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BRITISH PLUTARCH,

C O N T A I N I N G

T H E L I V E S

O F T H E

Most Eminent STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, DIVINES, WARRIORS, PHILOSOPHERS, POETS, and ARTISTS, of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, from the Accession of HENRY VIII. to the present Time. Including, a Compendious View of the History of England during that Period.

I N E I G H T V O L U M E S.

V O L. IV.

T H E T H I R D E D I T I O N,

Revised, corrected, and considerably enlarged,
by the Addition of New Lives.

L O N D O N :

Printed for CHARLES DILLY, in the Poultry.

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THE
BRITISH PLUTARCH.

THE LIFE OF
OLIVER CROMWELL,

(A. D. 1599, to 1658.)

Including Memoirs of FAIRFAX and LUDLOW.

THE history of no modern nation, furnishes any example of so extraordinary a revolution, as that which was successfully accomplished in England, by the personal bravery, political abilities, and general knowledge of mankind, united in the character of the private individual whose life we are now to present to our readers. Nor can any apology be made for omitting it in the first edition of THE BRITISH PLUTARCH; for however we may condemn Cromwell as a base usurper of the supreme power of his country, and as a deserter of the principles of true patriotism, by which he first gained

credit and esteem with his fellow-subjects, this can be no justification for such an omission; some of the greatest heroes of antiquity being involved in the same crime of ambition, whose glorious military exploits, and wise administration of the governments they illegally obtained, have effaced, in a great degree, their treason in obtaining them, and immortalised their names.

Plutarch has not omitted a single circumstance of any moment in the life of Julius Cæsar, and posterity seems to have forgotten his crimes, in the remembrance of his public and private virtues. With much greater reason may we, at this distance of time, throw a veil over the usurpation of Cromwell, since its consequences became glorious by his wise administration, which made his country formidable both by sea and land, and procured her some territorial acquisitions, and many important commercial advantages, which she enjoys to this very hour. The unprejudiced reader, therefore, will not be displeased to find an ample life of Oliver Cromwell substituted in the place of imperfect memoirs of Fairfax and Ludlow, whose public transactions are so blended with the history of Cromwell, that they cannot, with any propriety, be detached from it, and, for this reason, are now included in it.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon in the year 1599, and was descended from an ancient family of Welsh extraction, originally of the name of Williams; but one of his ancestors marrying the sister of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, a son by that marriage assumed his mother's maiden name, and transmitted it to his son Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbrooke, grandfather to Oliver. Mr. Robert Cromwell, his father, was the second son of Sir Henry; and his mother was a daughter of Sir Richard Stewart of the isle of Ely. It appears, that

no extraordinary sollicitude was shewn about his education during his juvenile years ; for he continued as a day-scholar at the free-school of Huntingdon till he was seventeen. It is pretended, however, that even in this first stage of his life, many strange circumstances occurred which were presages of his future greatness. At about the age of seventeen, Cromwell was sent to Sidney-college in Cambridge, to pursue his studies ; but without any determination of choice, that we know of, either on the part of his father or himself, of his future destination in life ; which accounts for his not applying himself closely either to divinity, law, or physic ; but, on the contrary, devoting more of his time to manly, robust exercises, while he remained at the university, than could possibly have been spared, if he had applied himself to the study of either of the three learned professions, with a view of fixing upon one of them for his support. An active, rather than a sedentary life, seemed to be his choice, and polite, rather than abstruse learning, his favourite study ; by which means he acquired a competent knowledge of the Greek and Roman history.

Oliver's father being a younger brother, the scanty income of his estate was not sufficient for the decent support of his family, consisting of a son and four daughters, on which account his mother engaged in some branch of the brewing trade, without the participation or assistance of her husband, applying the profits to the raising portions for her daughters, whom she married into good families. This was the situation of the family, when Mr. Cromwell, the father, died, about two years after his son had been at the university, and, upon this event, he was called home by his mother ; but the irregularity of his conduct giving her great uneasiness, she was advised to bring him up to the law,

and, in consequence, sent him to Lincoln's inn. However, as she continued her business, this short residence at home furnished an opportunity to the cavaliers to style him a brewer, and the son of a brewer.

A fortunate incident soon took him off from the study of the law, which by no means suited his inclination. Sir Richard Stewart, his maternal uncle, died, who had bequeathed him an estate worth five hundred pounds per annum: and, having now seen the folly of dissipation and riot, he very prudently retired into the country, and became as remarkably sober and religious as he had been vicious and extravagant. For some time after he was a devout member of the Church of England, but, upon paying his addresses to Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir James Bouchier, of Essex, whom he afterwards married, he became acquainted with some eminent Puritan ministers and gentlemen, intimate in that family, whose religious sentiments he imbibed, and his lady being of that persuasion, he was soon prevailed upon to adhere to their party; now growing very powerful; and, by their interest, he was elected to serve in the third parliament of Charles I. which met on the 17th day of March, 1628. The king, as usual, wanted this parliament to proceed upon his supplies before they entered into any consideration of the many grievances complained of in the administration of government: but this the patriotic party would not admit, insisting, that the supply should go hand in hand with the redress of grievances; and, upon this plan, they prepared a petition of right to be presented to the king, before the supply, which they voted, should receive the royal assent; that if he granted the prayer of the petition, both might pass into a law at one and the same time. The subjects of the petition were, "That no loan, or tax, might be

be levied on the subject but by consent of parliament. That no man might be imprisoned, but by legal process. That soldiers might not be quartered on people against their wills. That no commissions be granted for executing martial law." To which the king answered, "I will that right be done, according to the laws and customs of the realm." The commons apprehending some stratagem, or subterfuge, couched in this answer, because it was not expressed in the usual terms denoting the royal assent, resolved to address his majesty for a fuller answer; and, both in the debate upon the first question for proceeding to a redress of grievances before voting the supply, and in that for a fuller answer to the petition. Oliver Cromwell was a speaker; but did not at this time distinguish himself, as some historians relate, any farther than as a member in the opposition.

The king perceiving that no supply could be obtained, though he had threatened to dissolve the parliament, without passing the petition of right, came to the house of peers on the 7th of June, and passed it in the usual form of words. "*Soit droit fait comme il est désiré.*" The commons having carried this great point, readily granted a very ample supply, but this by no means satisfied the court; for a scheme was now set on foot by the opposition to remonstrate against an ancient branch of the royal revenues, tonnage and poundage, a duty on the importation of wine and merchandise; and to prevent this violent attack on what the king considered as his prerogative, the parliament was prorogued on the 26th of the same month to the 20th of October, and then by proclamation to the 21st of January, 1629. This long recess only gave an opportunity to the king's enemies to foment animosities and discontents, and to form strong parties through-

throughout the kingdom; so that, upon the meeting of parliament, new grievances were added to the old, and as heavy a complaint made of the religious as of the civil state of the nation. His majesty, however, adhered to the affair of tonnage and poundage, endeavouring to make it the first business of the session, by requiring, in his speech from the throne, that it might be settled on him for life, as it had been on his ancestors. The commons, on the contrary, resolved to proceed upon the state of religion, previous to any other matter, on account of the increase of *Arminianism*, and the encouragement given to Popery. To this they were instigated by that celebrated and active patriot Mr. John Pym, whose integrity and public virtue endeared him to his country, and whose opposition to the arbitrary measures of administration was not founded either on ambition or selfishness, but on a perfect knowledge of, and a zealous attachment to, the constitution: with such a character, and the advantages of a powerful elocution, his influence in the house was unrivalled, and Oliver Cromwell closely trod in his steps with respect to his political conduct. Mr. Pym moved, that a covenant might be taken by the house, binding the members to maintain their religion and rights. Cromwell supported the motion, in a speech complaining, in direct terms, of Neile bishop of Winchester, for countenancing Popery. This bold proceeding, joined to an incident which had happened during the recess, which was his opposing and preventing the execution of a plan concerted by the king and the earl of Bedford for draining the fens in Lincolnshire and the isle of Ely, attracted the notice of the people, and he began to be talked of as a rising patriot, of whom great hopes might be conceived. From this time he was distinguished in

in the house, by being chosen upon most committees respecting the state of the nation: the first in which he acted was the committee on religion in this parliament; but the officers of the customs having seized the merchandise of Mr. Rolles, a merchant of the city of London, and a member of the house, and detained it for the duties of tonnage and poundage, he complained of a breach of privilege; and the consideration of this business absorbed all others. For the house was thrown into a flame by a message from the king, who avowed that the custom-house-officers had only obeyed his commands. This rash innovation on the part of the crown was immediately voted a breach of privilege; and a protestation was drawn up, by the patriotic party, declaring, "That whoever should bring in innovations in religion, or seek to introduce Popery or Arminianism; and whoever should advise the taking of tonnage and poundage, not granted by parliament, or should pay the same, should be accounted enemies to the kingdom." The speaker, who was against this proceeding, and had refused to put the question whether it should be read, was held by force in the chair, and the doors were locked while it was read and voted; after which the house adjourned to a certain day, though it was known that the gentleman-usher of the black-rod was in waiting with a message from the king. The ministry now took a measure, which widened the breach between his majesty and the house of commons; for the members who had been most active in drawing up the protest, and obliging the speaker to stay in the chair while it was read, were illegally taken into custody by warrants from the privy-council; and, refusing to be responsible for what they had said or done in the house, they were committed to the Tower. In-

formations were afterwards exhibited against them for a riot, in the Star-Chamber-Court; but to the jurisdiction of this court they refused to submit; and the informations being removed to the King's-Bench, they agreed by their council to plead; but the motion was over-ruled. They were adjudged to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and Sir John Elliot died in prison. This should be considered as the first declaration of war on the part of Charles, and as a direct violation of his coronation-oath; from this time, therefore, since he offered no indemnification to his subjects, we may account the civil compact as dissolved; and though the sword was not drawn till some years after, that neither due protection on the part of the king, nor true allegiance on the part of the subjects, any longer subsisted. But it must be observed, that neither Pym nor Cromwell were among the imprisoned members.

The king now took the fatal resolution to govern without parliaments, the soul of the constitution; and having contrived various ways to levy money as well for the support of his household as for the administration of his civil government, all equally illegal and oppressive, such as monopolies of salt, soap, leather, coals, pins, &c. and by assessments for ship-money, the payment of which was exacted under the penalty, in case of refusal, of fine and imprisonment; many gentlemen of landed property resolved to sell their estates, and others to dispose of their personal effects, and leave the kingdom. They were farther induced to meditate this voluntary exile, by the severe proceedings of the Courts of Star-Chamber, and the Ecclesiastical High-Commission Court, the sentences of which were so infamous, and the fines so heavy, that men were liable to the most disgraceful punishments,
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and to ruin in their fortunes, for non-conformity to the rites and ceremonies and doctrines of the Church of England. To prevent this emigration, as if Charles had determined that his subjects should have no resource left, a proclamation was issued in the year 1637, laying an embargo on all ships outward-bound, having passengers on board, till the passengers should obtain a licence for leaving the kingdom, from such of the lords of the privy-council as were appointed for the business of foreign plantations; and amongst other persons of note found on board these ships, were the famous John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell, his relation. The intention of the Puritan noblemen and gentlemen who planned the proposed emigration was, to settle in New-England, there to enjoy, in a private, retired manner, their religious opinions, and their personal freedom, without any design of disturbing government at home; which they thought would be reformed in time, either by experience of the inconveniencies of its present excesses, by the natural death of the king, or by some other unforeseen revolution; but it is evident they had no intention of taking any active part in, much less of concerting such a revolution. Of this party was Oliver Cromwell, who, from the smallness of his fortune, and his middle rank in life, could have no other prospect in the wilds of America than that of peaceable retirement. Yet this man, whom we find thus embarked, some writers of his life have asserted, was born to empire, and conceived hopes of a crown from the time that he acted the character of TACTUS, at Huntingdon school, in a play intituled LINGUA, in which the hero is supposed to have stumbled accidentally against a crown and robe. The emphatical lines are,

Was ever man so fortunate as I,
To break his shins at such a stumbling block?

It redounds more to the honour of Oliver Cromwell, and it will be found nearer to the truth, by the sequel, to suppose that he acted upon true patriotic principles for many years after the period when he was prevented leaving the kingdom. The ascendancy of ambition over these principles was perhaps as sudden and adventitious as the unforeseen incidents which gave birth to it; and if this be made apparent from the annals of his life, it will place his character in a new and in a more impartial light, than if he is considered as the long-concealed premeditator of usurpation.

Oliver, out of parliament, seems to have acted with great prudence and caution; and, though the nation was in a general ferment, and we may readily conceive that he looked upon this embargo as a fresh infringement of personal liberty, he passed his time quietly in the isle of Ely, and devoted himself to religious, rather than to political studies, frequenting the meetings of the non-conformists, and distinguishing himself only by his gifts, as they were then called, of praying, preaching, and expounding. But when the misguided monarch, having exhausted every expedient for levying money on his subjects without the consent of parliament, saw himself under a necessity of calling one, Cromwell ingratiated himself with a leading man in the corporation of Cambridge, and was chosen to represent that city, in the parliament which was summoned to meet on the 21st of April, 1640. The king now offered to give up his claim to ship-money, and to redress the grievances of the nation, provided the commons would grant him a supply to carry on a war he had commenced against Scotland; and this condescension being highly acceptable, an accommodation was likely to ensue; when, by a strange mistake of Sir Henry Vane, in delivering a mes-

message from his majesty, he demanded twelve, instead of six subsidies; and this error, which some charge him with committing designedly, threw the house into an ill humour; and, before the confusion subsided, he went to the king, and told him no money would be granted against the Scots; whereupon Charles abruptly dissolved the parliament, and contented himself with the subsidies granted to him by the convocation of the clergy, and the voluntary contributions of some of the nobility and gentry, with which he raised an army of 20,000 men. But a detachment being defeated by the Scots at Newcastle, and the king's magazines of arms and ammunition falling into the enemy's hands, a council of peers, whom he summoned to meet him at York, advised him to enter into a treaty, and soon after a cessation of arms took place. The unsettled state of the kingdom occasioned petitions from the city of London, and other corporations, for a new parliament; to which the king consented; and the memorable long parliament met on the 3d of November, when Oliver Cromwell was again chosen for Cambridge. His attendance in parliament now became very close, his speeches frequent, and his warmth and activity in opposition to the measures of the court, remarkably conspicuous. Nor was he less zealous in promoting petitions against the bishops, for their severe prosecutions, and inhuman punishments, in the ecclesiastical courts. He had likewise a principal share in the remonstrance of the state of the nation, in which the enormities of the king's government were strongly pointed out. This remonstrance was carried after very warm debates, and ordered to be printed on the 15th of December, 1641: upon this occasion he again renewed his design of leaving England for ever, if it had not passed.

At length, when the dissentions between the king and the parliament came to an open rupture, and the civil war broke out, Cromwell exhibited a new character; for having obtained a captain's commission from the commons, he immediately raised a troop of horse in the country; and, both in the choice of his men, and his manner of disciplining them, displayed the strongest evidences of uncommon military genius. His men were remarkable for their sobriety, industry, and bravery; they were most of them the sons of freeholders, who were taught to believe they were fighting for the defence of their own property; and being religiously disposed, they acted upon principles of conscience. Such soldiers could not fail of subduing common mercenaries, who fight only for pay, and therefore, whenever they engaged them, they were victorious.

