



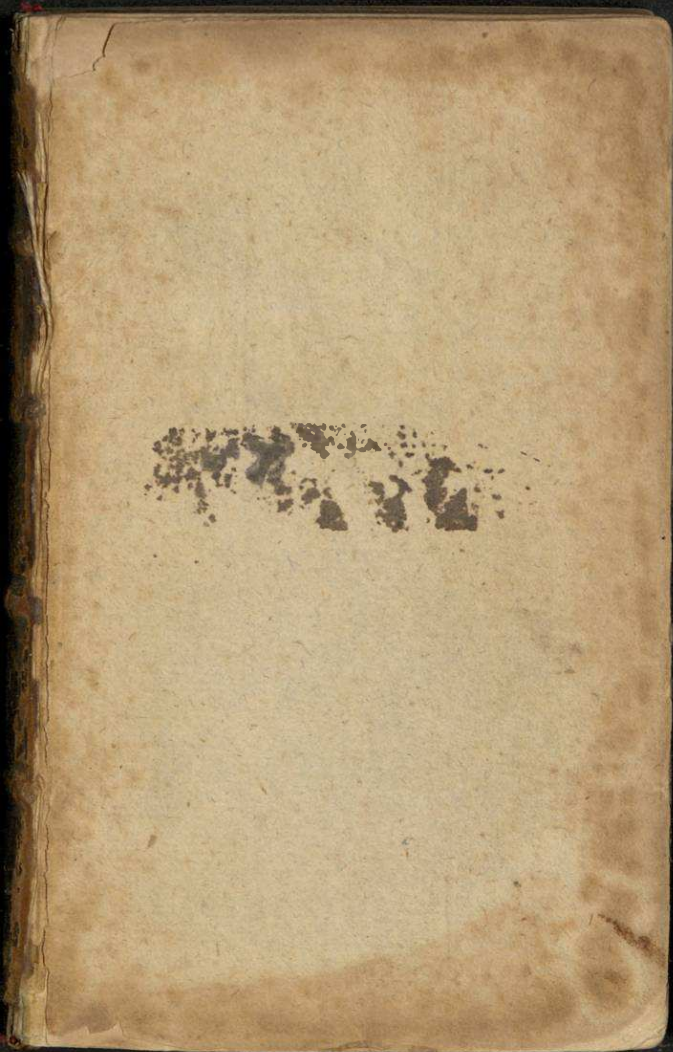
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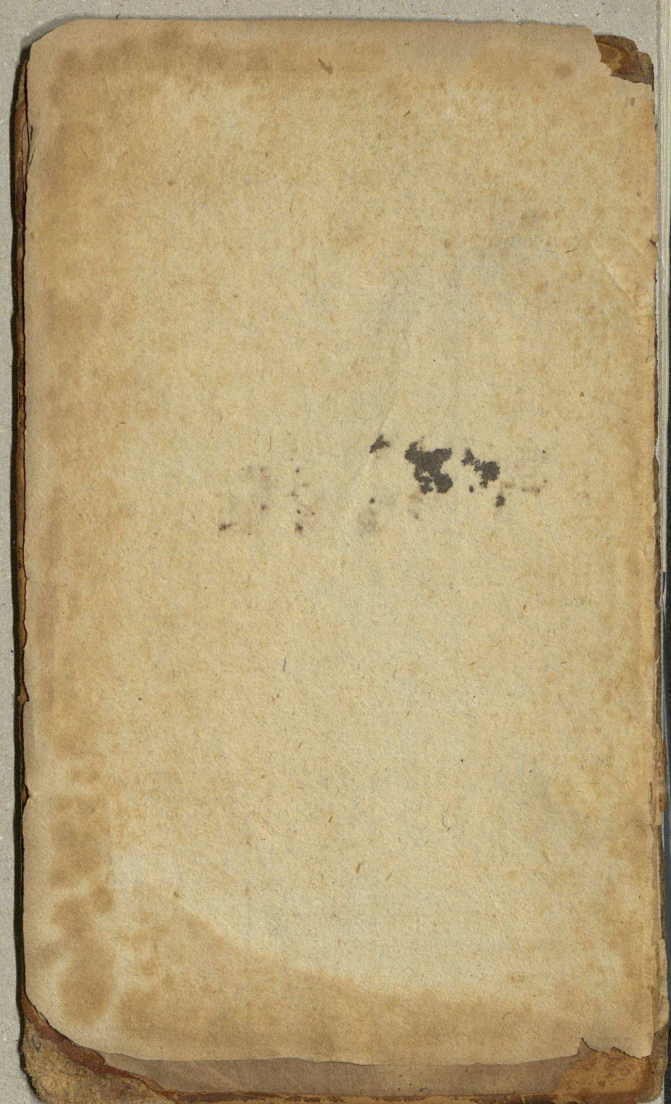
J. LAWSON

1864

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THE
British *Biograph*:
OR,
BIOGRAPHICAL ENTERTAINER.

