HOWARD'S

BEAUTIES OF LITERATURE.

THE

BEAUTIES

OF

CLARENDON,

CONSISTING OF

SELECTIONS FROM HIS HISTORICAL AND MORAL WORKS.

BY ALFRED HOWARD, ESQ.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY T. DAVISON,

FOR THOMAS TEGG, NO. 73, CHEAPSIDE;

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J. CUMMING, DUBLIN; AND M. BAUDRY, PARIS.

A copious Index will be given at the Conclusion of this Work, with General Directions for binding, &c.

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Engraved by Chas Heath.

Published by Thos Tegg, Cheapside.

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CLARENDON.

ARCHBISHOP ABBOT*.

It was about the end of August, in the year 1633, when the king returned from Scotland to Greenwich, where the queen kept her court; and the first accident of moment that happened after his coming thither, was the death of Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury; who had sat too many years in that see, and had too great a jurisdiction over the church, though he was without any credit in the court from the death of King James, and had not much in many years before. He had been head or master of one of the poorest colleges in Oxford, and had learning sufficient for that province. He was a man of very morose manners, and a very sour aspect, which, in that time, was called gravity; and under the opinion of that virtue, and by the recommendation of the Earl of Dunbar, the king's first

* Though the characters drawn by Lord Clarendon form a sort of gallery of portraits of the persons engaged in the contest between the misled Charles and his people, yet the reader must bear in mind that the features are occasionally distorted by the pencil of prejudice. To those who opposed the king, Lord Clarendon is often flagrantly unjust.—Ed.

Scotch favourite, he was preferred by King James to the bishopric of Coventry and Litchfield, and presently after to London, before he had been parson, vicar, or curate, of any parish church in England, or dean or prebend of any cathedral church; and was in truth totally ignorant of the true constitution of the church of England, and the state and interest of the clergy, as sufficiently appeared throughout the whole course of his life afterward.

He had scarce performed any part of the office of a bishop in the diocese of London, when he was snatched from thence, and promoted to Canterbury, upon the never-enough lamented death of Dr. Bancroft, that metropolitan, who understood the church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the Nonconformists, by and after the conference at Hampton-court; countenanced men of the greatest parts in learning, and disposed the clergy to a more solid course of study than they had been accustomed to; and if he had lived, would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England, which had been kindled at Geneva; or if he had been succeeded by Bishop Andrews, Bishop Overal, or any man who understood and loved the church, that infection would easily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be so easily expelled.

But Abbot brought none of this antidote with him, and considered Christian religion no otherwise, than as it abhorred and reviled popery, and valued those men most, who did that the most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the church, or the conformity to the articles or canons established, he made little inquiry, and took less care; and having

himself made a very little progress in the ancient and solid study of divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin, and, for his sake, did not think so ill of the discipline as he ought to have done. But if men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private practice be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him, and at least equally preferred by him. And though many other bishops plainly discerned the mischiefs which daily broke in to the prejudice of religion, by his defects and remissness, and prevented it in their own dioceses as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other parts and other principles; and though the Bishop of London, Dr. Laud, from the time of his authority and credit with the king, had applied all the remedies he could to these defections, and, from the time of his being chancellor of Oxford, had much discountenanced and almost suppressed that spirit, by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that university, which was indeed according to the doctrine of the church of England; yet that temper in the archbishop, whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of that factious party, and who licensed their most pernicious writings, left his successors a very difficult work to do, to reduce and reform a church into order, that had been so long neglected, and that was so ill filled by many weak, and more wilful, churchmen.

THE EARL OF ARUNDEL.

The Earl of Arundel was the next officer of state, who, in his own right and quality, preceded the rest of the council. He was generally thought to be a

proud man, who lived always within himself, and to himself, conversing little with any who were in common conversation; so that he seemed to live as it were in another nation, his house being a place to which all people resorted, who resorted to no other place; strangers, or such who affected to look like strangers, and dressed themselves accordingly. He resorted sometimes to the court, because there only was a greater man than himself; and went thither the seldomer, because there was a greater man than himself. He lived towards all favourites, and great officers, without any kind of condescension; and rather suffered himself to be ill-treated by their power and authority (for he was often in disgrace, and once or twice prisoner in the Tower) than to descend in making any application to them.

And upon these occasions he spent a great interval of his time in several journeys into foreign parts, and, with his wife and family, had lived some years in Italy, the humour and manners of which nation he seemed most to like and approve, and affected to imitate. He had a good fortune by descent, and a much greater from his wife, who was the sole daughter upon the matter (for neither of the two sisters left any issue) of the great house of Shrewsbury; but his expenses were without any measure, and always exceeded very much his revenue. He was willing to be thought a scholar, and to understand the most mysterious parts of antiquity, because he made a wonderful and costly purchase of excellent statues, whilst he was in Italy and in Rome, (some whereof he could never obtain permission to remove from Rome, though he had paid for them,) and had a rare collection of the most curious medals. As to all parts of learning, he was

almost illiterate, and thought no other part of history so considerable, as what related to his own family; in which, no doubt, there had been some very memorable persons. It cannot be denied that he had in his person, in his aspect, and countenance, the appearance of a great man, which he preserved in his gait and motion. He wore and affected a habit very different from that of the time, such as men had only beheld in the pictures of the most considerable men; all which drew the eyes of most, and the reverence of many, towards him, as the image and representative of the primitive nobility, and native gravity of the nobles, when they had been most venerable: but this was only his outside; his nature and true humour being much disposed to levity and delights, which indeed were very despicable and childish. He was rather thought not to be much concerned for religion, than to incline to this or that party of any; and had little other affection for the nation or the kingdom, than as he had a great share in it; in which, like the great leviathan, he might sport himself; from which he withdrew, as soon as he discerned the repose thereof was like to be disturbed, and died in Italy, under the same doubtful character of religion, in which he lived.

ADMIRAL BLAKE.

He was a man of a private extraction; yet had enough left him by his father to give him a good education; which his own inclination disposed him to receive in the University of Oxford; where he took the degree of a Master of Arts, and was enough versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him

in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was. He was of a melancholic and a sullen nature, and spent his time most with good-fellows, who liked his moroseness, and a freedom he used in inveighing against the license of the time, and the power of the court. They who knew him inwardly, discovered that he had an antimonarchical spirit, when few men thought the government in any danger. When the troubles begun, he quickly declared himself against the king; and having some command in Bristol, when it was first taken by Prince Rupert and the Marquis of Hertford, being trusted with the command of a little fort upon the line, he refused to give it up, after the governor had signed the articles of surrender, and kept it some hours after the Prince was in the town, and killed some of the soldiers; for which the Prince resolved to hang him, if some friends had not interposed for him, upon his want of experience in war; and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity, and with much difficulty. After this, having done eminent service to the Parliament, especially at Taunton, at land, he then betook himself wholly to the sea, and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship, had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought

ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire, as well as upon water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL.

The Earl of Bristol was a man of a grave aspect, of a presence that drew respect, and of long experience in affairs of great importance. He had been, by the extraordinary favour of King James to his person, (for he was a very handsome man,) and his parts, which were naturally great, and had been improved by good education at home and abroad, sent ambassador into Spain, before he was thirty years of age; and afterwards in several other embassies; and at last, again into Spain; where he treated and concluded the marriage between the Prince of Wales and that Infanta; which was afterwards dissolved. He was by King James made of the Privy Council, Vice-Chamberlain of the household, an earl, and a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, and was then crushed by the power of the Duke of Buckingham, and the prejudice the prince himself had contracted against him, during his highness's being in Spain; upon which he was imprisoned upon his return; and, after the duke's death, the king retained so strict a memory of all that duke's friendships and displeasures, that the Earl of Bristol could never re-

cover any admission to court; but lived in the country, in ease and plenty in his fortune, and in great reputation with all who had not an implicit reverence for the court; and before, and in the beginning of the Parliament, appeared in the head of all the discontented party; but quickly left them, when they entered upon their unwarrantable violences, and grew so much into their disfavour, that after the king was gone to York, upon some expressions he used in the House of Peers in debate, they committed him to the Tower; from whence being released, in two or three days, he made haste to York to the king; who had before restored him to his place in the council, and the bed-chamber. He was with him at Edge-hill, and came with him from thence to Oxford; and at the end of the war, went into France; where he died; that party having so great an animosity against him, that they would not suffer him to live in England, nor to compound for his estate, as they suffered others to do, who had done them more hurt. Though he was a man of great parts, and a wise man, yet he had been for the most part single, and by himself, in business; which he managed with great sufficiency; and had lived little in consort, so that in council he was passionate, and supercilious, and did not bear contradiction without much passion, and was voluminous in discourse; so that he was not considered there with much respect; to the lessening whereof no man contributed more than his son, the Lord Digby; who shortly after came to sit there, as secretary of state, and had not that reverence for his father's wisdom which his great experience deserved, though he failed not in his piety towards him.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

This great man was a person of a noble nature, and generous disposition, and of such other endowments as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a great king. He understood the arts of a court, and all the learning that is professed there, exactly well. By long practice in business, under a master that discoursed excellently, and surely knew all things wonderfully, and took much delight in indoctrinating his young unexperienced favourite, who, he knew, would be always looked upon as the workmanship of his own hands, he had obtained a quick conception, and apprehension of business, and had the habit of speaking very gracefully and pertinently. He was of a most flowing courtesy and affability to all men who made any address to him; and so desirous to oblige them, that he did not enough consider the value of the obligation, or the merit of the person he chose to oblige; from which much of his misfortune resulted. He was of a courage not to be daunted, which was manifested in all his actions, and in his contests with particular persons of the greatest reputation; and especially in his whole demeanour at the isle of Rhé, both at the landing and upon the retreat; in both which no man was more fearless, or more ready to expose himself to the highest dangers. His kindness and affection to his friends was so vehement, that they were as so many marriages for better and worse, and so many leagues offensive and defensive; as if he thought himself obliged to love all his friends, and to make war with all they were angry with, let the cause be what it would. And it cannot be denied that he was an enemy in the same excess, and pro-

secuted those he looked upon as his enemies with the utmost rigour and animosity, and was not easily induced to reconciliation. And yet there were some examples of his receding in that particular. And when he was in the highest passion, he was so far from stooping to any dissimulation, whereby his displeasure might be concealed and covered till he had attained his revenge (the low method of courts), that he never endeavoured to do any man an ill office, before he first told him what he was to expect from him, and reproached him with the injuries he had done, with so much generosity, that the person found it in his power to receive further satisfaction, in the way he would choose for himself.

* * * * * *

His single misfortune was, (which indeed was productive of many greater,) that he never made a noble and a worthy friendship with a man so near his equal, that he would frankly advise him for his honour and true interest, against the current, or rather the torrent, of his impetuous passions: which was partly the vice of the time, when the court was not replenished with great choice of excellent men; and partly the vice of the persons who were most worthy to be applied to, and looked upon his youth, and his obscurity before his rise, as obligations upon him to gain their friendships by extraordinary application. Then his ascent was so quick, that it seemed rather a flight than a growth; and he was such a darling of fortune, that he was at the top before he was well seen at the bottom; and, as if he had been born a favourite, he was supreme the first month he came to court; and it was want of confidence, not of credit, that he had not all at first which he obtained afterwards; never meeting

with the least obstruction from his setting out, till he was as great as he could be: so that he wanted dependants before he thought he could want coadjutors. Nor was he very fortunate in the election of those dependants, very few of his servants having been ever qualified enough to advise or assist him; and they were intent only upon growing rich under him, not upon their master's growing good as well as great: insomuch as he was throughout his fortune a much wiser man than any servant or friend he had.

Let the fault or misfortune be what or whence it will, it may reasonably be believed, that, if he had been blessed with one faithful friend, who had been qualified with wisdom and integrity, that great person would have committed as few faults, and done as transcendent worthy actions, as any man who shined in such a sphere in that age in Europe. For he was of an excellent disposition, and of a mind very capable of advice and counsel. He was in his nature just and candid, liberal, generous, and bountiful; nor was it ever known that the temptation of money swayed him to do an unjust or unkind thing. And though he left a very great estate to his heirs; considering the vast fortune he inherited by his wife, the sole daughter and heir of Francis, Earl of Rutland, he owed no part of it to his own industry or solicitation, but to the impatient humour of two kings his masters, who would make his fortune equal to his titles, and the one as much above other men, as the other was. And he considered it no otherwise than as theirs, and left it at his death engaged for the crown, almost to the value of it, as is touched upon before.

If he had an immoderate ambition, with which he

was charged, and is a weed (if it be a weed) apt to grow in the best soils; it doth not appear that it was in his nature, or that he brought it with him to the court, but rather found it there, and was a garment necessary for that air. Nor was it more in his power to be without promotion, and titles, and wealth, than for a healthy man to sit in the sun in the brightest dog-days, and remain without any warmth. He needed no ambition, who was so seated in the hearts of two such masters.

THE LORD CAREL.

He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his friends could not wish better accomplished; whom Cromwell's own character well described; and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that government. His memory all men loved and reverenced, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a state of great plenty and general estimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by descent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous issue of both sexes, in which he took great joy and comfort: so that no man was more happy in all his domestic affairs; and he was so much the more happy, in that he thought himself most blessed in them.

And yet the king's honour was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all those blessings behind him; and having no other obligations to the crown, than tohse which his own honour and conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his

person and his fortune from the beginning of the troubles, as many others did, in all actions, and enterprises of the greatest hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a faction, that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have excused him for some remission of his former warmth. But it made no other impression upon him, than to be quiet and contented, whilst they would let him alone, and, with the same cheerfulness, to obey the first summons when he was called out; which was quickly after. In a word, he was a man, that whoever shall, after him, deserve best of the English nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear, that his courage, virtue, and fidelity, is laid in the balance with, and compared to, that of the Lord Capel.

THE EARL OF CARLISLE.

The younger brother of a noble family in Scotland, he came into the kingdom with King James, as a gentleman; under no other character than a person well qualified by his breeding in France, and by his study in human learning, in which he bore a good part in the entertainment of the king, who much delighted in that exercise; and by these means, and notable gracefulness in his behaviour, and affability, in which he excelled, he had wrought himself into a particular interest with his master, and into greater affection and esteem with the whole English nation, than any other of that country; by choosing their friendships and conversation, and really preferring it to any of his own: insomuch as, upon the king's making him gentleman of his bed-chamber, and

Viscount Doncaster, by his royal mediation (in which office he was a most prevalent prince) he obtained the sole daughter and heir of the Lord Denny to be given him in marriage; by which he had a fair fortune in land provided for any issue he should raise, and which his son by that lady lived long to enjoy.

He ascended afterwards, and with the expedition he desired, to the other conveniences of the court. He was groom of the stole, and an earl, and knight of the garter; and married a beautiful young lady, daughter to the Earl of Northumberland, without any other approbation of her father, or concernment in it, than suffering him and her to come into his presence after they were married. He lived rather in a fair intelligence than any friendship with the favourites; having credit enough with his master to provide for his own interest, and he troubled not himself for that of other men; and had no other consideration of money, than for the support of his lustre; and whilst he could do that, he cared not for money, having no bowels in the point of running in debt, or borrowing all he could.

He was surely a man of the greatest expense in his own person, of any in the age he lived; and introduced more of that expense in the excess of clothes and diet, than any other man; and was indeed the original of all those inventions, from which others did but transcribe copies. He had a great universal understanding, and could have taken as much delight in any other way, if he had thought any other as pleasant, and worth his care: but he found business was attended with more rivals and vexations; and, he thought, with much less pleasure, and not more innocence.

He left behind him the reputation of a very fine

gentleman, and a most accomplished courtier; and after having spent, in a very jovial life, above four hundred thousand pounds, which, upon a strict computation, he received from the crown, he left not a house nor acre of land, to be remembered by. And when he had in his prospect (for he was very sharp-sighted, and saw as far before him as most men) the gathering together of that cloud in Scotland, which shortly after covered both kingdoms, he died with as much tranquillity of mind to all appearance, as used to attend a man of more severe exercise of virtue; and with as little apprehension of death, which he expected many days.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON.

This day also fell the Earl of Carnarvon, who, after he had charged, and routed a body of the enemy's horse, coming carelessly back by some of the scattered troopers, was, by one of them who knew him, run through the body with a sword; of which he died within an hour. He was a person, with whose great parts and virtue the world was not enough acquainted. Before the war, though his education was adorned by travel, and an exact observation of the manners of more nations, than our common travellers use to visit, (for he had, after the view of Spain, France, and most parts of Italy, spent some time in Turkey, and those eastern countries,) he seemed to be wholly delighted with those looser exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the like; in which the nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the troubles began, having the command of the first or second regiment of horse that was raised for the king's service, he wholly gave himself up to

the office and duty of a soldier; no man more diligently obeying, or dexterously commanding; for he was not only of a very keen courage in the exposing his person, but an excellent discerner and pursuer of advantage upon his enemy. He had a mind and understanding very present in the article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profession. Those infirmities, and that licence, which he had formerly indulged to himself, he put off with severity, when others thought them excusable under the notion of a soldier. He was a great lover of justice, and practised it then most deliberately, when he had power to do wrong: and so strict in the observation of his word and promise as a commander, that he could not be persuaded to stay in the west, when he found it not in his power to perform the agreement he had made with Dorchester and Weymouth. If he had lived, he would have proved a great ornament to that profession, and an excellent soldier, and by his death the king found a sensible weakness in his army.

CHARLES THE FIRST.

To speak first of his private qualifications as a man, before the mention of his princely and royal virtues; he was, if ever any, the most worthy of the title of an honest man; so great a lover of justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him that he believed it to be just. He had a tenderness and compassion of nature, which restrained him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing: and therefore he was so apt to grant pardon to malefactors, that the judges of the land represented to him the damage and insecurity to the public, that flowed from such his indulgence. And then he restrained

himself from pardoning either murders or highway robberies, and quickly discerned the fruits of his severity by a wonderful reformation of those enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his devotions; he was never known to enter upon his recreations or sports, though never so early in the morning, before he had been at public prayers; so that on hunting days his chaplains were bound to a very early attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private and cabinet devotions; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of religion, that he could never endure any light or profane word, with what sharpness of wit soever it was covered: and though he was well pleased and delighted with reading verses made upon any occasion, no man durst bring before him any thing that was profane or unclean; that kind of wit had never any countenance then. He was so great an example of conjugal affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular durst not brag of their liberty: and he did not only permit, but direct his bishops to prosecute those scandalous vices, in the ecclesiastical courts, against persons of eminence, and near relation to his service.

His kingly virtues had some mixture and allay, that hindered them from shining in full lustre, and from producing those fruits they should have been attended with. He was not in his nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. This appeared more after the Duke of Buckingham's death, after which those showers fell very rarely; and he paused too long in giving, which made those, to whom he gave, less sensible of the benefit. He kept state to the full, which made his court very orderly; no man

presuming to be seen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He saw and observed men long, before he received them about his person; and did not love strangers, nor very confident men. He was a patient hearer of causes, which he frequently accustomed himself to at the council board; and judged very well, and was dexterous at the mediating part: so that he often put an end to causes by persuasion, which the stubbornness of men's humours made dilatory in courts of justice.

He was very fearless in his person; but in his riper years, not very enterprising. He had an excellent understanding, but was not confident enough of it; which made him oftentimes change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of men that did not judge so well as himself. This made him more irresolute than the conjuncture of his affairs would admit: if he had been of a rougher and more imperious nature, he would have found more respect and duty. And his not applying some severe cures to approaching evils, proceeded from the lenity of his nature, and the tenderness of his conscience, which, in all cases of blood, made him choose the softer way, and not hearken to severe counsels, how reasonably soever urged. This only restrained him from pursuing his advantage in the first Scottish expedition, when, humanly speaking, he might have reduced that nation to the most entire obedience that could have been wished. But no man can say he had then many who advised him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indisposition all his counsel had to the war, or any other fatigue. He was always a great lover of the Scottish nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that people, and besieged by them always, having few English about

him, till he was king; and the major number of his servants being still of that nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among these, no man had such an ascendant over him, by the humblest insinuations, as Duke Hamilton had.

As he excelled in all other virtues, so in temperance he was so strict, that he abhorred all debauchery to that degree, that, at a great festival solemnity, where he was, when very many of the nobility of the English and Scots were entertained, being told by one who withdrew from thence, what vast draughts of wine they drank, and "that there was one earl who had drank most of the rest down, and was not himself moved or altered," the king said, "that he deserved to be hanged;" and that earl coming shortly after into the room where his majesty was, in some gaiety, to show how unhurt he was from that battle, the king sent one to bid him withdraw from his majesty's presence; nor did he in some days after appear before him.

So many miraculous circumstances contributed to his ruin, that men might well think that heaven and earth conspired it. Though he was, from the first declension of his power, so much betrayed by his own servants, that there were very few who remained faithful to him, yet that treachery proceeded not always from any treasonable purpose to do him any harm, but from particular and personal animosities against other men. And, afterwards, the terror all men were under of the parliament, and the guilt they were conscious of themselves, made them watch all opportunities to make themselves gracious to those who could do them good; and so they became spies upon their master, and from one piece of knavery

were hardened and confirmed to undertake another, till at last they had no hope of preservation but by the destruction of their master. And after all this, when a man might reasonably believe that less than a universal defection of three nations could not have reduced a great king to so ugly a fate, it is most certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly murdered in the sight of the sun, he had as great a share in the hearts and affections of his subjects in general, was as much beloved, esteemed, and longed for by the people in general of the three nations, as any of his predecessors had ever been. To conclude, he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived produced. And if he were not the greatest king, if he were without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice.

SIR JOHN COKE AND SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

The two secretaries of state, (who were not in those days officers of that magnitude that they have been since, being only to make despatches upon the conclusions of councils, not to govern, or preside in those councils,) were Sir John Coke, who, upon the death of Sir Albert Morton, was, from being master of requests, preferred to be secretary of state; and Sir Dudley Carleton, who, from his employment in Holland, was put into the place of the Lord Conway, who, for age and incapacity, was at last removed from the secretary's office, which he had exercised

many years with very notable insufficiency; so that King James was wont pleasantly to say, "That Stenny (the Duke of Buckingham) had given him two very proper servants; a secretary, who could neither write nor read; and a groom of his bed-chamber, who could not truss his points;" Mr. Clark having but one hand.

Of these two secretaries, the former was a man of a very narrow education and a narrower nature; having continued long in the university of Cambridge, where he had gotten Latin learning enough; and afterwards in the country in the condition of a private gentleman till after he was fifty years of age; when, upon some reputation he had for industry and diligence, he was called to some painful employment in the office of the navy, which he discharged well; and afterwards to be master of requests, and then to be secretary of state, which he enjoyed to a great age; and was a man rather unadorned with any parts of vigour and quickness, and unendowed with any notable virtues, than notorious for any weakness or defect of understanding, or transported with any vicious inclinations, appetite to money only excepted. His cardinal perfection was industry, and his most eminent infirmity covetousness. His long experience had informed him well of the state and affairs of England; but of foreign transactions, or the common interest of Christian princes, he was entirely undiscerning and ignorant.

Sir Dudley Carleton was of a quite contrary nature, constitution, and education; and understood all that related to foreign employments, and the condition of other princes and nations, very well: but was unacquainted with the government, laws, and customs of his own country, and the nature of the people. He

was a younger son in a good gentleman's family, and bred in Christ Church, in the University of Oxford, where he was a student of the foundation, and a young man of parts and towardly expectation. He went from thence early into France, and was soon after secretary to Sir Harry Nevil, the ambassador there. He had been sent ambassador to Venice, where he resided many years with good reputation; and was no sooner returned from thence into England, than he went ambassador into Holland, to the states-general, and resided there when that synod was assembled at Dort, which hath given the world so much occasion since for uncharitable disputations, which they were called together to prevent. Here the ambassador was not thought so equal a spectator, or assessor, as he ought to have been; but by the infusions he made into King James, and by his own activity, he did all he could to discountenance that party that was most learned, and to raise the credit and authority of the other: which hath since proved as inconvenient and troublesome to their own country, as to their neighbours.

He was once more ambassador extraordinary in Holland, after the death of King James, and was the last who was admitted to be present, and to vote in the general assembly of the states, under that character; of which great privilege the crown had been possessed from a great part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and through the time of King James to that moment; which administered fresh matter of murmur for the giving up the towns of the Brill, and Flushing, which had been done some years before by King James; without which men thought those states would not have had the courage so soon to have

degraded the crown of England from a place in their councils, which had prospered so eminently under the shadow of that power and support. As soon as he returned from Holland, he was called to the privy council. The making him secretary of state, and a peer of the realm, when his estate was scarce visible, was the last piece of workmanship the Duke of Buckingham lived to finish, who seldom satisfied himself with conferring a single obligation.

LORD COTTINGTON.

He was a very wise man, by the great and long experience he had in business of all kinds; and by his natural temper, which was not liable to any transport of anger, or any other passion, but could bear contradiction, and even reproach, without being moved, or put out of his way: for he was very steady in pursuing what he purposed to himself, and had a courage not to be frightened by any opposition. It is true he was illiterate as to the grammar of any language, or the principles of any science; but by his perfectly understanding the Spanish, (which he spoke as a Spaniard,) the French, and Italian languages, and having read very much in all, he could not be said to be ignorant in any part of learning, divinity only excepted. He had a very fine and extraordinary understanding in the nature of beasts and birds, and above all in all kinds of plantations and arts of husbandry. He was born a gentleman both by father and mother, his father having a pretty entire seat near Bruton in Somersetshire, worth above two hundred pounds a year, which had descended from father to son for many hundred years, and is still in the possession of his elder brother's children, the family having been always

Roman Catholic. His mother was a Stafford, nearly allied to Sir Edward Stafford; who was vice-chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, and had been ambassador in France; by whom this gentleman was brought up, and was gentleman of his horse, and left one of his executors of his will, and by him recommended to Sir Robert Cecil, then principal secretary of state; who preferred him to Sir Charles Cornwallis, when he went ambassador into Spain, in the beginning of the reign of King James; where he remained, for the space of eleven or twelve years, in the condition of secretary or agent, without ever returning into England all that time. He raised by his own virtue and industry a very fair estate, of which though the revenue did not exceed above four thousand pounds by the year; yet he had four very good houses, and three parks, the value whereof was not reckoned into that computation. He lived very nobly, well served and attended in his house; had a better stable of horses, better provision for sports (especially of hawks, in which he took great delight) than most of his quality, and lived always with great splendour; for though he loved money very well, and did not warily enough consider the circumstances of getting it, he spent it well always but in giving, which he did not affect. He was of an excellent humour, and very easy to live with; and, under a grave countenance, covered the most of mirth, and caused more, than any man of the most pleasant disposition. He never used any body ill, but used many very well for whom he had no regard: his greatest fault was, that he could dissemble, and make men believe that he loved them very well, when he cared not for them. He had not very tender affections, nor bowels apt to yearn at all

objects, which deserved compassion: he was heartily weary of the world, and no man was more willing to die; which is an argument that he had peace of conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his parts, than love to his person.

SIR THOMAS COVENTRY.

Sir Thomas Coventry was then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and newly made a baron. He was a son of the robe, his father having been a judge in the court of the common pleas; who took great care to breed him, though his first-born, in the study of the common law; by whim he himself had been promoted to that degree; and in which, in the Society of the Inner Temple, his son made a notable progress, by an early eminence in practice and learning; insomuch as he was recorder of London, solicitor general, and King's attorney, before he was forty years of age. A rare ascent! All which offices he discharged with great abilities, and singular reputation of integrity. In the first year after the death of King James, he was advanced to be keeper of the great seal of England (the usual advancement from the office of attorney-general) upon the removal of the bishop of Lincoln; who, though a man of great wit and good scholastic learning, was generally thought so very unequal to the place, that his removal was the only recompense and satisfaction that could be made for his promotion. And yet it was enough known, that the disgrace proceeded only from the private displeasure of the Duke of Buckingham. The Lord Coventry enjoyed this place with an universal reputation (and sure justice was never better administered) for the space of about sixteen years, even to his death, some

months before he was sixty years of age; which was another important circumstance of his felicity, that great office being so slippery, that no man had died in it before for near the space of forty years. Nor had his successors for some time after him much better fortune. And he himself had use of all his strength and skill (as he was an excellent wrestler in his kind) to preserve himself from falling, in two shocks: the one given him by the Earl of Portland, Lord High Treasurer of England; the other by the Marquis of Hamilton, who had the greatest power over the affections of the king of any man of that time.

He was a man of wonderful gravity and wisdom; and understood not only the whole science and mystery of the law, at least equally with any man who had ever sate in that place; but had a clear conception of the whole policy of the government both of church and state, which, by the unskilfulness of some well-meaning men, justled each the other too much.

He knew the temper, disposition, and genius of the kingdom most exactly; saw their spirits grow every day more sturdy, inquisitive, and impatient; and therefore naturally abhorred all innovations, which he foresaw would produce ruinous effects. Yet many, who stood at a distance, thought that he was not active and stout enough in opposing those innovations. For though, by his place, he presided in all public councils, and was most sharp-sighted in the consequence of things; yet he was seldom known to speak in matters of state, which, he well knew, were for the most part concluded, before they were brought to that public agitation; never in foreign affairs, which the vigour of his judgment could have comprehended; nor, indeed, freely in any thing, but what immediately

and plainly concerned the justice of the kingdom; and in that, as much as he could, he procured references to the judges. Though in his nature he had not only a firm gravity, but a severity, and even some morosity; yet it was so happily tempered, and his courtesy and affability towards all men so transcendent, and so much without affectation, that it marvellously recommended him to all men of all degrees, and he was looked upon as an excellent courtier, without receding from the native simplicity of his own manners.

He had, in the plain way of speaking and delivery, without much ornament of elocution, a strange power of making himself believed, the only justifiable design of eloquence: so that, though he used very frankly to deny, and would never suffer any man to depart from him with an opinion that he was inclined to gratify, when in truth he was not, holding that dissimulation to be the worst of lying; yet the manner of it was so gentle and obliging, and his condescension such, to inform the persons whom he could not satisfy, that few departed from him with ill will, and ill wishes.

But then, this happy temper and these good faculties rather preserved him from having many enemies, and supplied him with some well-wishers, than furnished him with any fast and unshaken friends; who are always procured in courts by more ardour, and more vehement professions and applications, than he would suffer himself to be entangled with. So that he was a man rather exceedingly liked, than passionately loved: insomuch that it never appeared, that he had any one friend in the court, of quality enough to prevent or divert any disadvantage he might be exposed to. And, therefore, it is no wonder, nor to be imputed to him, that he retired within himself as

much as he could, and stood upon his defence without making desperate sallies against growing mischiefs; which, he knew well, he had no power to hinder, and which might probably begin in his own ruin. To conclude; his security consisted very much in his having but little credit with the King; and he died in a season most opportune, in which a wise man would have prayed to have finished his course, and which in truth crowned his other signal prosperity in the world.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

He was one of those men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent;* whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time: for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage, industry, and judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who, from a private and obscure birth (though of a good family), without interest or estate, alliance or friendship, could raise himself to such a height; and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence, that contributed to his designs, and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building! What was said of Cinna may very justly be said of him, *ausum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfecisse, quæ a nullo, nisi fortissimo, perfici possunt;* he attempted those things which no good man durst have ventured on; and achieved those in which none but a valiant and great man could have

succeeded. Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion, and moral honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those designs, without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

When he appeared first in the Parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to conciliate the affections of the stander by: yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had concealed faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom.