Cromwell's first military exploit of any consequence, was his securing the town of Cambridge for the parliament, and stopping the university plate, ready packed up to be sent to the king. Not long after, he seized Sir Thomas Connesby, high-sheriff of Hertfordshire, on the road to St. Albans, where he was going to proclaim the parliament-officers traitors. For these services he received the thanks of the house, and was promoted to the rank of a colonel. Invested with this honour, he enlarged his plan of operations, and, by the strength of his increasing interest, soon raised a regiment of 1000 horse, with which he prevented the exertions of recruiting parties of the royalists in several counties; and, by his activity and success, recommended himself to farther promotion. He was next appointed lieutenant-general under the earl of Manchester; and, in different skirmishes, he gave fresh proofs of his valour and skilful conduct, always coming
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off victorious; but his military reputation was established in such a manner, that he was dreaded by the royalists, after he had so eminently signalized himself at the battle of Marston-moor, by recovering the day against prince Rupert, after it had been lost by Manchester, Fairfax, and Leven. He now became the general subject of conversation, and the eyes of all men were fixed upon him; but as he was greatly envied by his brother officers, it was not yet his time to aim at the generalship. The earls of Essex and Manchester were his most powerful adversaries, and the latter vowed his destruction for having accused him of cowardice; yet such was the general good opinion conceived of Cromwell by the parliament, and by the people without doors, that he soon perceived his own strength, and turned the tables upon his opponents, by complaining in the house of the misconduct of the war, which he imputed to the venality of the then commanders, who, for their own interest, wanted to protract it. In consequence of a very bold speech upon this occasion, it was resolved to new-model the army, and to pass an ordinance called, "The self-denying Ordinance," by which all members of parliament were excluded from civil or military employments; and the earls of Essex and Manchester, with several other general officers, were thereby dismissed.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was now appointed commander in chief of all the parliament's forces; and, by a strange evasion of their own law, Oliver Cromwell's service in the house was dispensed with, that he might act under Fairfax, to whom he was strongly recommended, and soon after he was appointed lieutenant-general of the horse. Cromwell did not remain a single day inactive, but, in his way to the main army, defeated the earl of Northampton

ampton and lord Goring, made himself master of Bletchington-house, and then joined general Fairfax at Gillsborough. It is observed by all the historians of the civil war, that though Fairfax had the chief command in title and appearance, Cromwell had such an ascendancy over him, that he was, in fact, the acting commander. Fairfax had great personal valour, and was indefatigably diligent, but he wanted genius and foresight; he could execute without thought, but he could not form regular plans of operation; nothing therefore could be more fortunate for the parliament than the strict union and friendship which subsisted between these great men; and so sensible were the royalists of their combined abilities, that they made several attempts to create a misunderstanding, and to divide them, but in vain.

Cromwell had not long joined the main army before the decisive battle of Naseby was fought, on the 14th of June, 1645, the success of which, like that of Marston-moor, was chiefly owing to the troops under his command; for the king's infantry had routed those of the parliament under Fairfax, and had taken their ordnance, when Cromwell, who had routed the left wing of the royal army, flew to their assistance, and recovered the victory. This was the principal change in the event of this battle, the detail of which, at this distance of time, would be equally tedious and uninteresting. But we must not omit, that Cromwell, in his account given in to parliament of this and all other successes which were avowedly owing to his own intrepidity and skilful conduct, always gave the honour of the day to Fairfax; which generous behaviour still farther endeared him to the general and to the whole army.

Cromwell's next memorable expedition was against the club-men, a kind of freebooters, who had
formed

formed an army independant of both parties ; who, under colour of a shameful example set them by the royalists in the West of England, thought themselves at liberty to subsist by rapine and plunder. They rendered themselves so formidable, that both parties had endeavoured to gain them over, till Cromwell appeared against them, by whom the insurrection was totally quelled.

After this service, he joined Fairfax before Bristol, and advised him to attempt it by storm. Accordingly a general assault was made, in so furious a manner, that prince Rupert, dreading a second, surrendered, for which he was dismissed the king's service, and ordered to leave the kingdom. This important place being made the head-quarters of the general, Cromwell, with a detachment of four regiments, made himself master of the strong castle at the Devizes, of the city of Winchester, and of several other places of inferior note; taking prisoners the marquis of Winchester and other persons of distinction in the king's army, whom he sent to the parliament. He then rejoined Fairfax, and assisted him in taking Dartmouth by storm; after which he defeated lord Hopton at Torrington, and then went in pursuit of the prince of Wales, who was at the head of about 5000 horse and 1000 foot in Cornwall; but the prince, unable to give him battle, fled to the isle of Scilly. Exeter surrendered soon after; and, the West of England being thus entirely subjected to the parliament, Cromwell went to London in the month of December, 1646, took his seat in parliament, and received the thanks of the house for his many and signal services to his country. At the same time the king, then at Oxford, sent no less than ten letters and messages, offering to come and reside with the parliament, and to disband his forces, provided his fol-
lowers

lowers might be at liberty to return home, and remain unquestioned. But no direct answer was given till the 30th of March following, when a message was sent to his majesty, that it would be unsafe for him to return to Westminster, till he had consented to the propositions they were then framing; and, in order to prevent his coming without their consent, the house voted, that, if the king should come, or attempt to come within the lines of communication, then the committee of the militia of London should have power, and were thereby enjoined, to apprehend and secure such as should come with him, to prevent resort unto him, and to secure his person." The moderate members opposed this message and vote, particularly Denzil, Lord Holles, and Sir Philip Stapleton; but the celebrated patriots, Pym and Hampden, the leaders of this party, both dying in 1643, the interest of the Presbyterians had insensibly declined, and that of the Independants, of which faction Cromwell had made himself chief, had acquired considerable strength by the self-denying ordinance; and now it evidently appeared, that Cromwell had been for some time exerting his political abilities with the same success as his military talents, in subduing one party in the house, and in making the interests of the other subservient to his own ambitious designs. All men saw, that he aimed at the generalship, but none yet fathomed the deeper design of getting the king into his power; though both these points he had in view when he promoted this severe message and vote. By his correspondence with Fairfax, he knew that the royal cause was almost ruined, and he was unwilling that the king should enter into a personal treaty with a parliament in which he had still many friends who opposed his mal-administration,

but

but had no evil designs against his person. Indeed this character is given of all the Presbyterians; and yet it is said, they had a majority in the house at the time of passing the above vote: these are contradictions by no means to be reconciled at this distant period.

During these transactions at London, general Fairfax was marching with a powerful army to lay siege to Oxford, which was unable to hold out against him; and in this unhappy situation of affairs, the king unfortunately listened to the advice of Montreuil the French ambassador, and privately repaired to the Scotch army, which then lay before Newark. This unexpected measure greatly afflicted his remaining friends in England, and threw the parliament into the utmost consternation: and now the dissensions between the Presbyterians and the Independants increased, the former being jealous of the growing power of Cromwell, who ingratiated himself with the latter, and took every measure to circumvent the designs of the former against him. The king by the advice of the Scots, who were secretly in the interest of the English Independant faction, gave orders to all his garrisons to surrender. Oxford took the lead, and the civil war being thus in a great measure terminated, general Fairfax entered London in triumph, and received the thanks of the parliament. This business was no sooner over, but a scheme was concerted by the Presbyterian party to disband part of the army, particularly some of the independant regiments, and to send others over to Ireland. But Cromwell, with his usual address, having obtained timely notice of their design, sent colonel Ireton his son-in-law to insinuate to the whole army, that the parliament intended to disband them without paying them their arrears, or else to consume them in Ireland with sickness and famine.

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This so exasperated the soldiers, that when the orders arrived for disbanding some and transporting others, they refused to obey them; and, calling in question the authority of parliament, they set up a claim to a share in the government, made choice of a number of officers to be a standing council to their general, and selected three or four corporals or sergeants out of each regiment as representatives of the private soldiers, under the title of agitators. The council and the agitators met separately; but, communicating their resolves to each other, they were in the end unanimous in declaring, "That they would not be disbanded till their full arrears were paid, and till full provision was made for liberty of conscience, which had been hitherto little secured." They added, "That as they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation, of which they were a part, before they laid down those arms, they would see all those ends provided for." This declaration was delivered at the bar of the house, by a committee of the army council. And it is generally allowed, that this timely, political manœuvre not only saved Cromwell from an intended impeachment by Denzil Lord Hollis, but laid the foundation of his future power.

Cromwell had such an influence over general Fairfax, that, though he was a Presbyterian, he engaged him to write a letter to the parliament in support of a petition from the army; and this had such an effect on the house of commons, that deputies were appointed to treat with a committee of officers, and in the end the army carried their point. The political address, or, in other words, the duplicity of Cromwell during these transactions, could not escape the notice of the moderate and sensible men of all parties: for while he secretly fomented discontent, and encouraged mutiny in the camp, he

he openly and bitterly inveighed against the turbulence and licentiousness of the army in parliament, and went so far as to advise violent measures to suppress the increasing commotion. Yet as it was well known that the chief mutineers were to a man personally devoted to him; and the army, by the condescension of the house of commons, had now rendered themselves very formidable; those, who meditated bringing Cromwell to condign punishment as a traitor to the parliament, were advised by their friends to consult their own safety, in laying aside so dangerous a design; and the opportunity once lost was never to be recovered; for Cromwell, having intelligence of the private meetings of his enemies, resolved to purge the house of all members obnoxious to him; and a very important event soon furnished him with the means of carrying this scheme into execution.

In the beginning of the year 1647, the Scots, in consideration of the sum of 400,000*l.* pretended to be due to their army for arrears, and to the state for other services, delivered up the king to the commissioners from the English parliament, who were sent to receive him upon the conclusion of this disgraceful contract; which was contrary to their oath of allegiance, and a direct violation of the law of nations, which makes the person of an ambassador sacred, much more that of a sovereign invited to come into their kingdom as a safe asylum, till the unhappy disputes between him and his subjects should be amicably adjusted. Cromwell (it has been supposed) now resolved to hazard one bold stroke to secure his fortune beyond the probability of a reversal. He plainly perceived a growing inclination in the parliament to treat with the king, and therefore he was determined to circumvent them, by engaging the army to present a dutiful address to his majesty,

majesty, and by entering into a personal treaty with him, to replace him on the throne, by the assistance of the army, independant of the parliament, and to make him the most powerful prince in Europe. Unhappily the king confided in the party he thought the most formidable, and as if this was not sufficient, it is said, he sealed his own ruin, by his insincerity in his negociation with Cromwell. However, to facilitate this negociation, and to defeat the views of the parliament, Cromwell sent colonel Joyce with a detachment from the army to seize the person of the king at *Holdenby*, commonly called *Holmby*-house, in Northamptonshire; and though the formality of taking him prisoner wears the appearance of terror and violence yet there is great reason to suspect, from the good understanding that had subsisted between the king and the army, and the great respect with which he had been treated by them, that his majesty secretly connived at this plot, to deliver him from the power of the parliament, who had already given him great disgust, by appointing Marshal and Caryll, two Presbyterian ministers, to be his domestic chaplains.

Cromwell, who had hitherto kept fair with the parliament, now threw off the mask, set the house of commons at defiance, and boasted among his friends, "That by having the king in his hands, he had the parliament in his pocket." His majesty was removed to his palace at Newmarket, where he continued to be treated with all due honour and respect by the army; free access was granted to his person, his own chaplains and servants were restored to him, he followed his recreations as he thought proper, and Cromwell made warm professions of attachment to him.

The parliament now perceived that their power and influence were on the decline, and that the
army

army would very soon be their masters, and they began too late to shew a resolute and active conduct, which if it had been exerted in time, in all human probability would have stifled the ambition of Cromwell in the birth. The city of London was put in a posture of defence, and it was voted that the army should remove forty miles from London. It was likewise resolved to send dutiful addresses to the king, and forthwith to send him propositions for a reconciliation; but the army, instead of obeying the vote respecting their removal, delivered a representation to the house of commons, desiring that it might be purged of seditious members, and that a period might be fixed for the dissolution of the parliament, complaining that it had sat too long, contrary to the spirit of the constitution. This representation producing no effect, they impeached Denzil Lord Holles, Sir Ed. William Waller, and nine other members, who had always opposed their demands and proceedings: and then, to convince the parliament of the little interest they had in the city of London, they excited an insurrection of the citizens, who tumultuously resorted to Westminster, and demanded that the king should be brought to London, and that they should put an end to their sitting. This commotion struck the Presbyterian party with such a panick, that both houses adjourned in great confusion; and the speakers, Lenthal and the earl of Manchester, with about fifty members, fled to the army for protection against the London mob, and the eleven impeached members left the kingdom. Cromwell, who had raised this storm, secretly enjoyed it; and the king being now at Hampton-court, he openly resorted to him, and so fully convinced him of his power over the army, and of his attachment to him, that when Fairfax tendered his services, his majesty indiscreetly replied,

replied, " Sir, I have as good interest in the army as you ;" which the general took very ill, and from that time gave himself no concern about the apparent designs of the king's enemies.

The parliament in their treaty with the king, among other articles had stipulated, that Cromwell should be raised to the peerage, only with the title of baron ; but the king, in his private negotiation with Cromwell and the army, had promised to create him earl of Essex, to make him a knight of the garter, and to advance his son Richard and his son-in-law Ireton to posts of great honour and emolument. But when this compact was on the point of taking place, one of their spies, who was of the king's bed-chamber, informed them, that their final doom was that day fixed, for that a letter was gone to the queen, then in France, sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, the bearer of which would be with the saddle upon his head, at the Blue Boar-inn in Holborn the following night, to take horse for Dover. Upon this intelligence, they dressed themselves in troopers uniforms, and repaired to the inn. where they seized on the man, searched the saddle, and took out the letter, by which they found, that the king gave it as his opinion, that he should close sooner with the Scotch Presbyterians, who in conjunction with the parliament had courted him, than with the army, in which case it would be easier to take off Cromwell, than now that he was at the head of the army. From the period of this discovery, Cromwell's ambition took a larger scope, and, aided by personal resentment, he now resolved to attempt the king's destruction, and his own advancement to supreme power.

In the mean time the remains of the parliament, recovered from their first consternation at the proceedings of the mob, and the defection of their speakers, met at Westminster and chose new speak-
ers,

ers, lord Hunfdon for the upper, and Henry Pelham for the lower houfe. They then refolved to levy troops to oppofe the army; the trained-bands were ordered to guard the lines, and nothing was to be heard in all quarters of the town but the found of military preparations. But upon the approach of the army, a general diflike to the parliamentary-fervice appeared, and the firft detachment prefenting itfelf before Southwark, they were readily admitted by thofe who were placed there for its defence. The whole army foon followed, and paffed through the city to Weftminfter on the 6th of Auguft, where they replaced Lenthall and the earl of Manchester in their refpective chairs; and now the parliament was new-modelled, (as the army had been fome years before,) by Cromwell and the Independants.

The king, informed of the difcovery made by Cromwell, and of the triumphant entry of the army into London, fufpected that his life was in danger, and privately withdrew from Hampton-court to Tichfield, a feat of the earl of Southampton's, from whence he was unfortunately perfuaded to go to the Ifle of Wight, and put himfelf under the protection of Hammond the governor, nephew to Dr. Hammond the king's favourite chaplain, on which account he was judged a proper perfon for his majesty to confide in. But it was frangely forgotten, that governor Hammond had married a daughter of the famous John Hampden, whose oppofition to the king had been one fource of his majesty's misfortunes: and by this oversight, inftead of an afylum, the unfortunate monarch found a prifon; for Hammond was devoted to Cromwell, and immediately fent advice to him of the king's arrival, who thereupon fummoned a council of general officers to meet him at Windfor, where it was debated, what fhould now be done with the king; and it was refolved, that he fhould be profecuted for his life as a traitor to his country.

country. The first step Oliver's party took with this view in parliament was, to procure an order to Hammond to confine the king in Carisbrook-castle, and not to suffer any of his friends or adherents to remain on the island.

They also framed four propositions, which they sent to the king, and to which they required his assent. By the first, he was required to invest the parliament with full power over the militia for twenty years, together with authority to levy whatever money should be necessary for exercising it; and they also reserved a right of re-assuming the same authority, whenever they should declare the safety of the kingdom to require it. By the second, he was required to recall all his declarations and proclamations against the parliament, and to acknowledge them to have taken arms for their just and necessary defence. By the third, he was to annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had passed the great seal, since it had been carried from London by the lord-keeper Littleton; and by the fourth, he was to give the two houses power to adjourn when they thought fit. But to these propositions Charles would not consent; and he also refused to give up episcopacy, or to agree to an alienation of church lands.