Being a SELECT COLLECTION of
— The LIVES at large
Of the most EMINENT MEN,
Natives of Great Britain and Ireland:
From the Reign of HENRY VIII. to GEORGE II.
Both inclusive:

Whether distinguished as
Statemen, [Warriors,] Poets,
Patriots, [Divines,] Philosophers.

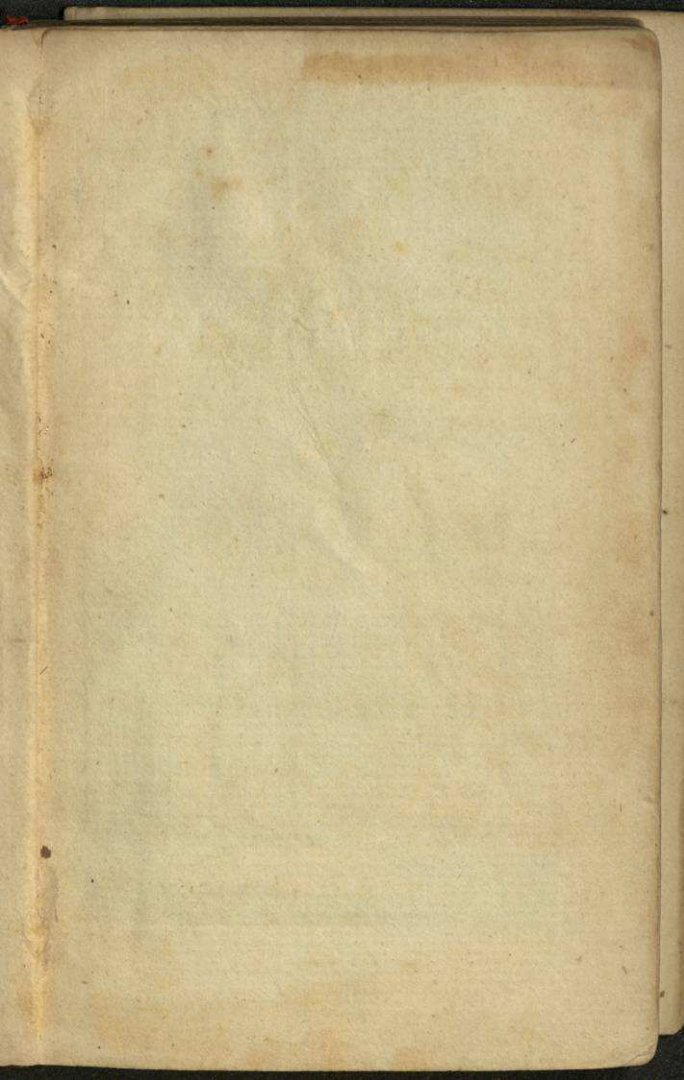
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VOL. V.



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J. Fougere sculp

Shakespeare.



T H E
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 Dares 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 folder 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 risted Jove's stout oak
With his own bolt; the strong bas'd promon-
 tory
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 tanta 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 business

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 conversing 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 cho-

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 discernor, and rewarder of merit, to suffer that of Shakespear's to be neglected. It is that maiden princess plainly whom he intends by

——— 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
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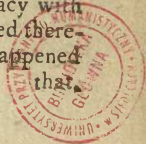
the Tears of the Muses, where she laments the loss of her Willy, in the comic scene, relates to our poet's abandoning the stage: but it is well known that Spenser himself died in the year 1598; and five years after this we find Shakespear's name among the actors in Ben Johnson's *Sejanus*, which first 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 *Dæmonology*, 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 carelessly 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



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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 happened 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 Susannah, 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 tainted 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, smi-
 ling 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

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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 enchanted 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 First 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.

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22. The

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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

C 2

epitaph.