After he was confirmed and invested Protector by the humble Petition and Advice, he consulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolved upon, with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

One time, when he had laid some very extraordinary tax upon the city, one Cony, an eminent fanatic, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part; and loudly dissuaded others from submitting to it, "as an imposition notoriously against the law, and the property of

the subject, which all honest men were bound to defend." Cromwell sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of "the old kindness and friendship that had been between them; and that of all men he did not expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the commonwealth." It had been always his fortune to meet with the most rude and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely governed by him; and they commonly put him in mind of some expressions and sayings of his own, in cases of the like nature: so this man remembered him, how great an enemy he had expressed himself to such grievances, and had declared, "that all who submitted to them, and paid illegal taxes, were more to blame, and greater enemies to their country, than they who had imposed them; and that the tyranny of princes could never be grievous, but by the tameness and stupidity of the people." When Cromwell saw that he could not convert him, he told him, "that he had a will as stubborn as his, and he would try which of them two should be master." Thereupon, with some expressions of reproach and contempt, he committed the man to prison; whose courage was nothing abated by it: but as soon as the term came, he brought his Habeas Corpus in the King's Bench, which they then called the Upper Bench. Maynard, who was of council with the prisoner, demanded his liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful authority. The judges could not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what their sentence would be; and therefore the Protector's attorney required a further day, to answer what had been urged.

Before that day, Maynard was committed to the Tower, for presuming to question or make doubt of his authority; and the judges were sent for, and severely reprehended for suffering that licence: when they, with all humility, mentioned the law and Magna Charta, Cromwell told them, with terms of contempt and derision, "their Magna F— should not control his actions; which he knew were for the safety of the commonwealth." He asked them, "who made them judges? Whether they had any authority to sit there, but what he gave them? And if his authority were at an end, they knew well enough what would become of themselves; and therefore advised them to be more tender of that which could only preserve them;" and so dismissed them with caution, "that they should not suffer the lawyers to prate what it would not become them to hear."

Thus he subdued a spirit that had been often troublesome to the most sovereign power, and made Westminster Hall as obedient, and subservient to his commands, as any of the rest of his quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation and haughtiness with those who were refractory, and durst contend with his greatness, so towards all who complied with his good pleasure, and courted his protection, he used great civility, generosity, and bounty.

To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates; to awe and govern those nations by an army that was indevoted to him, and wished his ruin, was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home

was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their honour and their interest to his pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded that either of them would have denied him. To manifest which, there needs only two instances. The first is, when those of the valley of Lucerne had unwarily risen in arms against the Duke of Savoy, which gave occasion to the Pope, and the neighbour princes of Italy, to call and solicit for their extirpation, and their prince positively resolved upon it, Cromwell sent his agent to the Duke of Savoy, a prince with whom he had no correspondence or commerce, and so engaged the Cardinal, and even terrified the Pope himself, without so much as doing any grace to the English Roman Catholics, (nothing being more usual than his saying, "that his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia, and that the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome,") that the Duke of Savoy thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those privileges they had formerly enjoyed, and newly forfeited.

The other instance of his authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the city of Nismes, which is one of the fairest in the province of Languedoc, and where those of the religion do most abound, there was a great faction at that season when the consuls (who are the chief magistrates) were to be chosen. Those of the reformed religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that magistracy; which they of the Roman religion resolved to oppose with all their power. The dissension between them made so much

noise, that the intendant of the province, who is the supreme minister in all civil affairs throughout the whole province, went thither to prevent any disorder that might happen. When the day of election came, those of the religion possessed themselves with many armed men of the town-house, where the election was to be made. The magistrates sent to know what their meaning was; to which they answered, "they were there to give their voices for the choice of the new consuls, and to be sure that the election should be fairly made." The bishop of the city, the intendant of the province, with all the officers of the church, and the present magistrates of the town, went together in their robes to be present at the election, without any suspicion that there would be any force used. When they came near the gate of the town-house, which was shut, and they supposed would be opened when they came, they within poured out a volley of musket-shot upon them, by which the dean of the church, and two or three of the magistrates of the town, were killed upon the place, and very many others wounded, whereof some died shortly after. In this confusion the magistrates put themselves into as good posture to defend themselves as they could, without any purpose of offending the other, till they should be better provided; in order to which they sent an express to the court, with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, "and that there appeared to be no manner of combination with those of the religion in other places of the province; but that it was an insolence in those of the place, upon the presumption of their great numbers, which were little inferior to those of the Catholics." The court was glad of the occasion, and resolved that this provocation, in which other places

were not involved, and which nobody could excuse, should warrant all kind of severity in that city, even to the pulling down their temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the city; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal persons, would be a general mortification to all of the religion in France; with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the army was forthwith ordered to march towards Nismes, to see this executed with the utmost rigour.

Those of the religion in the town were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves, and sent with all possible submission to the magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular men, who had no order for what they did. The magistrates answered, "that they were glad they were sensible of their miscarriage, but they could say nothing upon the subject till the king's pleasure should be known, to whom they had sent a full relation of all that had passed." The others very well knew what the king's pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an express, one Moulins, who had lived many years in that place, and in Montpelier, to Cromwell, to desire his protection and interposition. The express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that Cromwell, after he had received the whole account, bade him "refresh himself after so long a journey, and he would take such care of his business, that by the time he came to Paris, he should find it despatched;" and, that night, sent away another messenger to his ambassador, Lockhart, who, by the time Moulins came thither, had so far prevailed with the Cardinal, that orders were sent to stop the troops,

which were upon their march towards Nismes; and, within a few days after, Moulins returned with a full pardon and amnesty from the king, under the great seal of France, so fully confirmed with all circumstances, that there was never further mention made of it, but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing. So that nobody can wonder that his memory remains still in those parts, and with those people, in great veneration.

He would never suffer himself to be denied any thing he ever asked of the Cardinal, alleging, "that the people would not be otherwise satisfied," which the Cardinal bore very heavily, and complained of to those with whom he would be free. One day he visited Madam Turenne, and when he took his leave of her, she, according to her custom, besought him to continue gracious to the churches. Whereupon the Cardinal told her "that he knew not how to behave himself: if he advised the king to punish and suppress their insolence, Cromwell threatened him to join with the Spaniard; and if he showed any favour to them, at Rome they accounted him an heretic."

To conclude his character, Cromwell was not so far a man of blood, as to follow Machiavel's method; which prescribes, upon a total alteration of government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the council of officers, it was more than once proposed, "that there might be a general massacre of all the royal party, as the only expedient to secure the government," but that Cromwell would never consent to it; it may be, out of too great a contempt of his enemies. In a word, as he was guilty of many crimes

against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some good qualities which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave wicked man.

LORD DIGBY.

The Lord Digby was a man of very extraordinary parts by nature and art, and had surely as good and excellent an education as any man of that age in any country: a graceful and beautiful person; of great eloquence and becomingness in his discourse (save that sometimes he seemed a little affected), and of so universal a knowledge, that he never wanted subject for a discourse: he was equal to a very good part in the greatest affairs, but the unfittest man alive to conduct them, having an ambition and vanity superior to all his other parts, and a confidence in himself which sometimes intoxicated, and transported, and exposed him. He had from his youth, by the disobligations his family had undergone from the Duke of Buckingham, and the great men who succeeded him, and some sharp reprehension himself had met with, which obliged him to a country life, contracted a prejudice and ill-will to the court; and so had in the beginning of the Parliament engaged himself with that party which discovered most aversion from it, with a passion and animosity equal to theirs, and therefore very acceptable to them. But when he was weary of their violent counsels, and withdrew himself from them with some circumstances which enough provoked them, and made a reconciliation, and mutual confidence in each other for the future manifestly impossible amongst them; he made private and secret offers of his service

to the King, to whom, in so general a defection of his servants, it could not but be very agreeable; and so his Majesty being satisfied, both in the discoveries he made of what had passed, and in his professions for the future, removed him from the House of Commons, where he had rendered himself marvellously ungracious, and called him by writ to the House of Peers, where he did visibly advance the King's service, and quickly rendered himself grateful to all those who had not thought too well of him before, when he deserved less; and men were not only pleased with the assistance he gave upon all debates, by his judgment and vivacity, but looked upon him as one, who could derive the King's pleasure to them, and make a lively representation of their good demeanour to the King, which he was very luxuriant in promising to do, and officious enough in doing as much as was just.

He had been instrumental in promoting the three persons above mentioned * to the King's favour; and had himself, in truth, so great an esteem of them, that he did very frequently, upon conference together, depart from his own inclinations and opinions, and concurred in theirs; and very few men of so great parts were, upon all occasions, more counsellable than he; so that he would seldom be in danger of running into great errors, if he would communicate and expose all his own thoughts and inclinations to such a disquisition; nor was he uninclinable in his nature to such an entire communication in all things which he conceived to be difficult. But his fatal infirmity was, that he too often thought difficult things very easy; and considered not possible consequences, when the proposition administered somewhat that was delightful to his

* Lord Falkland, Sir J. Colepepper, and Mr. Hyde.

fancy, by pursuing whereof he imagined he should reap some glory to himself, of which he was immoderately ambitious; so that, if the consultation were upon any action to be done, no man more implicitly entered into the debate, or more cheerfully resigned his conceptions to a joint determination; but when it was once affirmatively resolved (besides that he might possibly reserve some impertinent circumstance, as he thought, the imparting whereof would change the nature of the thing), if his fancy suggested to him any particular, which himself might perform in that action, upon the imagination that every body would approve it, if it were proposed to them, he chose rather to do it, than communicate it, that he might have some signal part in the transaction, in which no other person might claim a share.

By this unhappy temper he did often involve himself in very unprosperous attempts. The King himself was the unfittest person alive to be served by such a counsellor, being too easily inclined to sudden enterprises, and as easily startled when they were entered upon. And from this unhappy composition in the one, and the other, a very unhappy counsel was proposed, and resolution taken, without the least communication with either of the three, who had been so lately admitted to an entire trust.

THE EARL OF DORSET.

The Earl of Dorset was, to all intents, principles, and purposes, another man than the Earl of Pembroke; his person beautiful, and graceful, and vigorous; his wit pleasant, sparkling, and sublime; and his other parts of learning, and language, of that lustre; that he could not miscarry in the world. The vices he had were of the age, which he was not stubborn

enough to contemn or resist. He was a younger brother, grandchild to the great treasurer, Buckhurst, created, at the king's first entrance, Earl of Dorset, who outlived his father, and took care and delight in the education of his grandchild, and left him a good support for a younger brother, besides a wife, who was heir to a fair fortune. As his person and parts were such as are before mentioned, so he gave them full scope without restraint; and indulged to his appetite all the pleasures that season of his life (the fullest of jollity and riot of any that preceded, or succeeded) could tempt or suggest to him.

He entered into a fatal quarrel, upon a subject very unwarrantable, with a young nobleman of Scotland, the Lord Bruce; upon which they both transported themselves into Flanders, and, attended only by two chirurgeons placed at a distance, and under an obligation not to stir but upon the fall of one of them, they fought under the walls of Antwerp, where the Lord Bruce fell dead upon the place; and Sir Edward Sackville (for so he was then called) being likewise hurt, retired into the next monastery, which was at hand. Nor did this miserable accident, which he always exceedingly lamented, make that thorough impression upon him, but that he indulged still too much to those importunate and insatiable appetites, even of that individual person, that had so lately embarked him in that desperate enterprise; being too much tinder not to be inflamed with these sparks.

His eldest brother did not enjoy his grandfather's titles many years, before they descended, for want of heirs male, to the younger brother. But in these few years, the elder, by an excess of expense in all the ways to which money can be applied, so entirely con-

sumed almost the whole great fortune that descended to him, that, when he was forced to leave the title to his younger brother, he left upon the matter nothing to him to support it; which exposed him to many difficulties and inconveniences. Yet his known great parts, and the very good general reputation he had acquired, notwithstanding his defects (for as he was eminent in the House of Commons, whilst he sat there; so he shined in the House of Peers, when he came to move in that sphere), inclined King James to call him to his Privy Council before his death. And if he had not cherished his natural constitution and propensity, and been too much grieved and wrung by an uneasy and strait fortune, he would have been an excellent man of business; for he had a very sharp, discerning spirit, and was a man of an obliging nature, much honour, and great generosity, and of most entire fidelity to the crown.

THE EARL OF ESSEX.

By these artifices, and applications to his vanity, and magnifying the general reputation and credit he had with the people, and sharpening the sense he had of his late ill treatment at court, they fully prevailed upon, and possessed themselves of, the Earl of Essex; who, though he was no good speaker in public, yet, by having sat long in Parliament, was so well acquainted with the order of it in very active times, that he was a better speaker there than he was any where else, and being always heard with attention and respect, had much authority in the debates. Nor did he need any incitement (which made all approaches to him the more easy) to do any thing against the persons of the Lord Archbishop of Canter-

bury and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, towards whom he professed a full dislike; who were the only persons against whom there was any declared design, and against whom the Scots had in their manifesto demanded justice, as the cause of the war between the nations.

* * * * * *

It shall suffice, in this place, to say, that a weak judgment, and some vanity, and much pride, will hurry a man into as unwarrantable and as violent attempts, as the greatest, and most unlimited, and insatiable ambition will do. He had no ambition, of title, or office, or preferment, but only to be kindly looked upon, and kindly spoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own fortune; and, without doubt, no man in his nature more abhorred rebellion than he did, nor could he have been led into it by any open or transparent temptation, but by a thousand disguises and cozenages. His pride supplied his want of ambition, and he was angry to see any other man more respected than himself, because he thought he deserved it more, and did better requite it. For he was, in his friendships, just and constant; and would not have practised foully against those he took to be enemies. No man had credit enough with him to corrupt him in point of loyalty to the king, whilst he thought himself wise enough to know what treason was. But the new doctrine, and distinction of allegiance, and of the king's power in and out of Parliament, and the new notion of ordinances, were too hard for him, and did really intoxicate his understanding, and made him quit his own, to follow theirs, who, he thought, wished as well, and judged better than himself. His vanity disposed him to be his Ex-

cellency; and his weakness, to believe that he should be the general in the houses, as well as in the field; and be able to govern their counsels, and restrain their passions, as well as to fight their battles; and that, by this means, he should become the preserver, and not the destroyer, of the king and kingdom. With this ill-grounded confidence, he launched out into that sea, where he met with nothing but rocks and shelves, and from whence he could never discover any safe port to harbour in.

LORD VISCOUNT FALKLAND.

In this unhappy battle was slain the Lord Viscount Falkland; a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war, than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity.

"Turpe mori, post te, solo non posse dolore."

Before this parliament, his condition of life was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be twenty years of age, he was master of a noble fortune, which descended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without passing through his father or mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented to find themselves passed by in the descent. His education for some years had been in Ireland, where his father was lord deputy; so that when he returned into England, to the possession of his fortune, he was unentangled with any acquaintance or friends,

which usually grow up by the custom of conversation, and therefore was to make a pure election of his company, which he chose by other rules than were prescribed to the young nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his friendship for the agreeableness of their natures, and their undoubted affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship, for the most part, was with men of the most eminent and sublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity; and such men had a title to his bosom.

He was a great cherisher of wit, and fancy, and good parts, in any man; and, if he found them clouded with poverty, or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune; of which, in those administrations, he was such a dispenser, as, if he had been trusted with it to such uses, and if there had been the least of vice in his expense, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore, having once resolved not to see London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue, he went to his own house in the country, and pursued it with that indefatigable industry, that it will not be believed in how short a time he was master of it, and accurately read all the Greek historians.

In this time, his house being within little more than ten miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of that university; who found such an immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgment in him; so infinite a fancy, bound in by a most logical ratiocination,

such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air; so that his house was a university in a less volume; whither they came not so much for repose as study; and to examine and refine those grosser propositions, which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation.

Many attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his mother (who was a lady of another persuasion in religion, and of a most masculine understanding, allayed with the passion and infirmities of her own sex) to pervert him in his piety to the Church of England, and to reconcile him to that of Rome, which they prosecuted with the more confidence, because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that religion, whether priests or laics; having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and having a memory so stupendous, that he remembered on all occasions whatsoever he read. And he was so great an enemy to that passion and uncharitableness, which he saw produced by difference of opinion in matters of religion, that in all these disputations with priests, and others of the Roman Church, he affected to manifest all possible civility to their persons, and estimation of their parts; which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering further reasons to him to that purpose. But this charity towards them was much lessened, and any correspondence with them quite declined, when, by sinister arts, they had corrupted his two younger brothers, being both children,

and stolen them from his house, and transported them beyond seas, and perverted his sisters: upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the principal positions of that religion, with that sharpness of style, and full weight of reason, that the Church is deprived of great jewels in the concealment of them, and that they are not published to the world.

He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men; and that made him too much a contemner of those arts which must be indulged in the transactions of human affairs.

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For these reasons he submitted to the king's command, and became his secretary, with as humble and devoted an acknowledgment of the greatness of the obligation, as could be expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himself to, whilst he continued in that office, that was to his death: for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omissions in the most necessary part of his place. The one, employing of spies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them. I do not mean such emissaries as with danger would venture to view the enemy's camp, and bring intelligence of their number, or quartering, or any particulars that such an observation can comprehend; but those who, by communication of guilt, or dissimulation of manners, wind themselves into such trusts and secrets as enable them to make discoveries. The other, the liberty of opening letters, upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, "such in-

struments must be void of all ingenuity, and common honesty, before they could be of use; and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited: and that no single preservation could be worth so general a wound and corruption of human society, as the cherishing such persons would carry with it." The last he thought "such a violation of the law of nature, that no qualification by office could justify him in the trespass;" and though he was convinced by the necessity and iniquity of the time, that those advantages of information were not to be declined, and were necessarily to be practised, he found means to put it off from himself; whilst he confessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission; so unwilling he was to resign any part of good-nature to an obligation in his office.

In all other particulars he filled his place with great sufficiency, being well versed in languages, to understand any that are used in business, and to make himself again understood. To speak of his integrity, and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to look towards corruption, *in tanto viro, injuria virtutum fuerit.*

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He had a courage of the most clear and keen temper, and so far from fear, that he seemed not without some appetite of danger; and, therefore, upon any occasion of action, he always engaged his person in those troops, which he thought, by the forwardness of the commanders, to be most like to be farthest engaged; and in all such encounters he had about him an extraordinary cheerfulness, without at all affecting the execution that usually attended them, in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it; where

it was not, by resistance, made necessary: insomuch that at Edge-hill, when the enemy was routed, he was like to have incurred great peril, by interposing to save those who had thrown away their arms, and against whom, it may be, others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: so that a man might think he came into the field chiefly out of curiosity to see the face of danger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a soldier; and shortly after he came to his fortune, before he was of age, he went into the Low Countries, with a resolution of procuring command, and to give himself up to it, from which he was diverted by the complete inactivity of that summer: so he returned into England, and shortly after entered upon that vehement course of study we mentioned before, till the first alarm from the North; then again he made ready for the field, and though he received some repulse in the command of a troop of horse, of which he had a promise, he went a volunteer with the Earl of Essex.

From the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to; yet being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side, that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the victor (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of most men, and prevented the looking after many advantages, that might then have been laid hold of), he resisted those indispositions, *et in luctu, bellum*

inter remedia erat. But after the King's return from Brentford, and the furious resolution of the two Houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and he, who had been so exactly easy and affable to all men, that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness and less pleasantness of the visage a kind of rudeness or incivility, became, on a sudden, less communicable; and thence, very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had minded before always with more neatness, and industry, and expense, than is usual to so great a soul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick, and sharp, and severe, that there wanted not some men (strangers to his nature and disposition) who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free.

It is true, that as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even submission to good, and worthy, and entire men, so he was naturally, (which could not but be more evident in his place, which objected him to another conversation and intermixture, than his own election would have done), *adversus malos injucundus;* and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to ill men, that it was not possible for such not to discern it. There was once, in the House of Commons, such a declared acceptation of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and, as they said, to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, "that the Speaker might, in the name of the whole House,

give him thanks; and then, that every member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgement, stir or move his hat towards him;" the which (though not ordered) when very many did, the Lord Falkland, (who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous person could not have stooped to it for any recompense), instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head; that all men might see, how odious that flattery was to him; and the very approbation of the person, though at that time most popular.

When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word Peace, Peace; and would passionately profess, "that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart." This made some think, or pretend to think, "that he was so much enamoured on peace, that he would have been glad the King should have bought it at any price;" which was a most unreasonable calumny. As if a man, that was himself the most punctual and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon conscience or honour, could have wished the King to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse for the daringness of his spirit; for at the leaguer before Gloucester, when

his friends passionately reprehended him for exposing his person unnecessarily to danger (for he delighted to visit the trenches, and nearest approaches, and to discover what the enemy did), as being so much beside the duty of his place, that it might be understood rather to be against it, he would say merrily, "that his office could not take away the privilege of his age; and that a secretary in war might be present at the greatest secret of danger;" but withal alleged seriously, "that it concerned him to be more active in enterprises of hazard, than other men; that all might see that his impatiency for peace proceeded not from pusillanimity, or fear to adventure his own person."

In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself into the first rank of the Lord Byron's regiment, then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers; from whence he was shot with a musket in the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning; till when, there was some hope he might have been a prisoner; though his nearest friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four-and-thirtieth year of his age, having so much despatched the true business of life, that the eldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocency: whosoever leads such a life needs be the less anxious upon how short a warning it is taken from him.

COLONEL GAGE.

He was in truth a very extraordinary man, of a

large and very graceful person, of an honourable extraction, his grandfather having been Knight of the Garter: besides his great experience and abilities as a soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good scholar in the polite parts of learning, a great master in the Spanish and Italian tongues, besides the French and the Dutch, which he spoke in great perfection; having scarce been in England in twenty years before. He was likewise very conversant in courts; having for many years been much esteemed in that of the Arch-Duke and Duchess, Albert and Isabella, at Brussels; which was a great and very regular court at that time; so that he deserved to be looked upon as a wise and accomplished person. Of this gentleman, the Lords of the Council had a singular esteem, and consulted frequently with him, whilst they looked to be besieged; and thought Oxford to be the more secure for his being in it; which rendered him so ungrateful to the Governor, Sir Arthur, that he crossed him in any thing he proposed, and hated him perfectly; as they were of natures, and manners, as different as men can be.

SIDNEY GODOLPHIN.

A young gentleman of incomparable parts; who being of a constitution and education more delicate, and unacquainted with contentions, upon his observation of the wickedness of these men in the House of Commons, of which he was a member, out of the pure indignation of his soul against them, and conscience to his country, had, with the first, engaged himself with that party in the west: and though he thought not fit to take command in a profession he

had not willingly chosen, yet as his advice was of great authority with all the commanders, being always one in the council of war, and whose notable abilities they had still use of in their civil transactions, so he exposed his person to all action, travel, and hazard; and by too forward engaging himself in this last, received a mortal shot by a musket, a little above the knee, of which he died in the instant; leaving the misfortune of his death upon a place, which could never otherwise have had a mention to the world.

GENERALS GORING AND WILMOT.

Goring, who was now general of the horse, was no more gracious to Prince Rupert, than Wilmot had been; had all the other's faults, and wanted his regularity, and preserving his respect with the officers. Wilmot loved debauchery, but shut it out from business; never neglected that, and rarely miscarried in it. Goring had a much better understanding, and a sharper wit (except in the very exercise of debauchery, and then the other was inspired), a much keener courage, and presentness of mind in danger: Wilmot discerned it farther off, and because he could not behave himself so well in it, commonly prevented, or warily declined it; and never drank when he was within distance of an enemy: Goring was not able to resist the temptation, when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a victory; as, in one of those fits, he had suffered the horse to escape out of Cornwall; and the most signal misfortunes of his life in war had their rise from that uncontrollable license. Neither of them valued their promises, professions, or friendships, according to any rules of honour or integrity; but Wilmot violated them the less

willingly, and never but for some great benefit or convenience to himself; Goring without scruple, out of humour, or for wit's sake; and loved no man so well but that he would cozen him, and then expose him to public mirth for having been cozened: therefore he had always fewer friends than the other, but more company; for no man had a wit that pleased the company better. The ambition of both was unlimited, and so equally incapable of being contented; and both unrestrained, by any respect to good nature or justice, from pursuing the satisfaction thereof: yet Wilmot had more scruples from religion to startle him with, and would not have obtained his end by any gross or foul act of wickedness; Goring could have passed through those pleasantly, and would, without hesitation, have broken any trust, or done any act of treachery, to have satisfied an ordinary passion, or appetite; and, in truth, wanted nothing but industry, (for he had wit, and courage, and understanding, and ambition, uncontrolled by any fear of God or man), to have been as eminent and as successful in the highest attempt of wickedness, as any man in the age he lived in, or before. Of all his qualifications, dissimulation was his masterpiece; in which he so much excelled, that men were not ordinarily ashamed, or out of countenance, with being deceived but twice by him.

SIR BEVIL GREENVIL.

That which would have clouded any victory, and made the loss of others less spoken of, was the death of Sir Bevil Greenvil. He was indeed an excellent person, whose activity, interest, and reputation, was the foundation of what had been done in Cornwall;

and his temper and affections so public, that no accident which happened could make any impressions in him; and his example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a word, a brighter courage, and a gentler disposition, were never married together to make the most cheerful and innocent conversation.

LORD GRANDISON.

He was a young man of so virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; so great a lover of justice and integrity, that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of this war, could make him swerve from the most precise rules of it; and of that rare piety and devotion, that the court, or camp, could not show a more faultless person, or to whose example young men might more reasonably conform themselves. His personal valour, and courage of all kinds (for he had sometimes indulged so much to the corrupt opinion of honour, as to venture himself in duels), was very eminent, inasmuch as he was accused of being too prodigal of his person; his affection, and zeal, and obedience to the king, was such as became a branch of that family. And he was wont to say, "that if he had not understanding enough to know the uprightness of the cause, nor loyalty enough to inform him of the duty of a subject, yet the very obligations of gratitude to the king, on the behalf of his house, were such, as his life was but a due sacrifice:" and, therefore, he no sooner saw the war unavoidable, than he engaged all his brethren, as well as himself, in the service; and there were then three more of them in command in the army, where he was so unfortunately cut off.

MR. HAMBDEN.

Mr. Hambden was a man of much greater cunning, and it may be of the most discerning spirit, and of the greatest address and insinuation to bring any thing to pass which he desired, of any man of that time, and who laid the design deepest. He was a gentleman of a good extraction, and a fair fortune, who, from a life of great pleasure and license, had on a sudden retired to extraordinary sobriety and strictness, and yet retained his usual cheerfulness and affability; which, together with the opinion of his wisdom and justice, and the courage he had showed in opposing the ship money, raised his reputation to a very great height, not only in Buckinghamshire, where he lived, but generally throughout the kingdom. He was not a man of many words, and rarely began the discourse, or made the first entrance upon any business that was assumed; but a very weighty speaker, and after he had heard a full debate, and observed how the House was like to be inclined, took up the argument, and shortly, and clearly, and craftily, so stated it, that he commonly conducted it to the conclusion he desired; and if he found he could not do that, he was never without the dexterity to divert the debate to another time, and to prevent the determining any thing in the negative, which might prove inconvenient in the future. He made so great a show of civility, and modesty, and humility, and always of mistrusting his own judgment, and esteeming his with whom he conferred for the present, that he seemed to have no opinions or resolutions, but such as he contracted from the information and instruction he received upon the discourses of others, whom he had a wonderful art of

governing, and leading into his principles and inclinations, whilst they believed that he wholly depended upon their counsel and advice. No man had ever a greater power over himself, or was less the man that he seemed to be, which shortly after appeared to every body, when he cared less to keep on the mask.

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He was a gentleman of a good family in Buckinghamshire, and born to a fair fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world, he indulged to himself all the license in sports and exercises, and company, which were used by men of the most jolly conversation. Afterwards, he retired to a more reserved and melancholy society, yet preserving his own cheerfulness and vivacity, and above all, a flowing courtesy to all men; though they who conversed nearly with him found him growing into a dislike of the ecclesiastical government of the church, yet most believed it rather a dislike of some churchmen, and of some introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the public peace. He was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse, or fame in the kingdom, before the business of ship-money: but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who and what he was, that durst, at his own charge, support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the court. His carriage, throughout this agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony. And the judgment that was given against him infinitely more

advanced him, than the service for which it was given. When this parliament begun (being returned knight of the shire for the county where he lived), the eyes of all men were fixed upon him, as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded, his power and interest, at that time, was greater to do good or hurt, than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time: for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them.

He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of information and instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and, under the notion of doubts, insinuating his objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the character of an ingenious and conscientious person. He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew. For the first year of the parliament, he seemed rather to moderate and soften the violent and distempered humours than to inflame them. But wise and dispassioned men plainly discerned, that that moderation proceeded from prudence, and observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approved of the moderation; and

that he begot many opinions and motions, the education whereof he committed to other men; so far disguising his own designs, that he seemed seldom to wish more than was concluded; and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of voices, he would withdraw himself before the question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness; which produced as great a doubt in some, as it did approbation in others, of his integrity. What combination soever had been originally with the Scots for the invasion of England, and what farther was entered into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any alteration of the government in parliament, no man doubts was at least with the privity of this gentleman.

After he was among those members accused by the king of high treason, he was much altered; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his sword, he threw away the scabbard; for he passionately opposed the overture made by the king for a treaty from Nottingham, and as eminently, all expedients that might have produced any accommodation in this that was at Oxford; and was principally relied on to prevent any infusions which might be made into the Earl of Essex towards peace, or to render them ineffectual if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that party, than the general himself. In the first entrance into the troubles, he undertook the command of a regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a colonel, upon all occasions, most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor

over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men's. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most laborious; and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle or sharp; and of a personal courage equal to his best parts: so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any man could deserve to be. And therefore his death was no less pleasing to the one party, than it was condoled in the other. In a word, what was said of Cinna might well be applied to him: "he had a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute, any mischief." His death therefore seemed to be a great deliverance to the nation.

THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

The Marquis of Hamilton, if he had been then weighed in the scales of the people's hatred, was at that time thought to be in greater danger than any one of the other; for he had more enemies, and fewer friends, in court or country, than any of the other. His interest in the king's affection was at least equal, and thought to be superior to any man's; and he had received as invidious instances and marks of those affections. He had more outfaced the law in bold projects and pressures upon the people, than any other man durst have presumed to do, as especially in the projects of wine and iron; about the last of which, and the most gross, he had a sharp contest with the Lord Coventry (who was a good wrestler too), and at last compelled him to let it pass the seal: the entire profit of which always reverted to himself, and

to such as were his pensioners. He had been the sole manager of the business of Scotland till the pacification; the readiest man, though then absent, to advise that pacification, and the most visible author of the breach of it. Lastly, the discoveries between the Lord Mackey and David Ramsay, by which the marquis was accused of designing to make himself king of Scotland, were fresh in many men's memories, and the late passages in that kingdom had revived it in others; so that he might reasonably have expected as ill a presage for himself from those fortune-tellers, as the most melancholic of the other: but as he had been always most careful and solicitous for himself, so he was most likely to be apprehensive on his own behalf, and to provide accordingly.