Cromwell and Ireton made themselves conspicuous in this business, and were remarkably bold in the debate upon the king's refusal of the propositions. Cromwell in particular said, "That the king was a man of great understanding, but withal so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted;" and it is asserted, that he threatened not only the king, but the parliament, if they gave the army any farther cause of jealousy, and even put his hand to his sword at the close of his speech: the object of which was to enforce the
follow-

following vote, "That no more addressees or applications should be made to the king, nor any message received from him, under the penalty of high treason."

A second civil war broke out in the year 1648. The discontented part of the nation, who disapproved of the measures taken against the king, rose in different parts of England; and the Welch appeared with a formidable body in behalf of the king, acting by commission from the prince of Wales. The example once set, associations in support of the royal cause were formed in almost every county, which put the parliament upon vigorous measures, and Cromwell was sent into Wales, where he subdued the Welch forces, and took their commanders prisoners; and the town of Colchester, where the strongest body of the Royalists was shut up, being obliged to surrender, this struck such a damp on the minds of the rest, that most of the insurrections were soon quelled, and the associations dissolved.

The Scots, however, threatened to give the parliament more trouble; for they asserted that the latter had violated the condition on which they delivered up the king, and they endeavoured to retrieve their national honour, by sending duke Hamilton into England, at the head of a powerful army, to reinstate the king; but their efforts were now too late, and, proving ineffectual, only served to hasten his fate, from an apprehension that every day would produce fresh disturbances in his favour. Cromwell, by his genius and valour, put a stop to this incursion, and to the oppressions which the inhabitants of the North of England laboured under from the brutality and rapine of the Scotch army; having totally routed all their forces, and taken duke Hamilton prisoner. He also reduced Carlisle and Berwick, which had revolted from the English, and

then entering Scotland in triumph, he caused a proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment in his army, prohibiting, upon pain of death, the seizure of any goods or chattels belonging to the Scots. At the same time he declared to the people of Scotland, that he came there with an army only to set their kingdom free from the faction of the Hamiltons, and without any intention to invade their liberties, or infringe their privileges. Agreeably to this declaration, he marched to Edinburgh, where he was received with great solemnity by the marquis of Argyle and the magistracy; and having dismissed the Hamilton party from all offices of public trust, he returned to England with every mark of honour and esteem on the part of the Scots; and upon his arrival at London, he took his seat again in parliament; and received the thanks of the house for this signal service, which was the last he performed in his military capacity till after the king's death.

In all the proceedings relative to the execution of Charles I. Cromwell was not only the principal adviser, but the boldest agent, and when others hesitated, or suggested doubts about the equity of the intended trial, he opposed them with menaces and arguments alternately, suiting his expedients to the parties with whom he had to contend; and it stands on record, that he was the only man who undertook to over-rule the Scotch commissioners who came to England with a protest against putting the king to death.

The formalities and circumstances of this memorable trial are familiar to every one the least conversant in the history of their country; and those who are not, are referred, for an ample account of the whole, to Rapin and Carte's Histories of England.

The king being put to death, that inconsiderable part of the house of commons, which continued sitting, assumed the reins of government under the denomination of a commonwealth; and sure of the support of the army, they voted the kingly office to be unnecessary and burthensome, and the house of peers dangerous and useles, and therefore to be laid aside. But the peers were declared capable of being elected into the house of commons; which degradation was submitted to only by the three following noblemen, the earls of Pembroke and Salisbury, and lord Howard of Escrick: the rest entered upon their journals, and published a protestation, in the name of all the peers of the realm, against all acts, votes, and orders of parliament, that should be made during their exclusion. The parliament likewise issued a proclamation, and afterwards passed an act, declaring it high-treason to acknowledge or declare Charles Stuart, commonly called the prince of Wales, or any other person, king of England; and such members as had given their vote for accepting the concessions of the late king for a peace, were excluded the house. This vote reduced the remainder under one hundred; and these being considered by the cavaliers (so the friends of Charles II. were denominated) as the dregs of the long parliament, they called them in derision, "*The Rump.*"

The next act of the new government was to nominate a council of state, consisting of forty persons, Cromwell being one, in whom they vested the executive authority; and from this time all writs, formerly running in the king's name, were issued out in the names of "The Keepers of the Liberty of England;" the old great seal was broken, and a new one made, having on one side a red cross and a harp, quartered as the arms of England and Ireland, with

this inscription, "*The great seal of England;*" and, on the reverse, a representation of the house of commons assembled, with this legend, "*In the first year of Freedom, by God's grace restored, 1649.*" Instead of a head, the same arms were impressed on the coin, with this device, "GOD WITH US." A new oath was likewise administered to all persons in office, to be true and faithful to the government established, without king or house of peers.

But as the existence of this new government depended upon the principal officers of the army, and on Cromwell more than all the rest, it was declared to be high-treason for any soldier of the army to contrive the death of the general or lieutenant-general; and Oliver Cromwell, being now provided with a security to his person, abolished the council of agitators, and caused two soldiers of his own regiment of infantry to be shot by two of their comrades, in sight of the whole army, for mutiny upon this occasion.

The army now implicitly obeyed the orders of this enterprising man and no person was thought so proper to reduce the kingdom of Ireland to submission to the new commonwealth, as the expedition was both difficult and dangerous, requiring great personal bravery and address. Accordingly he was appointed Lord Governor of that kingdom, in all affairs both civil and military, for three years; and all his forces being in readiness for embarkation at Milford-Haven, he set out from London on the 10th of July, with great solemnity and splendour, in a coach with six horses, attended by several members of parliament and of the council of state, the officers of his household, and a life guard, consisting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, all well-mounted and accoutred, both them and their servants.

The marquis of Ormond was at the head of the Royalists, and had so bravely supported the cause of the late king, that Londonderry and Dublin were the only places of any consequence that held out for the parliament, and these were in danger of being lost; but before the arrival of Cromwell, colonel Jones, who commanded for the parliament, had obliged the marquis to raise the siege of Dublin. In this city Cromwell was received with every demonstration of joy; and now the republican forces being sufficiently powerful, began to act upon the offensive, whereas before it was as much as they could do to stand their ground. Most of the fortified towns being in the hands of the enemy, and well-garrisoned, Cromwell, with his usual intrepidity, resolved upon a military exploit which should astonish the Irish, and occasion such a general dread of his arms, that, after having given one example of his superiority and severity, he might have little or no trouble in completing his conquests. With this view, he marched to Drogheda, or Tredagh, a very strong place, garrisoned by the flower of the royal army, under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, an old experienced officer. Having blocked up the town by land, and ordered admiral Ayscough with his fleet to cut off all communication by sea, he summoned the governor to surrender, and upon refusal hung out the red, or bloody ensign, denoting that no quarter was to be expected; and after a warm opposition he took the place by storm, entering the town in person by the breaches which he had made in the walls, and a dreadful slaughter ensued, all who bore arms being put to the sword, for which inhumanity he was severely censured; but he justified himself, by alleging, that they had imbrued their hands in the blood of innocent Englishmen, at the massacre of the Protestants in 1641, and that it was

the only way to prevent the farther effusion of blood, as other places would be discouraged from sustaining a siege. But he was obliged to act the same tragedy again at Wexford; after which, the dread of the same fate affected all the towns and forts along the coast as far as Dublin, and they quietly surrendered one after the other. In short, in about nine months this victorious general, seconded by his son-in-law Ireton, obliged the whole kingdom to submit to the new government; and then he was recalled.

Cromwell's return to England was hastened by the conduct of the Scots, who had sent commissioners to the Hague to treat with Charles II. and having at length prevailed with him to comply with all their demands, they had signed a treaty, and acknowledged him for their sovereign, in consequence of which he had been proclaimed in Scotland; and this being considered by the Commonwealth of England as a declaration of war against their government, preparations for the commencement of hostilities were now carried on in both kingdoms with great vigour; but when it was proposed by the council of state in England to be beforehand with the Scots, by carrying the war into their country, General (then lord) Fairfax declined taking upon him the command of the expedition, and he had no sooner thrown out hints of his dislike to the service, but Cromwell was ordered home. On his approach to London, he was met by a prodigious concourse of people; and being come to Tyburn, where a great crowd of spectators were assembled to see him enter, a certain flatterer, pointing to the multitude, exclaimed, "Good God, Sir! what a number of people are come hither to welcome you home!" to which he replied with a smile, "But how many more do you think would flock to the same

same place to see me hanged?" His entry into London was, in a manner, triumphal, for he was attended by lord Fairfax, who went two miles out of town to meet him, and by the principal citizens, and members of parliament; he was escorted by a troop of horse and a regiment of foot; and at Hyde-park he was saluted with cannon, and was lodged in the palace at Whitehall. On the first of June, 1650, the day after his arrival, there were public rejoicings; and when he resumed his seat in parliament, the speaker, in an elegant speech, returned him the thanks of the house, for his great and faithful services in Ireland.

On the 16th of the same month, Charles II. arrived in Scotland, and it being found impracticable to prevail on general Fairfax to commence hostilities, who declared, that his conscience was not satisfied as to the justice of the intended war, his offer to lay down his commission was readily accepted. And the parliament soon passed an act unanimously, constituting and appointing Oliver Cromwell, Esq; to be captain general in chief of all the forces raised, and to be raised, by authority of parliament, within the Commonwealth of England.

From this time lord Fairfax appeared no more in his military capacity, but retired to his seat in Yorkshire, where the leisure of a private life affording him an opportunity for deliberate reflection, he discovered, too late, that he had been made the tool of Cromwell's ambition, and now he took every opportunity to promote the Restoration; in consequence of which, he put himself at the head of a body of Yorkshire gentlemen, and, joining general Monk, facilitated his march into England. In 1660, he was elected one of the members for the county of York, in what was called the Healing Parliament, and he was one of the committee appointed to wait

on Charles II. at the Hague, to desire him to make a speedy return to his parliament, and to the exercise of the regal authority. After the dissolution of that parliament, he returned again to his seat in the country, where he lived in the most private manner till his death, which happened in November, 1671, in the 60th year of his age.

The new general was as successful in Scotland as he had been in Ireland. It even seemed as if the very name of Oliver Cromwell struck a panick wherever he appeared; for the Scots fled before him as he approached, and when at length their army was by stratagem drawn into a general engagement at Dunbar, he totally defeated them, though their numbers more than doubled the English. His signal successes in Scotland determined Charles II. to march with another army into England, to which he was more contiguous, after the battle of Dunbar, than Cromwell. Accordingly he entered by Carlisle, and meeting with little or no opposition, except from major-general Lambert at Warrington-bridge, he advanced to Worcester, where he resolved to remain and wait the approach of the enemy. Cromwell was not long after him; on the 3d of September, 1651, was fought the battle of Worcester between Charles and Cromwell, when a complete victory was gained by the latter; and the king was obliged to wander about in different parts of the kingdom in disguise, till he found an opportunity to escape to France.

Thus the king's hopes of restoration being crushed for the present, and his friends disheartened in all parts of the three kingdoms, every circumstance concurred to favour the ambition of Cromwell, who now enjoyed a power and state nearly equal to royalty; for, on his return from Worcester, he was met beyond Aylesbury by four commissioners from
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the parliament, who were instructed to shew him all possible marks of respect; and, at Acton, he was met by the speaker, the president of the council, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, and a great number of persons of distinction. A state-coach was likewise provided for him, to make his entry into London, where he was received with loud acclamations; and the parliament settled lands upon him and his heirs of the yearly value of 4000l.

But all the honours conferred upon him by this unstable government he knew to be precarious; and, therefore, he began to take measures for assuming a supreme authority over that very body from which he had derived his present greatness. Soon after the battle of Worcester, he held a conference, at the speaker's house, with several members of parliament, and some of the principal officers of the army, on the state of the nation; and at this meeting he tampered with the great men in the several departments of the army, the law, and the state, by desiring that they would consider, whether a republic, or a mixed monarchical government would be best for the settlement of the liberties of the people on a firm basis; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power should be placed. The lawyers, amongst whom was the famous Bulstrode Whitlocke, one of the commissioners of the great seal, and the statesmen, were all of them for monarchy; and the officers of the army for a perfect republic; but though the majority of opinions was in favour of monarchy, yet Cromwell had the mortification to find that the duke of Gloucester, one of the late king's sons, was mentioned as the proper person, in case a mixed monarchy was admitted.

This was so contrary to his expectations, after the universal respect and adulation lately paid to

him, that it required the utmost exertion of his political skill to enable him to conceal his resentment. With great dexterity, however, he changed the conference to some other subject of debate; but, from this time, it seems as if he had determined to carry his point at all events; for he continually opened his mind to such of the council of state as were his most intimate friends, and sounded their inclinations separately. His arguments with Whitlocke upon the subject of ascending the throne may be found at large in the second edition of "Whitlocke's Memorials of the English Affairs: or Historical Account of what passed from the Beginning of the Reign of Charles I. to king Charles II. his happy Restoration," London, 1732. He likewise sent for some of the most eminent divines in the city, particularly Dr. Edmund Calamy, whose influence was general, and his authority, founded in esteem, almost as great in spiritual matters as an archbishop's. This honest minister very boldly opposed the project of Cromwell's assuming the supreme power under any title or form whatever; and offered to prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell, in reply to the illegality, appealed to the safety of the nation; and then asked him, "why it was impracticable?" "Because," said Calamy, "it is against the voice of the nation; there will be nine in ten against you." "Very well," answered Cromwell: "but what if I should disarm the nine, and put the sword into the tenth man's hand, would not that do the business?"

A war indeed had broken out with the Dutch in 1652, and some of the leading men of the republican party, both in the parliament and the council of state, had it in agitation to augment the navy and reduce the army, under the pretext that a war against the Dutch would be most successfully carried

ried on by sea, and that the nation was not able to bear the expence of a large standing army, and a powerful navy. Cromwell saw into this scheme to lessen his influence, and, without loss of time, made it answer his own purpose. For, repairing to the army, he excited the principal officers to draw up a petition to the parliament, demanding the payment of their arrears, and affirming, that the public revenues, if honestly and wisely managed, would be sufficient for the regular subsistence of the present land-army, notwithstanding any proposed augmentation of the navy. This petition produced a warm debate, in the course of which, Cromwell's friends took an opportunity to remove one obstacle to his plan of usurpation : under pretence of lessening the national expence, it was moved and carried, that the duke of Gloucester, who, since the execution of his father, had been kept as a kind of state-prisoner at St. James's, should be sent abroad, in a private manner, with the promise of a pension, if he did not join the king, nor any of his relations. Accordingly, he was sent to Dunkirk in a sloop of war, with only two servants to attend him ; but soon after his landing he went to the princess of Orange at Breda, and from thence to the king his brother at Paris. The parliament voted that the officers should be reprimanded for their insolent petition, and they were forbidden to intermeddle in the administration of government. This step increased the mutiny, and a remonstrance was now delivered in on the part of the army, complaining that the parliament had not performed its promise to dissolve itself, agreeably to a former petition presented by their body ; they therefore desired that they would now put an end to their administration ; that there might be a regular succession of parliaments ; and that they would appoint a council of

state, to take charge of the public affairs, till a new parliament was elected and convoked. Cromwell's party supported a motion for dissolving the parliament in consequence of this remonstrance, but the question was lost by a considerable majority; and it was resolved, that it was not a proper time to dissolve the parliament, while the nation had a war and a great many important affairs in hand; but that the vacant seats should be filled up by new elections. A committee was likewise appointed to prepare a bill to make it high-treason to present such petitions or remonstrances.

Cromwell finding the parliament in this disposition, and well knowing that a motion for disbanding great part of the army would soon be made, found that he had no time to lose; and, therefore, after holding a private consultation with the officers, and some of the members of parliament in his interest, he resolved on a more daring act of usurped authority than any that had ever before been attempted in a nation whose civil liberty is its chief glory.