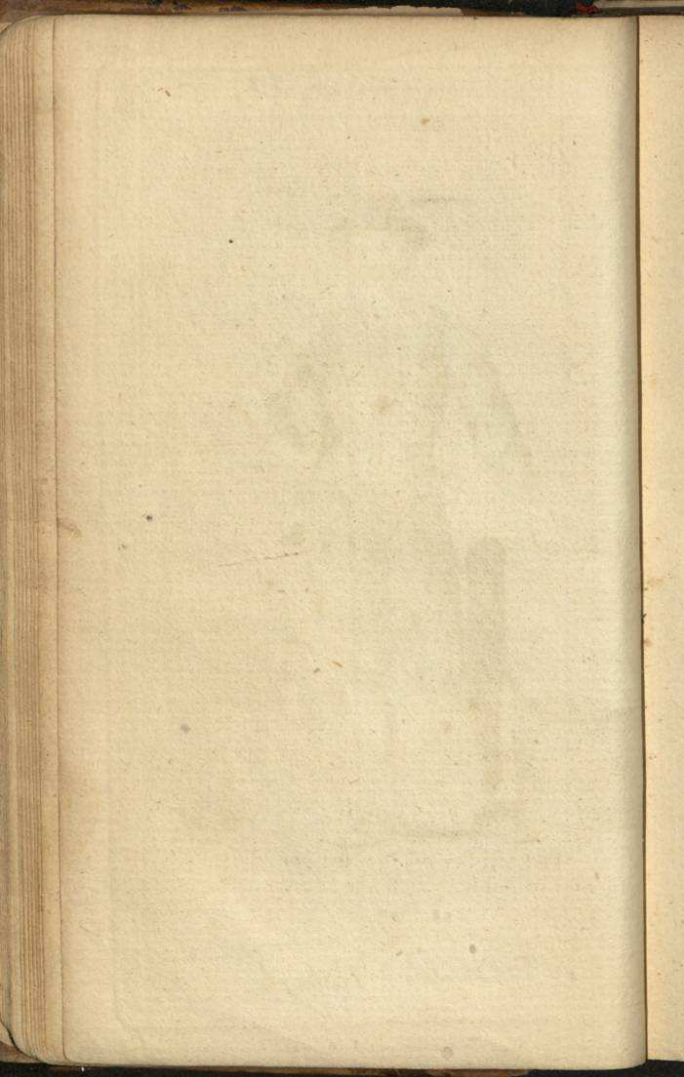
epitaph, taken from his own *Tempest*, and is excellently appropriated to him: with this let us close his life, only with this observation, that his works will never be forgot, till that epitagh is fulfilled. — When,

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.





S.^r Walter Raleigh. Tringham Sculp.



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 Ralieg 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 company 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:

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 he 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 throng 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 sailed

ailed 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 Grenville, 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, Carthagera, 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 Greenville arrived at Virginia with three ships more, well stored, for the company of planters which he had left there in 1583; 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-war-den 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 Hattarafs, 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, solicitous 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.

In

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 Finis-terre, 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 height 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
clear

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, solicitor-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 solicitations 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-

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 cabin, 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.

This

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 falsehood 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 handwriting 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 secrecy 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 perswaded 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 perswaded 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.”

Then

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 prythee 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 befall 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 farewell. 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 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 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.

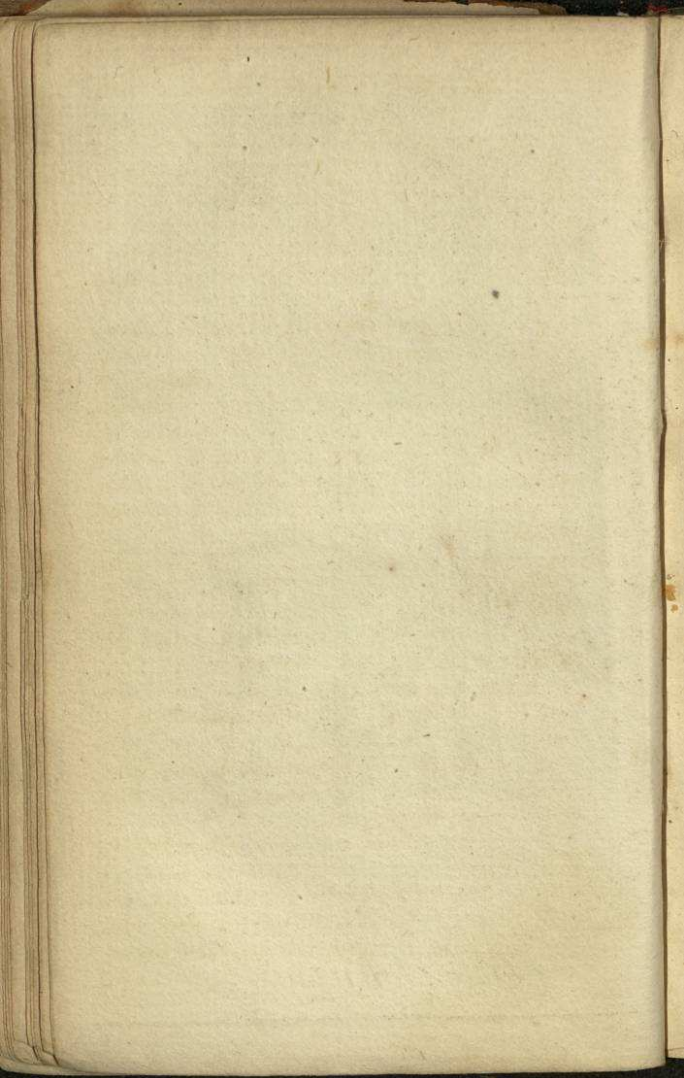
This was nipping the first sprig of his dawning hopes in the bud; his spirit was not of a temper to take the bent of so mortifying a change. In the depth of his resentment, he left his mother; and enlisting himself a soldier,