DON LEWIS DE HARO.

Don Lewis was as absolute a favourite in the eyes of his master, had as entire a disposal of all his affections and faculties, as any favourite of that age; nor was any thing transacted at home or abroad, but by his direction and determination: and yet of all the favourites of that, or any other time, no man ever did so little alone, or seemed less to enjoy the delight and empire of a favourite. In the most ordinary occurrences, which, for the difficulty, required little deliberation, and in the nature of them required expedition, he would give no order without formal consultation with the rest of the council; which hindered despatch, and made his parts the more suspected. He was son of the Marquis of Carpio, who had married the sister of Olivarez, and had been put about the person of the king, being about the same age as his majesty, and had so grown up in his affection, and was not thought

to have been displeased at the disgrace of his uncle, but rather to have contributed to it, though he did not succeed in the place of favourite in many years, nor seemed to be concerned in any business till after the death of the then queen, and was rather drawn into it by the violence of the king's affection, who had a great kindness for his person, than by the ambition of his own nature, or any delight in business. His education had not fitted him for it, and his natural parts were not sharp, yet his industry was great, and the more commendable, because his nature had some repugnancy to it, and his experience had so fitted him for it, that he never spoke impertinently, but discoursed reasonably and weightily upon all subjects. He was of a melancholic complexion; which, it may be, was the reason that he did not trust himself to himself, which was his defect. He seemed to be a very honest and well-natured man, and did very rarely manifest his power in acts of oppression, or hard-heartedness; which made him grateful to most particular men, when he was hated enough by the generality. His port and grandeur was very much inferior to that of either of the French cardinals; the last of which was favourite during his administration. Nor did he affect wealth as they did, not leaving a fortune behind much improved by his own industry; yet it cannot be denied, that the affairs of Spain declined more, in the time they were under his government, than at any time before; and that less was done with the consumption of so much money, than might have been expected; but it must be likewise considered, that he entered upon that administration in a very unhappy conjuncture, after the loss of Portugal, and the defection in Catalonia, which made

such a rent in that crown, as would have required more than an ordinary statesman to have repaired, and made it flourish as before.

THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.

The Marquis of Hertford was a man of great honour, interest, and estate, and of a universal esteem over the whole kingdom; and though he had received many and continued disobligations from the court, from the time of the king's coming to the crown, as well as during the reign of King James, in both which seasons, more than ordinary care had been taken to discountenance and lessen his interest; yet he had carried himself with notable steadiness, from the beginning of the Parliament, in the support and defence of the king's power and dignity, notwithstanding all his allies, and those with whom he had the greatest familiarity and friendship, were of the opposite party; and never concurred with them against the Earl of Strafford, whom he was known not to love, nor in any other extravagancy.

And then he was not to be shaken in his affection to the government of the church; though it was enough known that he was in no degree biassed to any great inclination to the person of any churchman. And with all this, that party carried themselves towards him with profound respect, not presuming to venture their own credit in endeavouring to lessen his.

It is very true, he wanted some of those qualities, which might have been wished to be in a person to be trusted in the education of a great and hopeful prince, and in forming of his mind and manners in so tender an age. He was of an age not fit for much ac-

tivity and fatigue, and loved, and was even wedded so much to his ease, that he loved his book above all exercises; and had even contracted such a laziness of mind, that he had no delight in an open and liberal conversation; and cared not to discourse, and argue on those points, which he understood very well, only for the trouble of contending; and could never impose upon himself the pain that was necessary to be undergone in such a perpetual attendance: but then those lesser duties might be otherwise provided for, and he could well support the dignity of a governor, and exact diligence from others, which he could not exercise himself; and his honour was so unblemished, that none durst murmur against the designation; and therefore his majesty thought him very worthy of the high trust, against which there was no other exception, but that he was not ambitious of it, nor in truth willing to receive and undergo the charge, so contrary to his natural constitution. But in his pure zeal and affection for the crown, and the conscience, that in this conjuncture his submission might advance the king's service, and that the refusing it might prove disadvantageous to his majesty, he very cheerfully undertook the province, to the general satisfaction and public joy of the whole kingdom; and to the no little honour and credit of the court, that so important and beloved a person would attach himself to it under such a relation, when so many, who had scarce ever eaten any bread but the king's, detached themselves from their dependence, that they might without him, and against him, preserve and improve those fortunes, which they had procured and gotten under him, and by his bounty.

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The Marquis of Hertford was a man of great honour and fortune, and interest in the affection of the people; and had always undergone hard measure from the court, where he long received no countenance, and had no design of making advantage from it. For, though he was a man of very good parts, and conversant in books, both in the Latin and Greek languages, and of a clear courage, of which he had given frequent evidence; yet he was so wholly given up to a country life, where he lived in splendour, that he had an aversion, and even an unaptness, for business: besides his particular friendship with the Earl of Essex, whose sister he married, his greatest acquaintance and conversation had been with those who had the reputation of being best affected to the liberty of the kingdom, and least in love with the humour of the court; many of whom were the chief of those who engaged themselves most factiously and furiously against the king. But as soon as he discerned their violent purposes against the government established, before he suspected their blacker designs, he severed himself from them; and, from the beginning of the Parliament, never concurred with them in any one vote dishonourable to the king, or in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford. He did accept the government of the Prince of Wales, as is mentioned before, purely out of obedience to the king; and, no doubt, it was a great service; though for the performance of the office of a governor he never thought himself fit, nor meddled with it. He left York, as is remembered, to form an army for the king in the west, where his interest was; but he found those parts so corrupted, and an army from the Parliament was poured down so soon upon him, that there was nothing for the present to be done worthy

of his presence; so that he sent the small party, that was with him, farther west to Cornwall; where, by degrees, they grew able to raise an army, with which they joined with him afterwards again; and himself returned to the king at Oxford, about the time when the treaty begun.

THE EARL OF HOLLAND.

The Earl of Holland was a younger son of a noble house, and a very fruitful bed, which divided a numerous issue between two great fathers; the eldest, many sons and daughters to the Lord Rich; the younger, of both sexes, to Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire. The reputation of his family gave him no great advantage in the world, though his eldest brother was Earl of Warwick, and owner of a great fortune; and his younger Earl of Newport, of a very plentiful revenue likewise. He, after some time spent in France, betook himself to the war in Holland, which he intended to have made his profession; where, after he had made two or three campaigns, according to the custom of the English volunteers, he came in the leisure of the winter to visit his friends in England, and the court, that shined then in the plenty and bounty of King James; and about the time of the infancy of the Duke of Buckingham's favours, to whom he grew in a short time very acceptable. But his friendship was more entire to the Earl of Carlisle, who was more of his nature and humour, and had a generosity more applicable at that time to his fortune and his ends. And it was thought by many who stood within view, that for some years he supported himself upon the familiarity and friendship of the other; which continued

mutually between them very many years, with little interruption, to their death.

He was a very handsome man, of a lovely and winning presence, and gentle conversation; by which he got so easy an admission into the court, and grace of King James, that he gave over the thought of further intending the life of a soldier. He took all the ways he could to endear himself to the duke, and to his confidence, and wisely declined the receiving any grace or favour, but as his donation; above all, avoided the suspicion that the king had any kindness for him, upon any account but of the duke, whose creature he desired to be esteemed, though the Earl of Carlisle's friend. And he prospered so well in that pretence, that the king scarce made more haste to advance the duke, than the duke did to promote the other.

He first preferred him to a wife, the daughter and heir of Cope, by whom he had a good fortune; and, amongst other things, the manor and seat of Kensington, of which he was shortly after made baron. And he had quickly so entire a confidence in him, that the duke prevailed with the king to put him about his son the Prince of Wales, and to be a gentleman of his bed-chamber, before the duke himself had reason to promise to himself any portion of his highness's grace and protection. He was then made Earl of Holland, captain of the guard, knight of the garter, and of the privy council, sent the first ambassador into France to treat the marriage with the queen, or rather privately to treat about the marriage before he was ambassador. And when the duke went to the isle of Rhé, he trusted the Earl of Holland with the command of that army with which he was to be recruited and assisted.

In this confidence, and in this posture, he was left by the duke when he was killed; and having the advantage of the queen's good opinion and favour, (which the duke neither had, nor cared for), he made all possible approaches towards the obtaining his trust, and succeeding him in his power; or rather that the queen might have solely that power, and he only be subservient to her; and upon this account he made a continual war upon the Earl of Portland the treasurer, and all others who were not gracious to the queen, or desired not the increase of her authority. And in this state, and under this protection, he received every day new obligations from the king, and great bounties, and continued to flourish above any man in the court, whilst the weather was fair; but the storm did no sooner arise, but he changed so much, and declined so fast from the honour he was thought to be master of, that he fell into that condition, which there will be hereafter too much cause to mention, and to enlarge upon.

DENZIL HOLLIS.

Denzil Hollis, the younger son and younger brother of the Earls of Clare, was as much valued and esteemed by the whole party as any man; as he deserved to be, being of more accomplished parts than any of them, and of great reputation by the part he acted against the Court and the Duke of Buckingham, in the parliament of the fourth year of the king (the last parliament that had been before the short one in April), and his long imprisonment and sharp prosecution afterwards, upon that account, of which he retained the memory with acrimony enough. But he would in no degree intermeddle in the counsel or pro-

secution of the Earl of Strafford (which he could not prevent), who had married his sister, by whom he had all his children, which made him a stranger to all those consultations, though it did not otherwise interrupt the friendship he had with the most violent of those prosecutors. In all other contrivances he was in the most secret counsels with those who most governed, and was respected by them with very submiss applications as a man of authority. Sir Gilbert Gerrard, the Lord Digby, Strode, Haslerig, and the northern gentlemen who were most angry with the earl, or apprehensive of their own being in the mercy of the House, as Hotham, Cholmely, and Stapleton, with some popular lawyers of the House, who did not suspect any wickedness in design, and so became involved by degrees in the worst, observed and pursued the dictates and directions of the other, according to the parts which were assigned to them upon emergent occasions; whilst the whole House looked on with wonder and amazement, without any man's interposing to allay the passion and the fury with which so many were transported.

GENERAL IRETON.

Ireton, of whom we have had too much occasion to speak formerly, was of a melancholic, reserved, dark nature, who communicated his thoughts to very few; so that, for the most part, he resolved alone, but was never diverted from any resolution he had taken; and he was thought often by his obstinacy to prevail over Cromwell himself, and to extort his concurrence contrary to his own inclinations. But that proceeded only from his dissembling less; for he was never reserved in the owning and communicating his worst

and most barbarous purposes; which the other always concealed and disavowed. Hitherto their concurrence had been very natural, since they had the same ends and designs. It was generally conceived by those who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that Ireton was a man so radically averse from monarchy, and so fixed to a republic government, that, if he had lived, he would either, by his counsel and credit, have prevented those excesses in Cromwell, or publicly opposed and declared against them, and carried the greatest part of the army with him; and that Cromwell, who best knew his nature and his temper, had therefore carried him into Ireland, and left him there, that he might be without his counsels or importunities, when he should find it necessary to put off his mask, and to act that part which he foresaw it would be requisite to do. Others thought his parts lay more towards civil affairs, and were fitter for the modelling that government, which his heart was set upon (being a scholar, conversant in the law, and in all those authors who had expressed the greatest animosity and malice against the regal government), than for the conduct of an army to support it; his personal courage being never reckoned among his other abilities.

SIR HARRY KILLIGREW.

Sir Harry was of the House of Commons; and though he had no other relation to the court than the having many friends there, as wherever he was known he was exceedingly beloved, he was most zealous and passionate in opposing all the extravagant proceedings of the parliament. And when the Earl of Essex was chosen general, and the several members of the

House stood up, and declared what horse they would raise and maintain, and that they would live and die with the earl their general, one saying he would raise ten horses, and another twenty, he stood up, and said, "He would provide a good horse, and a good buff coat, and a good pair of pistols, and then he doubted not but he should find a good cause;" and so went out of the house, and rode post into Cornwall, where his estate and interest lay; and there joined with those gallant gentlemen his friends, who first received the Lord Hopton, and raised those forces which did so many famous actions in the west.

He would never take any command in the army; but they who had, consulted with no man more. He was in all actions, and in those places where was most danger, having great courage, and a pleasantness of humour in danger that was very exemplary; and they who did not do their duty took care not to be within his view; for he was a very sharp speaker, and cared not for angering those who deserved to be reprehended. The Arundels, Trelawnies, Slannings, Trevanions, and all the signal men of that country, infinitely loved his spirit and sincerity; and his credit and interest had a great influence upon all but those who did not love the king; and to those he was very terrible, and exceedingly hated by them, and not loved by men of moderate tempers; for he thought all such prepared to rebel, when a little success should encourage them, and was many times too much offended with men who wished well, and whose constitutions and complexions would not permit them to express the same frankness which his nature and keenness of spirit could not suppress. His loss was much lamented by all good men.

THE EARLS OF LANRICK AND LAUDERDALE.

They were both men of great parts and industry, though they loved pleasures too: both proud and ambitious; the former, much the civiller and better bred, of the better nature and better judgment, and an openness and clearness more to be trusted and relied upon than most men of that party: the latter, insolent, imperious, flattering, and dissembling, fitter for intrigues and contrivances by the want of the ingenuity which the other had, and by the experience and practice he had in the committee of both kingdoms in their darkest designs. The former was a man of honour and courage; the latter had courage enough not to fail where it was absolutely necessary, and no impediment of honour to restrain him from doing any thing that might gratify any of his passions.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

He was a man of great parts, and very exemplary virtues, allayed and discredited by some unpopular natural infirmities, the greatest of which was (besides a hasty, sharp way of expressing himself), that he believed innocence of heart, and integrity of manners, was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what ways soever he was to pass: and sure never any man was better supplied with that provision. He was born of honest parents, who were well able to provide for his education in the schools of learning, from whence they sent him to St. John's College in Oxford, the worst endowed of any at that time in that famous university. From a scholar he became a fellow, and then the president of the

college, after he had received all the graces and degrees (the proctorship and the doctorship) could be obtained there. He was always maligned and persecuted by those who were of the Calvinian faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their usual maxim and practice, call every man they do not love, Papist; and under this senseless appellation they created him many troubles and vexations; and so far suppressed him, that though he was the king's chaplain, and taken notice of for an excellent preacher, and a scholar of the most sublime parts, he had not any preferment to invite him to leave his poor college, which only gave him bread, till the vigour of his age was past: and when he was promoted by King James, it was but to a poor bishopric in Wales, which was not so good a support for a bishop as his college was for a private scholar, though a doctor.

Parliaments in that time were frequent, and grew very busy; and the party under which he had suffered a continual persecution appeared very powerful and full of design; and they who had the courage to oppose them began to be taken notice of with approbation and countenance: under this style he came to be first cherished by the Duke of Buckingham, who had made some experiments of the temper and spirit of the other people, nothing to his satisfaction. From this time he prospered at the rate of his own wishes, and being transplanted out of his cold barren diocese of St. David's into a warmer climate, he was left, as was said before, by that great favourite in that great trust with the king, who was sufficiently indisposed towards the persons or the principles of Calvin's disciples.

When he came into great authority, it may be,

he retained too keen a memory of those who had so unjustly and uncharitably persecuted him before; and, I doubt, was so far transported with the same passions he had reason to complain of in his adversaries, that, as they accused him of Popery, because he had some doctrinal opinions which they liked not, though they were nothing allied to Popery; so he entertained too much prejudice to some persons, as if they were enemies to the discipline of the Church, because they concurred with Calvin in some doctrinal points; when they abhorred his discipline, and reverenced the government of the Church, and prayed for the peace of it with as much zeal and fervency as any in the kingdom; as they made manifest in their lives and in their sufferings with it, and for it. He had, from his first entrance into the world, without any disguise or dissimulation, declared his own opinion of that classis of men; and as soon as it was in his power, he did all he could to hinder the growth and increase of that faction, and to restrain those who were inclined to it from doing the mischief they desired to do. But his power at Court could not enough qualify him to go through with that difficult reformation, whilst he had a superior in the Church, who, having the reins in his hand, could slacken them according to his own humour and indiscretion; and was thought to be the more remiss, to irritate his choleric disposition. But when he had now the primacy in his own hand, the king being inspired with the same zeal, he thought he should be to blame, and have much to answer for, if he did not make haste to apply remedies to those diseases, which he saw would grow apace.

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The Archbishop had, all his life, eminently opposed

Calvin's doctrine in those controversies before the name of Arminius was taken notice of, or his opinions heard of; and thereupon, for want of another name, they had called him a Papist, which nobody believed him to be, and he had more manifested the contrary in his disputations and writings than most men had done; and it may be the other found the more severe and rigorous usage from him, for their propagating that calumny against him. He was a man of great courage and resolution, and being most assured within himself, that he proposed no end in all his actions and designs, but what was pious and just (as sure no man had ever a heart more entire to the king, the church, or his country), he never studied the easiest way to those ends; he thought, it may be, that any art or industry that way would discredit, at least make the ingenuity of the end suspected, let the cause be what it will. He did court persons too little; nor cared to make his designs and purposes appear as candid as they were, by showing them in any other dress than their natural beauty, though perhaps in too rough a manner; and did not consider enough what men said, or were like to say, of him. If the faults and vices were fit to be looked into, and discovered, let the persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance of favour from him. He intended the discipline of the Church should be felt, as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressors, as well as to the punishment of smaller offences, and meaner offenders; and thereupon called for or cherished the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men, or their power or will to chastise. Persons

of honour and great quality, of the court, and of the country, were every day cited into the High Commission court, upon the fame of their incontinence, or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted to their shame and punishment: and as the shame (which they called an insolent triumph upon their degree and quality, and levelling them with the common people) was never forgotten, but watched for revenge; so the fines imposed there were the more questioned, and repined against, because they were assigned to the rebuilding and repairing St. Paul's church; and thought therefore to be the more severely imposed, and the less compassionately reduced and excused; which likewise made the jurisdiction and rigour of the Star-chamber more felt, and murmured against, and sharpened many men's humours against the bishops, before they had any ill intention towards the church.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

The Earl of Leicester was a man of great parts, very conversant in books, and much addicted to the mathematics; and though he had been a soldier, and commanded a regiment in the service of the States of the United Provinces, and was afterwards employed in several embassies, as in Denmark and in France, was in truth rather a speculative than a practical man; and expected a greater certitude in the consultation of business, than the business of this world is capable of: which temper proved very inconvenient to him through the course of his life. He was, after the death of the Earl of Strafford, by the concurrent kindness and esteem both of king and queen, called from his embassy in France, to be lieutenant of the

kingdom of Ireland; and in a very short time after, unhappily lost that kindness and esteem: and being about the time of the king's coming to Oxford ready to embark at Chester, for the execution of his charge, he was required to attend his majesty, for further instructions, at Oxford, where he remained; and though he was of the council, and sometimes present, he desired not to have any part in the business; and lay under many reproaches and jealousies, which he deserved not: for he was of honour and fidelity to the king, and his greatest misfortune proceeded from the staggering and irresolution in his nature.

THE EARL OF LINDSEY.

The Earl of Lindsey was a man of very noble extraction, and inherited a great fortune from his ancestors; which though he did not manage with so great care, as if he desired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair condition to his family, which more intended the increase of it. He was a man of great honour, and spent his youth and vigour of his age in military actions and commands abroad; and albeit he indulged to himself great liberties of life, yet he still preserved a very good reputation with all men, and a very great interest in his country, as appeared by the supplies he and his son brought to the king's army; the several companies of his own regiment of foot being commanded by the principal knights and gentlemen of Lincolnshire, who engaged themselves in the service principally out of their personal affection to him. He was of a very generous nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that restriction so heavily, which was put upon him

by the commission granted to Prince Rupert, and by the king's preferring the prince's opinion, in all matters relating to the war, before his. Nor did he conceal his resentment: the day before the battle, he said to some friends with whom he had used freedom, "that he did not look upon himself as general; and therefore he was resolved, when the day of battle should come, that he would be in the head of his regiment as a private colonel, where he would die." He was carried out of the field to the next village; and if he could have procured surgeons, it was thought his wound would not have proved mortal. And as soon as the other army was composed by the coming on of the night, the Earl of Essex, about midnight, sent Sir William Balfour, and some other officers, to see him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himself to have visited him. They found him upon a little straw in a poor house, where they had laid him in his blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no surgeon having been yet with him; only he had great vivacity in his looks; and told them, "he was sorry to see so many gentlemen, some whereof were his old friends, engaged in so foul a rebellion," and principally directed his discourse to Sir William Balfour, whom he put in mind of "the great obligations he had to the king; how much his majesty had disobliged the whole English nation by putting him into the command of the Tower; and that it was the most odious ingratitude in him to make him that return." He wished them to tell my Lord Essex, "that he ought to cast himself at the king's feet to beg his pardon; which if he did not speedily do, his memory would be odious to the nation;" and continued this kind of discourse with so much vehemence, that the

officers by degrees withdrew themselves; and prevented the visit the Earl of Essex intended him, who only sent the best surgeons to him; but in the very opening of his wounds he died before the morning, only upon the loss of blood. He had very many friends, and very few enemies; and died generally lamented.

LORD KEEPER LITTLETON.

He was a man of great reputation in the profession of the law; for learning, and all other advantages, which attend the most eminent men; he was of a very good extraction in Shropshire, and inherited a fair fortune and inheritance from his father; he was a handsome and a proper man, of a very graceful presence, and notorious for courage, which in his youth he had manifested with his sword; he had taken pains in the hardest and most knotty part of the law, as well as that which was more customary; and was not only ready and expert in the books, but exceedingly versed in records, in studying and examining whereof he had kept Mr. Selden company, with whom he had great friendship, and who had much assisted him; so that he was looked upon the best antiquary of the profession, who gave himself up to practice; and, upon the mere strength of his own abilities, he had raised himself into the first rank of the practicers in the common law courts, and was chosen recorder of London before he was called to the bench, and grew presently into the highest practice in all the outer courts, as well as those of the law. When the king looked more narrowly into his business, and found that he should have much to do in Westminster-hall, he removed an old, useless, illiterate person, who had

been put into that office by the favour of the Duke of Buckingham, and made Littleton his solicitor-general, much to his honour, but not to his profit; the obligation of attendance upon that office depriving him of much benefit he used to acquire by his practice before he had that relation. Upon the death of my Lord Coventry, Finch being made keeper, he was made chief justice of the common pleas, then the best office of the law, and that which he was wont to say, in his highest ambition, in his own private wishes, he had most desired; and it was indeed the sphere in which he moved most gracefully, and with most advantage, being a master of all that learning and knowledge which that place required, and an excellent judge, of great gravity, and above all suspicion of corruption.

Whilst he held this place, he was, by the favour of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Strafford, who had a great esteem of him, recommended to the king to be called to the council table, where he kept up his good name; and upon the Lord Finch's leaving the kingdom, in the beginning of the parliament, he was thought, in many respects, to be the fittest to be intrusted in that office; and, upon the desire of the Earl of Strafford, after he was in the Tower, was created a baron, out of expectation that, by his authority and knowledge of the law, he would have been of great use in restraining those extraordinary and unwarrantable proceedings: but, from the time he had the great seal, he seemed to be out of his element, and in some perplexity and irresolution in the chancery itself, though he had great experience in the practice and proceedings of that court; and made not that despatch that was expected at the council table; and in the parliament he did not preserve any dignity;

and appeared so totally dispirited, that few men showed any respect to him, but they who most opposed the king, who indeed did exceedingly apply themselves to him, and were with equal kindness received by him. This wonderful alteration in him his friends believed to have proceeded from a great sickness, which had seized upon him quickly after he was created a baron, insomuch as every man believed he would die; and by this means, he did not attend the house in some months; and so performed none of those offices towards the Earl of Strafford, the expectation whereof had been the sole motive to that promotion: from that time he never did appear the same man; but sure there were other causes for it, and he was possessed with some melancholy apprehensions, which he could not master, and had no friend to whom he durst entirely communicate them.

SIR CHARLES LUCAS, AND SIR GEORGE LISLE.

The two who were thus murdered were men of great name and esteem in the war; the one being held as good a commander of horse, and the other of foot, as the nation had; but of very different tempers and humours. Lucas was the younger brother of the Lord Lucas, and his heir both to the honour and estate, and had a present fortune of his own. He had been bred in the Low Countries under the Prince of Orange, and always amongst the horse. He had little conversation in that court, where great civility was practised, and learned. He was very brave in his person, and in a day of battle a gallant man to look upon, and follow; but at all other times and places, of a nature scarce to be lived with, of no good understanding, of a rough and proud humour, and very

morose conversation; yet they all desired to accompany him in his death. Lisle was a gentleman who had had the same education with the other, and at the same time an officer of foot; had all the courage of the other, and led his men to battle with such alacrity, that no man was ever better followed; his soldiers never forsaking him; and the party which he commanded never left any thing undone which he led them upon. But then, to his fierceness of courage he had the softest and most gentle nature imaginable; was kind to all, and beloved of all, and without a capacity to have an enemy.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.

The next great counsellor of state was the lord privy seal, who was likewise of a noble extraction, and of a family at that time very fortunate. His grandfather had been lord chief justice, and left by King Henry the Eighth one of the executors of his last will. He was the younger son of his father, and brought up in the study of the law in the Middle Temple; and had passed, and, as it were, made a progress through, all the eminent degrees of the law, and in the state. At the death of Queen Elizabeth, or thereabouts, he was recorder of London; then the king's serjeant at law; afterwards chief justice of the king's bench. Before the death of King James, by the favour of the Duke of Buckingham, he was raised to the place of lord high treasurer of England; and within less than a year afterwards, by the withdrawing of that favour, he was reduced to the almost empty title of president of the council; and, to allay the sense of the dishonour, created Viscount Mandevile. He bore the diminution very well, as he was

a wise man, and of an excellent temper, and quickly recovered so much grace, that he was made Earl of Manchester, and lord privy seal, and enjoyed that office to his death; whilst he saw many removes and degradations in all the other offices of which he had been possessed.

He was a man of great industry and sagacity in business, which he delighted in exceedingly; and preserved so great a vigour of mind, even to his death, (when he was very near eighty years of age), that some who had known him in his younger years, did believe him to have much quicker parts in his age than before. His honours had grown faster upon him than his fortunes, which made him too solicitous to advance the latter by all the ways which offered themselves; whereby he exposed himself to some inconvenience and many reproaches, and became less capable of serving the public by his counsels and authority; which his known wisdom, long experience, and confessed gravity and ability, would have enabled him to have done; most men considering more the person that speaks than the things he says. And he was unhappily too much used as a check upon the Lord Coventry; and when that lord perplexed their counsels and designs with inconvenient objections in law, the authority of the Lord Manchester, who had trod the same paths, was still called upon; and he did too frequently gratify their unjustifiable designs and pretences: a guilt and mischief, all men who are obnoxious, or who are thought to be so, are liable to, and can hardly preserve themselves from. But his virtues so far weighed down his infirmities, that he maintained a good general reputation and credit with the whole nation and people; he

being always looked upon as full of integrity and zeal to the protestant religion, as it was established by law, and of unquestionable loyalty, duty, and fidelity to the king; which two qualifications will ever gather popular breath enough to fill the sails, if the vessel be competently provided with ballast. He died in a lucky time, in the beginning of the rebellion, when neither religion, loyalty, law, nor wisdom, could have provided for any man's security.

THE EARL OF MANCHESTER*.

The Lord Mandevile, eldest son to the lord privy seal, was a person of great civility, and very well bred, and had been early in the court under the favour of the Duke of Buckingham, a lady of whose family he had married: he had attended upon the prince when he was in Spain, and had been called to the house of peers in the lifetime of his father by the name of the Lord Kimbolton, which was a very extraordinary favour. Upon the death of the Duke of Buckingham, his wife being likewise dead, he married the daughter of the Earl of Warwick; a man in no grace at court, and looked upon as the greatest patron of the puritans, because of much the greatest estate of all who favoured them, and so was esteemed by them with great application and veneration: though he was of a life very licentious, and unconformable to their professed rigour, which they rather dispensed with, than they would withdraw from a house where they received so eminent a protection, and such notable bounty. Upon this latter marriage the Lord Mandevile totally estranged himself from the court, and upon all occasions appeared

* Son to the subject of the preceding article.

enough to dislike what was done there, and engaged himself wholly in the conversation of those who were most notoriously of that party, whereof there was a kind of fraternity of many persons of good condition, who chose to live together in one family, at a gentleman's house of a fair fortune, near the place where the Lord Mandevile lived; whither others of that classis likewise resorted, and maintained a joint and mutual correspondence and conversation together with much familiarity and friendship: that lord, to support and the better to improve that popularity, living at a much higher rate than the narrow exhibition allowed to him by his wary father could justify, making up the rest by contracting a great debt, which long lay heavy upon him; by which generous way of living, and by his natural civility, good manners, and good-nature, which flowed towards all men, he was universally acceptable and beloved; and no man more in the confidence of the discontented and factious party than he, and none to whom the whole mass of their designs, as well what remained in chaos as what was formed, was more entirely communicated, and no man more consulted with.

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The Earl of Manchester, of the whole cabal, was in a thousand respects most unfit for the company he kept. He was of a gentle and a generous nature; civilly bred; had reverence and affection for the person of the king, upon whom he had attended in Spain; loved his country with too unskilful a tenderness; and was of so excellent a temper and disposition, that the barbarous times, and the rough parts he was forced to act in them, did not wipe out, or much deface, those marks: insomuch as he was never guilty

of any rudeness towards those he was obliged to oppress, but performed always as good offices towards his old friends, and all other persons, as the iniquity of the time, and the nature of the employment he was in, would permit him to do; which kind of humanity could be imputed to very few.

He was at last dismissed, and removed from any trust, for no other reason but because he was not wicked enough. He married first into the family of the Duke of Buckingham, and by his favour and interest was called to the House of Peers in the life of his father; and made Baron of Kimbolton, though he was commonly treated and known by the name of Lord Mandevile; and was as much addicted to the service of the court as he ought to be. But the death of his lady, and the murder of that great favourite, his second marriage with the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and the very narrow and restrained maintenance which he received from his father, and which would in no degree defray the expenses of the court, forced him too soon to retire to a country life, and totally to abandon both the court and London, whither he came very seldom in many years. And in this retirement, the discountenance which his father underwent at court, the conversation of that family into which he was married, the bewitching popularity which flowed upon him with a wonderful torrent, and the want of those guards which a good education should have supplied him with, by the clear notion of the foundation of the ecclesiastical, as well as the civil government, made a great impression upon his understanding (for his nature was never corrupted, but remained still in its integrity), and made him believe that the court was inclined to hurt, and even to

destroy the country; and from particular instances to make general and dangerous conclusions. They who had been always enemies to the church prevailed with him to lessen his reverence for it, and having not been well instructed to defend it, he yielded too easily to those who confidently assaulted it; and thought it had great errors, which were necessary to be reformed; and that all means are lawful to compass that which is necessary. Whereas the true logic is, that the thing desired is not necessary, if the ways are unlawful, which are proposed to bring it to pass. No man was courted with more application, by persons of all conditions and qualities; and his person was not less acceptable to those of steady and uncorrupted principles, than to those of depraved inclinations. And in the end, even his piety administered some excuse to him; for his father's infirmities and transgressions had so far exposed him to the inquisition of justice, that the son found it necessary to procure the assistance and protection of those who were strong enough to violate justice itself; and so he adhered to those who were best able to defend his father's honour, and thereby to secure his own fortune; and concurred with him in their most violent designs, and gave reputation to them. And the court as unskilfully took an occasion too soon to make him desperate, by accusing him of high treason, when (though he might be guilty enough) he was, without doubt, in his intentions at least, as innocent as any of the leading men.