On the 20th of April, 1653, while the house was actually debating on a motion for continuing the parliament above a year and a half longer, he entered it, accompanied by a number of officers, who were most devoted to him, leaving in Westminster-hall, upon the stairs, and in the lobby, a chosen detachment of soldiers, to the amount of about 300 men. After attending quietly in his place for some time to the debates, he whispered major-general Harrison, that he now thought the parliament ripe for a dissolution; but the general requested him to think seriously, before he undertook so dangerous an action. "You say well," replied Cromwell, and sat still about a quarter of an hour, when, the debates being ended, and the speaker preparing to
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put the question, he said to Harrison, "This is the time I must do it;" and so, standing up on a sudden, he bade the speaker leave the chair, and told the house they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good. Then charging several individuals with their private vices, he told them in general, that they had not a heart to do any thing for the public good, but only an intention to perpetuate themselves in power. And when some of them began to speak, he stepped into the midst of the house, and said, "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating." Then, walking up and down the house, he cried out, "You are no parliament, I say you are no parliament;" and, stamping with his feet, he bade them begone, and give place to honest men; for the Lord had done with them, and had made choice of other instruments. The stamping on the floor being the signal, the soldiers entered, and he said to one of them, "Take away that fool's bauble, the mace;" and the speaker still keeping the chair, Harrison rudely pulled him out by the arm. After this, Cromwell told the members they had forced him to this; then seizing all the papers upon the table, he ordered the soldiers to clear the house; and, this being done, he locked the doors, put the keys into his pocket, and returned to Whitehall with his retinue.

He acted the same part by the council of state in the afternoon. On entering the chamber at Whitehall, where they were assembled, he spoke thus to them: "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but, if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and since you cannot but know what was done at the house in the morning, so take notice, that the parliament, which appointed you, is dissolved." Bradshaw, the president, boldly answered, "Sir, we have heard

heard what you did at the house in the morning; and, before many hours, all England will hear of it; but, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved; for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you notice of that." But the council finding themselves under the same military force, all quietly departed. The government, such as it had been since the execution of the king, was now effectually dissolved, and, in the general consternation into which the whole nation was thrown, any constitution whatever would have been acceptable; for the people seemed prepared for blind submission to the ruling power held by the sword. But though the plan of a republick had been set on foot by some of the greatest men for learning and integrity that this nation had ever produced, and, beyond their intentions, they had even consented to the king's death, as the only expedient to establish it, yet not a man of them asked Cromwell to produce any instrument or commission from the army, or any body of men in the kingdom, investing him with authority over their new-formed Commonwealth; and notwithstanding they had timely notice of his designs, no attempt was made so much as to raise the militia, or to call upon the civil power to aid them against the encroachments of the army; though the writs by which the civil magistrates acted were, as we have seen, in the name and by the authority of the Commonwealth, and they had sworn to be faithful to the same.

Cromwell now made a second trial to obtain from his friends an invitation to assume the reins of government; but most of them still persisting to oppose his ruling alone, he was obliged to nominate a new council of state, consisting chiefly of officers of the army, and these prepared a form of summons

mons to be issued in the name of Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of the forces, to one hundred and forty persons selected by the council to represent the whole kingdom in parliament, and to share with the council the administration of government. Some of these were taken from the lowest classes of the people; and a leatherfeller in Fleet-street, named Praise-God Barebones, being an active man, and a great speaker in this assembly, it was called, in derision, Barebones's Parliament.

A striking absurdity in summoning this mock parliament must not be passed over unnoticed, which is, that Oliver Cromwell continued the style and title at large conferred on him by that very parliament he had so shamefully dissolved, and with whose dissolution the instrument appointing him to be captain-general, &c. became null and void, the Commonwealth no longer existing.

The case with respect to the new house of commons was directly the reverse, for they were elected, and the administration of government deputed to them, by Cromwell and his council of officers, and the time of executing their authority was limited to the 3d of November, 1654; by which it was evident, that nothing more was meant by Cromwell than to gain time to complete his scheme of usurpation.

While these important changes took place in England, the government of Ireland had devolved on lieutenant-general Edmund Ludlow, by the demise of Ireton, who died of the plague at Limerick in November, 1651. Ludlow was a zealous republican, and an able and a successful general, to whose valour and military skill the Long Parliament, and even Cromwell himself, had been greatly indebted. His authority and influence in the army were so considerable as to excite Cromwell's jealousy, and, though

though he had been in the active measures against Charles I, was a principal promoter of the vote for receiving no more messages from him, had sat upon his trial, and signed the warrant for his execution, he no sooner discovered the ambitious designs of Cromwell, but he opposed them publicly and privately, and this occasioned his being sent over to Ireland, to act under Ireton. And as soon as Cromwell had dissolved the Long Parliament, he sent general Fleetwood to supersede him in the chief command in Ireland, that he might lessen the weight of his opposition to his usurpation. Upon Cromwell's being declared protector, general Ludlow used his utmost endeavours to prevent his being proclaimed in Ireland, but without success; after which, he refused to act under his authority in any department of the civil government, but he would not surrender up his commission. Soon after the appointment of Henry Cromwell to the government of Ireland, Ludlow came to England, and was closely examined by Oliver and his council; when he so freely declared his sentiments against the new form of government, that the protector was upon the point of committing him, but Ludlow reminding him of an article in the famous petition of right, he found it expedient to dismiss him. After this he retired into the country, and remained unmolested during Oliver Cromwell's administration. After his death, a new parliament being called, he sat in it, upon being excused from taking the oath not to act against Richard Cromwell; and now he used all his endeavours to bring about the establishment of a commonwealth; and when Richard Cromwell resigned, he went over to Ireland commander in chief. But the Restoration taking place soon after, and the judges of the late king being required by proclamation to surrender, he went abroad and re-

sided

sided at Geneva, Laufanne, and Vevay, till the Revolution, when he came to England, in order to exert his old age in that glorious cause, and expecting to be employed in Ireland against the Popish and other adherents of James II. But some time after his public appearance at London, an address was presented to king William by the house of commons, for a proclamation to apprehend colonel Ludlow, attainted of the murder of Charles I. which obliged him to return to his former place of exile, Vevay in Switzerland, where he died in 1693, in the 75d year of his age.

Whitlocke, another powerful obstacle in the way of Cromwell's advancement to the protectorship, was craftily sent on an embassy to Christina queen of Sweden; and his appointment was accompanied with such marks of honour, that he could not with decency refuse it. Accordingly, he embarked at Gravesend on the 5th of November, 1653, with a splendid retinue; and on the 12th of December following, the Little (as it is sometimes called) or Barebones's Parliament, voted that their sitting any longer would not be for the good of the commonwealth, and that it was fit they should resign their powers to the lord-general. Their resignation was followed by that of the council of officers, after which, a private consultation was held at Whitehall, by a junto of officers and lawyers, the creatures of Cromwell, when it was resolved, that he should be invested with the supreme authority, under the title of "Lord Protector of the Three Nations;" and an instrument of government was prepared accordingly. All things being ready for this fresh revolution, proper notice was given for the solemnity of his inauguration, which was performed with great ceremony in the court of chancery in Westminster-hall on the 16th of the same month. Oliver, after
having

having subscribed and sworn to govern according to the aforesaid instrument, was seated, covered, in a chair of state, when the commissioners delivered up the great seal, and the lord-mayor of London his sword, and the keys of the city, with the usual formalities observed to kings; which he returned with the same state; and then the court arose, and went in procession to Whitehall, the lord-mayor carrying the sword of state before the protector.

The supreme legislative power, according to the new form of government, was lodged in the protector and the parliament; the executive, in the protector and his council, who were not to exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen in number. All writs, patents, and commissions, to be in the name of the protector, and all honours and offices to be derived from him. In a word, he was vested with the best rights and privileges of a king of England; and as to the privileges of the people, they were better provided for by this instrument of government, than by any other, if it had been adhered to strictly and impartially; for triennial parliaments were established, and a more equal representation of the people, admitting the elections to be free; the number of members to be sent to parliament by each county, city, and borough, being regulated in proportion to the sums paid by each towards the national expence, which determined in a great measure their extent and importance; and many of the smaller boroughs, so often complained of, and, in our day, discovered to be the rotten part of the constitution, were totally excluded. No laws were to be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new law made, nor any tax, charge, or imposition, laid upon the people, but by common consent in parliament; and bills passed in parliament were declared to have the force of laws, twenty days after

after they should be offered to the protector, though his assent should be refused. The office of protector was to be elective, not hereditary. These are the most material points contained in the instrument, which consisted of forty-two articles.

We shall find in the sequel, that Cromwell's ambition did not stop here; but, having once acquired the supreme power, we must attend him in his administration of government, which was equally glorious to himself and to the nation, so far as it respected the foreign concerns of the three kingdoms, and the administration of justice at home.

The protector being proclaimed in London and Westminster, and all over England, with the same solemnity as the kings of England had been formerly, he was invited to dine with the lord mayor of London; and he went into the city with as much state as ever any king had done upon a like occasion; and the rejoicings being over on account of his inauguration, he proceeded to public business. The first grand national service he performed was, to conclude an honourable peace with the Dutch, by which he obtained the restitution of a settlement in the East-Indies, which had been taken from the English in the reign of James I. and 300,000*l.* as an indemnification for the damage sustained by the English factors, or their heirs, by the cruel massacre at Amboyna in the same reign. These two points had been the subject of many fruitless negotiations; but the spirit and firmness of Cromwell, and the dread of his fleet and armies, procured ample satisfaction. The peace between England and Holland was proclaimed at London on the 17th of April, 1654, with great solemnity; and the people shewed the greatest demonstrations of joy, and of gratitude to the protector. In the next place, he entered into an advantageous alliance with France, at the same
time

time his friendship was courted by the kings of Spain and Portugal, and splendid embassies were sent from both, to congratulate him on his accession to his new dignity.

While the several ambassadors of the most considerable princes of Europe were thus paying their court to this fortunate usurper, an accident happened at London, the consequences of which filled all Europe with admiration and astonishment, made the very name of Cromwell respectable in all parts of the known world, and established his character as a great man, who would make himself feared by sea and land.

The affair is thus related in brief by the best contemporary historians. Don Pantaleon de Saa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, being proud of his rank and his reputation as a soldier, conceiving that he had received an affront one day from some English gentlemen at the New Exchange, repaired thither on the morrow, accompanied by his domestics, and about fifty Portuguese, armed with swords and pistols, when mistaking colonel Mayo for Mr. Anthuser, the gentleman they went in search of, they fell upon him, and gave him seven dangerous wounds, after which, they wantonly shot Mr. Greenway, of Lincoln's-Inn, through the head. This gentleman was walking upon the Exchange with two ladies, and was totally ignorant of the affront which had happened the preceding day, in which the Portuguese had been the aggressors; for colonel Gerrard, understanding French, overheard them discoursing on the public affairs of England; upon which he told them politely, that they misrepresented certain facts; whereupon one of Don Pantaleon's company gave the colonel the lye, and three of them falling upon him, he was stabbed in the shoulder with a dagger. In this extremity

tremity Mr. Anthuser came to his assistance and rescued him, for which they vowed vengeance on that gentleman; but, not finding him, committed the above outrage and murder on innocent persons. They likewise brought several jars of gunpowder in their coaches, stopped down with wax, and matches; intending, as it was supposed, to do some mischief to the Exchange, if they had not been prevented. The parliament-horse at the Mews were sent for to quell the riot, who seized some of the Portuguese, but the greatest part fled for refuge to the ambassador's house; upon which colonel Whalley invested it with a party of horse, and dispatched a messenger to inform the protector of his proceedings. The ambassador at first ordered his domestics to stand to their arms; but Whalley having received instructions to insist upon his delivering up his brother, and the principal rioters, to the peace-officers, he thought proper to comply, and contented himself with complaining to Cromwell of this violation of the law of nations, by infringing the privileges of ambassadors, whose houses and persons are held to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the country wherein they reside. Cromwell, with great magnanimity, replied, that justice must be done, and that blood must be satisfied with blood. All the other foreign ambassadors in London warmly interested themselves in this unhappy affair, not conceiving it possible, that a man of Don Pantaleon's high quality, a Knight of Malta, and the brother of an ambassador, ought to be questioned for the murder of an obscure Englishman; but all their remonstrances were ineffectual; the fact was notorious, and Don Pantaleon, being tried by a jury, half English and half foreigners, was condemned, and beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 10th of July, 1654: and so coolly

coolly did Cromwell proceed in this admirable example of justice, that he concluded a treaty of peace with the ambaffador, highly advantageous to England, almost at the very hour that his brother was led to execution.

Cromwell being now at peace with all the principal powers of Europe, proceeded with great firmness in the domestic administration of government; but still there was a strong party against him in the nation, and though by the instrument of government care had been taken, that the house of commons should be in a great measure of his own choosing; yet when they came to meet, which was on Sunday the third of September, notwithstanding a flattering speech from the protector, in which he extolled the advantages already derived from the new form of government, and styled himself not their master, but their fellow labourer, their first deliberations were employed in examining and calling in question the authority by which they were convened. Cromwell, astonished at this unexpected measure, summoned them to the Painted-Chamber, where he changed his style to that of a master, and reprimanded them for presuming to doubt an authority from which their own was derived; and upon their return to the house, they found a guard at the door, who would not suffer any member to enter, till he had signed a recognition "that he would be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and that he would not propose or give consent to alter the government, as it was settled in one single person, and a parliament." This recognition was subscribed the first day by 130 members, and afterwards, by others to the amount of 300; but major Harrison, for his refusal, was secured by a party of horse, and was deprived of his commission in the army, together with Overton, Rich, and Okey, who

who had great influence in the army, and had strenuously opposed him from the time of his assuming the office of protector. Many, who had signed the recognition, did it only upon compulsion, and, detesting this arbitrary step, engaged secretly in a conspiracy with the cavaliers against his person and government, promising to rise in arms in different parts of the kingdom. But the protector, who had exact intelligence from his spies of all their proceedings, resolved if they did oppose him, it should not be as a public body, but only as private men, and therefore dissolved them abruptly, eleven days before the expiration of the time limited by the instrument of government; and he took care to inform them, that he was apprised of their designs. This packed house of commons, however, voted him the protectorship for life, and assigned him all the royal palaces for his use; and he now never appeared in publick, but with a splendour and retinue which exceeded the pomp of royalty. A fruitless insurrection in the West, under the conduct of Sir John Wagstaff, and the colonels Penruddock, Groves, and Jones, opened the domestic transactions of the year 1655. They entered Salisbury, seized on the judges and sheriffs at the time of the Lent assizes, and obliged them to proclaim the king; but their small force, amounting to only 200 horse, was soon after defeated by colonel Butler; and Penruddock and Groves, being taken prisoners, were executed at Exeter.

This attempt of the cavaliers exasperated Cromwell, who, instead of a protector, became a tyrant; for he issued an edict for levying the tenth of the estates of all who professed themselves, or were suspected to be cavaliers; and the most obnoxious of the royal party were seized and transported to America. In order to levy the cruel and oppressive im-

imposition he had laid upon those who remained at home, he divided the whole kingdom of England into twelve districts, and appointed a major-general over each, who, with the assistance of commissioners, were empowered to decimate whomsoever they pleased, to levy all taxes imposed by the protector and his council, and to seize and imprison any person whom they should suspect. Vested with such illegal powers, they necessarily became petty tyrants, and so oppressed the people, that Cromwell, for his own safety, was obliged to abolish their office, but not till they had answered his ends, by extirpating, or subjecting the cavaliers.

Such a general disaffection to the government now prevailed, that seditious publications appeared every day, in which the protector was stigmatized as a tyrannical usurper, and openly menaced with deposition and condign punishment; upon which an order of council was issued against publishing any news-papers without leave of the secretary of state, or any books or pamphlets without a licence.