was



Ben. Johnson

Tringham Sculp



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 Shore-ditch 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, intituled, 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 intituled, *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, intituled *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, threatening to leave the stage. This oeconomy 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 finall 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, intituled, 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 in-

to

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 shagrin'd; 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, intituled, *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,
Caesar's ambition, Cato's liberty,

82 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

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,

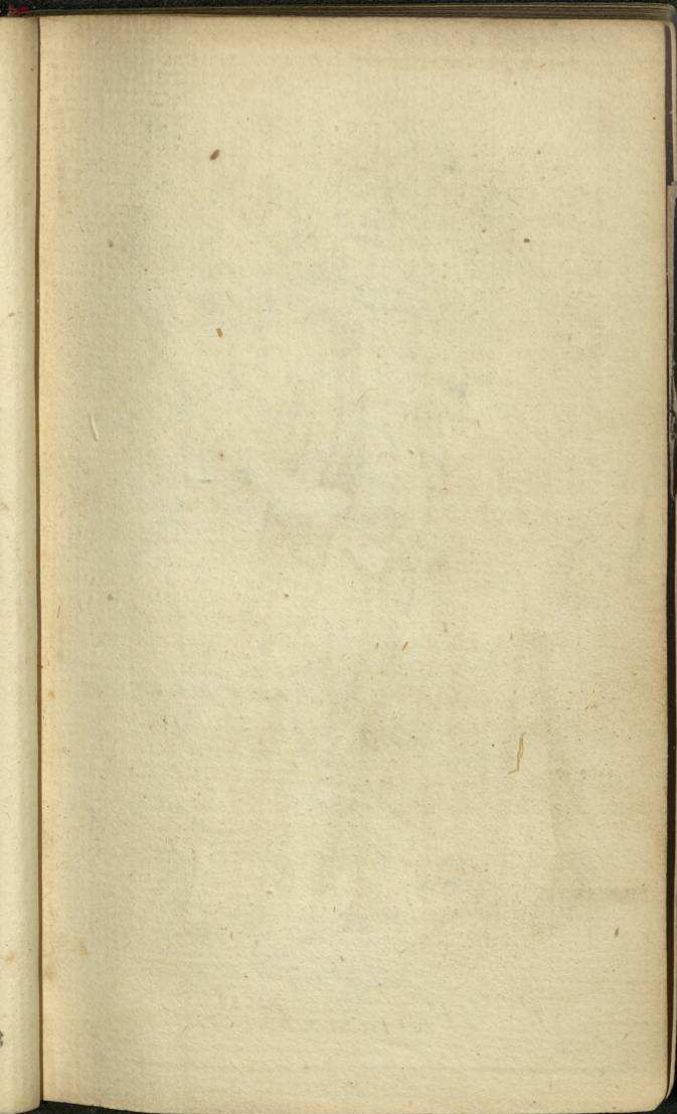
What gods but those of arts and eloquence?
 Phœbus and Hermes? they whose tongue or
 pen,

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 rhyme. 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.





S^r Francis Bacon *Tringham Sculp*

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, fopperies, 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 fix 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 ſolicited 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 the

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 re-established, 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 solicitor-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,
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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; and,

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 sine-cure post that would have furnished him a handsome subsistence, he might have lived happily, and died with glory un-
 sullied; 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!



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Villiers Duke of *Buckingham* *Tringham Sculp*

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

I while,

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 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 countable 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,
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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 marquiss his 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 marquiss, 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 lieutenant 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 disguise. 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 gallery, 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 Basen, 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 Graham 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 Wednesday

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 negotiation 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 suspense, 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 little 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, notwithstanding so strait an affinity so lately treated with the one, and actually accomplished with the other:

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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, interverted 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 burgessees, 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 favour 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, more-
 over, 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 impu-
 tations; whereof the truth is best known to his
 majesty while he was prince.