It is some evidence, that God Almighty saw his heart was not so malicious as the rest, that he preserved him to the end of the confusion, when he appeared as glad of the king's restoration, and had heartily wished it long before, and very few, who had

any hand in the contrivance of the rebellion, gave so manifest tokens of repentance as he did; and having, for many years, undergone the jealousy and hatred of Cromwell, as one who abominated the murder of the king, and all the barbarous proceedings against the lives of men in cold blood; the king upon his return received him into grace and favour, which he never after forfeited by any undutiful behaviour.

THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

Thus died the gallant Marquis of Montrose, after he had given as great a testimony of loyalty and courage as a subject can do, and performed as wonderful actions in several battles, upon as great inequality of numbers, as great disadvantages in respect of arms, and other preparations for war, as have been performed in this age. He was a gentleman of a very ancient extraction, many of whose ancestors had exercised the highest charges under the king in that kingdom, and had been allied to the crown itself. He was of very good parts, which were improved by a good education: he had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt of the Marquis of Argyle (as he was too apt to contemn those he did not love), who wanted nothing but honesty and courage to be a very extraordinary man, having all other good talents in a very great degree. Montrose was in his nature fearless of danger, and never declined any enterprise for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected those which seemed desperate to other men, and did believe somewhat to be in himself above other men, which made him live more easily towards those who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him (towards whom he exercised wonderful civility and ge-

nerosity) than with his superiors or equals. He was naturally jealous, and suspected those who did not concur with him in the way, not to mean so well as he. He was not without vanity, but his virtues were much superior, and he well deserved to have his memory preserved, and celebrated amongst the most illustrious persons of the age in which he lived.

MARQUIS OF NEWCASTLE.

All that can be said for the marquis is, that he was so utterly tired with a condition and employment so contrary to his humour, nature, and education, that he did not at all consider the means, or the way, that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from having more to do with it. And it was a greater wonder that he sustained the vexation and fatigue of it so long, than that he broke from it with so little circumspection. He was a very fine gentleman, active, and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing, which accompany a good breeding, in which his delight was. Besides that he was amorous in poetry and music, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoyed in a full and ample fortune, but honour and ambition to serve the king when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him, and by him. He loved monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; and the church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the crown; and religion as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that was necessary to both; without any other passion for the

particular opinions which were grown up in it and distinguished it into parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the public peace.

He had a particular reverence for the person of the king, and the more extraordinary devotion for that of the prince, as he had had the honour to be trusted with his education as his governor; for which office, as he excelled in some, so he wanted other qualifications. Though he had retired from his great trust, and from the court, to decline the insupportable envy which the powerful faction had contracted against him, yet the king was no sooner necessitated to possess himself of some place of strength, and to raise some force for his defence, but the Earl of Newcastle (he was made marquis afterwards) obeyed his first call, and with great expedition and dexterity seized upon that town; when till then there was not one port town in England that avowed their obedience to the king: and he then presently raised such regiments of horse and foot as were necessary for the present state of affairs; all which was done purely by his own interest, and the concurrence of his numerous allies in those northern parts; who with all alacrity obeyed his commands, without any charge to the king; which he was not able to supply.

And after the battle of Edge-hill, when the rebels grew so strong in Yorkshire, by the influence their garrison of Hull had upon both the East and West Riding there, that it behoved the king presently to make a general, who might unite all those northern counties in his service, he could not choose any man so fit for it as the Earl of Newcastle, who was not only possessed of a great force, and of that important town, but had a greater reputation and interest in

Yorkshire itself than, at that present, any other man had: the Earl of Cumberland being at that time, though of entire affection to the king, much decayed in the vigour of his body and his mind, and unfit for that activity which the season required. And it cannot be denied, that the Earl of Newcastle, by his quick march with his troops, as soon as he had received his commission to be general, and in the depth of winter, redeemed or rescued the city of York from the rebels, when they looked upon it as their own, and had it even within their grasp: and as soon as he was master of it, he raised men apace, and drew an army together, with which he fought many battles, in which he had always (this last only excepted) success and victory.

He liked the pomp and absolute authority of a general well, and preserved the dignity of it to the full; and for the discharge of the outward state, and circumstances of it, in acts of courtesy, affability, bounty, and generosity, he abounded; which, in the infancy of a war, became him, and made him, for some time, very acceptable to men of all conditions. But the substantial part and fatigue of a general he did not in any degree understand (being utterly unacquainted with war), nor could submit to; but referred all matters of that nature to the discretion of his Lieutenant-General King; who, no doubt, was an officer of great experience and ability, yet, being a Scotchman, was in that conjuncture upon more disadvantage than he would have been, if the general himself had been more intent upon his command. In all actions of the field he was still present, and never absent in any battle; in all which he gave instances of invincible courage and fearlessness in danger; in which the exposing himself notoriously did sometimes

change the fortune of the day, when his troops begun to give ground. Such articles of action were no sooner over, than he retired to his delightful company, music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion soever; insomuch that he denied admission to the chiefest officers of the army, even to General King himself, for two days together, from whence many inconveniences fell out.

From the beginning he was without any reverence or regard for the Privy Council, with few of whom he had any acquaintance, but was of the other soldiers' mind, that all the business ought to be done by councils of war, and was always angry when there was any overtures of a treaty; and, therefore, especially after the queen had landed in Yorkshire, and stayed so long there, he considered any orders he received from Oxford, though from the king himself, more negligently than he ought to have done; and when he thought himself sure of Hull, and was sure that he should be then master entirely of all the north, he had no mind to march nearer the king (as he had then orders to march into the associated counties, when upon the taking of Bristol, his majesty had a purpose to have marched towards London on the other side), out of apprehension that he should be eclipsed by the court, and his authority overshadowed by the superiority of Prince Rupert; from whom he desired to be at distance: yet when he found himself in distress, and necessitated to draw his army within the walls of York, and saw no way to be relieved but by Prince Rupert, who had then done great feats of arms in the relief of Newark, and afterwards in his expedition into Lancashire, where he was at that time, he writ to the

king to Oxford, either upon the knowledge that the absoluteness and illimitedness of his commission was generally much spoken of, or out of the conscience of some discourse of his own to that purpose, which might have been reported; "that he hoped his Majesty did believe, that he would never make the least scruple to obey the grandchild of King James:" and assuredly, if the prince had cultivated the good inclinations the marquis had towards him; with any civil and gracious condescensions, he would have found him full of duty and regard to his service and interest.

But the strange manner of the prince's coming, and throwing himself, and all the king's hopes, into that sudden and unnecessary engagement, by which all the force the marquis had raised, and with so many difficulties preserved, was in a moment cast away and destroyed, so transported him with passion and despair, that he could not compose himself to think of beginning the work again, and involving himself in the same undelightful condition of life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his past meritorious actions might outweigh his present abandoning the thought of future action; and so, without farther consideration, as hath been said, he transported himself out of the kingdom, and took with him General King; upon whom they, who were content to spare the marquis, poured out all the reproaches of "infidelity, treason, and conjunction with his countrymen;" which, without doubt, was the effect of the universal discontent, and the miserable condition to which the people of those northern parts were on the sudden reduced, without the least foundation, or ground for any such reproach: and as he had, throughout the whole

course of his life, been generally reputed a man of honour, and had exercised the highest commands under the King of Sweden with extraordinary ability and success, so he had been prosecuted by some of his countrymen with the highest malice, from his very coming into the king's service; and the same malice pursued him after he had left the kingdom, even to his death.

The loss of England came so soon to be lamented, that the loss of York, or the too soon deserting the northern parts, was comparatively no more spoken of; and the constant and noble behaviour of the marquis in the change of his fortune, and his cheerful submission to all the straits, necessities, and discomforts, which are inseparable from banishment, without the least application to the usurpers who were possessed of his whole estate, and upon which they committed all imaginable and irreparable waste, in destroying all his woods of very great value, and who were still equally abhorred and despised by him; and with his readiness and alacrity, again to have embarked himself in the king's quarrel, upon the first reasonable occasion, so perfectly reconciled all good men to him, that they rather observed what he had done and suffered for the king and for his country, without farther inquiring what he had omitted to do, or been overseen in doing.

THE EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

He was a person of great courage, honour, and fidelity, and not well known till his evening; having, in the ease, and plenty, and luxury of that too happy time, indulged to himself, with that licence which was then thought necessary to great fortunes; but from the

beginning of these distractions, as if he had been awakened out of a lethargy, he never proceeded with a lukewarm temper. Before the standard was set up, he appeared in Warwickshire against the Lord Brook, and as much upon his own reputation as the justice of the cause (which was not so well then understood), discountenanced, and drove him out of that county. Afterwards he took the ordnance from Banbury castle, and brought them to the king. As soon as an army was to be raised, he levied, with the first, upon his own charge, a troop of horse, and a regiment of foot, and (not like some other men, who warily distributed their family to both sides, one son to serve the king, whilst his father, or another son, engaged as far for the Parliament) entirely dedicated all his children to the quarrel; having four sons officers under him, whereof three charged that day in the field: and from the time he submitted himself to the profession of a soldier, no man more punctual upon command, no man more diligent and vigilant in duty. All distresses he bore like a common man, and all wants and hardnesses, as if he had never known plenty or ease; most prodigal of his person to danger; and would often say, "that if he outlived these wars, he was certain never to have so noble a death." So that it is not to be wondered, if, upon such a stroke, the body that felt it thought it had lost more than a limb.

THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Of those who were of the king's council, and who stayed and acted with the Parliament, the Earl of Northumberland may well be reckoned the chief, in respect of the antiquity and splendour of his family, his great fortune and estate, and the general reputa-

tion he had among the greatest men, and his great interest, by being High Admiral of England. Though he was of a family that had lain under frequent blemishes of want of fidelity to the crown, and his father had been long a prisoner in the Tower, under some suspicion of having some knowledge of the gunpowder treason; and after he was set at liberty, by the mediation and credit of the Earl of Carlisle, who had, without and against his consent, married his daughter, he continued to his death under such a restraint, that he had not liberty to live and reside upon his northern estate; yet this lord's father was no sooner dead, than the king poured out his favours upon him in a wonderful measure: he begun with conferring the order of the garter upon him, and shortly after made him of his privy council; when a great fleet of ships was prepared, by which the king meant that his neighbour princes should discern, that he intended to maintain and preserve his sovereignty at sea, he sent the Earl of Northumberland admiral of that fleet, a much greater than the crown had put to sea since the death of Queen Elizabeth, that he might breed him for that service, before he gave him a more absolute command. And after he had, in that capacity, exercised himself a year or two, the king made him Lord High Admiral of England; which was such a quick succession of bounties and favours, as had rarely befallen any man, who had not been attended with the envy of a favourite. He was in all his deportment a very great man, and that which looked like formality was a punctuality in preserving his dignity from the invasion and intrusion of bold men, which no man of that age so well preserved himself from. Though his notions were not large or

deep, yet his temper, and reservedness in discourse, and his reservedness in speaking, got him the reputation of an able and a wise man; which he made evident in the excellent government of his family, where no man was more absolutely obeyed; and no man had ever fewer idle words to answer for; and in debates of importance, he always expressed himself very pertinently. If he had thought the king as much above him, as he thought himself above other considerable men, he would have been a good subject; but the extreme undervaluing those, and not enough valuing the king, made him liable to the impressions, which they who approached him by those addresses of reverence and esteem, that usually insinuate into such natures, made in him. So that after he was first prevailed upon, not to do that which in honour and gratitude he was obliged to do (which is a very pestilent corruption), he was with the more facility led to concur in what, in duty and fidelity, he ought not to have done, and which at first he never intended to have done. And so he concurred in all the counsels which produced the rebellion, and stayed with them to support it; which is as much as is necessary to say of him in this place, since there will be often occasion hereafter to mention him, with some enlargement.

ATTORNEY GENERAL NOY AND LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE FINCH.

The first, upon the great fame of his ability and learning (and he was very able and learned), was, by great industry and importunity from court, persuaded to accept that place, for which all other men laboured, (being the best, for profit, that profession is capable of,) and so he suffered himself to be made the king's

attorney-general. The court made no impression on his manners, upon his mind it did: and though he wore about him an affected morosity, which made him unapt to flatter other men, yet even that morosity and pride rendered him the most liable to be grossly flattered himself, that can be imagined. And by this means the great persons, who steered the public affairs, by admiring his parts, and extolling his judgment as well to his face as behind his back, wrought upon him by degrees, for the eminency of the service, to be an instrument in all their designs; thinking that he could not give a clearer testimony, that his knowledge in the law was greater than all other men's, than by making that law which all other men believed not to be so. So he moulded, framed, and pursued the odious and crying project of Soap; and with his own hand drew and prepared the writ for ship-money; both which will be the lasting monuments of his fame. In a word, he was an unanswerable instance, how necessary a good education and knowledge of men is to make a wise man, at least a man fit for business.

Sir John Finch had much that the other wanted, but nothing that the other had. Having led a free life in a restrained fortune, and having set up upon the stock of a good wit, and natural parts, without the superstructure of much knowledge in the profession by which he was to grow; he was willing to use those weapons in which he had most skill, and so, (being not unseen in the affections of the court, but not having reputation enough to guide or reform them), he took up ship-money where Mr. Noy left it; and, being a judge, carried it up to that pinnacle, from whence he almost broke his own neck; having,

in his journey thither, had too much influence on his brethren to induce them to concur in a judgment they had all cause to repent. To which, his declaration, after he was Keeper of the great seal of England, must be added, upon a demurrer put in to a bill before him, which had no other equity in it than an order of the lords of the council; "that whilst he was Keeper, no men should be so saucy as to dispute those orders, but that the wisdom of that board should be always ground enough for him to make a decree in Chancery;" which was so great an aggravation of the excess of that table, that it received more prejudice from that act of unreasonable countenance and respect, than from all the contempt that could possibly have been offered to it.

THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

William Earl of Pembroke was next (to the Earl of Arundel) a man of another mould and making, and of another fame and reputation with all men, being the most universally beloved and esteemed of any man of the age; and, having a great office in the court, he made the court itself better esteemed and more reverenced in the country. And as he had a great number of friends of the best men, so no man had ever the confidence to avow himself to be his enemy. He was a man very well bred, and of excellent parts, and a graceful speaker upon any subject, having a good proportion of learning, and a ready wit to apply it, and enlarge upon it; of a pleasant and facetious humour, and a disposition affable, generous, and magnificent. He was master of a great fortune from his ancestors, and had a great addition by his wife, another daughter and heir of the Earl of Shrewsbury, which he enjoyed

during his life, she outliving him: but all served not his expense, which was only limited by his great mind, and occasions to use it nobly.

He lived many years about the court, before in it; and never by it; being rather regarded and esteemed by king James, than loved and favoured. After the foul fall of the Earl of Somerset, he was made lord chamberlain of the king's house, more for the court's sake than his own; and the court appeared with the more lustre, because he had the government of that province. As he spent and lived upon his own fortune, so he stood upon his own feet, without any other support than of his proper virtue and merit; and lived towards the favourites with that decency, as would not suffer them to censure or reproach his master's judgment and election, but as with men of his own rank. He was exceedingly beloved in the court, because he never desired to get that for himself which others laboured for, but was still ready to promote the pretences of worthy men. And he was equally celebrated in the country, for having received no obligations from the court which might corrupt or sway his affections and judgment; so that all who were displeased and unsatisfied in the court, or with the court, were always inclined to put themselves under his banner, if he would have admitted them; and yet he did not so reject them as to make them choose another shelter, but so far suffered them to depend on him, that he could restrain them from breaking out beyond private resentments and murmurs.

He was a great lover of his country, and of the religion and justice which he believed could only support it; and his friendships were only with men of those principles. And as his conversation was most

with men of the most pregnant parts and understanding, so towards any such, who needed support or encouragement, though unknown, if fairly recommended to him, he was very liberal. Sure never man was planted in a court, that was fitter for that soil, or brought better qualities with him to purify that air.

Yet his memory must not be flattered, that his virtues and good inclinations may be believed; he was not without some alloy of vice, and without being clouded by great infirmities, which he had in too exorbitant a proportion. He indulged to himself the pleasures of all kinds, almost in all excesses. To women, whether out of his natural constitution, or for want of his domestic content and delights (in which he was most unhappy, for he paid much too dear for his wife's fortune, by taking her person into the bargain), he was immoderately given up. But therein he likewise retained such a power and jurisdiction over his very appetite, that he was not so much transported with beauty and outward allurements, as with those advantages of the mind, as manifested an extraordinary wit and spirit, and knowledge, and administered great pleasure in the conversation. To these he sacrificed himself, his precious time, and much of his fortune. And some, who were nearest his trust and friendship, were not without apprehension, that his natural vivacity and vigour of mind began to lessen and decline by those excessive indulgences.

THE EARL OF PEMBROKE. *

The Earl of Montgomery, who was then lord chamberlain of the household, and now Earl of Pembroke,

* Brother to the subject of the preceding article.

and the Earl of Dorset, were likewise of the privy council; men of very different talents and qualifications. The former being a young man, scarce of age at the entrance of king James, had the good fortune, by the comeliness of his person, his skill, and indefatigable industry in hunting, to be the first who drew the king's eyes towards him with affection; which was quickly so far improved, that he had the reputation of a favourite. Before the end of the first or second year, he was made gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and Earl of Montgomery; which did the king no harm: for besides that he received the king's bounty with more moderation than other men, who succeeded him, he was generally known, and as generally esteemed; being the son of one Earl of Pembroke, and younger brother to another, who liberally supplied his expense, beyond what his annuity from his father would bear.

He pretended to no other qualifications than to understand horses and dogs very well, which his master loved him the better for (being at his first coming into England very jealous of those who had the reputation of great parts), and to be believed honest and generous, which made him many friends, and left him then no enemy. He had not sat many years in that sunshine, when a new comet appeared in court, Robert Carr, a Scotsman, quickly after declared favourite; upon whom the king no sooner fixed his eyes, but the earl, without the least murmur or indisposition, left all doors open for his entrance; (a rare temper! and it could proceed from nothing but his great perfection in loving field sports;) which the king received as so great an obligation, that he always afterwards loved him in the second place, and commended

him to his son at his death, as a man to be relied on in point of honesty and fidelity, though it appeared afterwards that he was not strongly built, nor had sufficient ballast to endure a storm, of which more will be said hereafter.

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The Earl of Pembroke hath been enough mentioned in a better conjuncture of time, when his virtues were thought greater than they were, and his vices very little discerned. Yet, by what was then said, his nature and his parts might be well enough understood; and as neither the one nor the other were improvable, so they were liable to be corrupted by any assaults; his understanding being easy to be imposed upon, and his nature being made up of very strong passions. Whilst there was tranquillity in the kingdom, he enjoyed his full share in pomp and greatness; the largeness and plentifulness of his fortune being attended with reverence and dependence from the people where his estate and interest lay, and where indeed he was a great man; getting an affection and esteem from persons who had no dependence upon him, by his magnificent living, and discoursing highly of justice, and of the Protestant religion, inveighing bitterly against Popery, and telling what he used to say to the king; and speaking frankly of the oversights of the court, that he might not be thought a slave to it. He had been bred from his cradle in the court, and had that perfection of a courtier, that as he was not wary enough in offending men, so he was forward in acknowledging it, even to his inferiors, and to impute it to his passion, and ask pardon for it; which made him be thought a well-natured man. Besides, he had an office, which, at that time, entitled him to the

exercise of some rudeness, and the good order of the court had some dependence upon his incivilities.

There were very few great persons in authority who were not frequently offended by him, by sharp and scandalous discourses and invectives against them behind their backs; for which they found it best to receive satisfaction by submissions, and professions, and protestations, which was a coin he was plentifully supplied with for the payment of all those debts; whilst the king retained only some kindness for him, without any great esteem of him. But, from the beginning of the parliament, when he saw and heard a people stout enough to inveigh against the king's authority, and to fall upon those persons, whom he had always more feared than loved; and found that there were two armies in the kingdom, and that the king had not the entire command of either of them; when the decrees of the star chamber, and the orders and acts of the council, in all which he had concurred, were called in question, and like to be made penal to those who would not redeem their past errors by future service, his fear, which was the passion always predominant in him above all his choler and rage, prevailed so far over him, that he gave himself up into the hands of the Lord Say, to dispose of him as he thought fit, till the king took the white staff from him, and gave it to the Earl of Essex, as hath been related at large before.

From this time he took himself to be absolved from all obligations and dependence upon the court, which he had lived too long in to be willing to quit; and therefore the more closely adhered to them by whose power he thought he might get thither again; and, for some time, entertained the hope of obtaining the

other superior white staff; which remained then in the king's hand, by the departure of the Earl of Arundel into the parts beyond the seas. But when he saw that staff given to the Duke of Richmond, who was then made lord steward of the household, he gave over those weak imaginations, and concurred roundly in all the Lord Say proposed; and was so weak still as to believe that they never meant to rebel against the king; or that the king could long subsist without putting himself into their hands. When they had any thing to do in the West, as the exercise of the militia, or executing any other ordinance, they sent him into the country, and showed him to the people, under the conduct of two or three members of the house, in whom they could confide; and he talked of "the king's evil counsellors, who carried him from his parliament; and of the Malignants; and against scandalous ministers;" whilst none of his old friends came near him. And when they were resolved no longer to trust the Isle of Wight in the hands of the Earl of Portland, who had been long the king's governor there, and had an absolute power over the affections of that people, they preferred the poor Earl of Pembroke to it, by an ordinance of parliament, who kindly accepted it as a testimony of their favour; and so got into actual rebellion, which he never intended to do. It is pity to say more of him, and less could not be said to make him known.

THE EARL OF PORTLAND.

He was a gentleman of a very ancient extraction by father and mother. His education had been very good amongst books and men. After some years' study of the law in the Middle Temple, he travelled into

foreign parts, and at an age fit to make observations and reflections; out of which, that which is commonly called experience is constituted. After this he betook himself to the court, and lived there some years; at that distance, and with that awe, as was agreeable to the modesty of the age, when men were seen some time before they were known; and well known before they were preferred, or durst pretend to it.

He spent the best part of his fortune (a fair one, that he inherited from his father) in his attendance at court, and involved his friends in securities with him, who were willing to run his hopeful fortune, before he received the least fruit from it, but the countenance of great men and those in authority, the most natural and most certain stairs to ascend by.

He was then sent ambassador to the archdukes, Albert and Isabella, into Flanders; and to the diet in Germany, to treat about the restitution of the Palatinate; in which negotiation he behaved himself with great prudence, and with the concurrent testimony of his being a wise man, from all those princes and ambassadors with whom he treated.

Upon his return, he was made a privy counsellor, and chancellor of the exchequer, in the place of the Lord Brooke, who was either persuaded, or put out of the place; which, being an office of honour and trust, is likewise an excellent stage for men of parts to tread, and expose themselves upon: where they have occasions of all kinds to lay out and spread all their qualifications most for their advantage. He behaved himself very well in this function, and appeared equal to it; and carried himself so luckily in parliament, that he did his master much service, and preserved himself in the good opinion and acceptation of the house;

which is a blessing not indulged to many by those high powers. He did swim in those troubled and boisterous waters, in which the Duke of Buckingham rode as admiral, with a good grace, when very many who were about him were drowned, or forced on shore with shrewd hurts and bruises: which showed he knew well how and when to use his limbs and strength to the best advantage; sometimes only to avoid sinking, and sometimes to advance and get ground; and by this dexterity he kept his credit with those who could do him good, and lost it not with others, who desired the destruction of those upon whom he most depended.

He was made lord treasurer in the manner and at the time mentioned before, upon the removal of the Earl of Marlborough, and few months before the death of the duke. The former circumstance, which is often attended by compassion towards the degraded, and prejudice towards the promoted, brought him no disadvantage: for besides the delight that season had in changes, there was little reverence towards the person removed; and the extreme visible poverty of the exchequer sheltered that province from the envy it had frequently created, and opened a door for much applause to be the portion of a wise and provident minister. For the other, of the duke's death, though some, who knew the duke's passion and prejudice (which often produced rather sudden indisposition than obstinate resolution), believed he would have been shortly cashiered, as so many had lately been; and so that the death of his founder was a greater confirmation of him in the office, than the delivery of the white staff to him had been; yet many other wise men, who knew the treasurer's talent in removing prejudice, and

reconciling himself to wavering and doubtful affections, believed, that the loss of the duke was very unseasonable; and that the awe or apprehension of his power and displeasure was a very necessary alloy for the impetuosity of the new officer's nature, which needed some restraint and check, for some time, to his immoderate pretences, and appetite of power.

He did indeed appear on the sudden wonderfully elated, and so far threw off his old affectation to please some very much, and to displease none, in which art he had excelled, that in few months after the duke's death he found himself to succeed him in the public displeasure, and in the malice of his enemies, without succeeding him in his credit at court, or in the affection of any considerable dependants. And yet, though he was not superior to all other men in the affection, or rather resignation of the king, so that he might dispense favours and disfavours according to his own election, he had a full share in his master's esteem, who looked upon him as a wise and able servant, and worthy of the trust he reposed in him, and received no other advice in the large business of his revenue; nor was any man so much his superior, as to be able to lessen him in the king's affection by his power. So that he was in a post, in which he might have found much ease and delight, if he could have contained himself within the verge of his own province, which was large enough, and of such extent, that he might, at the same time, have drawn a great dependence upon him of very considerable men, and have appeared a very useful and profitable minister to the king; whose revenue had been very loosely managed during the late years, and might, by industry and order, have been easily improved: and no man better understood

what method was necessary towards that good husbandry than he.

But I know not by what frowardness in his stars, he took more pains in examining and inquiring into other men's offices, than in the discharge of his own; and not so much joy in what he had, as trouble and agony for what he had not. The truth is, he had so vehement a desire to be the sole favourite, that he had no relish of the power he had: and in that contention he had many rivals, who had credit enough to do him ill offices, though not enough to satisfy their own ambition; the king himself being resolved to hold the reins in his own hands, and to put no further trust in others, than was necessary for the capacity they served in; which resolution in his majesty was no sooner believed, and the Treasurer's pretence taken notice of, than he found the number of his enemies exceedingly increased, and others to be less eager in the pursuit of his friendship; and every day discovered some infirmities in him, which being before known to few, and not taken notice of, did now expose him both to public reproach, and to private animosities; and even his vices admitted those contradictions in them, that he could hardly enjoy the pleasant fruit of any of them. That which first exposed him to the public jealousy, which is always attended with public reproach, was the concurrent suspicion of his religion. His wife and all his daughters were declared of the Roman religion: and though he himself, and his sons, sometimes went to church, he was never thought to have zeal for it; and his domestic conversation and dependants, with whom only he used entire freedom, were all known papists, and were believed to be agents for the rest. And yet, with all this disadvantage to himself, he never had re-

putation and credit with that party, who were the only people of the kingdom who did not believe him to be of their profession. For the penal laws (those only excepted which were sanguinary, and even those sometimes let loose) were never more rigidly executed, nor had the crown ever so great a reverence from them, as in his time; nor did they ever pay so dear for the favours and indulgences of his office towards them.

No man had greater ambition to make his family great, or stronger designs to leave a great fortune to it. Yet his expenses were so prodigious, especially in his house, that all the ways he used for supply, which were all that occurred, could not serve his turn; insomuch that he contracted great debts (the anxiety whereof, he pretended, broke his mind, and restrained that attention and industry, which was necessary for the due exaction of his office), that the king was pleased twice to pay his debts; at least, towards it, to disburse forty thousand pounds in ready money out of his exchequer. Besides, his majesty gave him a whole forest (Chute forest in Hampshire), and much other land belonging to the crown; which was the more taken notice of, and murmured against, because, being the chief minister of the revenue, he was particularly obliged, as much as in him lay, to prevent, and even oppose, such disinherison; and because, under that obligation, he had, avowedly and sourly, crossed the pretences of other men, and restrained the king's bounty from being exercised almost to any. And he had that advantage (if he had made the right use of it), that his credit was ample enough (seconded by the king's own experience, and observation, and

inclination), to retrench very much of the late unlimited expenses, and especially those of bounties; which, from the death of the duke, ran in narrower channels, and never so much overflowed as towards himself, who stopped the current to other men.

He was of an imperious nature, and nothing wary in disobliging and provoking other men, and had too much courage in offending and incensing them; but after having offended and incensed them, he was of so unhappy a feminine temper, that he was always in a terrible fright and apprehension of them.

He had not that application, and submission, and reverence for the queen, as might have been expected from his wisdom and breeding, and often crossed her pretences and desires, with more rudeness than was natural to him. Yet he was impertinently solicitous to know what her majesty said of him in private, and what resentments she had towards him. And when by some confidents, who had their ends upon him from those offices, he was informed of some bitter expressions fallen from her majesty, he was so exceedingly afflicted and tormented with the sense of it; that, sometimes by passionate complaints and representations to the king, sometimes by more dutiful addresses and expostulations with the queen, in bewailing his misfortune, he frequently exposed himself, and left his conduct worse than it was before; and the eclaircissement commonly ended in the discovery of the persons from whom he had received his most secret intelligence.

He quickly lost the character of a bold, stout, and magnanimous man, which he had been long reputed to be in worse times; and, in his most prosperous

season, fell under the reproach of being a man of big looks, and of a mean and abject spirit.

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To conclude, all the honours the king conferred upon him (as he made him a baron, then an earl, and knight of the garter; and above this, gave a young beautiful lady nearly allied to his majesty, and to the crown of Scotland, to his eldest son), could not make him think himself great enough. Nor could all the king's bounties, nor his own large accessions, raise a fortune to his heir; but after six or eight years spent in outward opulency, and inward murmur and trouble that it was not greater; after vast sums of money and great wealth gotten, and rather consumed than enjoyed, without any sense or delight in so great prosperity, with the agony that it was no greater; he died unlamented by any; bitterly mentioned by most who never pretended to love him, and severely censured and complained of by those who expected most from him, and deserved best of him; and left a numerous family, which was in a short time worn out, and yet outlived the fortune he left behind him.

MR. PYM.

About this time the councils at Westminster lost a principal supporter, by the death of Jo. Pym; who died, with great torment and agony, of a disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, *morbus pediculosus*, as was reported; which rendered him an object very loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him. No man had more to answer for the miseries of the kingdom, or had his hand, or head, deeper in their contrivance. And yet, I believe, they grew much higher, even in his life, than he de-

signed. He was a man of a private quality and condition of life; his education in the office of exchequer, where he had been a clerk; and his parts rather acquired by industry, than supplied by nature, or adorned by art. He had been well known in former parliaments; and he was one of those few, who had sat in many; the long intermission of parliaments having worn out most of those who had been acquainted with the rules and orders observed in those conventions. This gave him some reputation and reverence amongst those who were but now introduced.