In September, 1656, Cromwell's third assembly, under the denomination of a parliament, met at Westminster, and having successfully influenced the election, he now found the house filled with his creatures. The first act they made was to "renounce and disannul the title of Charles Stuart unto the sovereign dominions of the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland." The second was to "make it high-treason to conspire the death of the protector." In short, they proceeded in every thing just as Cromwell wished; they approved of the alliance he had entered into with France in the course of the preceding year; and of the war against Spain, which was the consequence of it, and they granted large supplies to carry it on with vigour. At length, the time limited for their session approaching,

proaching, Pack, an alderman of London, and one of its members, made a formal motion, that Cromwell should be elected king, which threw the whole house into confusion. The opposition to it proceeded chiefly from the officers of the army, who openly declared, that if Cromwell accepted the crown, they would resign their commissions, and should no longer have it in their power to serve him; but notwithstanding their opposition, the motion was approved by a great majority, and a bill was prepared accordingly, which was presented to the protector on the 4th of April, 1657, with an address, intituled, their "Humble Advice and Petition;" the principal drift of it being to persuade him to accept the crown. But he now, for the first time, made it manifest to the whole world, that all his power was derived from, and dependant on, the army: for having consulted some of the general officers apart, while the bill was preparing in the house, and finding even Fleetwood his son in law, who had married Ireton's widow, and Desborough, his brother-in-law, utterly averse to it, he would not venture to give the house a direct answer; but in order to gain time, and in expectation of prevailing with the army, he desired that a committee might be appointed to confer with him on this important affair. In the mean time, Desborough applied to colonel Pride, imparting to him the protector's design to accept the crown, upon which he boldly replied, "He shall not," and desired a petition to the house might be drawn, which was accordingly done by the learned Dr. Owen.

The next day, most of the officers quartered in town went with colonel Pride to the house of commons, and sent in a message to Desborough to let him know that they had a petition to the house, which they desired him to present; but he thought

it most prudent only to move, that they might be called in and present it themselves; to which the house, not suspecting the contents, readily assented; and the petition being delivered by lieutenant-colonel Mason, was read, and found to contain in substance "that they had hazarded their lives against monarchy, and were still ready so to do; that finding an attempt was making to press their general to take upon him the title and government of a king, in order to destroy him, they humbly desired that the house would discountenance all such endeavours;" and the protector, finding he was circumvented, went to the house, and sent for the commons to the Painted-Chamber, where, with a great appearance of humility, and as if actuated by pious sentiments, he declared that he could not undertake the government with the title of king; but it was evident, that he intended to exercise the supreme authority, under any other title whatever. The house thereupon drew up a new deed, or instrument of government, under the title of "The humble Petition and Advice;" by which his title of protector was confirmed for his life, he was empowered to nominate a successor, an annual revenue was settled upon him, and his powers, in some respects, were enlarged; but they were diminished in others, and he afterwards felt the weight of this alteration. He was likewise empowered to form another house of parliament, the members of which should enjoy their seats for life, and exercise some functions of the former house of peers. Herein his usual policy forsook him, for he hoped to make the seats in this other house of his own appointing so many rewards, or bribes, to secure to himself a set of favourites wholly devoted to him; but he was miserably disappointed; for, by the translation of some of his most zealous friends

friends into the upper-house, room was made in the lower assembly for several of the republican members formerly excluded, who were now re-elected, and a majority was thereby formed in that house against the form of government in a single person, whether distinguished by the title of king, protector, or captain-general. The legality of the new instrument, called "The humble Petition and Advice," was disputed with great reason, as being enacted by a parliament deprived of its liberty, a great number of the members having been excluded by military force for refusing to subscribe the recognition. Upon this ground they refused to acknowledge the authority of the other house, and Cromwell proceeded to menaces; but the commons paid no regard either to his threats or his authority; upon which he was obliged to have recourse to the old expedient of dissolving the house; and from this time, in imitation of CHARLES I. he governed without a parliament.

Whilst his power was thus declining at home, the public concerns of the nation abroad were conducted with such spirit and policy, and attended with such success, that the power, political interest, and commerce of England, were better supported than they had been at any other period since the reign of Elizabeth.

Spain declared war against England in 1655, in consequence of Cromwell's treaty of peace and alliance with France; and in the month of June, in the same year, his admirals Penn and Venables took Jamaica, a very valuable island in the West-Indies, belonging to the Spaniards, which from that time has remained part of the British empire, and has proved to be a most profitable commercial acquisition. As to the glorious naval expeditions under the conduct of admiral Blake, the reader will

find a full account of them in the life of that renowned commander. An English army being sent to Flanders, to assist the French in the conquest of that country, gave signal proofs of the bravery and excellent discipline of his forces, and had the principal share in taking Mardyke and Dunkirk, which were put into the hands of the English; and the latter remained to the crown of Great-Britain till it was sold by CHARLES II. in 1662, for 500,000*l.* a measure which has been warmly condemned by our historians; but the only fault was the misapplication of the money, being expended by his majesty in the support of his mistresses, instead of coming into the public treasury. For, with respect to the place itself, whoever is well acquainted with its situation cannot but know, that it must have been attended with a very heavy national expence, and a continual loss of men, to have kept possession of it, while the French were masters of Lisle, and from the center of their kingdom could send down large armies to that garrison, from which detachments could be continually draughted off to annoy Dunkirk, equally accessible likewise by sea, so that it required a strong naval and land force for its defence.

Cromwell, though in alliance with France, would not submit to the encroaching spirit of that people, who in the rivalry of commerce are perpetually endeavouring to take advantage of the English, even in times of peace and amity. The magnanimity of his conduct, upon the following occasion, does honour to his memory. An English merchant-ship was taken by a French man of war in the British channel, carried into St. Malo's, and there confiscated on the pretext, that she was carrying on a contraband trade to the coast of France. The master of the ship, a Quaker, upon his return home,
pre-

presented a petition to the protector in council, stating his case, and praying for redress. Upon hearing the petition, Cromwell told the council, that he would take that affair upon himself, and he ordered the Quaker to attend him the next morning; and being convinced that he had not been concerned in any unlawful trade, he asked him, if he could go with a letter to Paris? The man answering in the affirmative, he ordered him to prepare for his journey, and to wait on him again the next morning, when he gave him a letter for cardinal Mazarine, prime-minister to Louis XIV. then in his minority; and told him to wait only three days for an answer. "The answer I mean," said the protector, "is the full value of your ship and cargo; and tell the cardinal, if it is not paid you in that space of time, you have orders from me to return home." The Quaker punctually executed his commission; for, not obtaining satisfaction, he returned as he was ordered, and went to the protector, who immediately asked him, if he had got his money; and upon his answering that he had not, he told him, he should very soon hear from him. Oliver, instead of commencing a tedious ministerial negotiation, during the continuation of which the injured subject is often ruined; sent some men of war into the channel to make reprisals, and in a few days they brought in two or three French merchant ships, which the protector sold by public sale, and out of the produce he paid the Quaker the value of his ship and cargo. Then sending for the French resident, he gave him the account, stated debtor and creditor, and told him there was a balance in his favour, which should be paid to him, that he might remit it, if he thought proper, to the owners of the French ships that had been sold to pay the Quaker.

The French ministry, after this remarkable transaction, dreaded giving him the least offence, and even submitted to his interference in disputes with their Protestant subjects, the Hugonots, whom he took under his protection. Indeed, his zeal for the Protestant interest in Europe was as conspicuous as it was laudable; for the duke of Savoy, having persecuted the Vaudois, his Protestant subjects, massacring many, and driving others into exile, he applied to the French court, knowing that the duke of Savoy was under French influence, and obliged Mazarine to apply to the duke to stop the persecution. He also wrote to the duke upon the occasion, and would not be satisfied, till the Vaudois were indemnified for their losses, and their former privileges renewed.

We are now arrived at the concluding scene of the life of this fortunate usurper. In the course of the year 1657, plots upon plots were formed against his person and government by the republicans and the cavaliers, which, though they were discovered, gave him great uneasiness, and the anxiety of his mind began to affect his health. A pamphlet was likewise published, written by colonel Titus, intitled, "Killing no Murder," which filled him with such apprehensions of being assassinated, that he wore a coat of mail under his cloaths, carried loaded pistols in his pockets, and hardly ever slept two nights together in the same chamber. The year 1658 opened with a public avowal of his fears, by rigorous prosecutions of sundry persons of rank for being concerned in conspiracies against him, and for want of legal evidence of their guilt, they were tried before new-created tribunals, and condemned to die, without a jury, by judges, who were their sworn enemies. These tribunals were called "High Courts of Justice," and by them were condemned, as
traitors,

traitors, Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewet, an eminent divine of the church of England, colonel Ashton, Mr. Stacy, and Mr. Bestley; the two first were beheaded; but the others suffered the usual sentence for traitors, and were executed, with great barbarity, by Cromwell's express orders, as a terror to others. At length, increasing vexation, and probably the weight and coldness of the armour he constantly wore, brought on a double tertian ague, the hot fits of which becoming very violent about the middle of August, he removed from Hampton-court to Whitehall, and soon after his physicians pronounced his case to be desperate. Of his behaviour during his illness, such various and contradictory accounts have been given by different writers, according as they were influenced by religion, party, or prejudice, that it is difficult to find a medium which may be supposed to approach the nearest to truth. Of all the accounts, however, that of Ludlow, in his Memoirs, appears to be the most candid, and probable: we shall, therefore, give it a place here, in his own words:

“When the symptoms of death were apparent upon him, and many ministers and others assembled in a chamber at Whitehall, praying for him, he manifested so little remorse of conscience for having betrayed the public cause, by sacrificing it to the idol of his own ambition, that some of his last words were rather becoming a mediator than a sinner, recommending to God the condition of the nation that he had so infamously cheated, and expressing a great care of the people whom he had so manifestly despised. But he seemed, above all, concerned for the reproaches he said men would cast upon his name in trampling on his ashes when dead. In this temper of mind he departed this life.” And from this concise sketch of his dying sentiments,

carefully compared with the transactions of his life, an unprejudiced person may be able to form a juster character of this extraordinary man, than from any of the numerous delineations of it in those fulsome panegyrics in prose and verse, composed by his adulators, or in those scurrilous libels penned by his adversaries, and offered up as incense to the sacred majesty of kings. Cromwell himself appears to have had great hopes of his recovery, by his deferring to name his successor till the very night before his death, which happened on the 3d of September, a date which had been twice remarkably fortunate to him; from which circumstance the enthusiasts around him drew the happiest presages of his future state. He was buried, with greater pomp than many of our kings, in Westminster-Abbey, after having lain in state at Somerset-house, at the expence, (according to Salmon's Chronological Historian) of 60,000 l. The descriptions given of his person are, that he was rather above the middle stature, had a manly stern aspect, and a robust constitution, able to endure the greatest bodily fatigues, and the closest application to business.

Oliver Cromwell's surviving issue were, 1. Richard, his successor. 2. Henry, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. 3. Bridget, married first to Ireton, and, after his death, to Fleetwood. 4. Mary, married to lord Falconberg. 5. Frances, married first to Mr. Rich, grandson to the earl of Warwick, and, after his death, to Sir John Ruffel of Chippenham. He had another daughter whose name was Elizabeth, married to John Claypole, Esq. his master of the horse; and though all his daughters were ladies possessed of extraordinary natural and acquired accomplishments, Mrs. Claypole was his favourite; and her death, which preceded his own but a short time,

time, lay heavy at his heart, and, it is said, greatly contributed to hasten his dissolution.

* * *Authorities.* Rapin. Harris's Life of Cromwell. Ludlow's Memoirs. Salmon's Chronological Historian.

☞ The remaining transactions of the Interregnum will be found in the Life of General Monk.

THE LIFE OF

A D M I R A L B L A K E:

[A. D. 1598, to 1659.]

ROBERT BLAKE, celebrated in the annals of Britain, as one of her bravest naval commanders, was the son of a merchant at Bridgewater in Somersetshire, and was born there in the year 1598. Of his infant-years we know nothing more than that he received the first rudiments of his education at the grammar-school of Bridgewater. He went from thence to Oxford in 1615, where he was entered at St. Alban's-hall. From thence he removed to Wadham college. On the 10th of February, 1617, he took the degree of bachelor of arts. In 1623, he wrote a copy of verses on the death of Mr. Camden, and soon after left the university. He was tinged pretty early with republican

lican principles, and disliking that severity with which Dr. Laud, then bishop of Bath and Wells, pressed uniformity in his diocese, he began to fall into the Puritanical opinions. The natural bluntness and sincerity of his disposition led him to speak freely upon all occasions, insomuch that his sentiments being generally known, the Puritan party got him elected member for Bridgewater, in 1640. When the civil war broke out, he declared for the parliament. In 1643, he was at Bristol, under the command of col. Fiennes, who intrusted him with a little fort on the line, and, as lord Clarendon informs us, when prince Rupert attacked Bristol, and the governor had agreed to surrender it upon articles, Mr. Blake, nevertheless for some time, held out his fort, and killed several of the king's forces, which exasperated prince Rupert to such a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not some friends interposed, and excused him on account of his want of experience in war. He served afterwards in Somersetshire, under the command of Popham, governor of Lyme, and, as he was much beloved in those parts, he had such good intelligence there, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, surprized Taunton for the parliament. In 1644, he was appointed governor of this place, which was of the utmost importance, being the only garrison the parliament had in the west. The works about it were not strong, nor was the garrison numerous, yet by his strict discipline, and kind behaviour to the townsmen, he found means to keep the place, though not properly furnished with supplies, notwithstanding he was sometimes besieged, and often blocked up by the king's forces. At length Goring, having come before the place with near ten thousand men, made a breach, and actually took part of the town. Blake, however, still held out the other part,

part, and the castle, till relief came. For this service, the parliament ordered the garrison a bounty of two thousand pounds, and the governor a present of five hundred. When the parliament had voted no farther addresses should be made to the king, colonel Blake joined in an address from the borough of Taunton, expressing their gratefulness for this step taken by the house of commons. However, when the king came to be tried, Blake disapproved of that measure, as illegal, and was frequently heard to say, he would as freely venture his life to save the king's, as ever he did to serve the parliament. But this is thought to have been chiefly owing to the humanity of his temper, since, after the death of the king, he fell in wholly with the republican party, and, next to Cromwell, was the ablest officer the parliament had. In 1649, he was appointed to command the fleet, in conjunction with colonel Deane, and colonel Popham. Soon after he was ordered to sail, with a squadron of men of war, in pursuit of prince Rupert. Blake came before Kinsale in June 1649, where prince Rupert lay in harbour. He kept him in the harbour till the beginning of October, when the prince despairing of relief by sea, and Cromwell being ready to take the town by land, provisions of all sorts falling short, he resolved to force his way through Blake's squadron, which he effected with the loss of three of his ships. The prince's fleet steered their course to Lisbon, where they were protected by the king of Portugal. Blake sent to the king for leave to enter, and coming near with his ships, the castle shot at him; upon which he dropt anchor, and sent a boat to know the reason of this hostility. The captain of the castle answered, he had no orders from the king, to let his ships pass: however, the king commanded one of the lords of the court to wait upon Blake,

and to desire him not to come in except the weather proved bad, lest some quarrel should happen between him and prince Rupert. The king sent him, at the same time, a large present of fresh provisions. The weather proving bad, Blake sailed up the river into the bay of Wyeers, but two miles from the place where prince Rupert's ships lay, and thence he sent captain Moulton, to inform the king of the falsities in the prince's declaration. The king, however, still refusing to allow the admiral to attack prince Rupert, Blake took five of the Brazil fleet richly laden, and at the same time sent notice to him, that, unless he ordered the prince's ships out from his river, he would seize the rest of the Portuguese fleet, from America. In September 1650, the prince endeavoured to get out of the harbour, but was soon driven in again by Blake, who sent to England nine Portuguese ships bound for Brazil; and, in October following, he and Popham met with a fleet of twenty-three sail from Brazil for Lisbon, of whom they sunk the admiral, took the vice-admiral, and eleven other ships, having ten thousand chests of sugar on board, and burnt three more: the rest were small ships, and during the action got into the river. In his return home he met with two ships in search of the prince, whom he followed up the Streights. In this crisis, he took a French man of war, the captain of which had committed hostilities. He sent this prize, which was reported to be worth a million, into Cadiz, and followed the prince to the port of Carthagéna, where he lay with the remainder of his fleet. As soon as Blake came to an anchor before the fort, he sent a messenger to the Spanish governor, informing him, that an enemy to the State of England was in his port, that the parliament commanded him to pursue him; and, the king of Spain being in amity with the parliament, he desired leave to take all advantages against their enemy. The governor replied,

replied, he could not take notice of the difference of any nations or persons amongst themselves, only such as were declared enemies to the king his master; that they came in thither for safety, therefore he could not refuse them protection, and that he would do the like for the admiral. Blake still pressed the governor to permit him to attack the prince, and the Spaniard put him off till he could have orders from Madrid. While the admiral was cruising in the Mediterranean, prince Rupert got out of Carthage, and sailed to Malaga. Blake, having notice of his destroying many English ships, followed him with all expedition, and attacked him in the port, burnt and destroyed his whole fleet, two ships only excepted, the Reformation, prince Rupert's ship, and the Swallow, commanded by his brother, prince Maurice.