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

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 intrinsically, 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 guests, 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 scambling 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 discontents 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 Rheeze, 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 subducing from that part where he knew the humours were sharpest: amidst which thoughts, he was surpris'd 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 rais'd 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.

It

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 inflammation 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 remembered 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 seemed 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 condescension, 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 particulars

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 surpris'd, 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 surpris'd 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 astonish'd 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 Rheeze; 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 cheer him on his return from that unlucky voyage.

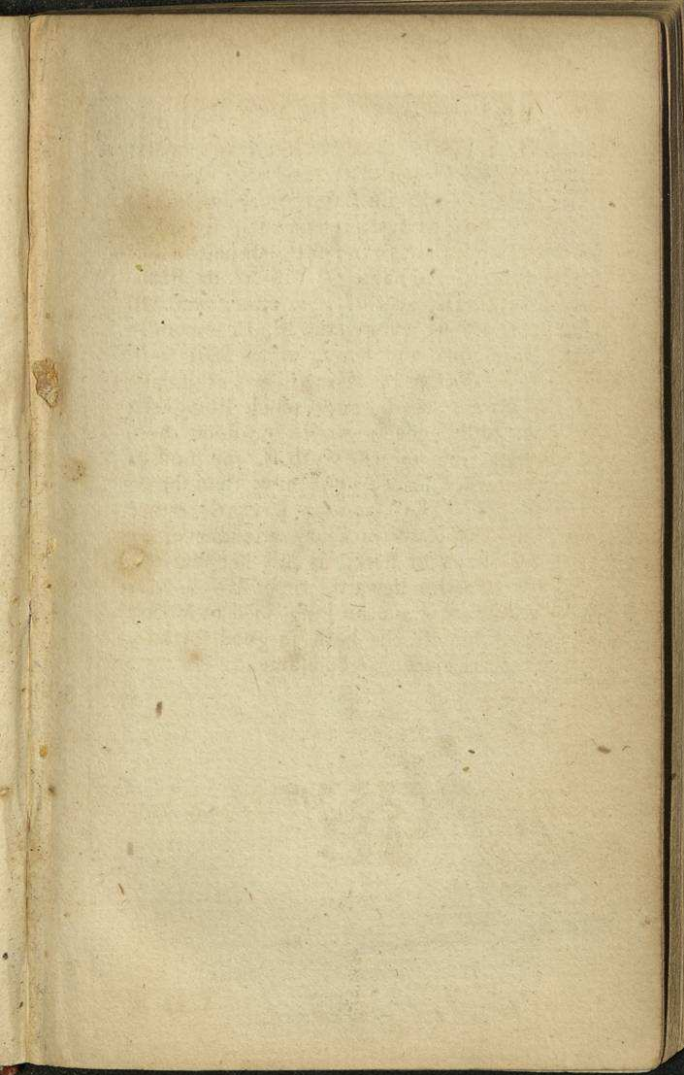
For these sweet pledges, and no less for the unquestionable virtues of her person and mind, he loved her dearly, and well expressed his love in an act and time of no simulation towards his end, bequeathing her all his mansion-houses during her natural life, and a power to dispose of his whole personal 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 solicit his causes; he left all, both in good fortune, and, which is more, in good fame.







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 billeting 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 sticklers 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 presidency

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 Christopher 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 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 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 strait. 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 hamiet-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

Burgeſſes to acquaint the multitude with the pro-teſtation 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 counselled 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 freight, 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, someone 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 befall 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 farewell 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 ail, 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 cheerfulness, “ 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, farewell; farewell 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, gentlemen, 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.

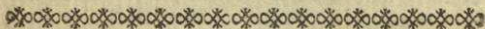
Lord Clarendon, speaking of the earl of Strafford, gives him the following character.

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

ferms 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.



A P P E N D I X.



An ACCOUNT of
The Philosophical Works of
L O R D B A C O N.

I. **T**HE 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, ap-
peared 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 two books of Francis Bacon, Of the Proficiency 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. Playfer, 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 solicit you, to give yourself the trouble to correct the too much defective translation of *De Augmentis Scientiarum*; 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*; five *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 physick 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 expressly 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

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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 phlegmatic ; 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 lit-
tle

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 incapable 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, styling 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 Institution, 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 scientific 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 seducing 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 assurances 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 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 reformatations 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 Solitariae*, *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 Scientiarum 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 B A C O N'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 increased 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 styles 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, expressly 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

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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 !

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.



THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
FROM THE FOUNDATION
TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY JOHN STOW
1618

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME



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