He had been most taken notice of, for being concerned and passionate in the jealousies of religion, and much troubled with the countenance which had been given to those opinions that had been imputed to Arminius; and this gave him great authority and interest with those who were not pleased with the government of the church, or the growing power of the clergy: yet himself industriously took care to be believed, and he professed to be very entire to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England. In the short parliament before this, he spoke much, and appeared to be the most leading man; for besides the exact knowledge of the former, and orders of that council, which few men had, he had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural and proper; and understood the temper and affections of the kingdom as well as any man; and had observed the errors and mistakes in government, and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy dissolution of that parliament, he continued for the most part about London, in conversation and great repute

amongst those lords who were most strangers to the court, and were believed to be most averse to it; in whom he improved all imaginable jealousies and discontents towards the state; and as soon as this parliament was resolved to be summoned, he was as diligent to procure such persons to be elected as he knew to be most inclined to the way he meant to take.

At the first opening of this parliament, he appeared passionate and prepared against the Earl of Strafford; and though in private designing he was much governed by Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Saint John, yet he seemed to all men to have the greatest influence upon the house of commons of any man; and, in truth, I think he was at that time, and some months after, the most popular man, and the most able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time. Upon the first design of softening and obliging the powerful persons in both houses, when it was resolved to make the Earl of Bedford lord high treasurer of England, the king likewise intended to make Mr. Pym chancellor of the exchequer; for which he received his majesty's promise, and made a return of a suitable profession of his service and devotion; and thereupon, the other being no secret, somewhat declined from that sharpness in the house, which was more popular than any man's, and made some overtures to provide for the glory and splendour of the crown; in which he had so ill success, that his interest and reputation there visibly abated; and he found that he was much better able to do hurt than good; which wrought very much upon him to melancholy, and complaint of the violence and discomposure of the people's affections and inclinations. In the end, whether upon the death of the Earl of Bedford he despaired of that preferment, or

whether he was guilty of any thing, which, upon his conversion to the court, he thought might be discovered to his damage, or for pure want of courage, he suffered himself to be carried by those who would not follow him, and so continued in the head of those who made the most desperate propositions.

In the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford, his carriage and language was such as expressed much personal animosity; and he was accused of having practised some arts in it not worthy a good man; as an Irishman of very mean and low condition afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him, as an evidence on one part of the charge against the lord lieutenant, in a particular of which a person of so vile a quality would not be reasonably thought a competent informer, Mr. Pym gave him money to buy him a satin suit and cloak; in which equipage he appeared at the trial, and gave his evidence; which, if true, may make many other things, which were confidently reported afterwards of him, to be believed; as that he received a great sum of money from the French ambassador (which hath been before mentioned), to hinder the transportation of those regiments of Ireland into Flanders, upon the disbanding that army there; which had been prepared by the Earl of Strafford for the business of Scotland; in which if his majesty's directions and commands had not been diverted and contradicted by the houses, many do believe the rebellion in Ireland had not happened.

Certain it is, that his power of doing shrewd turns was extraordinary, and no less in doing good offices for particular persons; and that he did preserve many from censures, who were under the severe displeasure of the houses, and looked upon as eminent delinquents;

and the quality of many of them made it believed, that he had sold that protection for valuable considerations. From the time of his being accused of high treason by the king, with the Lord Kimbolton, and the other members, he never entertained thoughts of moderation, but always opposed all overtures of peace and accommodation; and when the Earl of Essex was disposed, the last summer, by those lords to an inclination towards a treaty, as is before remembered, Mr. Pym's power and dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to that temper, which he afterwards swerved not from. He was wonderfully solicitous for the Scots coming in to their assistance, though his indisposition of body was so great, that it might well have made another impression upon his mind. During his sickness, he was a very sad spectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurred with him, it is not known what his last thoughts and considerations were. He died towards the end of December, before the Scots entered; and was buried with wonderful pomp and magnificence, in the place where the bones of our English kings and princes are committed to their rest.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

The Duke of Richmond, as he was of the noblest extraction, being nearest allied to the king's person of any man who was not descended from King James, so he was very worthy of all the grace and favour the king had showed him; who had taken great care of his education, and sent him into Italy, France, and Spain, where he was created a grandee of that kingdom; and as soon as he returned, though he was scarce twenty-one years of age, made him a privy

counsellor; and shortly after, out of his abundant kindness to both families, married him to the sole daughter of his dead favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, with whom he received twenty thousand pounds in portion; and his majesty's bounty was likewise very great to him; so that, as he was very eminent in his title, he was at great ease in his fortune. He was a man of very good parts, and an excellent understanding; yet, which is no common infirmity, so diffident of himself, that he was sometimes led by men who judged much worse. He was of a great and haughty spirit, and so punctual in point of honour, that he never swerved a tittle. He had so entire a resignation of himself to the king, that he abhorred all artifices to shelter himself from the prejudice of those, who, how powerful soever, failed in their duty to his majesty; and therefore he was pursued with all imaginable malice by them, as one that would have no quarter, upon so infamous terms, as but looking on whilst his master was ill used. As he had received great bounties from the king, so he sacrificed all he had to his service, as soon as his occasions stood in need of it; and lent his majesty, at one time, twenty thousand pounds together; and, as soon as the war begun, engaged his three brothers, all gallant gentlemen, in the service; in which they all lost their lives. Himself lived, with unspotted fidelity, some years after the murder of his master, and was suffered to put him into his grave; and died, without the comfort of seeing the resurrection of the crown.

MR. ST. JOHN.

Mr. Saint John, who was in a firm and entire conjunction with the other two (Hambden and Pym),

was a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, known to be of parts and industry, but not taken notice of for practice in Westminster-hall, till he argued at the exchequer chamber the case of ship-money on the behalf of Mr. Hambden; which gave him much reputation, and called him into all courts, and to all causes, where the king's prerogative was most contested. He was a man reserved, and of a dark and clouded countenance, very proud, and conversing with very few, and those, men of his own humour and inclinations. He had been questioned, committed, and brought into the star-chamber, many years before, with other persons of great name and reputation (which first brought his name upon the stage), for communicating some paper among themselves, which some men at that time had a mind to have extended to a design of sedition; but it being quickly evident that the prosecution would not be attended with success, they were all shortly after discharged; but he never forgave the court the first assault, and contracted an implacable displeasure against the church, purely from the company he kept. He was of an intimate trust with the Earl of Bedford, (to whom he was in some sort allied, being a natural son of the house of Bullingbrook), and by him brought into all matters where himself was to be concerned.

THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

The Earl of Salisbury had been born and bred in court, and had the advantage of a descent from a father, and a grandfather, who had been very wise men, and great ministers of state, in the eyes of Christendom; whose wisdom and virtues died with them, and their children only inherited their titles.

He had been admitted of the council to King James; from which time he continued so obsequious to the court, that he never failed in overacting all that he was required to do. No act of power was ever proposed, which he did not advance, and execute his part with the utmost rigour. No man so great a tyrant in his country, or was less swayed by any motives of justice or honour. He was a man of no words, except in hunting and hawking. In matters of state and council, he always concurred in what was proposed for the king, and cancelled and repaired all those transgressions, by concurring in all that was proposed against him, as soon as any such propositions were made. Yet when the king went to York, he likewise attended upon his majesty; and, at that distance, seemed to have recovered some courage, and concurred in all councils which were taken to undeceive the people, and to make the proceedings of the parliament odious to all the world. But, on a sudden, he caused his horses to attend him out of the town, and having placed fresh ones at a distance, he fled back to London, with the expedition such men use, when they are most afraid; and never after denied to do any thing that was required of him; and when the war was ended, and Cromwell had put down the house of peers, he got himself to be chosen a member of the house of commons; and sat with them as of their own body; and was esteemed accordingly.

THE LORD SAVILE.

The Lord Savile was likewise of the council, being first controller, and then treasurer of the household, in recompense of his discovery of all the treasons and conspiracies, after they had taken effect, and could

not be punished. He was a man of an ambitious and restless nature; of parts and wit enough; but, in his disposition and inclination, so false that he could never be believed, or depended upon. His particular malice to the Earl of Strafford, which he had sucked in with his milk (there having always been an immortal feud between the families; and the earl had shrewdly overborne his father), had engaged him with all persons who were willing, and like to be able, to do him mischief. And so, having opportunity when the king was at the Berks, and made the first unhappy pacification, to enter into conversation, and acquaintance, with those who were then employed as commissioners from the Scots, there was a secret intelligence entered into between them from that time; and he was a principal instrument to engage that nation to march into England with an army; which they did the next year after. To which purpose, he sent them a letter, signed with the names of several of the English nobility, inviting them to enter the kingdom, and making great promises of assistance; which names were forged by himself, without the privity of those who were named. And when all this mischief was brought to pass, and he found his credit in the parliament not so great as other men's, he insinuated himself into credit with somebody, who brought him to the king or queen, to whom he confessed all he had done to bring in the Scots, and who had conspired with him, and all the secrets he knew, with a thousand protestations "to repair all by future loyalty and service," for which he was promised a white staff, which the king had then resolved to take from Sir Henry Vane, who held it with the secretary's office; which he had accordingly; though all his discovery

was of no other use, than that the king knew many had been false, whom he could not punish; and some, whom he could not suspect. When the king came to York, where this lord's fortune and interest lay, his reputation was so low, that the gentlemen of interest, who wished well to the king's service, would not communicate with him; and after the king's remove from thence, the Earl of Newcastle found cause to have such a jealousy of him, that he thought it necessary to imprison him; and afterwards sent him to Oxford; where he so well purged himself, that he was again restored to his office. But in the end he behaved himself so ill, that the king put him again out of his place, and committed him to prison, and never after admitted him to his presence; nor would any man of quality ever after keep any correspondence with him.

LORD VISCOUNT SAY.

The Lord Viscount Say, a man of a close and reserved nature, of a mean and a narrow fortune, of great parts, and of the highest ambition, but whose ambition would not be satisfied with offices and preferments, without some condescensions and alterations in ecclesiastical matters. He had for many years been the oracle of those who were called Puritans in the worst sense, and steered all their counsels and designs. He was a notorious enemy to the church, and to most of the eminent churchmen, with some of whom he had particular contests. He had always opposed and contradicted all acts of state, and all taxes and impositions, which were not exactly legal, and so had as eminently and as obstinately refused the payment of ship-money, as Mr. Hambden had done; though the latter, by the choice of the king's council,

had brought his cause to be first heard and argued, with which judgment it was intended the whole right of that matter should be concluded, and all other causes overruled. The Lord Say would not acquiesce, but pressed to have his own case argued, and was so solicitous in person with all the judges, both privately at their chambers, and publicly in the court at Westminster, that he was very grievous to them. His commitment at York the year before, because he refused to take an oath, or rather subscribe a protestation, against holding intelligence with the Scots, when the king first marched against them, had given him much credit. In a word, he had very great authority with all the discontented party throughout the kingdom, and a good reputation with many who were not discontented, who believed him to be a wise man, and of a very useful temper, in an age of license, and one who would still adhere to the law.

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The last of those counsellors which were made after the faction prevailed in parliament, who were all made to advance an accommodation, and who adhered to the parliament, was Lord Say; a man, who had the deepest hand in the original contrivance of all the calamities which befel this unhappy kingdom, though he had not the least thought of dissolving the monarchy, and less of levelling the ranks and distinctions of men. For no man valued himself more upon his title, or had more ambition to make it greater, and to raise his fortune, which was but moderate for his title. He was of a proud, morose, and sullen nature; conversed much with books, having been bred a scholar, and (though nobly born) a fellow of New College in Oxford; to which he claimed a right, by the alliance

he pretended to have from William of Wickham, the founder; which he made good by a far-fetched pedigree, through so many hundred years, half the time whereof extinguishes all relation of kindred. However upon that pretence, that college hath been seldom without one of that lord's family. His parts were not quick, but so much above many of his own rank, that he had always great credit and authority in parliament; and the more, for taking all opportunities to oppose the court; and he had, with his milk, sucked in an implacable malice against the government of the church. When the Duke of Buckingham proposed to himself, after his return with the Prince from Spain, to make himself popular by breaking that match, and to be gracious with the Parliament, as for a short time he was, he resolved to embrace the friendship of the Lord Say; who was as solicitous to climb by that ladder. But the duke quickly found him of too imperious and pedantical a spirit, and to affect too dangerous mutations; and so cast him off; and from that time he gave over any pursuit in court, and lived narrowly in the country; having conversation with very few, but such who had great malignity against the church and state, and fomented their inclinations, and gave them instructions how to behave themselves with caution, and to do their business with most security; and was in truth the pilot, that steered all those vessels which were freighted with sedition to destroy the government.

He found always some way to make professions of duty to the king, and made several undertakings to do great services, which he could not, or would not, make good; and made haste to possess himself of any preferment he could compass, whilst his friends were

content to attend a more proper conjuncture. So he got the Mastership of the Wards shortly after the beginning of the Parliament, and was as solicitous to be Treasurer after the death of the Earl of Bedford; and, if he could have satisfied his rancour in any degree against the church, he would have been ready to have carried the prerogative as high as ever it was. When he thought there was mischief enough done, he would have stopped the current, and have diverted farther fury; but he then found he had only authority and credit to do hurt; none to heal the wounds he had given; and fell into as much contempt with those whom he had led, as he was with those whom he had undone.

SIR NICHOLAS SLANNING.

Sir Nicholas Slanning was governor of Pendennis Castle; upon the credit and security whereof, the king's party in that country first depended, and, by the command it had of the harbour of Falmouth, was, or might be, supplied with all that was necessary. He was, indeed, a young man of admirable parts, a sharp and discerning wit, a staid and solid judgment, a gentle and must obliging behaviour, and a courage so clear and keen, as, even without the other ornaments, would have rendered him very considerable: they were both young, neither of them above eight-and-twenty, of entire friendship to one another, and to Sir Bevil Greenvil, whose body was not yet buried; they were both (Sir N. Slanning and Colonel Trevannion) almost in the same minute, and in the same place, both shot in the thigh with musket bullets; their bones broken, the one dying presently, the other some few days after; and both had the royal sacrifice

of their sovereign's very particular sorrow, and the concurrence of all good men's; and, that which is a greater solemnity to their memories, as it fares with most great and virtuous men, whose loss is better understood long afterwards, they were as often lamented, as the accidents in the public affairs made the courage and fidelity of the Cornish of greater signification to the cause.

THE EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

The Earl of Southampton was indeed a great man in all respects, and brought very much reputation to the king's cause. He was of a nature much inclined to melancholy, and being born a younger brother, and his father and his eldest brother dying upon the point together, whilst he was but a boy, he was at first much troubled to be called *my Lord*, and with the noise of attendance; so much he then delighted to be alone. He had a great spirit; he had never had any conversation in the court, nor obligation to it. On the contrary, he had undergone some hardship from it; which made it believed, that he would have been ready to have taken all occasions of being severe towards it. And, therefore, in the beginning of the parliament, no man was more courted by the managers of those designs. He had great dislike of the high courses which had been taken in the government, and a particular prejudice to the Earl of Strafford, for some exorbitant proceedings. But, as soon as he saw the ways of reverence and duty towards the king declined, and the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford to exceed the limits of justice, he opposed them vigorously in all their proceedings. He was a man of great sharpness of judgment, a very quick apprehension,

and that readiness of expression upon any sudden debate, that no man delivered himself more advantageously and weightily, and more efficaciously with the hearers; so that no man gave them more trouble in his opposition, or drew so many to a concurrence with him in opinion. He had no relation to, or dependence upon the court, or purpose to have any; but wholly pursued the public interest. It was long before he could be prevailed with to be a counsellor, and longer before he would be admitted to be of the bedchamber; and received both honours the rather, because, after he had refused to take a protestation, which both Houses had ordered to be taken by all their members, they had likewise voted, "that no man should be capable of any preferment in church or state, who refused to take the same;" and he would show how much he contemned these votes. He went with the king to York; was most solicitous, as hath been said, for the offer of peace at Nottingham; and was with him at Edgehill; and came and stayed with him at Oxford to the end of the war, taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards peace; and as no man was more punctual in performing his own duty, so no man had more melancholy apprehensions of the issue of the war: which is all shall be said of him in this place, there being frequent occasions to mention him in the continuance of this discourse.

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

Thus fell the greatest subject in power, and little inferior to any in fortune, that was at that time in any of the three kingdoms; who could well remember the time when he led those people, who then pursued him to his grave. He was a man 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 Savile, 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 the same time made lord president of the north. These successes, applied to a nature too elate and haughty in itself, and a quicker progress into the greatest employments and trust, made him more transported with disdain of other men, and more contemning the forms of business, than happily he would have been 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, no doubt, 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 wherein 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 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 that 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 did ever 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.

SIR HENRY VANE, THE ELDER.

The last of the counsellors who stayed with the parliament was Sir Henry Vane; who had so much excuse for it, that, being thrown out of court, he had no whither else to go; and promised himself to be much made of by them, for whose sakes only he had brought that infamy upon himself. He was of very ordinary parts by nature, and had not cultivated them at all by art, for he was illiterate. But being of a stirring and boisterous disposition, very industrious, and very bold, he still wrought himself into some employment. He had been acquainted with the vicissitudes of court, and had undergone some severe mortifications, by the disfavour of the Duke of Buckingham, in the beginning of the king's reign. But the duke was no sooner dead (which made it believed that he had made his peace in his life-time, for the king was not, in a long time after, reconciled to any man who was

eminently in the duke's disfavour), but he was again brought into the court, and made a counsellor and controller of the household, which place he became well and was fit for; and if he had never taken other preferment, he might probably have continued a good subject. For he had not inclination to change, and in his judgment he had liked the government both of church and state; and only desired to raise his fortune, which was not great, and which he found many ways to improve. And he was wont to say, "that he never had desired other preferment; and believed that Marquis Hamilton (with whom he had never kept fair quarter), when he first proposed to him to be secretary of state, did it to affront him, well knowing his want of ability for the discharge of that office." But, without doubt, as the fatal preferring him to that place was of unspeakable prejudice to the king, so his receiving it was to his own destruction. His malice to the Earl of Strafford, (who had unwisely provoked him, wantonly, and out of contempt,) transported him to all imaginable thoughts of revenge; which is a guest that naturally disquiets and tortures those who entertain it, with all the perplexities they contrive for others; and that disposed him to sacrifice his honour and faith, and his master's interest, that he might ruin the earl, and was buried himself in the same ruin; for which being justly chastised by the king, and turned out of his service, he was left to his own despair; and, though he concurred in all the malicious designs against the king, and against the church, he grew into the hatred and contempt of those who had made most use of him; and died in universal reproach, and not contemned more by any of his enemies, than by his own son, who had been his principal conductor to destruction.

SIR HENRY VANE, THE YOUNGER.

Sir Harry Vane was a man of great natural parts, and of a very profound dissimulation, of a quick conception, and very ready, sharp, and weighty expression. He had an unusual aspect, which, though it might naturally proceed both from his father and mother, neither of which were beautiful persons, yet made men think there was something in him of extraordinary; and his whole life made good that imagination. Within a very short time after his return from his studies in Magdalen College in Oxford, where, though he was under the care of a very worthy tutor, he lived not with great exactness, he spent some little time in France, and more in Geneva; and, after his return to England, contracted a full prejudice and bitterness against the church, both against the form of the government and the Liturgy; which was generally in great reverence, even with many of those who were not friends to the other. In this giddiness, which then much displeased, or seemed to displease, his father, who still appeared highly conformable, and exceeding sharp against those who were not, he transported himself into New England, a colony within few years planted by a mixture of all religions, which disposed the professors to dislike the government of the church, who were qualified by the king's charter to choose their own government and governors, under the obligation "that every man should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy," which all the first planters did, when they received their charter, before they transported themselves from hence, nor was there in many years the least scruple amongst them of complying with those obligations; so far men were, in the

infancy of their schism, from refusing to take lawful oaths. He was no sooner landed there, but his parts made him quickly taken notice of, and very probably his quality, being the eldest son of a privy-counsellor, might give him some advantage; insomuch that, when the next season came for the election of their magistrates, he was chosen their governor; in which place he had so ill fortune (his working and unquiet fancy raising and infusing a thousand scruples of conscience, which they had not brought over with them, nor heard of before), that he unsatisfied with them, and they with him, he transported himself into England, having sowed such seed of dissension there, as grew up too prosperously, and miserably divided the poor colony into several factions, and divisions, and persecutions of each other, which still continue to the great prejudice of that plantation: insomuch as some of them, upon the ground of the first expedition, liberty of conscience, have withdrawn themselves from their jurisdiction, and obtained other charters from the king, by which, in other forms of government, they have enlarged their plantation within new limits adjacent to the other. He was no sooner returned into England than he seemed to be much reformed from his extravagancies, and, with his father's approbation and direction, married a lady of good family; and by his father's credit with the Earl of Northumberland, who was high admiral of England, was joined presently and jointly with Sir William Russel in the office of treasurer of the navy (a place of great trust and profit), which he equally shared with the other, and seemed a man well satisfied and composed to the government. When his father received the disobligation from the Lord Strafford, by his being created

Baron of Raby, the house and land of Vane (which title he had promised himself, but it was unluckily cast upon the earl, purely out of contempt of Vane), they sucked in all the thoughts of revenge imaginable, and from thence the son betook himself to the friendship of Mr. Pym, and all other discontented or seditious persons, and contributed all that intelligence (which will hereafter be mentioned, as he himself will often be) that designed the ruin of the earl, and which grafted him in the entire confidence of those who promoted the same; so that nothing was concealed from him, though it is believed that he communicated his own thoughts to very few.

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He was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, a pleasant wit, and a great understanding, which pierced into and discerned the purposes of other men with wonderful sagacity, whilst he had himself *vultum clausum*, that no man could make a guess of what he intended. He was of a temper not to be moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without losing ground by the condescension; and if he were not superior to Mr. Hambden, he was inferior to no other man in all mysterious artifices. There need no more be said of his ability, than that he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation, which was thought to excel in craft and cunning: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a people, that could not otherwise be prevailed upon than by advancing that idol Presbytery, to sacrifice their peace, their interest, and their faith, to the erecting a power and authority that resolved to persecute Presbytery to an extirpation, and in process of time, very near brought their purpose to pass.

THE EARL OF WARWICK.

The Earl of Warwick was of the king's council too, but was not wondered at for leaving the king, whom he had never well served; nor did he look upon himself as obliged by that honour, which, he knew, was conferred upon him in the crowd of those whom his majesty had no esteem of, or ever proposed to trust; so his business was to join with those to whom he owed his promotion. He was a man of a pleasant and companionable wit and conversation; of a universal jollity, and such a licence in words and in his actions, that a man of less virtue could not be found out: so that one might reasonably have believed that a man so qualified would not have been able to have contributed much to the overthrow of a nation and kingdom. But, with all these faults, he had great authority and credit with that people who in the beginning of the troubles, did all the mischief; and by opening his doors, and making his house the rendezvous of all the silenced ministers in the time when there was authority to silence them, and spending a good part of his estate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them, and by being present with them at their devotions, and making himself merry with them, and at them, which they dispensed with, he became the head of that party, and got the style of a godly man. When the king revoked the Earl of Northumberland's commission of admiral, he presently accepted the office from the parliament, and never quitted their service: and when Cromwell disbanded the parliament, he betook himself to the protection of the Protector, married his heir to his daughter, and lived in so entire a confidence and friendship with him, that, when the Protector died, he exceedingly lamented him. He

left his estate, which before was subject to a vast debt, more improved and repaired, than any man who trafficked in that desperate commodity of rebellion.

THE LORD WITHRINGTON.

The Lord Withrington was one of the most goodly persons of that age, being near the head higher than most tall men, and a gentleman of the best and most ancient extraction of the county of Northumberland, and of a very fair fortune, and one of the four which the last king made choice of to be about the person of his son the prince, as gentlemen of his privy chamber, when he first settled his family. His affection to the king was always remarkable, and serving in the house of commons as knight of the shire for the county of Northumberland, he quickly got the reputation of being amongst the most malignant. As soon as the war broke out, he was of the first who raised both horse and foot at his own charge, and served eminently with them under the Marquis of Newcastle, with whom he had a very particular and entire friendship. He was very nearly allied to the marquis, and by his testimony that he had performed many signal services, he was, about the middle of the war, made a peer of the kingdom. He was a man of great courage, but of some passion, by which he incurred the ill will of many, who imputed it to an insolence of nature, which no man was farther from; no man of a nature more civil, and candid towards all, in business or conversation. But having sat long in the house of commons, and observed the disingenuity of the proceedings there, and the gross cheats by which they deceived and cozened the people, he had contracted so hearty an indignation against them, and all

who were cozened by them, and against all who had not his zeal to oppose and destroy them, that he often said things to slow and phlegmatic men, which offended them, and, it may be, injured them; which his good-nature often obliged him to acknowledge, and ask pardon of those who would not question him for it. He transported himself into the parts beyond the sea at the same time with the Marquis of Newcastle, to accompany him, and remained still with him till the king went into Scotland, and there waited upon his majesty, and endured the same affronts which others did, during the time of his residence there. And, it may be, the observation of their behaviour, the knowledge of their principles, and the disdain of their treatment, produced that aversion from their conversation, that prevailed upon his impatience to part too soon from their company, in hope that the Earl of Derby, under whom he was very willing to serve, and he himself, might quickly draw together such a body of the royal party, as might give some check to the unbounded imaginations of that nation. It was reported by the enemy, that in respect of his brave person and behaviour, they did offer him quarter, which was refused; and that they were thereby compelled, in their own defence, to kill him; which is probable enough; for he knew well the animosity the parliament had against him, and it cannot be doubted but that, if he had fallen into their hands, they would not have used him better than they did the Earl of Derby, who had not more enemies.

MORAL EXTRACTS.

ACTIVE LIFE.

We have prosecuted our inquisition into a contem-

plative life, what is meant by it, and what it cannot mean, what fruit it may bear, and what fruit it can never bear, far enough; and, therefore, it is time to proceed to as strict an inquiry into the nature and function of that active life that we would have preferred before it; of which we can hardly take a view, without frequent reflections upon the defects which are inseparable from the other, and the benefits that must necessarily attend or accompany this. The first and the greatest objection that is made against it is the perpetual temptations it exposes a man to, and the great difficulty to preserve innocence in the pursuit of a busy and solicitous life; that the industry of it is commonly founded upon ambition, which, how proud and insolent soever it is in its own nature, stoops to the basest offices, to the most sordid applications of flattery, to the grossest and most uningenuous importunities of the most worthless men, if they are able to contribute to his preferment. If activity be not transported with this vice, which by the way may be industrious and innocent too, and is naturally rather a spur to virtuous designs, than an incitation to low and vile thoughts, it is still subservient to some other as corrupt an end: it proceeds from covetousness, a love of money, and desire to be rich; which is a passion of that unlimited and insatiable extent, that it devours all that is in its way, and yields to all dishonourable condescensions that it may devour, and is always unrestrained from any prescription of decency and generosity, or by the most severe rules of justice itself. Should this restless inclination to action take up its habitation in a mind so rarely fortified by the principles of virtue, that it cannot be corrupted by those predominant passions which work upon vulgar

constitutions; whose ambition is to be great for no other reason than that he may be able to make other men good, and to suppress the infectious vices of the age; who hath no other appetite of money than that he may dispose it to charitable and generous purposes; it will still be liable, even from the contagion of the company from which it cannot be severed, to impressions of vanity, and levity, and incogitancy, which usher the way to other temptations, at least introduces an inquietude into a mind well prepared against more violent invasions. And if a man under all these assaults, and in all these conflicts, remains unhurt, retains the vigour and beauty of his integrity, which will be no less than a miraculous preservation in this pursuit; it is yet much more than an even wager, that the very fame and reputation of his virtue and innocence may raise such a storm of envy and malice in the breasts of unrighteous men, as may oppress him in the noblest attempt, and utterly destroy him in the safest port, and leave his good name and memory torn with as many ghastly wounds, as his body or his fortune. To which shall be only added, that history or experience hath transmitted the memory of very few men to us, who have been notoriously prosperous in the transactions of the world, and long possessed that station, whose characters have not retained the mention of some extraordinary vice or infirmity, as well as of many notable virtues; as if these strong flights could not be made without the assistance of some iniquity. Whereas the contemplative life is secure from all those or the like waves and billows; that retreat enjoys a perpetual calm; the contemplative man is never disturbed with ambition, because he knows not what it is, otherwise than in books, which hath sup-

plied him with antidotes against the poison; he is superior to any temptation from the love of money, because he needs it not, nor knows what to do with it if he had it: He hath in the dark volumes of philosophers made a discovery of that heap of passions and appetites, which lie in wait to assault human nature in all the several functions of life and insults of fortune; when he discerns the strong opposition made, and the glorious conquests obtained by those heathen philosophers, by the mere supplies which reason and their natural faculties suggested to them, he then considers what other advantages he hath from Christianity, which enables him at once to despise and laugh at these provocations, without any exaltation in the triumph.

Let this privation of understanding go for wisdom, and this stupid absence of guilt stand for uprightness, yet it complies not with the obligation and end of the creation of man; who is not sent into the world only to have a being, to breathe till nature extinguisheth that breath, and reduces that miserable creature to the nothing he was before. He is sent upon an errand, and to do the business of life; he hath faculties given him to judge between good and evil, to cherish and foment the first motions he feels towards the one, and to subdue the first temptations to the other; he hath not acted his part, in doing no harm; his duty is not only to do good and to be innocent himself, but to propagate virtue, and to make others better than they would otherwise be. Indeed, an absence of folly is the first hopeful prologue towards the obtaining wisdom; yet he shall never be wise who knows not what folly is, nor, it may be, commendably and judiciously honest, without having taken some view of the quarters of

iniquity: since true virtue pre-supposeth an election, a declining somewhat that is ill, as well as the choice of what is good. Our senses are given us to judge by, and have their proper objects, which they are the sole judges of; nor is it lawful to imprison those senses, that they may not be conversant with other objects, nor to abate their edge, and extinguish the acuteness, which is the perfection of them, lest their objects, how natural and proper soever, may have some operation upon them to their prejudice. A man may hear too much, and see more than he hath a mind to see; but no man ever saw too well, or heard too well; and no sense was ever reformed by being deprived of its object, from the malignity whereof he hath other guards and remedies to secure him. A man would deserve little comfort in this world, or in the world that is to come, who would choose to be blind, that he may be without those strugglings which some beautiful objects may raise or kindle within him; when a chaste eye hath a brightness about it, that dispels and disperses those rays which would dazzle and perplex it: and the unnatural attempt to extinguish a sense or passion, rather than to subdue it, is usually rewarded by the prevalence of a grosser temptation; and the lasciviousness that could not get entrance at the eye, makes a breach into the ear in loose and effeminate tunes, and kindles and fans all those desires into a flame, that the nobler sense would have resisted. To be without wishes, or without appetite, is the property of a carcase, not of a man; who is not more a reasonable, than an active creature; whose first testimony that he hath a soul, is the noise he makes; and there cannot be a worse omen in the birth of any child, than its silence; and it were to be wished that those

instances only might condemn people to a contemplative life, into which silence is the principal ingredient, and should be taken for the best prognostic. The world is a field, in which man is to learn and to labour to be wise and to be valiant, that he may have foresight and courage enough to encounter and subdue temptations, not to hope to fly from them; at least not to fly out of the field, or farther than to recover breath to renew and continue the contention. They who prescribe famine to correct the luxury of the appetite, and opening all the veins in the body to subdue the lusts of the flesh, have found a remedy that God never thought of, and for the cure whereof nature hath laid in a stock of temperance and moderation, if it be carefully applied. It is a vulgar error, and is most produced and nourished in vulgar minds, that a man can shut himself up from approaching any vice, or shut out any vice from approaching him, except he shut himself up in the grave; that struggle and contention must last as long as the world lasts, let the scene lie where it will; and he who basely declines the campaign, that he may lie concealed and secure in a garrison town, meets with the same or greater dangers, from the sickness, disease, and mutinies which naturally accompany those retreats, than he would have encountered in the thickest volleys of the field; and may properly enough be compared to that wary people, who, conscious to themselves of that want of courage and resolution that is necessary to resist the devil, and to make him fly from them, choose rather to fly from him, and hide themselves in monasteries and places of solitude; and make vows of silence, that he may take no advantage of their words, and that they may be chaste, beside their vows, avoid the com-

pany of all women, and vow poverty, that they may be without ambition: whereas the devil is commonly too hard for them in those dull speculations, and suggests thoughts to them as full of wickedness as the worst actions can be, and infuses a drowsiness and sottishness into their souls, a stupidity and lethargy into their understandings, that is more dangerous and pernicious to their bodies and their souls, than all their wanderings in the world could probably have proved.