This was in January 1651. In February, Blake took a French man of war of forty guns, and sent it, with four other prizes, to England. Soon after he came with his squadron to Plymouth, when he received the thanks of the parliament, and was made warden of the Cinque-ports. On the fourth of March following, an act passed, whereby col. Blake, col. Popham, and col. Deane, or any two of them, were appointed admirals and generals of the fleet for the year ensuing.

The next service Blake was put upon, was the reducing the isles of Scilly, which were held for the king. He sailed in May, with a body of eight hundred land-troops on board. Sir John Greenville, who commanded in those parts for the king, after some small resistance, submitted. Blake sailed next for Guernsey, which was held for the king by Sir George Carteret. He arrived there in the month of October, and landed what forces he had the next day, and did every thing in his power in order to make a speedy conquest of the island, which was
not

not completed that year. In the beginning of the next, however, the governor, finding all hopes of relief vain, thought proper to make the best terms he could. For this service Blake had thanks from the parliament, and was elected one of the council of state.

In 1652, broke out the memorable war between the two Commonwealths of England and Holland; a war, in which the greatest admirals that perhaps any age has produced, were engaged on each side; in which nothing less was contested than the dominion of the sea, and which was carried on with vigour, animosity, and resolution, proportioned to the importance of the dispute. The chief commanders of the Dutch fleets were, Van Trump, De Ruyter, and De Witt, the most celebrated names of their own nation, and who had been perhaps more renowned, had they been opposed by any other enemies. The States of Holland having carried on their trade without opposition, and almost without competition, not only during the inactive reign of king James I. but during the commotions of England, had arrived to that height of naval power, and that affluence of wealth, that with the arrogance which a long-continued prosperity naturally produces, they began to invent new claims, and to treat other nations with insolence, which nothing can defend but superiority of force.

They had for some time made uncommon preparations at a vast expence, and had equipped a large fleet, without any apparent danger threatening them, or any avowed design of attacking their neighbours. This unusual armament was not beheld by the English without some jealousy; and care was taken to fit out such a fleet as might secure the trade from interruption, and the coasts from insults: of this Blake was constituted admiral for nine months.

In this situation the two nations remained, keeping a watchful eye upon each other, without hostilities on either side, till the 18th of May, 1652, when Van Trump appeared in the Downs, with a fleet of forty five men of war. Blake, who had then but twenty ships, upon approach of the Dutch admiral, saluted him with three single shot, to require that he should strike his flag: upon which Van Trump, in contempt, fired on the contrary side. Blake fired a second and a third gun, which the Dutch admiral answered with a broadside: the English admiral therefore perceiving his intention to fight, detached himself from the rest of the fleet to treat with Van Trump upon the point of honour, and to prevent the effusion of blood, and a national quarrel. When Blake approached nearer to Van Trump, he and the rest of the fleet, contrary to the law of nations (the English admiral coming with a design to treat), fired on Blake with whole broadsides. The admiral was in his cabin, drinking with some officers, little expecting to be thus saluted, when the shot broke the windows of the ship, and shattered the stern, which put him into a vehement passion; so that curling his whiskers, as he used to do when he was angry, he commanded his men to answer the Dutch in their own way, saying, when his heat was somewhat over, "He took it very ill of Van Trump, that he should take his ship for a bawdy house, and break his windows." Blake for some time stood alone against the whole Dutch fleet, till the rest of his squadron coming up, the fight was continued from between four and five in the afternoon till nine at night, when the Dutch retired with the loss of two ships, not having destroyed a single English vessel, nor more than fifteen men, most of which were on board the admiral, who, as he wrote to the parliament, was himself engaged for four hours with the main body of the Dutch fleet, being
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the mark at which they aimed; and, as Whitlocke relates, received above a thousand shot. Blake, in his letter, acknowledges the particular blessing and preservation of God, and ascribes his success to the justice of his cause, the Dutch having first attacked him upon the English coast.

After this engagement, the States General seemed inclined to peace; but the Commonwealth of England demanded such terms as the Dutch would not comply with, and therefore both sides prepared to carry on the war with great vigour. Blake now harrassed the enemy, by taking their merchant-ships, in which he had great success. On the 10th of June, a detachment from his fleet fell upon six-and-twenty Dutch merchantmen, and took them every one, and by the end of June he had sent into port forty prizes. On the second of July, he sailed with a strong squadron northwards. In his course, he took a Dutch man of war, and about the latter end of the month he fell in with twelve men of war, convoy to their herring-busses, took the whole convoy, a hundred of their busses, and dispersed the rest.

On the 12th of August, he returned into the Downs, with six of the Dutch men of war, and nine hundred prisoners. Thence he stood over for the coast of Holland; and on the 28th of September, having discovered the Dutch about noon, though he had only three of his own squadron with him, vice-admiral Penn, with his squadron at some distance, and the rest a league or two astern, he bore in among the Dutch fleet, being bravely seconded by Penn and Bourne; three of the enemy's ships were totally disabled at the first onset, and another as she was towing off. The rear admiral was taken by captain Mildmay; and, had not night intervened, it was thought not a single ship out of the Dutch fleet would have escaped. On the twenty-ninth,
about

about day-break, the English spied the Dutch fleet about N. E. two leagues off; the admiral bore up to them, but the enemy having the wind of him, he could not reach them; however, he commanded his light frigates to ply as near as they could, and keep firing while the rest bore up after them; upon which the Dutch hoisted their sails and run for it. The English being in want of provisions returned to the Downs. Blake having been obliged to make large detachments from his fleet, Van Trump, who had again the command of the Dutch navy, consisting of fourscore men of war, resolved to take this opportunity of attacking him in the Downs, knowing that he had not above half his number of ships. He accordingly sailed away to the back of the Godwin. Blake, having intelligence of this, called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to fight, though to so great a disadvantage. The engagement began on the 29th of November, about two in the morning, and lasted till near six in the evening. Blake was on board the *Triumph*; this ship, the *Victory*, and the *Vanguard*, suffered most, having been engaged, at one time, with twenty of the enemy's best ships. The admiral finding his ship much disabled, and that the Dutch had the advantage of the wind, drew off his fleet in the night into the river Thames, having lost the *Garland* and *Bona-venture*, which were taken by the Dutch; a small frigate was also burnt, and three sunk, and his remaining ships much shattered and disabled. Trump, however, bought this victory dear, one of his flag-ships was blown up, all the men drowned, and his own ship and *De Ruyter's* were both unfit for service till they were repaired. This success puffed up the Dutch exceedingly; Van Trump sailed through the channel with a broom at his main-top mast, to signify that he had swept the seas of English ships. In the mean time Blake having repaired his fleet,

and

and Monk and Deane being now joined in commission with him, on the 8th of February, 1653, sailed from Queensborough with 60 men of war, which were soon after joined with 20 more from Portsmouth. On the eighteenth of this month they discovered Van Trump with 70 men of war, and three hundred merchant-ships under his convoy. Blake, with 12 ships, came up with and engaged the Dutch fleet: He was on board the Triumph, which had like to have been lost, having received no less than 700 shot in her hull, if she had not been timely relieved by Lawson in the Fairfax. The admiral, though grievously wounded in the thigh, continued the fight till night, when the Dutch who had six men of war sunk and taken, retired. Blake, after having put on shore his wounded men at Portsmouth, followed the enemy, whom he came up with next day, about three in the afternoon, when the fight was renewed greatly to the loss of the Dutch, who continued retreating towards Boulogne. All the night following Blake continued the pursuit, and in the morning of the 20th of February the two fleets fought again till four in the afternoon, when the wind blowing favourably for the Dutch, they secured themselves on the flats of Dunkirk and Calais. In these three engagements the Dutch lost eleven men of war, 30 merchant-ships, and had 1500 men slain. The English lost only one ship, the Samson, but not fewer men than the enemy.

In the month of April, Cromwell tyrannically dissolved the parliament, and shortly after assumed the supreme power. The States General expected great advantages from this, but were disappointed. Blake said on this occasion to his officers, "It is not for us to mind state-affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us." Towards the end of the month, Blake and his colleagues, with a fleet of a hundred
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fail, stood over for the Dutch coast, and forced their fleet to take shelter in the Texel, where, for some time, they were kept by Monk and Deane, while Blake sailed northward; at last Trump got out, and drew together a fleet of a hundred and twenty men of war.

On the 3d of June, Deane and Monk engaged him off the north-foreland. On the 4th, Blake came to their assistance with eighteen fresh ships, by which means a compleat victory was gained; and if the Dutch had not again saved themselves on Calais sands, their whole fleet had been sunk or taken. Cromwell having called the parliament, styled the Little Parliament, Blake, on the 10th of October, took his seat in the house, where he received their solemn thanks for his many and faithful services. The protector afterwards called a new parliament, consisting of four hundred members, in which admiral Blake represented his native town of Bridgewater. On the 6th of December, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the admiralty.

In the month of November, 1654, Cromwell sent him, with a strong fleet, into the Mediterranean, with instructions to support the honour of the English flag, and to procure satisfaction for any injuries that might have been done to our merchants. In the beginning of December, Blake came into the road of Cadiz, where he was treated with great respect; insomuch that a Dutch admiral would not hoist his flag while he was there; and one of the victuallers attending his fleet, being separated from the rest, fell in with a French admiral commanding seven men of war, near the mouth of the Streights; who ordered the captain of the victualling-sloop on board his own ship, which created some suspicion of the admiral's intentions; but they were soon removed, by his kind enquiries after Blake, whose health

health he drank with a salute of five guns, and then dismissed the English captain, wishing him a prosperous voyage. As to the Algerines, they stood in so much awe of him, that they used to stop and search the Sallee-rovers, and if they found any English prisoners on board, they sent them to Blake, in hopes thereby of obtaining his favour; but this did not prevent him from forcing the dey of Algiers to sue for peace, and to grant satisfaction for the piracies committed on the effects of British subjects; this service he accomplished in the beginning of March, 1655; and from Algiers he proceeded with his fleet to Tunis on the same errand. The dey of Tunis sent him a haughty answer. "Here (said he) are our castles of Galetta and Porto Ferino, do your worst: do you think we fear your fleet?" On hearing this, Blake, as usual when he was angry, began to curl his whiskers, and, after a short consultation with his officers, bore into the bay of Porto Ferino, with his great ships, and coming within musket-shot of the castle, fired on it so briskly, that in two hours it was rendered defenceless, and the guns on the works along the shore were dismounted, though sixty of them played at a time on the English. He found nine ships in the road, and ordered every captain, even of his own ship, to man his long-boat with choice men, and these to enter the harbour, and fire the Tuniseens, while he and his fleet covered them from the castle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The seamen in their boats boldly assaulted the pirates, and burnt all their ships; with the loss of twenty five men killed, and forty-eight wounded.

This daring action spread the terror of his name through Africa and Asia, which had for a long time before been formidable in Europe. He also struck such terror in the piratical state of Tripoly, that he made them

them glad to sue for peace with England. These and other exploits raised the glory of the English name so high, that most of the princes and states in Italy thought fit to pay their compliments to the protector, particularly the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Republic of Venice, who sent magnificent embassies for that purpose. War in the mean time having been declared against Spain, Blake used his utmost efforts to run in their maritime force in Europe, as Penn had done in the West Indies. But finding himself now in a declining state of health, and fearing the ill consequences which might ensue, in case he should die without any colleague to take charge of the fleet, he wrote letters to England, desiring some proper person to be named in commission with him; upon which general Montague was sent joint admiral with a strong squadron to assist him. Soon after his arrival in the Mediterranean, the two admirals sailed with their whole fleet, to block up a Spanish squadron in the bay of Cadiz. At length, in September, being in great want of water, Blake and Montague stood away for the coast of Portugal, leaving captain Stayner, with seven ships, to look after the enemy. Soon after they were gone, the Spanish plate fleet appeared, but were intercepted by Stayner, who took the vice-admiral, and another galleon, which were afterwards burnt by accident, the rear admiral with two million of plate on board, and another ship richly laden.

These prizes, together with all the prisoners, were sent to England, under general Montague, and Blake alone remained in the Mediterranean, till being informed that another plate fleet had put into Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriff, in the month of April, 1657, he sailed thither with a fleet of twenty-five men of war. On the twentieth, he
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came into the road of Santa Cruz, where they discovered how bravely the Spanish ships, sixteen in number, were barricaded in this bay, where they lay in a manner semicircular. Near in the mouth of this haven stands a castle, sufficiently furnished with great ordnance, which threatened destruction to any one that durst enter without its leave into the harbour; besides this, there stood seven forts more round about the bay, with six, four, and three guns a-piece, and united together by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was manned with musqueteers. To make all safe, Don Diego Diagues, general of the Spanish fleet, was not idle, in making provision for the best defence of his armado. He caused all the smaller ships to be moored close along the shore, and the six great galleons stood farther out at anchor, with their broadsides towards the sea. It happened at this time there was a Dutch merchant-ship in the bay, the master thereof seeing the English ready to enter, and that a combat would presently be commenced, it made him fear, that among all the blows that would be given he could not avoid some mischief; therefore, to save himself, he went to Don Diego, and desired his leave to depart the harbour; for, said he, "I am very sure Blake will presently be among you." The resolute Don made no other reply but, "Get you gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares." They that knew Blake's courage, could not but know it needless to dare him to an engagement. All things being ordered for the fight, a squadron of ships was drawn out of the whole fleet to make the first onset; these were commanded by captain Stayner in the Speaker frigate, who no sooner had received orders, but immediately he flew into the bay with his canvas wings, and by eight in the morning fell pell-mell upon the Spanish fleet,

without the least regard to the forts, that spent their shot prodigally upon him. No sooner were these entered into the bay, but Blake following after, placed certain ships to pour broadsides into the castle and forts. These played their parts so well, that, after some time, the Spaniards found their forts too hot to be held. In the mean time, Blake strikes in with Stayner, and bravely fought the Spanish ships, which were not much inferior in number to the English, but in men were far superior. Here we see a resolute bravery many times may carry the day, and make numbers lie by; this was manifest, for by two of the clock in the afternoon the English had beaten the enemies out of their ships. Now Blake seeing an impossibility of carrying them away, he ordered his men to fire their prizes; which was done so effectually, that all the Spanish fleet were reduced to ashes, except two ships that sunk downright, nothing remaining of them above water, but some part of their masts. The English having now got a compleat victory, were put to another difficulty by the wind, which blew so strong into the bay, that many despaired of getting out of it again. But God's providence was miraculously seen in causing the wind on a sudden to veer about to the south west (a thing not known in many years before), which brought Blake and his fleet safe to sea again, notwithstanding the Spaniards from the castle played their great guns perpetually upon him as they passed by. The wind, as it proved a friend to bring the English forth, so it continued to carry them back to their former station near Cadiz. Blake returned after this glorious action to the coasts of Spain, where he cruized for some time off the harbour of Cadiz; but perceiving that his ships were become foul, and being seized with a dangerous disorder, he resolved to sail for England. His dis-

temper

temper was a complication of dropſy and ſcurvy, brought upon him by being three years together at ſea, and wanting, all that time, the conveniencies requiſite for the cure of his diſeaſe. In his paſſage home, it increaſed upon him, and he became ſo ſenſible of his approaching end, that he frequently enquired for land, a mark of his affection for his native ſoil, which, however, he did not live to ſee; dying, as his ſhip, the *St. George*, entered Plymouth-ſound, on the 17th of Auguſt, 1657, at about 59 years of age. His body was the next day embalmed and wrapped in lead, his bowels taken out, and buried in the great church at Plymouth, and his corſe, by order of the Protector, conveyed by water to Greenwich-houſe; from whence he reſolved to have it carried in great pomp to Weſtminſter-abbey, and there interred with the utmoſt ſolemnity, as the laſt mark of reſpect that could be payed to this heroic commander.

