unless the learned at last discern their error in this respect, and are content to make use of the helps he has left them; which, the more they are considered, the more they are tried, will be found more adequate to the great design of their author, than well can be imagined.

Lord

Lord BACON's Character.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH, that true judge of men and things, of ages paſt and preſent, diſcourſing of the great men of his time, ſaid,

The earl of Saliſbury was an excellent ſpeaker, but no good penman; that lord Henry Howard was an excellent penman, but no good ſpeaker; Sir Francis Bacon alike eminent in both.

The judicious and penetrating Ben. Johnſon thought, that Engliſh eloquence aſcended till the time of the viſcount St. Albans, and from thence went backward and declined. He who was not too apt to praiſe, was profuſe in praiſes of Bacon, cloſing them with theſe admirable reflections:

"My conceit of his perſon was never encreaſed toward him by his place or honours; but I have and do reverence him for the greatneſs that was only proper to himſelf, in that he ſeemed to me ever, by his works, one of the greateſt men, and moſt worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adverſity, I ever prayed that God would give him ſtrength, for greatneſs he could not want; neither could I condole in a word or ſyllable for him, as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifeſt."

Archbiſhop

Archbiſhop Williams, to whoſe care the viſcount St. Albans, committed his orations and epiſtles, expreſſed his ſenſe of that confidence repoſed in him in theſe words:

"Your lordſhip doth moſt worthily, therefore, in preſerving theſe two pieces amongſt the reſt of thoſe matchleſs monuments you ſhall leave behind you: conſidering, that, as one age hath not bred your experience, ſo is it not fit it ſhould be confined to one age, and not imparted to the times to come; for my part therein, I do embrace the honour with all thankfulneſs, and the truſt impoſed upon me, with all religion and devotion."

The famous Sir Henry Wotton, on receiving from him the Novum Organum, wrote thus in return:

"Your lordſhip hath done a great and everlaſting benefit to all the children of nature, and to nature herſelf in her utmoſt extent of latitude, who never before had ſo noble nor ſo true an interpreter, or (as I am readier to ſtile your lordſhip) never ſo inward a ſecretary of her cabinet."

But one of the nobleſt, and perhaps the moſt noble, teſtimony in honour of his great abilities, was the letter written to him, not long after his fall, by the univerſity of Oxford, on their receiving from him his book De Augmentis Scientiarum, the firſt paragraph only of which ſhall be here tranſcribed.

"Right honourable, and (what, in nobility, is almoſt a miracle) moſt learned viſcount!

count! Your honour could have given nothing more agreeable, and the university could have received nothing more acceptable, than the Sciences; and those sciences which she formerly sent forth poor, of low stature, unpolished, she hath received elegant, tall, and, by the supplies of your wit, by which alone they could have been advanced, most rich in dowry. She esteemeth it an extraordinary favour to have a return, with usury made of that by a stranger (if so near a relation may be called a stranger) which she bestows as a patrimony upon her children; and she readily acknowledgeth, that, though the muses are born in Oxford, they grow elsewhere; grown they are, and under your pen; who, like some mighty Hercules in learning, have, by your own hand, further advanced those pillars in the learned world, which, by the rest of that world, were supposed immoveable."

Dr. Peter Heylin, who was thought, in his time, a great judge of men, things, and books, represents the viscount St. Albans as a man of a strong brain, and capable of the highest performances, more especially of framing a body of perfect philosophy.

"Pity it was," said he, "he was not entertained with some liberal salary, abstracted from all affairs both of court and judicature, and furnished with sufficiency both of means and helps for the going on in his designs; which, had it been, he might have given us such

ſuch a body of natural philoſophy, and made it ſo ſubſervient to the public good, that neither Ariſtotle, nor Theophraſtus, amongſt the ancients; nor Paracelſus, or the reſt of our later chymiſts, would have been conſiderable."

We ſhall add to theſe authorities but two more from the learned of our own nation; but they are ſuch as might alone have ſecured immortality to any author they had commended. The firſt of theſe was Mr. Addiſon; who, in one of the Tatlers, in which he vindicates the Chriſtian religion, by ſhewing that the wiſeſt and ableſt men in all ages, have profeſſed themſelves believers, ſpeaks of our author thus:

"I ſhall in this paper only inſtance Sir Francis Bacon, a man who, for the greatneſs of his genius, and compaſs of knowledge, did honour to his age and country, I could almoſt ſay to human nature itſelf. He poſſeſſed, at once, all thoſe extraordinary talents which were divided amongſt the greateſt authors of antiquity: he had the ſound, diſtinct, comprehenſive knowledge of Ariſtotle; with all the beautiful lights, graces, and embelliſhments, of Cicero: one does not know which to admire moſt in his writings; the ſtrength of reaſon, force of ſtile, or brightneſs of imagination. This author has remarked, in ſeveral parts of his works, that a thorough inſight into philoſophy makes a good believer;

and

and, that a ſmattering in it, naturally produces ſuch a race of deſpicable infidels, as the little profligate writers of the preſent age, whom, I muſt confeſs, I have always accuſed to myſelf, not ſo much for their want of faith as for their want of learning. I was infinitely pleaſed to find, among the works of this extraordinary man, a prayer of his own compoſing; which, for the elevation of thought, and greatneſs of expreſſion, ſeems rather the devotion of an angel than of a man. His principal fault ſeems to have been the exceſs of that virtue which covers a multitude of faults; this betrayed him to ſo great an indulgence towards his ſervants, who made ſuch a corrupt uſe of it, that it ſtripped him of all thoſe riches and honours which a long ſeries of merits had heaped upon him."

The ſecond is that ſhort character of his writings given us by the pen of the moſt noble John Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamſhire, who aſſerts, That all his works are, for expreſſion, as well as thought, the glory of our nation and of all latter ages.

The laſt authority we ſhall cite on this ſubject, ſhall be Mr. Voltaire, who very juſtly ſtiles him the father of experimental philoſophy; and enters into abundance of very judicious reflections on his diſcoveries and writings; owning, at the ſame time, that what ſurprized him moſt, was, to find the doctrine of attraction, which is looked upon as the foundation

foundation of another philoſophy, expreſly ſet down in lord Bacon's, in words not to be controverted or miſtaken.

We ſhall not take upon us to decide how far this may be juſt or not; but leave it to the ſearch of the learned and ingenious reader. Only give us leave to ſay, We have always ſuſpected that the Novum Organum hath been ſo little commended by the moderns for two reaſons: firſt, that it requires a deep head and a ſtrong attention to become fully maſter of it, and ſo has been thoroughly underſtood by few: ſecondly, that thoſe few who have fully penetrated it, uſed it to raiſe ſtructures of their own, and not to finiſh Bacon's palace of wiſdom.

It was peculiar to this great man to have nothing narrow and ſelfiſh in his compoſition; he gave away, without concern, whatever he poſſeſſed; and, believing other men of the ſame mould, he received with as little conſideration: nay, even as to fame, he had the like notion; he was deſirous to enjoy it, but in the ſame way; not from his knowledge, but from his free and liberal communication of that knowledge: ſo that it may be truly, and without flattery, ſaid, his worſt qualities were the exceſſes of the moſt exalted virtues.

His glory cannot be blaſted by the flaſhes of envy; his failings hurt only his contemporaries, and were expiated by his ſufferings; but his virtue and knowledge, and, above

all

all, his zeal for mankind, will be felt while there are men; and, consequently, while they have gratitude, the name of Bacon, Verulam, or St. Albans, can never be mentioned but with admiration!

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