The busy and industrious man hath still the light about him, his vices and his virtues are equally conspicuous; and it is no small or ineffectual provocation to the amendment of life, to find that his manners are taken notice of by all men, and condemned by most, which is a wholesome mortification: his wisdom and his piety make a greater and a better noise, and shine brightly in the view, and to the benefit and information of good men, who delight to dress themselves in his glass, and transcribe his manners into their own. He doth not only plant and cultivate the principles of industry, magnanimity, and all heroical virtues in the minds of men, but mends and improves the soil where they should grow, by gentle and civil cautions and animadversions; and he very often lives to see the harvest and very good fruits gathered from his husbandry, to the great benefit of the church and state. He reads lectures and gets children after he is dead, by the propagation of his principles and his counsels, and the communication of his actions, and in the justice that is paid to his memory. If these flowers grow in the garden of contemplation, they are of the nature of those flowers which prosper only in the night, and disappear and close their leaves at the rising

of the sun. We have very little testimony, very few records, of any notable fruit gathered from this dry tree of solitude; that their counsels have contributed much to that wisdom, which is necessary for the virtuous conduct of the affairs of this world; and the speculations which some of those pious men have produced towards our journey to the next, a wise preparation for which is the most necessary business of this life; without the least purpose to undervalue the pains they have taken, and for which they deserve great thanks, we may say, that even in that exercise, and to the purposes they design, the prescriptions for living well and profitably for ourselves and others, and of dying well for our own salvation, and the example of others, the clear resolutions of weighty doubts, and the folly of those doubts which arise from the impotence of the understanding; the advice and determinations which we have received from the piety and industry of those who have been very conversant in the world, and much entangled in the affairs and transactions thereof, have another kind of sap and nourishment, carry in them another kind of conviction of the understanding, and find another kind of irresistibleness, from the affections and from the will, than the laboured conceptions of those collegiate and monastick persons; from whom we may as reasonably expect to receive the news of the court, as the most refined notions of any science; which can only spring, as to use and application, from frequent experience and solid observation, and from finding ourselves often deceived; which is a part of learning the other classis of men are very rarely versed in.

ALMS.

God hath not acknowledged himself to be so much obliged in our exercise of any Christian virtue, as in our charity, and giving alms to the poor; and indeed the practice of any other duty is not so evident to be for God's sake, as this of relieving the poor. We may live with great temperance and sobriety, abstain from any excess in point of diet, and from all uncleanness in point of chastity, and all this in order rather to the health of our body than our soul, and to comply with the prescription of our natural not our spiritual physician. We may make great show of humility, in order to our ambition, and by that stair hope to ascend to a superiority over others. We may be very patient out of our moral reason, and observation and experience that nothing is got by impatience, and it may be have never the more hearty submission to the good pleasure of God, or the more confidence in his mercy: nay, we may practise several branches of charity itself, without any great charity to him to whom our charity, in the first place, ought always to be directed. We may be kind to some men who are, for the present, in affliction, in confidence that they will be shortly able to pay us interest in the like offices, and so make our charity a stratagem to promote and advance us. We may upon our death-beds give what we must leave behind us, to some pious work, not out of piety towards God, but displeasure to our heir, and only to disinherit him; but we can have no design in giving alms to poor and disconsolate wretches, who can make us no return but in their prayers, if we distribute them with that simplicity and secrecy, as alms ought to be bestowed, but to do that which is accept-

able to God Almighty, and purely to do good for his sake.

ANGER.

"He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty," is an observation as ancient as Solomon's time (Prov. xvi. 32.), and hath been confirmed in all ages since: he that can abstain from it is master of most men, and seldom fails of any design he proposes to himself. A man that is undisturbed in what he goes about, will rarely be disappointed of his end: whereas, on the contrary, anger is the most impotent passion that accompanies the mind of man; it effects nothing it goes about; and hurts the man who is possessed by it more than any other against whom it is directed. It exposes him to laughter and contempt, without any return in satisfaction and content, as most of the other passions do; it is a barren and unfruitful vice, and only torments him who nourishes it. The philosopher thought it so useless a passion, that he could not tell to what service to apply it; he would by no means suffer it in battles or actions of war, where one might believe it might be of most advantage, and carry men to the utmost daring, which is often very successful, and hath brought great and unexpected things to pass; but he found that it did naturally degenerate into rashness, "Et pericula dum inferre vult non cavet;" and that the prevalent temper in those enterprises was, that "qui se diu multumque circumspexit, et rexit, et ex lento, et destinato provexit," which anger will never permit him. And surely, if it be not seasonable in those angry contentions, it is much more inconvenient in the more calm seasons of business and conversation: in business he

rejects all that is proposed by other men, and superciliously determines that his own advice is to be followed; in conversation he is full of unpeaceable contradictions, and impatient at being contradicted; so that, though upon some considerations, he be endured in company, he is never desired or wished for. "An angry man (if you believe Solomon) stirreth up strife;" he can not only not be a friend, but not suffer others to be so: it is not possible for him to be at peace with others, when he hath a perpetual war with himself; people who are not like him, cannot or will not live with him; and if he be with those who are like him, neither of them can live long. Seneca thinks it a notable argument to men to avoid and suppress it, "non moderationis causâ sed sanitatis," because "ingentis iræ exitus furor est;" but the truth is, he doth anger too much honour who calls it madness, which, being a distemper of the brain, and a total absence of all reason, is innocent in all the ill effects it may produce; whereas anger is an affected madness compounded of pride and folly, and an intention to do commonly more mischief than it can bring to pass: and without doubt of all passions which naturally disturb the mind of man, it is most in our power to extinguish, at least to suppress and correct, our anger.

That we may not flatter ourselves with an imagination that anger may be commendable in us, and seem to have something of injunction to support it in Scripture itself, we shall find it with a restriction that quickly convinces us, that it is not of kin to our anger: "Be angry, but sin not." If we are sure that our anger is only on God's behalf, for some indignity done to him in the neglect of his service, or

for the practice of some vice or wickedness that he hath prohibited; if we are offended, and feel some commotions within us, in seeing loose and indecent things done, and in hearing lascivious and profane things spoken; and break out into sharp and angry reprehensions and advice, where we may well do it; we shall never be ashamed of that anger: if we can be angry and charitable together, and be willing to do good to him with whom we are most angry, we shall have no cause to repent our anger, nor others to condemn it. But we have too much cause to doubt, that this warrantable anger will not give us content and delight enough to be affected with it; it will do us no good because it will do others no hurt, and so will give us no credit with other men. We shall do very well, if we do restrain and suppress and extinguish all other anger, and are only transported with this. If we do not, and are angry only to grieve and terrify others, and therefore angry that they may be grieved and terrified, and not for any thing that they have done amiss, but because we would not have had them done it; or if we suffer no bounds or limits to be prescribed to our anger, be the cause of it never so just and reasonable, by decency, reason, and justice; our passion is thereby the more unjustifiable, by the countenance we would draw to it from divinity, and ought to be the more carefully extinguished and extirpated by our shame and by our repentance.

MISTAKEN REVERENCE TO ANTIQUITY.

There is not, it may be, a greater obstruction in the investigation of truth, or the improvement of knowledge, than the too frequent appeal and the too supine resignation of our understanding to antiquity; to what

was supposed long since to be done, or what was thought or known to be the opinion of some men who lived so many ages before us: I say supposed to be done, because we are so totally ignorant of all that was originally done from that time that deserves the name of antiquity, that we know nothing that was done in the most ancient times, but by the testimony of those men who lived so many hundred, nay thousand years after the persons lived, or the things were done of which they give us the account. So that we were in a very ill condition, if it any way concerned us to know what was said or done in those times, of which we have so dark and obscure, at least very questionable relation and information given us. And as we are liable to be misled in the informing our practice or judgment by the rules and measures of antiquity, with reference to the civil and politic actions of our lives, so antiquity will be as blind a guide to us in matters of practice or opinion relating to religion, otherwise than as that antiquity is manifest to us in the Bible; which, as it is the most ancient record we have of any kind, of what was said or done in the world from the beginning thereof, so it informs us sufficiently of all that we are obliged to think, or to do; and whatsoever is too hard for us there to understand, is in no degree necessary for us to know; and yet we may lawfully endeavour to inform ourselves of what is difficult there, though we may be deceived in our inquiry, because there is no penalty upon being deceived.

APOSTATES, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS.

Certainly, there must be thought to be some extraordinary dislike, in the very primary law of nature,

of such tergiversation and inconstancy; since we scarce find, in any story, a deserter of a trust or party he once adhered to to be long prosperous, or in any eminent estimation with those to whom he resorts; though, in the change, there may appear evident arguments of reason and justice; neither hath it been in the power or prerogative of any authority to preserve such men from the reproach, and jealousy, and scandal, that naturally attends upon any defection: "I have not found evil in thee, since the day of thy coming unto me, unto this day; nevertheless the lords favour thee not," was the profession of King Achish, when he dismissed David himself from marching with the army of the Philistines; and that expostulation of those lords, "wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his master? should it not be with the heads of these men?" will be always an argument to raise a distrust of those who have eminently quitted their party; and the judgment of Fabius himself, which we touched before, of Cassius Altinius, was not much in their favour; for though he reprehended the proposition of sending him to Hannibal, yet he concluded, "that he would have no trust reposed in him, but that he should be kept in safe custody, with liberty to do any thing but go away, till the war was ended; *tum consultandum utrum defectio prior plus merita sit pœnæ, an hic reditus veniæ.*" As it falls out thus in civil affairs, and the breach of moral obligations, so it happens in spiritual defections, and alterations in religion: for as, among the Jews, the proselytes were civilly and charitably treated, without upbraidings or reproaches; yet it was provided, "that no proselyte should be eligible into the court of their Sanhedrim;" and in their very conver-

sation, they had a caution of them: *Vel ad decimam usque generationem a proselytis cave*, was an aphorism amongst them. And our own observation and experience can give us few examples of men who have changed their religion, and not fallen into jealousy and distrust, or disreputation, even with those with whom they side; that have made their future life less pleasant and delightsome; which, it may be, happens only because we have rare instances of men of extraordinary parts, or great minds, who have entertained those conversions.

EXCESS IN CENSURE.

We ought not to give ill things worse names than they deserve, than is agreeable to them; much less endeavour to make men, who are in the wrong, to appear worse than they are; nor to torture their words and expressions, nor their actions themselves, till we draw consequences and conclusions from them, which they did not intend nor will avow, to signify what is laid to their charge. Where is that charity, that thinks the best of every thing, that doth not behave itself unseemly, is not easily provoked? We cannot be too strict in the disquisition of the opinions and actions of our own lives; and it may be we cannot more prudently examine the truth of our opinions, than by the influence they may have upon our actions.

CHRISTIAN PRACTICE.

We think ourselves very happy in this world, if we can live under such laws, whose sense is so plain and clear, that we can reasonably presume we do understand the meaning of the law makers: if they are not

so perplexed and intricate, at least liable to so different interpretations, that be our obedience never so perfect and entire, we may possibly fall within the censure of the judge, for not precisely observing the letter of the law: whereas the law, upon obedience whereto the salvation of our souls depends, is so manifest and incapable of doubts to entangle us, that even they who have taken too much pains, and with too much success, to render Christian opinions very difficult, have not been able to raise any scruples about Christian practice. Though it is not easy to know all that we may believe, it is not at all hard to know what we are to do, and what we are not to do. The religion of the brain may admit a thousand disputations, when that of the heart is contracted into one proposition, in which all men agree, Love God, and keep his commandments. Indeed God does not call the brain to so strict an account as he does the heart; that will be always subject to so many fancies and appearances, that it is no wonder if we often think amiss; and God is no more angry with us for those erroneous thoughts, if they proceed not from any corrupt affection of the heart, than he is with the eye for seeing vitious and indecent objects, which it will be always liable to see, whilst it can see at all; and if the pleasure and delight of it steal not through the eye to the heart, and find approbation there, the eye continues innocent enough. It is true, every corruption of the heart is inexcusable, because it can proceed only from the malice of the heart; since the rules by which it is to govern itself are so plain, there is no room for mistake; were it otherwise, the law of God were not perfect. But as it is plain and manifest, so it is positive and express, what it enjoins as good, and inhibits as ill, must be

done or avoided with all preciseness and punctuality; it admits no considerations of hazard, conveniency, or danger.

COVETOUSNESS AND VANITY.

Religion hath not two greater enemies than covetousness and vanity, because they both work upon the heart; and the heart once corrupted, corrupts all religion, and makes it serve worldly and sensual interests. It is impossible for the heart of a covetous man to be inclined to religion, because it is inclined to, and prefers that which is most contrary to it, to religion. Piety cannot possess that heart which is possessed by covetousness, no heart is large enough to entertain both; not that wealth and religion cannot dwell in one house together, or that a rich man may not be very pious: riches doth not beget covetousness, though covetousness usually begets riches. A pious man knows how to use the wealth that God hath given him, and looks upon it as given to him to give to others, and so distributes it in works of charity, and in relieving those who want it. A covetous man either uses not his wealth at all, for fear of losing it, or uses it to evil purposes; and so he may increase it, cares not how he uses it; and doth not look upon it as given to him, but as gotten by him, and considers giving as the greatest contradiction to getting, upon which his whole heart is fixed. The good and religious man enjoys his plenty, and likes it well enough, but is not disaffected to poverty, which he embraces with the same alacrity, and as cheerfully submits to it, when the other leaves him, or is taken from him. Whereas the covetous man is so possessed by his wealth, that he doth not enjoy it, abhors poverty as

he fears death, and is more contented to be separated from his soul than from his money; in a word, God prescrves that heart from covetousness, which he inclines to his testimonies. Vanity is no less an enemy to religion than the other, nor less dangerous; for though it doth not so imperiously engross the heart, as covetousness doth, yet it so surprises all the senses at once, and so insensibly, that either of them hardly recovers its proper vigour and integrity; and often when it cannot fill all the room itself, it finds means to shut out all that is serious, which would be quickly able to dislodge and expel it. It makes the eye delighted with vain objects, and fantastical representations, that it cares less to behold what is serious and substantial; it makes the ear to be pleased with idle, and loose, and profane discourses, that it cares less to hear wise, and grave, and devout animadversions; it corrupts the palate with an affected relish, that it is less pleased with the taste of what is wholesome and nourishing; it perverts the whole man, and all the faculties of his mind, from those discreet and godly reflections and recollections which can only dispose him to a true affection, and a comfortable dependence, for and upon divine Providence. We cannot make a more necessary and a more seasonable prayer towards the establishing the love of God in our hearts, than that God will turn our eyes and all our senses from vanity, or affecting all that is vain.

LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY.

They who have not a very strong affection of heart for their country cannot love any other thing, hardly God himself; and if the law of nature obliges a man to love and reverence his parents who begat him, it

much more binds him to a vehement affection and concernment for his country, the place of his birth, and the air that nourished him. The happy state and condition of his country is a greater joy and comfort to an honest man, than his own particular state of wealth and prosperity can be; and he is more afflicted and cast down for any public misery that befals it, than for any circumstance of it that brings calamity to himself; he feels not his own particular suffering, when he sees his country covered with tyranny and oppression, all its laws violated, and its religion contemned and profaned. Joy and mirth are very acceptable to God Almighty, being the cheerful breathings of the soul, in acknowledgment of the bounty and blessings which God bestows upon his people; but for a man to be merry and laugh at the funeral of his father, is odious impiety; much more to be merry in the ruins of a man's country, and to warm his hands at the fire that consumes it, it is an inhumanity inconsistent with any pretence to virtue and generosity of spirit; it is a despising and contempt of the loudest vengeance that God can denounce and pour down upon a nation.

LOVE OF THE DEITY.

Because all men profess to love God, and no man is so impudent as not to profess it, he hath given us a rule and measure by which he will judge of our affections, and we are to blame if we do not judge ourselves by the same; our love is not well compounded, if it hath not a reverse; we cannot love him who is all purity, and all virtue, if we do not hate all vice and filthiness; it is not enough to decline and avoid the doing evil, policy and discretion will dispose us

to that, at least in some seasons, and before some company; and men often approve that in others, which they do not practise themselves; but we must hate and detest it, by whomsoever it is countenanced or practised. Love is an affection of the heart, and if it proceeds not from thence it is not worth the offering; and hate issues from the same fountain, and if it be not as perfect and as violent as the love, it cannot be in the place of a good second. From the heart proceed all evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, &c.; and if the hatred in the heart be not strong enough to keep out, or drive out such corruptions, so much is wanted of the love as is wanted of the hate, nor can one be perfect, if the other be not perfect too. If in the courts of princes we affect to be as like, or to do such things as may please him upon whom we depend, we shall be very ill courtiers, if we do not desire to make ourselves as like Him, and do all things to please Him, upon whom we depend for more than any other can give to us.

DETRACTION AND TATTLING.

"Thou shalt be hid from the scourge of the tongue, neither shalt thou be afraid of destruction when it comes," says Eliphaz in Job, when he would discourse of those acts of power and omnipotence which none but God himself can do; and, indeed, a petulant, malicious, detracting tongue, carries always somewhat of poison and venom in it, that a less protection than that of the Almighty cannot secure us from it; it wastes and destroys private families, by kindling divisions, contentions and animosities in it; and it dissolves kingdoms and governments, by raising jealousies, slanders and calumnies against princes and

magistrates, thereby lessening the awe and reverence due to them, which are the seed plots of sedition and rebellion. (Eccl. xxviii. 14, 16, 18). "A back-sliding tongue hath disquieted many, and driven them from nation to nation; strong cities hath it pulled down, and overthrown the houses of great men. Whoso hearkeneth unto it shall never find rest, and never dwell quietly," says the son of Sirach: "Many have fallen by the edge of the sword, but not so many as have fallen by the tongue:" not only by the lying, slandering, false tongue, which commonly in a short time loses its credit and reputation to do mischief, a seasonable discovery and detection of its wickedness preventing the progress of it, and sometimes repairing the wrong it hath done; but by the busy informing whispering tongue, which spoils truths in the repeating them, and tells them to those to whom they ought not to be known. This looseness and activity of the tongue is one of the greatest villanies in the nature of man, and proceeds from the most confirmed habit of malice in our hearts; when we delight to tell all we see and hear, to make comments and glosses of our own (how reasonable soever) upon what other men say and do, or tell it to those who will do so; when we take advantage of men's passions, infirmities or follies, and report that to be said or done maliciously, which was said or done but hastily, and it may be innocently, and yet may be capable enough justly of an ill interpretation. Beauty, and the pleasantness of a very handsome object, may surprise our eye and sight, and it may be, engross it too much, and make us for a time care to see nothing else; and passion and rage may transport the hand to an act of violence, and of blood, and yet the heart may never consent to

the lust, or to the murder. But this spirit of detraction and appetite to speak ill of men, to traduce or undervalue men we know not, or not know enough to be able to judge of them, never proceeds from a sudden heat and passion, (inconsiderate, froward, sharp expressions may), but from a formed impotent rancour in our nature, and is so far from doing what it does not intend to do, that it seldom does half the mischief it purposes and desires to do; it is fraught with an unnatural and ungenerous spite, which preys upon the dead equally with the living, and when it hath worried men to the grave, begins a new persecution *against their memories.*

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It is a thing very much to be lamented in Christianity, to see with what greediness and alacrity men run to the defaming one another, that it is growing matter of custom and conversation, vanity and wantonness, and wit carries them to it even without malice, and men hear one another traduced and slandered, without the least tenderness or concernment; which can proceed from nothing but want of humanity, as well as defect of justice; and if it were not for danger of the law, they who thus conspire the murthering of men's honour and fame would as pleasantly concur in the murder of their persons; nor will the guilt of the one be an easy charge against them at the high tribunal, though they are not guilty of the other: we ought to be the more careful and circumspect to avoid and discountenance this customary license, because the mischief that results from it is frequently greater than the person who works it intends it should be; a scandal once thrown out, how harmless soever, receives an increase of poison and

fierceness from every hand that takes it up, and sends it abroad again, and the reporter doth equal injury with the contriver; a backbiting tongue hath cast out virtuous women, and deprived them of their labours; a calumniating jest, nay, a libelling look, hath gotten very tragical mischiefs; but though the mischiefs are not easily repaired, and the causers of them not easily discovered, yet they seldom escape some signal punishment, some retaliation, that makes it manifest to them that they are discovered, though the person injured least suspects them. They who love such discovering words, who exercise that license of the tongue in exposing and prostituting the precious reputation of their innocent neighbours to reproach and infamy, seldom miss their reward in this world, escape some very remarkable judgment here, as they are sure of it hereafter.

DISSIMULATION AND FALSEHOOD.

There are those who are not ashamed to publish, that *mentiri ubi et quomodo oportet* is amongst the excellent faculties of wise men; and look upon a steady adhering to truth, a resolution not to depart from it in words and actions, as want of wit, and want of experience in the world: as good have no heart as not a double one; and if we have not the skill, and dexterity, and artifice, to appear other men than what we are, and to make men think that we think otherwise than we do, we are thought to be defective in a main part of conversation: whereas, in truth, if we had that simplicity and integrity in our hearts which we ought to have, we should not think that more countenance should be given to dissimulation in action, than to direct falsehood in words, which is yet

looked upon with some reproach, and no doubt there is as great a contempt of truth in the one as the other: a pretending to do that which I do not do, or to be that I am not, being as much a lie in action, as the saying, I did that which I did not do, or I saw that which I did not see, is a lie in words; and there can be little said of the defence of the one, which may not be as speciously offered, and it may be as reasonably urged, for the defence of the other. And whoever takes upon him to open a door to this license, by prescribing cases in which men may decline the precise rule of truth, had need have great authority, and submission from all, that he may likewise prescribe limits and bounds to that license; for if in such a case, for such a benefit and advantage, a man may be allowed the liberty to lie or dissemble, he quickly will suppose himself the proper judge when that benefit and advantage may best be gotten, and to find out some other benefit and advantage as considerable as that, to which the advice or concession was first applied.

ENVY.

If envy, like anger, did not burn itself in its own fire, and consume and destroy those persons it possesses, before it can destroy those it wishes worst to, it would set the whole world on fire, and leave the most excellent persons the most miserable. Of all the affections and passions which lodge themselves within the breast of man, envy is the most troublesome, the most restless, hath the most of malignity, the most of poison in it. The object she hath an immortal hatred to is virtue; and the war she makes is always against the best and virtuous men, at least against those who have some signal perfection. No other passion vents

itself with that circumspection and deliberation, and is in all its rage and extent in awe of some control. The most choleric and angry man may offend an honest and a worthy person, but he chooses it not; he had rather provoke a worse man, and at worst he recollects himself upon the sight of the magistrate. Lust, that is blind and frantic, gets into the worst company it can, and never assaults chastity. But envy, a more pernicious affection than either of the other, is inquisitive, observes whose merit most draws the eyes of men upon it, is most crowned by the general suffrage; and against that person he shoots all his venom, and without any noise enters into all unlawful combinations against him to destroy him: though the high condition Solomon was in kept him from feeling the effects of it (for kings can only be envied by kings), he well discovered the uncontrollable power of it; "Wrath is cruel, and anger is outrageous; but who can stand before envy?" (Prov. xxvii. 6.) Let wrath be as cruel as it will, a stronger wrath can disarm it, or application and address can pacify it; fair words have power over it, and let anger be never so outrageous, it can be resisted, and will extinguish itself: they both give fair warning, are discovered afar off, and we have time to fight or fly; but envy hath no fixed open residence, no man knows where it dwells, nor can discern when it marches; it is a *squadroni volante*, that declares no war, but breaks into our quarters when we do not suspect it to be near us, wounds our reputation, stifles the brightness of our merit, and works even upon our friends to suspend their good opinion, and to doubt whether they are not deceived, and whether we are as good as we appear to be. If our credit be so well built, so firm,

that it is not easy to be shaken by calumny and insinuation, it then over commends us, and extols us beyond reason to those upon whom we depend, till they grow jealous; and so blow us up when they cannot throw us down. There is no guard to be kept against envy, because no man knows where it dwells; and generous and innocent men are seldom jealous and suspicious till they feel the wound, or discern some notorious effect of it. It shelters itself for the most part in dark and melancholy constitutions, yet sometimes gets into less suspected lodgings, but never owns to be within when it is asked for. All other passions do not only betray and discover, but likewise confess themselves; the choleric man confesses he is angry, and the proud man confesses he is ambitious; the covetous man never denies that he loves money, and the drunkard confesses that he loves wine: but no envious man ever confessed that he did envy; he commands his words much better than his looks, and those would betray him, if he had not bodily infirmities apparent enough, that those of the mind cannot easily be discovered, but in the mischief they do. Envy pretends always to be a rival to virtue, and to court honour only by merit, and never to be afflicted but on the behalf of justice, when persons less meritorious come to be preferred; and it is so far true, that it seldom assaults unfortunate virtue, and is as seldom troubled for any success, how unworthy soever, that doth not carry a man farther than the envious man himself can attain to; he envies and hates, and would destroy every man who hath better parts or better fortune than himself; and that he is not a witch, proceeds only from the devil's want of power, that he

cannot give him illustrious conditions, for he hath more pride and ambition than any other sort of sinner.

BAD EXAMPLE.

No man is so insignificant as that he can be sure his example can do no hurt. There is naturally such a submission of the understanding, as many do in truth think that lawful to be done which they see another do, of whose judgment and integrity they have a great opinion; so that my example may work upon others to do what no other temptation or suffering could induce them to; nay, it may not only increase the number of the guilty, but confirm those, who, out of their reverence to my carriage and constancy, began to repent the ill they had done; and whosoever is truly repenting, thinks at the same time of repairing.

FRIENDSHIP.

Friendship is compounded of all those soft ingredients which can insinuate themselves and slide insensibly into the nature and temper of men of the most different constitutions, as well as of those strong and active spirits which can make their way into perverse and obstinate dispositions; and because discretion is always predominant in it, it works and prevails least upon fools. Wicked men are often reformed by it, weak men seldom. It doth not fly in the face of the proud man, nor endeavour to jostle him out of his way with unseasonable reprehensions; but watches fit occasions to present his own vices and infirmities in the persons of other men, and makes them appear ridiculous, that he may fall out with them in him-

self. It provokes not the angry man by peremptory contradictions; he understands the nature of the passion, as well as of the person, too well, to endeavour to suppress or divert it with discourses when it is in fury, but even complies, and provokes it, that he may extinguish it: "Simulabit iram, ut tanquam adjutor et doloris comes, plus auctoritatis in consiliis habeat;" a friend will pretend to have a greater sense of the indignity, that he may be of counsel in the revenge, and so will defer it till it be too late to execute it, and till the passion is burned out with its own fire. Friendship will not assault the lustful person with the commendation of chastity; and will rather discourse of the diseases and contempt that will accompany him, than of the damnation that will attend him; it applies caution and lenitives to vice that is in rage and flagrant, the fever of which must be in remission before the sovereign remedies of conscience are to be administered. There is a weakness that contributes to health; and counsel must be as warily increased as diet, whilst there are dregs enough left of the disease to spoil the operation and digestion. Friendship hath the skill and observation of the best physician, the diligence and vigilance of the best nurse, and the tenderness and patience of the best mother. Lastly, it will not endeavour to reform those who are covetous, unjust, or ambitious, by persuading them that poverty is to be preferred before plenty; that it is better to be oppressed than to oppress; and that contempt is more to be affected than honour. Friendship is neither obliged, nor obliges itself, to such problems; but leaves it to those who satisfy themselves in speaking what they think true, without caring whether it does good, or whether any body believes them or no.

Friendship may lose its labour, but it is very solicitous that it may not; and therefore applies such counsels as it may reasonably presume will not be cast up, though it may not carry away all the humour it is applied to.

DUTIES OF FRIENDSHIP.

The first and principal obligation is, to assist each other with their counsel and advice; and because the greatest cement that holds and keeps them together is the opinion they have of each other's virtue, they are to watch as carefully as is possible that neither of them swerve from the strict rules thereof; and if the least propensity towards it be discovered, to apply admonition and counsel and reprehension to prevent a lapse. He who sees his friend do amiss, commit a trespass upon his honour or upon his conscience, do that which he were better not do, or do that which he ought not to do, and doth not tell him of it, do all he can to reform him, hath broken the laws of friendship, since there is no one obligation to be named with it; so that it may be said to be so much the sole use of friendship, that where that fails, the performance of all other offices is to no purpose; and it may be observed, that few men have ever fallen into any signal misfortune, at least not been lost in it, who have ever been possessed of a true friend, except it be in a time when virtue is a crime. Counsel and reprehension was a duty of the text in the Levitical law; "Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him," (Lev. xix. 17.); and Mr. Selden tells us of a Rabbi, that thought it one of the principal causes of the destruction of Jerusalem, because they had left off reproving one another, "Non excisa fuis-

set Ierosolima, nisi quoniam alter alterum non coarguebat:" and there is no doubt, the not exercising this essential part of friendship with that sincerity and plainness it ought to be, hath been, and is, the occasion of infinite mischief, and hath upon the matter annihilated friendship, and brought it under the reproach of being a pandar, and prostituted to all the vile offices of compliance with the infirmities and vices of the person it regards. It is thought to be a necessary office of friendship, to conceal the faults of a friend, and make them be thought much less than they are; and it is so: every man ought to be very tender of the reputation of one he loves, and to labour that he may be well thought of; that is his duty with reference to others: but he is neither to lessen nor conceal it to himself, who can best provide for his reputation, by giving no cause for aspersion; and he who, in such cases, gives not good counsel to his friend, betrays him.