On the 4th of September, after the corſe had lain ſeveral days in ſtate, it was carried from Greenwich in a magnificent barge, covered with velvet, adorned with eſcutcheons and pendants, accompanied by his brothers, remoter relations, and their ſervants, in mourning; by Oliver's privy council, the commiſſioners of the admiralty and navy, and the lord mayor and aldermen of London; the field-officers of the army, and many other perſons of honour and quality, in a great number of barges and wherries, covered with mourning, marched and ordered by the heralds at arms, who directed and attended the ſolemnity. Thus they paſſed to Weſtminſter bridge, and, at their landing, proceeded in the ſame manner, through a guard of ſeveral regiments of foot, to the abbey. His dear friend general Lambert, though then in diſgrace with the protector, attended on horſeback. The funeral proceſſion

cession being over, the body was interred in a vault built on purpose in the chapel of Henry VII.

Such were the honours paid to the remains of Blake, in the days of Cromwell; but after the restoration of king Charles II. his body, in virtue of his majesty's express command, was taken up and buried in a pit, with others, in St. Margaret's church-yard, on the 12th of September, 1661; "in which place," says Wood, "it now remaineth, enjoying no other monument but what is reared by his valour, which time itself can hardly efface."

The earl of Clarendon says: "Blake was the first man that declined the old tract, 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 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 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 be rarely 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 had 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."

* * * *Auberities.* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Lediard's Naval History.

THE LIFE OF
GEORGE MONK,
DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

[A. D. 1608, to 1667.]

GEORGE MONK, memorable for being the chief instrument of the restoration of Charles II. was descended from an ancient family, settled so early as the reign of Henry III. at Potheridge, in Devonshire, at which place he was born in the year 1608. He was likewise educated there by his grandfather and godfather Sir George Smith, with whom he chiefly resided.

He was a younger son, and no provision being expected for him from his father Sir Thomas Monk, whose fortune had been reduced, he dedicated himself to arms from his youth, and before he was quite seventeen years of age entered himself as a volunteer under his kinsman Sir Richard Greenville, then lying at Plymouth, and just setting out under lord Wimbledon on the ill-concerted, and worse executed, expedition against Spain, in the year 1625.

The ill success which attended our young volunteer's first essay neither damped his courage, nor changed his martial inclination; for the very

next

next year he obtained a pair of colours under Sir John Burroughs, in the expedition to the isle of Rhee. From hence he returned at the end of the war in 1628; and the following year, being just then of age, he served as an ensign in the Low-Countries, first under lord Oxford, and then under lord Goring, by whom he was promoted to the rank of captain of his own company. In this station he was concerned in several sieges and battles; and, having, in ten years service, by a steady and close application to the duties of his profession, made himself an absolute master of the military art, and become extremely useful to the service, he retired on a disgust given him by the prince of Orange, and returned to his native country just on the breaking out of the first war between king Charles I. and his Scottish subjects.

The captain's reputation, backed by the powerful recommendations of the earl of Leicester and lady Carlisle, procured him the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the regiment belonging to lord Newport; in which post he served in the king's northern expeditions.

The treaty commenced at Rippon; and the summoning a parliament had scarcely put an end to the Scotch war, when the Irish rebellion broke out; and the earl of Leicester, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, having raised him to the rank of colonel, he went over to that kingdom, where he was so instrumental in quelling the rebellion, that the lords-justices appointed him governor of Dublin; but the parliament interfering, that authority was vested in another; and, soon after, the colonel returned to England with his regiment, along with the rest of the forces sent home by the marquis of Ormond, on his signing a truce with the Irish rebels, in 1643: but, on the colonel's arrival at Bris-

tol, he was stopped by orders sent both from Ireland and from the court at Oxford, directing lord Hawley, governor of Bristol, to secure him till farther orders, on a suspicion of his having a design to join the parliament-forces, under the earl of Leicester his general. But Hawley, convinced of his innocence, suffered him to proceed to Oxford on his parole; where he so fully justified himself to lord Digby, the then secretary of state, that he was by that nobleman introduced to his majesty; but his regiment was given to colonel Warren, who had been his major.

In order to indemnify him for this removal, the king raised him to the rank of major-general in the Irish brigade, then commanded by lord Byron, and employed in the siege of Nantwich, in Cheshire; to which station major general Monk speedily repaired, but arrived only time enough to share in the surprisal of the whole brigade by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who brought a considerable body of the parliament's forces to the relief of that place; from which place, Monk was sent to Hull, amongst the other prisoners, and was in a short time after conveyed to the Tower of London, where he remained in close confinement till November, 1646; when, at the solicitation of his kinsman, lord Lisle, eldest son to the earl of Leicester, who, on the marquis of Ormond's declaring for the king, was made deputy of that kingdom, he took the covenant, engaged with the parliament, and agreed to accept a command under him in the Irish service, as the only means to be enlarged from his tedious confinement.

Lord Lisle and the colonel embarked for Ireland, the beginning of the year 1647; but the marquis of Ormond, refusing obedience to the orders of the parliament, would not deliver up the city of Dublin to their deputy without the king's command, there-

therefore lord Lisle and his forces were obliged to steer for Cork, near which they landed; but not being able to perform any signal service, and his lordship's commission expiring in April, they returned to England; and soon after Monk had the command in chief of all the parliament's forces in the north of Ireland conferred upon him, together with the regiment late colonel Brocket's; whereupon he returned for the third time to Ireland, and landed at Belfast.

The Scots under the command of major-general Monro refusing to join the English in the service of the parliament, general Monk was prevented from entering into action so soon as he chose; but being joined by colonel Jones, he made large amends, and disputed the possession of Ulster very warmly with Owen Roe O'Neal, obliging him to raise the siege of Londonderry; and by securing the command of forage, and laying waste the country, almost starved his army. He likewise managed so well the tilling and improving those parts in his possession, and was so provident in disposing the booties from time to time brought in by his parties, that he made the Irish war nearly maintain itself. Yet, notwithstanding these small successes, the superiority of the marquis of Ormond and lord Inchequin, at the head of the Royalists, and the unconquerable distrust of the Scots, to whom most of his garrison of Dundalk revolted on their approach to that place, reduced him to the necessity of entering into a treaty with that bold Irish leader; who deceiving him, he was obliged to surrender Dundalk to lord Inchequin, and return to England; where he was called to an account by the parliament for having treated with the Irish rebels; an affront he never forgave.

He was, perhaps, the more offended with this treatment, as he was not employed in the reduction of Ireland under Oliver Cromwell, who, all accounts agree, received considerable advantage from this very treaty made between O'Neal and Monk.

During this inactivity, his elder brother dying without issue male, the family estate, by entail, devolved upon him, and he recovered it from the ruinous condition in which his father and brother had left it.

He had scarcely settled his private affairs when he was called upon to serve against the Scots, under Oliver Cromwell, by whom he was made lieutenant-general of the artillery, and had a regiment given him, composed of six companies taken out of Fenwick's, and six out of Haslerig's. In this post he was extremely serviceable to Cromwell, particularly at the famous battle of Dunbar.

After this victory, the lieutenant-general was employed in dispersing a body of irregulars, known by the name of Moss troopers; and in reducing Darlington, Roswell, Brothwick, and Tantallon castles, where they used to harbour. He was also concerned in settling the articles for the surrender of Edinburgh castle; and, being left commander in chief in Scotland, at the head of six thousand men, by Cromwell, when he returned to England in pursuit of Charles II. he besieged and took Sterling, and carried Dundee by storm; where he behaved with great cruelty, putting Lunsdale, the governor, and eight hundred men, to the sword.

Soon after this, St. Andrew's and Aberdeen also submitted to him; but being seized with a violent fit of illness, he was obliged, in 1652, to go to Bath for his recovery. Upon his recovery, he set out again for Scotland, as one of the commissioners for uniting that kingdom with the new-erected Eng-
lish

lish Commonwealth; which having brought to a successful conclusion, he returned to London.

The Dutch war having now been carried on for some months, lieutenant-general Monk, on the death of colonel Popham, was joined with the admirals Blake and Dean in the command at sea; and by his courage and conduct he contributed greatly to the defeat given to the Dutch fleet on the 2d of June 1653, and likewise to the victory obtained on the 31st of July following.

Oliver Cromwell, being declared protector the same year, concluded a peace with the Dutch, who obtaining more favourable terms from him than the council of state and the parliament had appeared willing to grant, general Monk, who lay with his fleet on the Dutch coast, remonstrated so warmly against this peace, and those remonstrances were so well received by the Little, or Barebones' Parliament, and Monk, on his return, was treated so kindly by them, that Oliver grew jealous of him, and closeted him, to find whether he was inclined to any other interest; but, on receiving satisfaction from the general on this head, he not only took him into favour; but, on the breaking-out of fresh troubles in the north of Scotland, where the marquis of Athol, the earl of Glencairne, major-general Middleton, and several more of the nobility and others, had raised forces on the behalf of king Charles II. he sent him thither commander in chief, in April, 1654.

Arriving at Leith, he sent colonel Morgan with a large detachment against the Royalists; and, having assisted in proclaiming the protector at Edinburgh, he followed himself with the rest of the forces. Through the general's prudent management, this war was finished by August, when he returned from the Highlands, and fixed his abode at Dalkeith, a seat belonging to the countess of

Buccleugh, within four or five miles of Edinburgh; where he constantly resided during the time, which was five years, that he staid in Scotland; amusing himself with the pleasures of a rural life, and being beloved by the people, though his government was more absolute than any they had before experienced. He exercised this authority not only as commander-in-chief, but as one of the protector's council of state for Scotland; and the other members paid such implicit obedience to his orders, on account of his great popularity, that Cromwell often entertained suspicions of him.

Nor was this distrust entirely groundless. For it is certain that the king entertained good hopes of him, and to that purpose wrote to him the following letter, dated from Colen, August 12, 1655:

“ One, who believes he knows your nature and inclinations very well, assures me, that, notwithstanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain still your old affection to me, and resolve to express it upon the first seasonable opportunity, which is as much as I look for from you. We must all patiently wait for that opportunity, which may be offered sooner than we expect: when it is, let it find you ready; and in the mean time have a care to keep yourself out of their hands, who know the hurt you can do them in a good conjuncture, and can never suspect your affection to be, as I am confident it is, towards

Yours, &c.

CHARLES, REX.”

However, the general made no scruple of discovering every step taken by the cavaliers which came to his knowledge, even to the sending the protector this letter, and joined in promoting addresses to him from the army in Scotland. In 1657 he received a summons to Oliver's house of lords. About this
time

time George, his second son, died in his infancy, which was a great affliction to him, being doatingly fond of him. From this period to the death of Oliver, the general maintained Scotland in subjection, and lived free from all disturbance, not intermeddling farther with the politicks of those times, than to put what orders he received from England punctually into execution; in pursuance of which plan he proclaimed Richard Cromwell protector after his father's death, Richard having dispatched Dr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Clarges agent to the Scotch and Irish forces, whose sister the general had some time before owned for his wife, with letters to him; to which he returned a suitable and respectful answer, aiming only at securing his own command; at the same time joining with the rest of the officers of the army under his command in an address to the new protector, whose power he might easily foresee would have but a short date, it having been his opinion that Oliver, had he lived much longer, would scarcely have been able to preserve himself in his station. And indeed Cromwell began to be apprehensive of that great alteration which happened in the government, and fearful that the general was deeply engaged in those measures which procured it, if we may judge from a letter written by him to general Monk but a little before his death; to which was added the following remarkable postscript:

“ There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart. I pray you to use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him to me.”

However, as Clarges had informed him, by Richard's order, that his late father had expressly charged him to do nothing without his advice, the

general recommended to him to encourage a learned, pious, moderate ministry in the church; to permit no councils of officers, a liberty they had too often abused; to call a parliament; and to endeavour to be master of the army.

Richard Cromwell was acknowledged by all orders of men in the three kingdoms: he received above ninety addresses from the counties and considerable corporations of England; and the foreign ministers vied with each other in compliments, congratulating him upon his succession: but this conduct was only deceitful policy, to give time for the different parties in the kingdom to form their own plans. Richard Cromwell was a man of a different complexion from his father, and would rather have lost ten kingdoms, than have maintained one by the sword. The army, long accustomed to a share in the government, dreaded a diminution of their power under such a governor; the republicans thought it a proper crisis to shake off the yoke of the protectorship, which they had found to be as oppressive as the royal authority. And a third party equally detesting the protectorship, the army, and the republican form of government, wished for the restoration of Charles II. With these jarring interests at work in secret, it is no wonder that Richard's first national assembly, consisting of a lower and upper house, fell out on the subjects of superiority and privilege, or that they attempted to lessen the power of the army; by which they brought on their own dissolution. The council of officers assumed the supreme authority in May, 1659, after they had forced Richard to dissolve the parliament; they restored the remnants of the Long Parliament; declared their intention of governing without a single person, kingship, or house of peers; and then appointed a committee of safety, who ordered all writs and patents

patents to run, as at the first establishment of the Commonwealth, in the names of the keepers of the liberties of the three nations. Richard, who saw his uncle Desborough and his brother Fleetwood engaged in this plan of government, quietly resigned his authority to the Rump Parliament, gave in a list of his debts, and desired to live privately in dutiful obedience to the Commonwealth. After the Restoration he went abroad, but returned when the spirit of party-resentment subsided, and lived in England obscurely to a great old age, not dying till towards the latter end of queen Anne's reign.

The general receiving advice of these transactions, and of the deposition of Richard, readily abandoned him he had so lately proclaimed; and his brother-in-law being again sent to him from the Rump Parliament, on their restoration, he acquiesced in all they had done, as the surest way to preserve his own command, only recommending Richard to their favour; and, with his officers, he signed the engagement against Charles Stuart, or any other single person, being admitted to the government. But when their committee, consisting of ten persons, began, on the informations of Peirson and Mason, two republican colonels in his army, to make considerable alterations therein, by cashiering of those officers in whom he most confided, of which his brother-in-law, Clarges, gave him information, he wrote a letter to the house, complaining of this treatment in so warm a style, at the same time engaging for the fidelity of his officers, that they ordered their committee not to proceed further therein till the general himself was consulted.

In the mean time, Monk continued to make the strongest declarations of his attachment to the republican cause. In a letter to the speaker of the

house of commons from Edinburgh, dated October 20, 1659, he assured him, "that he was resolved, by the grace and assistance of God, as a true Englishmen, to stand to and assert the liberty and authority of parliament." He added, "I do call God to witness, that the asserting of a Commonwealth is the only intent of my heart; and I desire, if possible, to avoid the shedding of blood; and desire and entreat you that there may be a good understanding between parliament and army: but, if they will not obey your commands, I will not desert you, according to my duty and promise." And, in a letter of the same date to Fleetwood, he "takes God to witness, that he had no farther ends than the establishing of parliamentary authority, and those good laws that our ancestors have purchased with so much blood, the settling the nations in a free Commonwealth, and the defence of godliness, and godly men, though of different judgments."