The second office of friendship is, to assist the interest and pretence of his friend with the utmost power he hath, and with more solicitude than if it were his own, as in truth it is; but then Tully's rule is excellent, "Tantum cuique tribuendum est, primum quantum ipse efficere possis, deinde quantum quem diligas atque adjuves possit sustinere;" men are not willing to have any limits put to their desires, but think their friends bound to help them to any thing they think themselves fit for. But friendship justly considers what in truth they are, not what they think themselves fit for; *quantum possunt sustinere:* friendship may be deceived, and overvalue the strength and capacity of his friend, think that he can sustain more than indeed his parts are equal to; but friendship is not so blind, as not to discern a total unfitness, an ab-

solute incapacity, and can never be engaged to promote such a subject. It can never prefer a man to be a judge, who knows nothing of the law; nor to be a general, who was never a soldier. Promotions, in which the public are concerned, must not be assigned by the excess of private affections; which, though possibly they may choose the less fit, must never be so seduced as not to be sure there is a competent fitness in the person they make choice of: otherwise friendship, that is compounded of justice, would be unjust to the public, out of private kindness towards particular persons; which is the highest injustice imaginable, of which friendship is not capable.

The third duty of friendship is entire confidence and communication, without which faithful counsel the just tribute of friendship can never be given; and therefore reservation in friendship is like concealment in confession, which makes the absolution void, as the other doth the counsel of no effect. Seneca's advice is excellent, "Diu cogita an tibi in amicitiam aliquis recipiendus sit." It is want of this deliberation, this long thinking whether such a man be capable of friendship, and whether thou thyself art fit for it, that brings so much scandal upon it, makes friendships of a day, or rather miscalls every short acquaintance, any light conversation, by the title of friendship; of which very many of those are incapable, who are fit enough for acquaintance, and commendable enough in conversation. When thou hast considered this well, which thou canst do without considering it long, *cum placuerit fieri*, if thou resolvest that he is fit for thy friendship, *toto illum pectore admitte*, receive him into thy bosom; let him be possessed of all thy purposes, all thy thoughts: to conceal any

thing from him now is an affront, and a disavowing him for thy friend. It is the reason the Roman church gives, why they define the reservation and concealment of any sin, or circumstance of it, in confession of it, to be sacrilege, because it defrauds God of somewhat that was due to him from the penitent; and by the same reason, the not entirely communicating all thou knowest and all thou thinkest is a lay sacrilege, a retaining somewhat that is his due by the dedication of friendship: and without this sincere communication, the principal use of friendship is abated and withheld, and the true virtue thereof undiscovered, and the comfort that attends it.

The fourth obligation in friendship is constancy, and continuing firm to the laws and obligations of it. Friendship is so much more a sacrament than marriage is, that in many cases a friend is more to be trusted and relied upon than the wife of his bosom; and so is not to be cast off or dismissed, but upon the most discovered and notorious transgressions; and even then there will remain some marks, yea and obligations, which can never be razed out or cancelled. Scipio had never patience so much as to hear that proposition of Bias the philosopher pronounced, "Ita amare oportere ut aliquando esset osurus," that a man was to love his friend in such a manner, that he might hate him likewise if there were an occasion; which indeed was a barbarous advice of a rude stoic, whose profession was not to appear like other men. It is possible that a friend may fall so far from the laws of virtue and justice, and commit such crimes and offences, that, like violating the integrity of the marriage bed, may cause a separation even to the dissolution of friendship, but it is not possible for a friend to think

he will do so till he hath done it notoriously: and even after that time, though the communication which constituted the friendship be interrupted, there remains still some inclination; and he thinks it just to pay such a penalty for the error and unskilfulness of his election, that he hath still kindness and pity, and is never heard to load his divorced friend with reproaches and severe censures; it is grief enough not to speak of it at all, but he can never be provoked to speak bitterly of him; the grateful memory of the past intercourse, and of some virtue that was in the object, will preserve him from that indecency. There cannot be a greater manifestation how falsely or weakly the common friendships of the age are founded and entered into, than by every day's observation of men, who profess friendship this day to those against whom they declare to-morrow the most mortal and implacable hatred and malice, and blush not the next day to depress the same man with all the imaginable marks of infamy, whom the day before they extolled with all the commendations and praises which humanity is capable of: whereas, in truth, natural modesty should restrain men, who have been given to speak too well of some men, from speaking at all ill of the same persons, that their former excess may be thought to proceed from their abundant charity, not from the defect of their judgment. Solomon thought friendship so sacred a tie, that nothing but the discovery of secrets, which is adultery in marriage, could separate from it: and surely a greater violation of friendship cannot be than such a discovery, and scarce any other guilt towards the person of a friend can be equal to it. But friendship may be broken and dissolved by faults committed against other persons, though of no immediate relation

to the friend himself. When men cease to be of the same virtue they were, or professed and seemed to be of, when that conjunction was entered into; if they cease to be just and pious, and fall into the practice of some notorious and scandalous vice, friendship is of so delicate a temper, that she thinks her own beauty impaired by those spots, and herself abandoned by that foul practice. If the avowing a friendship for a corrupt and wicked person be so scandalous, that the best men cannot bear the reproach of it, such a departure from probity and a good name will excuse and justify the others withdrawing from that virtuous relation, so much already abandoned by the impiety of the transaction; yet there will remain such a compassion towards the person, which is very consistent with the detestation of the vice, that he shall receive all the offices of charity, kindness, and generosity, which cannot but still spring from some root or branch of the withered and decayed former friendship, that can never be totally extinguished, though the lustre be faded and the vigour lost.

HUMAN NATURE.

The perpetual fear and agony and apprehension, which wicked men always feel within themselves, is the argument that Epicurus made, that human nature is so far from being inclined to ill, that it abhors all kind of wickedness; "quia infixa nobis ejus rei aversatio est, quam natura damnavit, ideo nunquam fides latendi fit etiam latentibus;" and the frequent discoveries of very enormous crimes after long concealments, merely from the unquietness of the offenders' own breasts, manifests how far our nature is from being delighted with works of darkness, that it cannot rest

till they be exposed to light. If we did not take great pains, and were not at great expense to corrupt our nature, our nature would never corrupt us. We administer all the helps of industry and art to provoke our appetites, and to inflame our blood, and then we accuse nature for leading us into excesses; we kindle that fire that kindles our lust with a licentious diet, and then fan it into a flame with obscene discourses, and revile nature that it will not permit us to be chaste. We provoke and cherish our anger with unchristian principles of revenge, and then inveigh against nature for making us choleric; when, God knows, the little good we have in us we owe only to the integrity of our nature, which hath restrained us from many vices which our passions would hurry us into. Very many men have remained or become temperate, by the very nauseating and aversion that nature hath to surfeits and excesses; and others have been restrained from making wicked attempts by the horror and trembling that nature hath suggested to them in the approach. Many excellent men have grown to rare perfections in knowledge and in practice, to great learning, great wisdom, great virtue, without ever having felt the least repugnance in their nature to interrupt them in their progress; on the contrary, their inclinations have been strengthened, their vivacity increased, from the very impulsion of their nature: but we may reasonably believe, that never man made a great progress in wickedness, so as to arrive at a mastery in it, without great interruption and contradiction from his natural genius: insomuch as we see men usually take degrees in wickedness, and come not to a perfection in it *per saltum*: which can proceed from nothing but the resistance it finds from the nature of man. And if we

do seriously consider, how few men there are who endeavour by art or industry to cultivate that portion which nature hath given them, to improve their understanding, and to correct any infirmity they may be liable to, by so much as abstaining from any vice which corrupts both body and mind; we must conclude that they owe that which is good in themselves to nature, since they have nothing by their own acquisition. We cannot justly be reproached, that in this magnifying and extolling nature, we do too much neglect and undervalue the influence of God's grace; nature is as much the creation of God as grace is; and it is his bounty that he created nature in that integrity, and hath since restored it to that innocence, or annexed that innocence to it, if it be not maliciously ravished or let loose from it. All the particulars mentioned before may properly be called the operation of nature, because they have been often found in those who have had no light of grace, and may be still thought to be the supply of nature in those who seem not to walk by that light; nor is the price of grace at all advanced, or the way to attain it made more clear and easy, by such an affected contempt of nature, which makes us only capable of the other.

HUMILITY.

The doctrine of humility is so far from being practised, it may be, from being understood, that it is a very hard matter to find a man that is humble, and it may be, to know him if we did find him. Most men, how proud soever, disclaim being proud; which shows they do not think well of pride, how much soever they may affect it: but very few men so much as profess or own the being humble, and they who

profess it are most without it; which shows that it is not well understood. There is not greater ambition, more animosity and uncharitableness in courts, upon the contests and emulations for honour and offices, than there is in schools, and amongst scholars, upon definitions and consequences. Men will neither change their own opinions, nor admit that there is any shadow of truth or reason in theirs which contradict them, when neither of them can be sure that either is in the right; which is a great defect of humility, the practice whereof would make the way to truth much more visible. Men are ashamed to be thought humble, lest men should be thereby encouraged to be insolent towards them; and they see those who make the greatest show of being so are least acquainted with humility. The apostles themselves had much to do, and found it to be a very difficult work, to discountenance and reform many things which had a "*show of humility*;" and from that time to this, a show of and pretence to humility hath covered and countenanced the most unjustifiable and proudest designs and contrivances. Hypocrisy doth frequently dress itself so like humility that it doth its mischief before it is discovered. There may be as great pride in the heart of a capuchin, as in the breast of the greatest general of an army; and nothing is so contrary to true humility, as the least evidence of affecting it. It must not have a haughty or a lofty look, but it need not have a dejected or a down-cast look; confidence and courage may inhabit a heart possessed with humility; nor is a contempt of the world, or a renouncing any preferment in it, any manifestation of being humble, for "before honour is humility." Humility is the best and the nearest way to honour, if you will believe Solo-

mon, and therefore it is not bound to contemn or reject it. The thinking as meanly of ourselves, as our weakness and imperfections deserve we should, is a necessary part of humility; but to believe those evident parts which God hath given us to be less, or worse than another man's, which seem to all men inferior to ours, is not an effect of humility; which is never blind. If we can forbear thinking proudly of ourselves, and that it is God's only goodness if we exceed other men in any thing; if we heartily desire to do all the good we can to others; if we do cheerfully submit to any affliction, as that which we think best for us, because God hath laid it upon us; and receive any blessings he vouchsafes to confer upon us, as his own bounty, and very much above our merit, he will bless this temper of ours into that humility which he expects and accepts.

LIBERTY.

True and precious liberty, that is only to be valued, is nothing else but that we may not be compelled to do any thing that the law hath left in our choice whether we will do or no; nor hindered from doing any thing we have a mind to do, and which the law hath given us liberty to do, if we have a mind to it: and compulsion and force in either of these cases is an act of violence and injustice against our right, and ought to be repelled by the sovereign power, and may be resisted so far by ourselves as the law permits. The law is the standard and the guardian of our liberty; it circumscribes and defends it; but to imagine liberty without a law, is to imagine every man with his sword in his hand, to destroy him who is weaker than himself; and that would be no pleasant prospect to those who cry out most for liberty.

CONTEMPT OF LIFE.

They do affect too unnatural a moroseness, who endeavour to raise in us a contempt of life, and such a weariness and undervaluing of it, as if it were almost a fault to live, at least a fault to desire it, which I doubt is hardly consistent with that reverence and duty which we owe to Divine Providence. Life is the talent that God hath entrusted us to manage in this world for our benefit and his glory; it is the highway we are to travel through to go to him, and without which we can neither know nor enjoy the pleasures of the other world; and length of days is a blessing we may desire and take delight in, because he gives it as a blessing; nor doth he give it as a thing to be nauseated, or that we should be weary, or take pains to be uneasy in: it will be enough if we look upon it as a talent to be well employed, and to be accounted for, and therefore to be able to make the account fair and justifiable, that no part of it, no day or hour of our precious life, be laid out in those commodities he cares not for, less in those he detests, and will never allow upon our account, and such as when we traffic in, we never intend to bring them into our account, but find them intruded upon us by our treacherous conscience, which we had bribed to blot them out. It will be enough, if we use it as a journey we are to make for the most important affairs: and we may refresh ourselves, and take pleasure in the journey; and if we are not allowed the time which we propose to ourselves to make it in, we shall be brought a shorter way to the end than we thought of, if we are found in the way; and if we are out of the way, it is a mercy to keep us from farther straggling. We may warrantably love life, so we do not love it too well, prefer

it before Him who gave it to us, and look upon it as the end, and not the beginning of a journey, and think that the deferring the account is the avoiding and cancelling it; and sure the very observation we cannot choose but make in our journey cannot but remove those weak and vain imaginations from us.

THE MISEMPLOYMENT OF LIFE.

It is a sharp meditation and animadversion of one, whose writings are an honour to our nation, that the incessant and sabbathless pursuit of a man's fortune and interest (although therein we could refrain from doing injuries or using evil arts) leaves not the tribute of our time which we owe to God, who demandeth we see a tenth of our substance, and a seventh (which is more strict) of our time; and (says he) it is to small purpose to have an erected face toward heaven, and a grovelling spirit upon earth. If they who please themselves with believing that they spend their time the least amiss; who have so far the negative practice of conscience, that they abstain from acts of inhumanity and injustice, and avoid doing harm to any body; nay, if they make such a progress into the active part of conscience, as to delight in the civil acts of humanity, and the diffusive acts of charity; I say, if this handful of the world that is thus innocent (and what dismal account must the other part take of themselves, then,) would seriously examine and revolve the expense of their own time, they would even wonder at the little good they find in themselves, and not be able to tell to the well-spending of what part of their time those good inclinations are to be imputed. We think it a commendable thing (and value ourselves much upon it) to take great pains, to use much industry, to make ourselves fine gentlemen, to get lan-

guages, to learn arts; it may be some for which we are the worse: and we acknowledge, that that is not to be done, nay, any exercise of the body to be learned, or the most mechanic trade, without great pains and industry; but to make ourselves Christians, to know God, and what he expects from us, and what will be acceptable to him, we take not the least pains, use not the least industry. I am persuaded, if many of us, who have lived to good years, did faithfully compute in what particular meditations and actions we have spent our time, we should not be able, amongst the years we have spent in pursuing our pleasures, our profits, our ambition, the days and nights we have dedicated to our lusts, our excesses, the importunities and solicitations we have used to mend our fortunes; we should not be able to set down one hour for every year of our life, I fear not one hour for our whole life, which we have solemnly spent to mend our Christianity; in which we have devoutly considered the majesty and providence and goodness of God, the reason and the end of our own creation; that there is such a place as heaven for the reward of those who do well, or hell for the punishment of the wicked: for if we had spent but one hour in the contemplating those particulars, which are the first and most general notions of Christianity, it were not possible but we should be startled out of our lethargic laziness, and should make some progress in the practice of Christianity, as well as in those paths and roads that lead to our pleasure or profit. What is this inadvertency and incogitancy, but to believe that, as we received this badge of Christianity in our infancy when we knew not of it, so it will grow and increase upon us in our sleep and times of leisure, without taking notice of it? that the little water that was thrown upon our face in baptism

was enough to preserve the beauty of God's image in us, without any addition of moisture from ourselves either by tears in our repentance, or so much as by sweat in our industry and labour? and to declare to all the world, that we hold the life of a Christian to be nothing else but spending so many days as nature allows us, in a climate where the gospel of Christ is suffered to be preached, how little soever desired to be practised? If we would so "number our days," that is, so consider of them, as to order and dispose some part of our time, one hour in a day, one day in ten, but to think of God, and what he hath done for us; to remember that we are Christians, and the obligation that thereby lies upon us; that there will be a day of judgment, and that we must appear at that day: though it may be it would be a difficult thing at the first, in that set time, to apply our unexercised and uninformed thoughts to so devout and religious an exercise as we should; yet, I say, if we would but so set apart a time for that purpose, as to resolve at that time constantly to do nothing else, how perfunctorily soever we did that, we should by degrees bring ourselves from sober and humble thoughts, to pious and godly thoughts, till we found ourselves growing so perfect Christians, as to confess we were not worthy of that title before.

Next the sadness of reviewing the expense of our time, in order to our service of God, and the health and prosperity of our souls; it is a melancholy consideration how we spend our time with reference to ourselves, to the obtaining that which we most desire, to consider how our time goes from us; for we are hardly active enough to be thought to spend it. We live rather the life of vegetatives or sensatives, suffer ourselves to grow, and please and satisfy our appe-

tites, than the lives of reasonable men, endued with faculties to discern the natures and differences of things, and to use and govern both. There is not a man in the world but desires to be, or to be thought to be, a wise man; and yet, if he considered how little he contributes himself thereunto, he might wonder to find himself in any tolerable degree of understanding. How many men are there, nay, in comparison of mankind, how few are there but such, who since they were able to think, and could choose whether they would or no, never seriously spent two hours by themselves in so much as thinking what would make them wiser; but sleep and eat and play, which makes the whole circle of their lives, and are not in seven years together (except asleep) one hour by themselves? It is a strange thing, to see the care and solicitude that is used to strengthen and cherish the body; the study and industry and skill to form and shape every member and limb to beauty and comeliness; to teach the hands and feet and eyes the order and gracefulness of motion; to cure any defects of nature or accident, with any hazard and pain, insomuch as we oftentimes see even those of the weaker sex, and less inclined to suffering, willingly endure the breaking of a bone that cannot otherwise be made straight; and all this ado but to make a handsome and beautiful person, which at best is but the picture of a man or woman, without a wise soul: when to the information and improvement of that jewel, which is the essence of man; and which unconsidered, even that which we so labour for and are proud of, our beauty and handsomeness, is by many degrees inferior to that of a thousand beasts and other creatures; to the cultivating and shaping and directing of the mind, we give scarce a thought, not an hour of our life; never suppress a passion, never

reform an affection; insomuch as (though never age had fewer wise men to show to the world) we may justly wonder we are not all fools and idiots, when we consider how little we have contributed to make ourselves other: and doubtless if nature (whom we are ready to accuse of all our weaknesses and perversenesses) had not out of her store bountifully supplied us, our own art and industry would never have kept up our faculties to that little vile height they are at. Neither in truth do many believe or understand that there needs any other diligence or art to be applied to the health of the mind, than the sober ordering and disposing of the body; and it is well if we can bring ourselves to that reasonable conclusion. Whereas when we prescribe ourselves a wholesome and orderly course of diet, for the strengthening of our natures, and confirming our healths; if we would consider what diet to give our minds, what books to read for the informing and strengthening our understandings, and conclude that it is as impossible for the mind to be improved without those supplies, as for the body to subsist without its natural food; if, when we allow ourselves recreations and exercises, to cherish and refresh our spirits, and to waste and dispel humours, without which a well-tempered constitution cannot be preserved, we would allow some exercises to our minds, by a sober and frank conversation with learned, honest, and prudent men, whose informations, animadversions, and experience might remove and expel the vanities and levities which infect our understandings; if when an indisposition or distemper of body, an ill habit of health, calls upon us to take a rougher course with ourselves, to vomit up or purge away those choleric and phlegmatic and melancholic hu-

mours, which burn and cloy and suffocate the vital parts and passages; to let out that blood which is too rank, too corrupted for our veins, and to expel those fumes and vapours which hurt our stomachs and ascend to our brains; if we would, I say, as diligently examine the distemper of our minds, revolve the rage and fury of our choler, the dulness and laziness of our phlegm, the sullenness and pride of our melancholy; if we would correct this affection, and draw out that passion; expel those fumes and vapours of ambition which disturb and corrupt our reason and judgment, by sober and serious meditation of the excellency and benefit of patience, alacrity, and contentedness; that this affection and this passion is not consistent with sobriety and justice, and that the satisfying them with the utmost license brings neither ease nor quiet to the mind, which is not capable of any happiness but in, at least not without, its own innocence; that ambition always carries an insatiableness with it, which is a torment to the mind, and no less a disease than that is to the stomach; in a word, if we would consider, there is scarce a disease, an indisposition, a distemper, by which the body is disturbed, to which, or some influence like it, the mind is not liable likewise; and that the remedies for the latter are much more natural, more in our power, than for the former; if we would use but half the diligence and industry to apply them which we do to the other, we should find ourselves another kind of people, our understandings more vigorous, and our lives more innocent, useful, and beneficial, to God, to ourselves, and to our country; and we should think we had learned nothing, till we had learned "so to number our days that we might apply our hearts unto wisdom;" that wisdom, of

which the fear of the Lord is the beginning, and of which the eternal blessing of God is the end and the reward.

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He hath too little reverence for himself, who dares do that in his own presence, which he would be ashamed, or not dare to do before another man; and it is for want of acquaintance with ourselves, and revolving the dignity of our creation, that we are without that reverence. Who, that doth consider how near he is of kin to God himself, and how excellently he is qualified by him to judge aright of all the delusions and appearances of the world, if he will employ those faculties he hath adorned him with; that nobody is able to deceive him, if he doth not concur and contribute to the deceiving himself; I say, who can consider and weigh this, and at the same time bury all those faculties of the discerning soul in sensual pleasures, laziness, and senseless inactivity, and as much as is in his power, and, God knows, there is too much in his power, to level himself with the beasts that perish? It is a foolish excuse we make upon all occasions for ourselves and other men, in our laboured and exalted acts of folly and madness, that we can be no wiser than God hath made us, as if the defects in our will were defects in his providence; when in truth God hath given us all that we will make ourselves capable of, that we will receive from him. He hath given us life, that is time, to make ourselves learned, to make ourselves wise, to make us discern and judge of all the mysteries of the world: if we will bestow this time, which would supply us with wisdom and knowledge, in wine and women, which corrupt the little understanding that nature hath given us; if we will barter it away for skill in horses, dogs, and

hawks; and if we will throw it away in play and gaming; it is from our own villany that we are fools, and have rejected the effects of his providence. It is no wiser an allegation, that our time is our own, and we may use it as we please: there is nothing so much our own that we may use it as we please; we cannot use our money, which is as much, if not more, our own than any thing we have, to raise rebellion against our prince, or to hire men to do mischief to our neighbours; we cannot use our bodies, which, if any thing, are our own, in duels or any unlawful enterprise: and why should we then believe that we have so absolute and sovereign a disposal of our time, that we may choose whether we will dispose it to any thing or no? It were to be wished that all men did believe, which they have all great reason to do, that the consumption and spending of our time will be the great inquisition of the last and terrible day; when there shall be a more strict inquiry how the most dissolute person, the most debauched bankrupt, spent his time, than how he spent his estate; no doubt it will then manifestly appear, that our precious time was not lent us to do nothing with, or to be spent upon that which is worse than nothing; and we shall not be more confounded with any thing, than to find that there is a perfect register kept of all that we did in that time: and that when we have scarce remembered the morrow what we did yesterday, there is a diary in which nothing we did is left out, and as much notice taken when we did nothing at all. This will be a sad animadversion when it is too late, and when probably it may appear that the very idle man, he who hath never employed himself, may be in a very little better condition than he who hath been worst employed; when idleness shall be declared to be a species of wickedness, and

doing nothing to be the activity of a beast. There cannot therefore be too serious or too early a reflection upon the good husbandry of this precious talent, which we are entrusted with, not to be laid out in vain pleasures whereof we are ashamed as soon as we have enjoyed them, but in such profitable exchanges that there may be some record of our industry, if there be none of our getting.

DISEASES OF THE MIND NOT INCURABLE.

Men give over the diseases of the mind as incurable; call them infirmities of nature, which cannot be subdued, hardly corrected; or substantial parts of nature, that cannot be cut off, or divided from our humanity: that anger is the result of a generous nature, that will not, ought not to submit to injuries and affronts; that lust is so inseparable from our nature, that nothing but want of health can allay it; that there is no other way to cure the disease but to kill the patient; that it proceeds not from any virtuous habit of the mind, where these natural affections and appetites do not prevail, but from some depraved constitution of the body, which stifles and suppresses those desires, for want of that moisture and heat that should nourish them; and that conscience hath no more to do in the conquest, than courage hath an operation in him who takes an enemy prisoner who lies prostrate at his feet: whereas all those, and other diseases of the mind, for diseases they are, are much more curable than those of the body, and so much the more as they are most subject to our own administration; when we must resort to the skill and ability of other men to devise and compound proper remedies for the other cure. Many accidents of heat or cold or diet, or the

very remedies prescribed, very often make the diseases of the body incurable, and the recovery impossible; whereas the application to the mind, though unskilfully and unseasonably made, does no harm if it does no good, and the mind remains still as capable of the same or other medicines as it was before. Nor is there any enormous or unruly infirmity so annexed to or rooted in our nature, but that the like hath been frequently severed from or eradicated out of it, by virtuous and conscientious precepts and practice; and every man's observation and experience supplies him with examples enough, of men far from sobriety, who, to comply with some infirmity, have forborne all wine and intemperance for some months; and of others of no restrained appetites, who, upon the obligation of a promise or virtuous resolution, have abstained a longer time from any acts of uncleanness; and whosoever can impose such a law upon himself for so many months, can do the same for so many years; a firm and magnanimous resolution can exercise that discipline upon the mind, that it shall never make any excursions from reason and good behaviour. If they can be brought but *laborem ferre cogitandi*, the worst is over, and their recovery is not desperate.

MORAL SLAVERY.

No man is completely miserable without the loss of his liberty, and in the loss of that, all comforts that can be supplied are but shadows and without relish. We are all sensible enough of this kind of loss of our liberty, and need no aggravations to make a prison odious to us; we think it too great a punishment when we most deserve it, and are ready to rescue ourselves from it by greater offences than those which make us

liable to it. There needs no eloquence to raise our understanding to the sharpest apprehension of the miseries of such a captivity, or of the affliction of banishment, though all the world be open to us but our own country: our liberty is sweet to us, and our country is sweet; we would part with neither. But there is a loss of this precious liberty, that is more in one's own power to prevent; there is a captivity more mischievous and destroying than the subjection of a foreign nation, which we may free ourselves from; and yet we are so far from using that power, from a desire to preserve our liberty, that we give ourselves up, and affect and contribute to our own captivity. It is not the narrow room in a gaol that makes the imprisonment; small rooms have their benefit and convenience, and many choose them who are most at liberty; but the restraint that they cannot go from thence. Many men are imprisoned in their own houses, and complain as much of the confinement as if they were in a vault, and as to their liberty it is an equal infringement. A great town is as much a prison if a man be committed to it, without liberty to go out of it, as the county gaol, and it may be as grievous. They who would not be carried into foreign countries in captivity, would not be deprived of the liberty to travel thither, and they who abhor banishment most, would not be restrained from going out of their own country, and it may be would be as unwilling to be banished into their own country, as out of it. The not being in their own disposal, the being restrained from doing what they would choose to do, having in it all that is grievous in imprisonment, in banishment, in captivity. What shall we then think of not resisting our own passions, when they assault us in our full vigour, and when we are able to subdue them?

and of our giving ourselves up to our most unruly affections and appetites, when they carry us away into actions, which are not only unwarrantable, and in the end must be grievous to us; but are not grateful and agreeable to our very natural desires, and that virtue and abstinence that is imprinted in us? A man is as much a prisoner in his own house, when his servants shut the doors upon him, and will not suffer him to go out, as when he is besieged by an enemy that keeps him in; and that restraint is much the more dishonourable. We may be prisoners likewise in ourselves, and no imprisonment so unworthy as to be enclosed by our servants, by our own narrow and sordid affections; no captivity so base and dishonourable as to be led away and transported by the unbridled strength and power of our own passions and appetites. Who would not choose rather to be a slave to a noble enemy, to a great and powerful prince, where innocence and honour may be preserved in servitude, than to be a slave to his own anger, which leads into base actions of violence, and impious acts of revenge, and then leaves him to the chastisement of his own conscience, and to the justice of the magistrate, which is less severe? The covetous man, who will not part with the least to do the greatest good to his neighbour, and is ready to rebel if a little money is required of him for his king or country, is so much a slave to his money, so much possessed by it, instead of being the possessor of it, that he receives no benefit from it; and from denying it to others he denies it to himself, and is as poor and more miserable, than he who lives upon alms and begs his bread from door to door. They who cherish the unruly heat in their blood, with loose and lascivious thoughts, and obscene discourses,

to make it more unruly, till it grow into lust, when a little reflection and mortification would have extinguished the first fire, become so much slaves to that lust, that it hurries them into attempts destructive to civil justice, to the laws of humanity, and into contempt of divinity itself, and makes them more beasts than they are which live in the desert. What impositions doth the insolent haughty man pay to his pride! What exactions doth he suffer from his ambition! Nay, what affronts and indignities doth he suffer from both, in submission to those who are more haughty than himself, that he may appear great in the eyes of meaner men! Let us, therefore, if we desire to be free from others, be sure to keep us free from ourselves; and if we would not have the pride and passion of other men prevail against us, let us hinder our own pride and passion from prevailing upon us. The fountain of our liberty is within us; if we keep that from being corrupted or invaded, we shall be the abler to keep it from the violence and power of others: but we cannot be too severe and strict in the guard of it; treating and complying, and compounding with outward enemies, many times preserves us, and awakens them, but with those within there is no compounding, no complying. No man ever compounded with his anger for one single murder, but it exacted another; nor with his ambition for one office or preferment, but he was in the instant as solicitous for more; nor did ever man extinguish his lust by once satisfying it; the conquest must be entire on one side, with all the ensigns of conquest. If we do not fully subdue, we are entirely subdued, and our liberty is for ever lost.

OUR DUTY TO OUR NEIGHBOUR.

Integrity in our actions, and truth in our words, to be reputed honest in what we do, and true men in what we say, is so necessary to our conversation in this world, that if we entertained no thought of the next, for our pure advantage in this we desire the reputation of it. And yet these plain, easy virtues, without which we cannot endure to be thought to be, and in our own account it is the greatest infamy to be without, carry us a great part of our journey, are a great part of the qualification that is prescribed to us to make us worthy to be the citizens of the New Jerusalem. But then this duty of the heart, living innocently and uprightly, and the other duty of the mouth, speaking truly of things, and candidly of persons, is not restrained and terminated within the narrow circle of our own activity, the whole duty comprehended within what we do ourselves. It is not enough to be just in our own actions, and not oppress our neighbours ourselves, and punctual in our own words, and not traduce and slander our neighbours ourselves; but we must, to the utmost of our power and capacity, protect honest men from being oppressed by others, rescue them from the violence of others that would oppress them, and redeem their reputation and good name from the liberty and scandal of other men's tongues; discountenance that falsehood and slander, which by the dexterity and wit of passionate and uncharitable men is ready to prevail against the innocent, who hath not courage or skill, or interest enough to make his innocency and integrity appear. We must not take up a reproach against our neighbour:

Non sustinuit proximo fieri opprobium, says the Hebrew and the Chaldee paraphrase. We are not to sit still whilst honest men are undone in their fortune or their fame, as if it was nothing to us. An unconcernedness in what other men do or suffer is very far from the innocence of a good Christian, indeed is very far from the obligation of civil justice and policy. Whosoever hath it in his power to hinder another man from doing mischief, and does not hinder him, is guilty of the mischief he does, and obliged in conscience to pay the damage.

PATIENCE.

Patience is a Christian virtue, a habit of the mind, that doth not only bear and suffer contumelies, reproach, and oppression, but extracts all the venom out of them, and compounds a cordial out of the ingredients, that preserves the health, and even restores the cheerfulness of the countenance, and works miracles in many respects; and under this notion we have in another place taken a view of it: we will consider it now only as it is a moral virtue, a temper of mind that controls or resists all the brutish effects of choler, anger, and rage; and in this regard it works miracles too; it prevents the inconveniences and indecencies which anger would produce, and diverts the outrages which choler and rage would commit: if it be not sharp-sighted enough to prevent danger, it is composed and resolute enough to resist and repel the assault; and, by keeping all the faculties awake, is very rarely surprised, and quickly discerns any advantages which are offered, because its reason is never disturbed, much less confounded. There is no question but where this excellent blessed temper is the

effect of deliberation, and the observation of the folly and madness of sudden passion, it must constitute the greatest perfection of wisdom; but it hath in itself so much of virtue and advantage, that when it proceeds from the heaviness of the constitution, and from some defect in the faculties, it is not wholly without use and benefit; it may possibly not do so much good as more sprightly and active men use to perform, but then it never does the harm that quick and hasty men are commonly guilty of; and as fire is much easier and sooner kindled than it is extinguished, we frequently find dull and phlegmatic persons sooner attain to a warmth and maturity of judgment, and to a wonderful discerning of what ought or ought not to be done, than men of quicker and more subtle parts of nature, who seldom bear *cogitandi laborem:* whereas the other, by continual thinking, repair the defects of nature, and with industry supply themselves with that which nature refused to give them. All men observe, in the litigation of the schools, that the calm and undisturbed disputants maintain their point and pursue their end much more efficaciously than their angry and vehement adversaries, whose passions lead them into absurd concessions and undiscerned contradictions; all the ambitious designs for honour and preferment, all the violent pursuits of pleasure and profit, are but disputations and contentions to maintain their theses, to compass that which men have a mind to obtain; and though the boldest men do sometimes possess themselves of the prize, it is but sometimes, and when it is not warily guarded: the dispassionate candidates are not so often disappointed, nor so easily discouraged; they are intent and advancing, when the others have given over; and then they enjoy what

they get with much more satisfaction, because they pursued with less greediness. Angry and choleric men are as ungrateful and unsociable as thunder and lightning, being in themselves all storm and tempests; but quiet and easy natures are like fair weather, welcome to all, and acceptable to all men; they gather together what the other disperses, and reconcile all whom the other incenses; as they have the good will and the good wishes of all other men, so they have the full possession of themselves, have all their own thoughts at peace, and enjoy quiet and ease in their own fortunes how strait soever; whereas the other neither love, nor are beloved, and make war the more faintly upon others, because they have no peace within themselves; and though they are very ill company to every body else, they are worst of all to themselves, which is a punishment that nature hath provided for them who delight in being vexatious and uneasy to others.

PERSECUTION ON ACCOUNT OF RELIGION.

That any man should be punished merely for error in opinion seems to be not only against the uncontrollable liberty of the soul of man, which cannot be restrained or constrained to other thoughts than what result from the natural faculties of the understanding, but against the elements of justice, and the nature and definition of punishment itself; for the schoolmen define *(pœna)* to be *malum passionis, quod infligitur ob malum actionis:* and therefore that punishment must be very unnatural which is inflicted for erroneous thoughts from whence no unlawful action hath proceeded, nor any seditious proposition hath resulted, from whence the public peace might be disturbed.

Besides, the end of punishment is frustrated, which is not originally intended for what is past and remediless, but to prevent the like mischief for the future; which end is not attained in the case which we are now considering; for experience tells us, that the punishment of one man for matter of opinion promulgates and publishes the opinion more than it suppresses, and, in truth, more than neglecting it could do; there being usually somewhat of patience and courage, and composure, that attends persons who suffer in that kind, which begets an inquiry and estimation that produces other effects. So that except when remedies are provided infinitely in proportion above the diseases (which is the highest measure of injustice), we see few cures performed by those rigorous inquisitions.

PIETY NOT GLOOMY.

"O praise the Lord, for it is a good thing to sing praises unto our God; yea, a joyful and a pleasant thing it is to be thankful;" (Psalm cxlvii. i.) says this kingly prophet in another psalm, when he would celebrate the particular mercies and favours of Almighty God in the highest and most exalted strain of devotion. The truth is, if a virtuous and pious life were to receive no reward and advantage in the next world, it were to be chosen for the very pleasure and comfort it administers to us in this; there being no delight equal to that which a man really feels from doing well; and consequently no joy worthy to be named with that which possesses a man, when he is contemplating the greatness and the glory of his Creator, and making due acknowledgments of the blessings and deliverances he hath received from his

divine providence and mercy. Indeed there is nothing more acceptable to God than such a joy and jollity, such cheerfulness and alacrity; and they who would exclude it from the life and profession of Christianity, and introduce a sour and severe moroseness into practice, as if our thoughts ought to be so entirely engrossed and disposed to the contemplation of heaven, that we ought to have no taste and relish in the matters of this life, shut out a sacrifice that he is very well pleased with. We are taught to look upon heaven itself as a place of incomprehensible joy and bliss, and we are allowed much mirth and pleasure in our way thither. What would that prince think of that man, of whom he should make choice to favour and oblige with honours and offices, and should still find with downcast eyes, and shows of sadness and melancholy, without any cheerful acknowledgment of his graces, or any signs that he thought himself happy, or his condition good? Doubtless he would believe him to be of a very ungrateful nature, or at least of a nature not worthy or not capable of such obligations. And what must God think of us, if when he pours down his blessings upon us, in preserving us from the fury, though not from the oppression of our enemies, in rescuing our lives from their malice, though he gives them leave to prey upon our fortunes (and which is his greatest blessing), in giving us grace to abstain from those enormous crimes which must be attended by his judgments, to perform our duties to men with reasonable perfection, and to endeavour with our utmost power to please him, he finds us without any cheerfulness or joy at all, perplexed at what we have lost, not comforted with what we have left, enraged and transported at the guilt and wickedness of

our enemies, not refreshed and delighted at all with our own innocence and integrity?

POLICY OF PRINCES.

There is not a sadder consideration than this passion, and injustice, in Christian princes (and I pray God the almighty justice be not angry on this account with the government of kings, princes, and states), that they are seldom so solicitous that the laws be executed, justice administered, and order performed within their own kingdoms, as they are that all three may be disturbed and confounded amongst their neighbours. And there is no sooner a spark of dissension, a discomposure in affections, a jealousy in understandings, discerned to be in a neighbour province, or kingdom, to the hazarding the peace thereof, but they, though in league and amity, with their utmost art and industry, make it their business to kindle that spark into a flame, and to contract and ripen all unsettled humours, and jealous apprehensions, into a peremptory discontent, and all discontent to sedition, and all sedition to open and professed rebellion. And they have rarely so ample satisfaction in their own greatness, or so great a sense and value of God's blessing upon them, as when they have been instruments of drawing some notorious calamity upon their neighbours. As if the religion of princes were nothing but policy, and that they considered nothing more, than to make all other kingdoms but their own miserable: and because God hath reserved them to be tried only within his own jurisdiction, and before his own tribunal, that he means to try them too by other laws, and rules, than he hath published to the world for his servants to walk by. Whereas they ought to consider,

that God hath placed them over his people as examples, and to give countenance to his laws by their own strict observation of them; and that as their subjects are to be defended and protected by their princes, so they themselves are to be assisted and supported by one another; the function of kings being an order by itself: and as a contempt and breach of every law is, in the policy of state, an offence against the person of the king, because there is a kind of violation offered to his person in the transgression of that rule without which he cannot govern, so the rebellion of subjects against their prince ought to be looked upon, by all other kings, as an assault of their own sovereignty, and, in some degree, a design against monarchy itself; and consequently to be suppressed, and extirpated, in what other kingdom soever it is, with the like concernment as if it were in their own bowels *.

POPULARITY.

Certainly, somewhat like that which Plutarch says of the Roman auguries, "that Octavius lost his life by trusting to them, and that Marius prospered the better because he did not altogether despise them," may be said of popularity: though he that too immoderately and importunately affects it, will hardly continue innocent; yet he who too affectedly despises or neglects what is said of him, or what is generally thought of persons or things, and too stoically contemns the affections of men, even of vulgar (be his other abilities and virtues as great as can be imagined), will, in some conjuncture of time, find himself very unfortunate.

* The framers of the Holy Alliance seem to have profited by this advice of Clarendon.—Ed.

PRIDE.

The outward preservation of men's dignity, according to the several qualities and stations they hold in the world, by their birth or office, or other qualification, is not pride. The peace and quiet of nations cannot be preserved without order and government; and order and government cannot be maintained and supported without distinction and degrees of men, which must be subordinate one to the other: where all are equal, there can be no superiority; and where there is no superiority, there can be no obedience; and where there is no obedience, there must be great confusion, which is the highest contradiction and opposition of order and peace; and the keeping those bounds and fences strictly and severely, and thereby obliging all men to contain themselves within the limits prescribed to them, is very well consisting with the greatest humility, and therefore can be no discovery or symptom of pride. And it may be, the most diabolical pride may not more inhabit in the breasts of any sort of men, than of those who are forward to stoop from the dignity they ought to uphold to a mean and low condescension to inferior persons; for all pride being a violation of justice, it may be presumed, or reasonably suspected, that he that practises that injustice towards himself hath his ambition complied with and satisfied by some unworthy effects from such condescension. I do not say, that these necessary distances and distinctions and precedencies are always exercised without pride, but that they may be so and ought to be so. No doubt, men who are in the highest stations, and have a pre-eminence over other men, and are bound to exercise that superiority over

those men who, it may be, have been better men than they, and deserve still to be so, to constrain them to perform their duty, which they ought to do without constraint, have great temptations, especially if they have vulgar minds, to be proud; and ought to take great care, by their gentle and modest behaviour in their conversation, by doing all the offices which charity or courtesy invite them to, and by executing that most rigid part of their obligation, which obliges them to punish corrupt men and corrupt manners, without the least arrogance or insolence towards their persons, as if he were well pleased with the opportunity; which is in truth as if he could satisfy public justice and his particular malice together, which are inconsistent, and cannot but be the effect and product of great pride in his heart, and he is not glad that he can do justice so much, as that he takes revenge upon a guilty person that he doth not love. The seat of pride is in the heart, and only there; and if it be not there, it is neither in the looks, nor in the clothes. A cloud in the countenance, a melancholy and absence of mind, which detains a man from suddenly taking notice of what is said or done, very often makes a man thought to be proud, who is most free from that corruption; and the excess in clothes may be some manifestation of folly or levity, but can be no evidence of pride: for first, the particular quality and condition of men may oblige them to some cost and curiosity in their clothes; and then the very affecting a neatness and expense of decent habit (if it does not exceed the limits of one's fortune), is not only very lawful, and an innocent delight, but very commendable; and men, who most affect a gallantry in their dress, have hearts too cheerful and liberal to be affected with so trouble-

some a passion as pride, which always possesses itself of the heart, and branches itself out into two very notable and visible affections; which are, a very high and immoderate esteem of themselves, and admiration and overvaluing of their own parts and qualities, and a contempt of the persons of other men, and disesteem and undervaluing of all their faculties and endowments, how conspicuous soever to all others: and without both those excesses, pride will hardly be nourished to a monstrous magnitude; but thus fed and cherished, outgrows all other vices, and indeed comprehends them.

The disesteem and contempt of others is inseparable from pride. It is hardly possible to overvalue ourselves, but by undervaluing our neighbours; and we commonly most undervalue those who are by other men thought to be wiser than we are; and it is a kind of jealousy in ourselves that they are so, which provokes our pride; "Only by pride cometh contention," says Solomon (Prov. xiii. 10). In truth, pride is contention itself, an insolent passion that always contends, and contends for that which doth not belong to him who contends; contends by calumny to rob another man of his reputation, of his good name; contends by force to extort that which another man hath no mind to part with; and oftentimes contends by fraud and flattery to deprive a man of what, barefaced and by force, he could not compass; and does as much contemn a man whom he hath cozened and deceived, as if he had by courage overcome him; nay, he takes no pleasure in the good that is in him, otherwise than as it is set off and illustrated by the infirmities of other men; he doth not enjoy the advantages nature or fortune have conferred upon him

with that relish, as when it brings a prejudice to some others; he never likes his wit so well, as when it makes his companions, it may be his friends, ridiculous; nor ever feels the pleasure of his fortune so much, as when it enables him to oppress his neighbour: in the pursuit of his ambition, he had much rather obtain an office that is promised to another, than one that is vacant to all pretenders; to be preferred before another, how unreasonably or unjust soever, is a full feast to his pride, and a warrant in his own opinion ever after to prefer himself before all men; and if he could have his wish, he would see all men miserable who have contended with him, and presumed to think themselves worthy of any thing which he hath been content to accept: whatever benefits and preferments other men attain to, he imputes to their fortune, and to the weakness of those men who contributed to it, out of want of abilities to discover their defects and unworthiness; what is thrown upon himself, from the blind affection and bounty of his superiors, he receives as a reward below his merit: he sees no man discharge the obligation of his office and trust, but he believes he could do it much better, and that it is partiality, not justice, that gives him a good testimony; whereas, if he comes to have any province of his own to manage and govern, no man does it with more remissness or more insufficiency; for he thinks it below the estimation he would have all men to have of his parts to ask advice, or to receive it from any man, who out of kindness (which he calls presumption) offers to give him any: and if he be so wise (as few proud men are) as to profit by others, it is by a haughty way of asking questions, which seem to question their sufficiency rather than a

thought of improving his own; and he is still more inquisitive, and takes more pains to discover the faults which other men commit in their office, than to prevent or reform his own: with all his undervaluing other men, he is far from contemning what others say of him, how unjust and untrue soever it is, but is grieved and afflicted that they dare do it, and out of fear that other men would believe, and so neglect and contemn him too; for though he takes no other way to attain to it but by admiring himself, he doth heartily wish that all men would likewise admire him. Pride, as it is compounded of the vanity and ill-nature that disposes men to admire themselves, and to contemn other men (which is its genuine composition), retains its vigour longer than any other vice, and rarely expires but with life itself. Age wears out many other vices, loses the memory of injuries and provocations, and the thought of revenge is weary of the pursuit it hath already made, and so is without ambition; it hath outlived those appetites and affections which were most importunate for satisfaction and most obstinate against counsel, and so abhors both lusts and surfeits; it seldom engenders vice which it hath not been heretofore acquainted with: for that covetousness which men commonly think that age is most liable to, is rather a diminution of the generosity and bounty and expense that youth is naturally delighted with, and uses to exercise, than a sordid appetite and love of money; and though it be the season in which men gather and collect most, and keep it by them when they have gathered it, it is (as was said before) because they know not how to spend it, and the bounty that was in their nature is shrunk and dried up, and they take no pleasure in giving;

besides, that age is always apprehensive of want, and therefore loves to be provided against all possible accidents and emergencies. But pride finds a welcome and pleasant residence in that parched flesh and dried bones, and exercises itself more imperiously, because it meets not with that opposition and contradiction which it usually finds in younger company. Age, though it too often consists only in length of days, in having been longer than other men, not in the experiments of life above those who are much younger, is naturally censorious, and expects reverence and submission to their white hairs, which they cannot challenge to any rudiments or example which they have given to virtue; and superciliously censure all who are younger than themselves, and the vices of the present time as new and unheard of, when in truth they are the very same they practised, and practised as long as they were able; they talk much of their observation and experience, in order to be obeyed in things they understand not, and out of vanity and morosity contract a pride that never departs from them whilst they are alive, and they die in an opinion that they have left none wiser behind them, though they have left none behind them who ever had any esteem of their wisdom and judgment.

PROMISES.

Promises was the ready money that was first coined, and made current by the law of nature, to support that society and commerce that was necessary for the comfort and security of mankind; and they who have adulterated this pure and legitimate metal with an allay of distinctions and subtle evasions, have introduced a counterfeit and pernicious coin, that destroys

all the simplicity and integrity of human conversation. For what obligations can ever be the earnest of faith and truth, if promises may be violated? The superinduction of others for the corroboration and maintenance of government had been much less necessary, if promises had still preserved their primitive vigour and reputation; nor can any thing be said for the non-performance of a promise, which may not as reasonably be applied to the non-observation of an oath; and in truth, men have not been observed to be much restrained by their oaths, who have not been punctual in their promises, the same sincerity of nature being requisite to both.

REPENTANCE.

We all talk of repentance, and put the highest value upon it, confess the necessity, and magnify the power of it, and are very willing to believe, and very glad that it can wipe out the marks and stains of all that we have done amiss; but then, we do but talk of it, look upon it as a commodity lying by us, as a winter garment that we can put on when the cold presses; a virtue we can practise, and betake ourselves to, when afflictions and sickness overtake us, and when the pleasure and delight of our sins hath left us. Nay, too many consider it only as an antidote, and to be kept as an antidote to be taken only after poison; and take poison the oftener, and with the more confidence, to try the goodness of the antidote. We do without scruple, and with alacrity, engage ourselves in actions of known and confessed unlawfulness, and which appear to us to be such at the time we commit them, merely upon the purpose and resolution to repent them, and the assurance that our repentance, come

when it will, must be acceptable, and wipe out all our transgressions. Whereas, we have not in the whole book of God's mercies, one example of any man who, bare-faced, and upon deliberation, committed an act against the light of his conscience, (what secret purposes soever he might have to repent it) that ever expiated that offence by repentance, that is, ever appeared to have repented it. And though we must not say that God will ever reject a true and a hearty repentance, in how late a minute soever it be offered to him, yet we may safely and reasonably fear, that he will never vouchsafe the grace of repentance to them, who upon the wicked presumption of it increase the number of their sins; and our daily experience of ourselves, and observation of other men, tells us, that one error purposely committed, vitiates and prostitutes the mind, and leaves us more inclined to pride and impudence for the defence, than prepared with modesty and ingenuity to retract it.

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We must take heed; God cannot be deceived, and will not be mocked. Repentance is not a game that can be artificially played. It would be a kind of good husbandry, a way to thrive and grow rich by, if after some years (how few soever) spent in fraud, oppression, and violence, that bank of unrighteousness might be preserved for our posterity, and the guilt of it wiped off or washed away by acknowledgments and confessions, though never so ingenious and sincere, or by sighs and tears, how abundantly soever shed and poured out, and how real and conscientious soever they are. Or by public donations and foundations of charity for the relief and support of poor and miserable people. Those actions which are true signs of

repentance, and which must always accompany a true repentance, may yet attend a conterfeit one; at least may not be enough, may not be all which are necessary to the true. It is not enough to be sorry; I must repair; I ought not to be charitable at other men's charges, or think to relieve the wants of some with the estates of those which I have reduced to want by my fraud and oppressions. We must first pay our debts, before we presume to give gifts, otherwise we pretend to give what belongs to others, and in which we have no property of our own. There must be a restoring the pledge, a giving again that which a man hath robbed. I must not only restore what I have taken away, but restore it to the person from whom I have unjustly taken it; otherwise I make one man the better by a kind of bounty of my own with what another man is the worse for, by being robbed or defrauded by me; the person injured must be repaired; I must restore any man his good name again, who hath been traduced by my calumnies and slanders, by all the public acknowledgments and all the public testimonies which are in my power to make and to give; asking God Almighty pardon and forgiveness, is not recompense to my neighbour for what he hath suffered by me; nor doth he indeed ask God's pardon with any integrity of heart, who doth not then intend to ask it from his neighbour whom he hath offended; and he who abstains from that because he is ashamed, retains a pride of heart still, which will again invite him to commit the same trespass, and is far from restoring the pledge. Shame is one of the penalties which ought to be paid for our presumption, especially when others suffer by our presumption.

RETALIATION NOT JUSTIFIABLE.

To use others as we are willing and desire to be used ourselves, is a good rule, and will keep us just and charitable to all men; since it cannot be believed that we are willing to find others unjust and uncharitable to us. To use others as we are used ourselves, nay, as they themselves use us, is no good rule, either in religion, or moral justice. I may not, when it is in my power, oppress him, and take away his estate from him, who when he had power oppressed me, and violently took my estate from me; no more than I may defame and traduce him, who hath suborned witnesses, and used all other indirect ways to take away my good name. Natural reason and moral justice being strong enough to evince, that what was simply unlawful for any other to practise, cannot be lawful for me to practise towards him; such retaliation needs no argument from divinity to discountenance or control it. Natural reason, and the law of nature itself, makes it so irrational and odious, that we need resort only to the precepts and the practice of philosophers, who considered only the justice and the decency which was necessary to be observed in all their actions, in order to their living well in this world, to confirm us in this resolution. But religion carries us much farther, and would keep our thoughts and affections as entire as the other would our actions; and restrains us not only from doing wrong to those who have been unjust to us, but from being glad when they are oppressed by other men; nay, obliges us to be sorry when any ill befalls them, and even to help them if we are able. Let our adversaries be as cruel to us as they please, take delight in seeing us misera-

ble, and increase the afflictions they have brought upon us, with reproaching us, and exposing us to the contempt and scorn of other men; let them use what stratagems they will to entrap us, enter into what combinations and conspiracies they please to supplant us, and apply what strength they can to destroy us: It will become us still, when they shall fall into afflictions, to grieve and be sorry for them, to perform all offices of compassion and charity to them, to pray heartily for them; in doing of which, we shall find much greater pleasure and joy of heart, than the passionate man can do in all the exercise of revenge, which his corrupt affections and opportunity can administer to him. The true Christian can never be dispensed with for want of charity, be the object never so unworthy.

SELF-EXAMINATION.

We are diligent and curious enough to know other men; and it may be charitable enough to assist them, to inform their weakness by our instruction, and to reform their errors by our experience: and all this without giving one moment to look into our own, never make an inspection into ourselves, nor ask one of those questions of ourselves which we are ready to administer to others, and thereby imagine that we have a perfect knowledge of them. We live with other men, and to other men; neither with nor to ourselves. We may sometimes be at home left to ourselves, when others are weary of us, and we are weary of being with them; but we do not dwell at home, have no commerce, no conversation with ourselves, nay, we keep spies about us that we may not have; and if we feel a suggestion, hear an importunate call from within,

we divert it by company, or quiet it with sleep; and when we wake, no man runs faster from an enemy than we do from ourselves, get to our friends that we may not be with ourselves. This is not only an epidemical disease that spreads every where, but affected and purchased at as great a price as most other of our diseases, with the expense of all our precious time; one moment of which we are not willing to bestow upon ourselves, though it would make the remainder of it more useful to us, and to others upon whom we prodigally consume it, without doing good to them or ourselves: whereas, if we would be conversant with ourselves, and as ingenuous and impartial in that conversation as we pretend to be with other men, we should find that we have very much of that at home by us, which we take wonderful unnecessary pains to get abroad; and that we have much of that in our own disposal, which we endeavour to obtain from others; and possess ourselves of that happiness from ourselves, whether it concerns our ambition or any other of our most exorbitant passions or affections, which more provoke and less satisfy by resorting to other men, who are either not willing to gratify us, or not able to comply with our desires; and the trouble and agony, which for the most part accompanies those disappointments, proceeds merely from our not beginning with ourselves before we repair to others.

SHAME.

It was some degree of modesty in Job's adulterer, (xxiv. 25.) when his "eye waited for the twilight, saying, No eye shall see me, and disguised his face," that he was so far ashamed of the sin he acted, that he desired to conceal the suspicion of it from other

men; though he had the guilt within himself, he abhorred the being made an example to corrupt others. Whilst there is any shame remaining upon the spirit of a transgressor, any blush discovers itself after the guilt, there is hope of the subduing and conquering that temptation; and that at last it may grow to such a detestation of the transgression itself, and of himself for transgressing, that it may even recover his lost innocence, that is, repair the state and integrity of it. The most severe philosopher, who thought human nature strong enough to suppress and extinguish all temptation, had yet great compassion for him, "qui adhuc peccare erubescit;" he thought it worth the care of philosophy itself, "ut nutriendus esset hic pudor," that this disinclination and bashfulness towards vice should be so cherished and nourished, that it should not discover itself to be discerned under any other notion than of pure virtue, till it recovered strength enough to be so; and without doubt, whilst this bashfulness possesses any place in us, till the custom and malice of sin hath totally subdued the shame for sinning, there is a war kept up that may drive sin from every corner and angle of our hearts: and it may be, there have not been more men recovered and reformed by the counsels and animadversions of others, than by their own severe recollections, and reflections upon their own transgressions, and their own observations of the nature and insinuation of sin, and of the unquietness and uneasiness of it, even when it is complied with, and of the restlessness and importunity of it after it is satisfied; "Ipsæ voluptates eorum tepidæ et variis terroribus inquietæ sunt, subitque, cum maxime exsultant, solicita expectatio; hæc quam diu?" They who hearken to the voice of their own

consciences, and take notice of the reluctance of their own spirit in the very moment they enjoy the pleasures they most delight in, need no other remembrancers, and easily disentangle themselves from all its allurements.

THE DANGER AND SIN OF THOUGHTLESSNESS.

Precipitation and inadvertency are the chief causes of men's being disappointed in any thing they go about; considerate and wary men seldom miscarry; and they who will not consider what they do, are worthy to miscarry in what they go about: How common soever, it is a stupid and irrational excuse that men frequently make for doing what they ought not to do, that they did not think of it; as if the not exercising that faculty which upon the matter distinguishes us from beasts, could be a mitigation of any guilt we are involved in. Memory, which is nothing but thinking and reflection, is the natural result of a rational soul, and the precious preservative which God hath given to mankind against the torrent of our appetites, which for want only thereof governs the brutish creatures; and we think ourselves worthy of pardon, or of pity, for not remembering and thinking of what we should have done; and since we cannot pretend to be ignorant, not to know our duty, we affect to forget it, that we may not be charged with the breach of it, which is the highest aggravation of our fault, and will probably be our punishment: He that would lessen his offence by his want of memory, had need make it manifest that he forgot at the same time to eat, or sleep, or to do somewhat his strongest inclinations tempted him to do; it being against all reason that

he should remember to do all that pleased him, and only forget to do that which God expected from him.

WAR.

Of all God's judgments, war is the most terrible, the most destructive. David, who had much more experience of God's mercies than of his judgments, knew well enough the degree of both, when he chose the judgment of a devouring plague, rather than to be exposed to the insolence of a prevailing enemy in war, which was the highest extreme of the punishments proposed, and was more insupportable than famine itself, and therefore deprecated accordingly. The worst effect and consequence of a plague is the destruction of so many thousand people who perish by it; many are not infected, and many recover who are infected; and none who survives is the worse for it, and all have the benefit of a mortification, which could not but very frequently, at least, make deep impression upon their spirits, in the contemplation of that death which they saw entered into their houses, or met, and even touched in the streets and ways, and from thence raise their devotions to Heaven for mercy and protection in death or life. Famine is a less violent and raging judgment, there is more warning to prevent it, and more deliberation to support it; it may be the cause of death, produce the diseases and sickness that is terminated by death, but is not itself long felt, the appetite ceasing in a very short time after there is a want of what should satisfy it; so that it is very hard to be distinguished from those other common diseases which every day accompany

men to their graves: When the strength of nature is decayed, and can no more be repaired, it finds frequently relief from the charity of those who are not reduced to the same straits; and if it be general there is a natural support from hope, which is a great cordial to fainting and drooping spirits: The harvest will bring relief, and in the mean time the earth itself produces somewhat which nature will comply with, and feed upon: However, at worst, there is a mutual performance not only of the offices of humanity towards each other, but of Christianity and kindness, people dying in each other's arms with mutual devotion and prayers for each other, which cannot but be attended with a kind of comfort in death itself; famine very rarely having separated men from communion with each other, and those prodigious instances of preying upon live or dead bodies, not being the natural effects of famine. But war breaks in like a hungry wolf or lion into a flock of sheep, it worries many which it doth not kill, it wounds many which it doth not destroy, and kills many which it doth not touch, and leaves none secure or undispersed: It tramples upon all justice, and subdues and extinguishes all natural affections and relations, and contemns and triumphs over religion itself: War makes no distinction between sacred and profane, exercises its rage and fury equally upon both sexes; and that its barbarity may be immortal, it survives death itself, and prosecutes those it kills with want of burial; and if it could reach the soul of its enemy, it would destroy that too with equal delight; all its food is blood, and its appetite so ravenous, that it never thinks it hath blood enough: So that when it hath destroyed all its enemies, it preys

upon its friends and promoters, kindles jealousies between those who first gave it life, and rests not till the destroyers have destroyed themselves. All other judgments in this world have their periods, their expiration; after extreme misery and want, plenty is restored to us, at least a competency, which equally relieves the spirits and sets them on work for their own advancement; the very memory of our want and former necessity hath a good relish, and gives our change of fortune a taste that makes it grateful and delightful to us. Sickness is attended and succeeded by health, which quickly repairs all the breaches that enemy hath made upon us; fills up those wrinkles which leanness and decay of flesh had made upon us, restores that blood and freshness to our countenance which paleness had covered and disfigured; and restores that vigour to our mind, that sharpness and vivacity to our understanding, which weakness and pain, and melancholy had deprived us of; insomuch, as whether we are in truth more vigorous than we were before, which is very often a benefit which results from some sickness, or whether we have a better sense of that blessing after the other mortification, we seldom are impaired by sickness to that degree that health doth not repair. But war, even when it is extinguished, leaves not only many scars, which even disfigures the beauty of peace, but wounds which are incurable, and bleed still; it leaves monuments of its rage, and malice, and destruction, which time itself cannot recover or repair; it corrupts the nature and manners of a nation, that after the expiration of the war, it retains still that ferity and brutishness that was introduced by it, and a whole age

scarce restores it to its primitive virtue and integrity.

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They who allow no war at all to be lawful, have consulted both nature and religion much better than they who think it may be entered into to comply with the ambition, covetousness, or revenge of the greatest princes and monarchs upon earth: as if God had only inhibited single murders, and left mankind to be massacred according to the humour and appetite of unjust and unreasonable men, of what degree or quality soever. They who think it most unlawful, know well that force may be repelled with force; and that no man makes war who doth only defend what is his own from an attempt of violence; he who kills another that he may not be killed himself by him who attempts it, is not guilty of murder by the law of God or man. And truly, they who are the cause and authors of any war that can justly and safely be avoided, have great reason to fear that they shall be accountable before the supreme Judge for all the rapine and devastation, all the ruin and damage, as well as the blood, that is the consequence of that war.

WEAK-MINDED MEN.

"There is a shame that bringeth sin, and there is a shame which is glory and grace," (Ecclus. iv. 21.) says the son of Sirach. There is no greater obstruction in the pursuit of virtue and truth, than a bashfulness to contradict this or that man, a being ashamed or afraid, (for there is a full ingredient of fear in all shame), not to follow the example of a great and powerful person, though he does not follow the track

and precepts of truth; and to this supine passion of the mind, very many have owed their first entrance into ill and vice; when contrary to their judgments and inclinations, they have contributed to an unlawful act, or an unlawful assertion, out of the compliance with the affections and passions of another man, from whom they had not the confidence and courage to differ; and then one shame engendering another (according to the natural fruitfulness and propagation of sin), growing ashamed of their shame, ashamed of the ill they have done, and more ashamed to confess that they are so, have at last incorporated themselves into the same fabric of wickedness of which they were ashamed, and so grow ashamed of nothing but of repentance: And therefore it was very sovereign advice given by the same counsellor, "Let not the reverence of any man cause thee to fall." (Verse 22.) He is in some degree of security, who is above all other temptations than of his own weakness and natural affections (how imperfect and corrupt soever), who is sure that the importunity, and interest, and example of other men, shall not have power to transport him into resolutions or opinions not warranted by his own reason and conscience.

THE END.

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