In a discourse which was afterwards read by his direction at Whitehall, on the 21st of February, 1659-60, to the members who had been secluded from parliament, but were then permitted by his means to take their seats, Monk expressed himself very strongly in behalf of a Commonwealth-government. "I thought" (says he) "to assure you, and that in the presence of God, that I have nothing before my eyes but God's glory, and the settlement of these nations upon Commonwealth foundations. In pursuit whereof I shall think nothing too dear; and, for my own particular, I shall throw myself down at your feet, to be any thing or nothing, in order to these great ends. As to the way of future settlement, far be it from me to impose any thing: I desire you may be in perfect freedom. Only give me leave to mind you,

" that

that the old foundations are, by God's provi-
 dence, so broken, that, in the eye of reason, they
 cannot be restored, but upon the ruin of the
 people of these nations, that have engaged for their
 rights in the defence of the parliament, and the
 great and main ends of the covenant, for uniting
 and making the Lord's name one in the three
 nations; and also the liberty of the people's re-
 presentatives in parliament will be certainly lost.
 For if the people find, that, after so long and
 bloody a war against the king for breaking-in
 upon their liberties, yet, at last, he must be taken
 in again, it will be out of question, and is most
 manifest, he may for the future govern by his
 will, dispose of parliaments, and parliament-men,
 as he pleaseth, and yet the people will never more
 rise for their assistance. As for the interests of
 this famous city (which hath been in all ages the
 bulwark of parliaments, and unto whom I am,
 for their great affection, so deeply engaged), cer-
 tainly it must lie in a Commonwealth, that go-
 vernment only being capable to make them
 (through the Lord's blessing) the metropolis and
 bank of trade for all Christendom, whereunto
 God and nature hath fitted them, above all
 others."

But notwithstanding these declarations, Monk was
 not only a principal instrument in the restoration of
 Charles II. but also of restoring him without any
 conditions. "Thus," says Dr. Harris, "was an
 exiled prince, by the dissimulation, treachery,
 and falshood of Monk, admitted to the govern-
 ment of three flourishing and renowned king-
 doms, without conditions, contrary to the sense
 and expectations of the most intelligent persons
 of all parties. For who could have imagined,
 that a people, who had so long and successfully
 struggled

“struggled for their liberties would, in one hour,
 “without striking a blow, submit to the vanquished,
 “and tamely yield to the yoke of those whom they
 “knew to be their determined foes! Who could
 “have thought that an English parliament, a name
 “which lately, very lately, obtained so much re-
 “nown, should, by a single vote, deliver up
 “themselves, and all that was dear to them, into
 “the hands of one from whom they had reason to
 “expect not over-kind treatment! But patriotism
 “no longer actuated the breasts of the English fe-
 “nators; every thing was unminded but personal
 “safety, personal honours, or rewards, which
 “were judged best obtained by thus making early
 “court to the king in a matter most acceptable to
 “him.”

On the eighth of May, 1660, general Monk as-
 sisted at the proclamation of king Charles II. and,
 having received advice by Sir Thomas Clarges, that
 his majesty intended to land at Dover on the
 twenty-eighth, the general set out for that place,
 being the same day the king embarked for Holland;
 and, lying at Rochester that night, arrived the next
 day at Dover, where the king landed on the twen-
 ty-fifth.

The interview between the king and the general
 was full of expressions of duty on one side, and fa-
 vour and esteem on the other; the king permitting
 the general to ride in his coach two miles out of
 the town; when his majesty took horse, and, with
 general Monk on his left hand, and his two bro-
 thers on his right, proceeded to Canterbury, where
 he conferred the order of the garter on general
 Monk, the dukes of York and Gloucester investing
 him with the badges of that dignity.

From Canterbury the king removed to Roches-
 ter, where he lay on Monday the twenty-eighth;
 and

and the next morning, being his birth-day, set out for Black Heath to review the army which the general had caused to be drawn up there; and from thence proceeded to London, into which he made his public entry with much magnificence on the 29th of May, 1660.

General Monk was now sworn one of the privy-council, made master of the horse, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber; had apartments in the Cock-pit, and was in a little time made first lord-commissioner of the treasury; and, in about a month afterwards, was created a peer, by the titles of baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tees, earl of Torrington, and duke of Albemarle; with a grant of seven thousand pounds a year, estate of inheritance, besides other pensions; and he received a very peculiar acknowledgment of regard on being thus called to the peerage, almost the whole house of commons attending him to the very door of the house of lords: and we are told, that Sir Edward Nicholas said, "that the industry and service which the duke of Albemarle had paid to the crown since the king's Restoration, without reflecting upon his service before, deserved all the favour and bounty which his majesty had been pleased to confer upon him."

In October, the duke was made one of the commissioners for trying the regicides, and acted accordingly under it, but observed great moderation. Soon after his grace was made lord-lieutenant of the counties of Devonshire and Middlesex; and the parliament voting the disbanding of the army, the duke joined very heartily with lord chancellor Hyde in promoting that step; and took great pains, by changing of officers, to bring it to be submitted to quietly, in which he succeeded; all but his own regiment of foot, and a new-raised regiment of horse

horse for the king's guard, being paid off and dismissed.

In January, 1661, while the king was accompanying his mother and sister on their return to France, the duke was employed at London in quelling an insurrection made by some fifth-monarchy men, under one Venner, a wine-cooper; who were with some difficulty reduced by the duke of Albemarle's regiment, after repulsing some detachments of the city militia, and the new-raised horse. This gave rise to a proposal for keeping up standing forces: but the duke was against it, saying, "That his endeavouring to continue any part of the army would be liable to so much misinterpretation, that he would by no means appear in it."

At the coronation in April, 1661, the duke carried the sceptre and dove, and was one of the supporters of the canopy of state; after which he and the duke of Buckingham did homage for themselves and the rest of their degree.

In the latter part of this year he was attacked with a dangerous illness, from which he was recovered by the king's physician, Sir Robert Frazer. After this, every thing being in full peace, he enjoyed himself for some time in retirement, till, on the breaking-out of the first Dutch war, under Charles II. in 1664, he was, by his royal highness the duke of York, who commanded the fleet, intrusted with the care of the Admiralty, receiving at the same time a very obliging letter from his royal highness.

The plague broke out in London the same year; and the king removing from thence to Oxford, the duke of Albemarle's vigilance and activity made his majesty regard him as the fittest nobleman to entrust with the care of his capital city in

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that time of imminent danger and distress; which additional burthen he cheerfully underwent, and was greatly assisted therein by the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Craven. About Michaelmas, the king sent for him to Oxford, whither he went post, and, on his arrival, found his majesty had appointed prince Rupert and himself joint admirals for the ensuing year; which dangerous post, though many of his friends dissuaded him from, he readily accepted, and immediately set himself diligently about his new employment; wherein all the care of finishing new ships which were on the stocks, repairing the old ones which had been much damaged in an action with the Dutch that summer, the victualling and manning the whole fleet, fell chiefly to his lot, and was so effectually and expeditiously pursued by him, the seamen offering in crowds for the service, because they said they were sure that honest George, as they commonly called him, would see them well fed and justly paid, that on the twenty-third of April, 1666, the prince and he took their leaves of the king, and repaired on board the fleet, where the former hoisted his flag, having Sir George Ayscough under him, as admiral of the white, on board the Royal James; and the latter, as admiral of the red, on board the Royal Charles.

On the 25th and 26th of July, they engaged the Dutch fleet, and gained a complete victory, destroying above twenty of their men of war; and driving the rest into their harbours. The Dutch lost four admirals in this engagement, and 4000 inferior officers and seamen. The English fleet returned to St. Helen's the latter end of August, and lay there for farther orders.

During that interval broke out the terrible fire in London; which beginning on the second of September,

September, 1666, burned with unparalleled fury for three days, and laid the greatest part of the city in ashes. This unexpected accident immediately occasioned the duke of Albemarle to be recalled from the fleet, to assist in quieting the minds of the people, who expressed their affection and esteem for him, by crying out publickly, as he passed through the ruined streets, "That if his grace had been there, the city had not been burnt."

The earl of Southampton dying on the sixteenth of May, 1667, his majesty after the peace put the Treasury in commission, at the head of which was again placed his grace the duke of Albemarle. This was the last testimony of the royal favour he received; for being now in the sixtieth year of his age, the many hardships and fatigues he had undergone in a military life began to shake his constitution, hitherto remarkably healthy, he being about this time attacked with a dropsy, the first symptoms of which were too much neglected.

In this declining condition he withdrew from public business, as much as his post and the state of affairs would permit, and retired to his seat at Newhall in the county of Essex; where he was prevailed upon, by the importunity of his friends, to try a pill then in vogue, being a preparation of one Dr. Sermon, of Bristol, who had formerly served under his grace as a common soldier; from which he at first received such considerable relief, that, towards the latter end of the year, he returned to town: but soon after falling into a relapse, with the addition of an asthmatic complaint, he set about finishing his last great temporal concern, the marriage of his only son with the lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to Henry, earl of Ogle, only son to Charles, the then duke of Newcastle; which being settled, the nuptial ceremony was performed, in his own chamber,

ber, on the thirtieth of December, 1669; and on the third of January, four days after, he died, sitting in his chair, with scarcely a groan.

*** Authorities.* Hume's Hist. of England. Gen. Biog. Dictionary. Harris's Historical and Critical Account of the Life of Charles II.

THE LIFE OF

EDWARD MONTAGUE,

EARL OF SANDWICH.

[A. D. 1625, to 1672.]

THIS gallant naval officer was the only surviving son of Sir Sidney Montague, the youngest of six sons of Edward lord Montague of Boughton. He was born on the 27th of July, 1625, and having received all the advantages which a liberal education could bestow, he came very early into the world, and into public business. He married, when he was little more than seventeen years of age, the daughter of Mr. Crewe, afterwards lord Crewe of Stene; and being thought more warmly affected to the cause of the parliament than his father, Sir Sidney Montague, he received a colonel's commission, in 1643, to raise, and command a regiment in the service of the parliament. This colonel Montague, though only eighteen years of age, performed, and the interest of his family being very

very

very extensive, he took the field in six weeks. He was present at the storming at Lincoln, on the 6th of May, 1644, which was one of the warmest actions during the course of the civil war. He was likewise in the battle of Marston-moor, which was fought on the 2d of July, the same year, where he greatly distinguished himself; insomuch that he soon after, when the city of York offered to capitulate, was appointed one of the commissioners for settling the articles, though he was then only in his nineteenth year.

The following year he was present at the battle of Naseby; and in the month of July, 1645, he stormed the town of Bridgwater. In September, he commanded a brigade in the storm of Bristol, where he performed very remarkable service; and on the 10th of September, 1645, subscribed the articles of capitulation, granted to prince Rupert, on the delivery of that important place to the parliament. He sat in the house of commons, as knight of the shire for Huntingdon, before he was of age; and he had afterwards a seat at the board of Treasury under Cromwell. After the Dutch war was over, he was promoted to the rank of an admiral in the Navy, and was made choice of by the protector to be joined with admiral Blake in his expedition to the Mediterranean.

Admiral Montague found a variety of difficulties to struggle with at the very entrance upon this service; many of the officers being displeas'd with the service in which they were to be engaged, and not a few insist'd on laying down their commissions. He managed this intricate business with great prudence and dexterity, so as to shew a due regard to discipline without running into any acts of severity: and this had a very happy effect, since, by the time he came to sail, the fleet was pretty well settled,

settled, and the officers disposed to act in obedience to orders. In the spring of the year 1656, we find him in the Mediterranean, where himself, and his colleague Blake, meditated great things. They once thought of attacking the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Cadiz; but after attentively considering the port, it was resolved in a council of war, that such an attempt was impracticable. The fleet then stood over to the opposite shore of Barbary, in order to repress the insolence of the Tripoli and Sallee rovers, which was found no very easy task; and therefore admiral Montague could not forbear intimating his desire, that we should have some good port in Africa, which he believed might answer various ends, and especially conduce to the preservation of our trade in the Levant. The fleet afterwards returned into the road of Cadiz, where they made prize of two Spanish galleons. A full account of their strength, and the money on board them, admiral Montague sent to England, as soon as they were taken; and when he afterwards had received directions to convoy the prizes home, he sent another account of the silver on board them, which was to a great amount. When admiral Montague returned to England, he was much caressed by the protector; and the parliament returned him thanks by their speaker, for the services he had done to the state.

In 1657, he was appointed to command a fleet in the Downs. The design of this fleet was to watch the Dutch, to carry on the war with Spain, and to facilitate the enterprize of taking Dunkirk; and in all these he did as much as could be expected from him. Towards autumn, he thought fit to make a journey to the camp of marshal Turenne, with whom he had a conference, as to the properest method of carrying on the war. All this time he seems to have been in the highest favour with
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the protector, and to have had the greatest intimacy with his family; and yet the admiral had thoughts of retiring from public business, but for what reasons cannot now be determined. However, after the death of Oliver Cromwell, in the protectorship of his son Richard, admiral Montague accepted the command of a large fleet, which was sent to the north: on board which he embarked in the spring of the year 1659, and on the 7th of April, he wrote to the king of Sweden, the king of Denmark, and the Dutch admiral, Opdam, to inform them of the motives that had induced the protector to send so great a fleet into the Baltick; and that his instructions were not to respect the private advantage of England by making war, but the public tranquillity of Europe, by engaging the powers of the north to enter into an equitable peace.

Before the admiral sailed, the parliament thought proper to tie him down by very strict instructions, which obliged him to act only in conjunction with their commissioners, colonel Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and Mr. Thomas Boon. And it is supposed that his disgust at this, and at their giving away his regiment of horse, occasioned him to leave England in no very warm disposition for their service. However, when he arrived in the Sound, he took his share with other ministers in the negociation, and made it sufficiently evident, that his genius was equally capable of shining in the cabinet, or commanding at sea, or on shore. But whilst he was thus employed, king Charles sent a person with two letters, one from himself, and another from chancellor Hyde, containing arguments and promises calculated to induce admiral Montague to withdraw himself from the service of the parliament. What the king now desired of him was, a speedy return to England, that the fleet might be ready

ready to act in conjunction with Sir George Booth, and other persons, who were already disposed to bring about a restoration. These letters had so much effect upon Montague, that he entered heartily into the scheme, and immediately set about putting it in execution.

The defection of the admiral from the interest of the parliament, could not escape the penetration of Algernon Sydney. He soon discerned some change in the conduct of Montague, and pursued his discoveries so closely, that he narrowly missed coming at his whole secret. The admiral, observing his suspicions, called a council of war, wherein he made a speech, by which he prevailed on the rest of the officers to concur with him in his design of returning home. After which he weighed immediately, and sailed for England. But, on his arrival, Montague found things in a very unexpected situation: Sir George Booth in the Tower, the parliament in full possession of their authority, and a warm charge against himself come to hand, from colonel Sydney. However, he set out for London, and attended the parliament; and gave so plausible an account of his conduct, that though they were dissatisfied with him, yet not having sufficient evidence against him, they contented themselves with dismissing him from his command.

After this escape, Mr. Montague retired to his own estate. But when other and more effectual measures were again adopted for restoring king Charles, he was replaced in his former post in the Navy by the influence of general Monk. He then sent the king a list of such officers in the fleet as might be confided in, and of such as he apprehended must be reduced by force: and he exerted himself to the utmost in bringing about the Restoration. He had the honour of convoying king Charles to England; and

and that prince, two days after his landing at Dover, made him a knight of the garter. Our admiral's services were also rewarded soon after by the king's creating him baron Montague of St. Neots in the county of Huntingdon, viscount Hinchinbroke in the same county, and earl of Sandwich in Kent. He was likewise sworn a member of the privy-council, made master of the king's wardrobe, admiral of the narrow seas, and lieutenant-admiral to the duke of York, as lord-high-admiral of England. At the king's coronation his lordship carried St. Edward's staff, and was now looked upon as one of the principal ministers of state, as well as the person chiefly intrusted with the care of the fleet. And he constantly attended the council, when any transactions relating to foreign affairs were under debate.

In September, 1660, the earl of Sandwich went with a squadron of nine men of war to Helvoetsluys, to bring over the king's sister, the princess of Orange; and upon this occasion he received great honours in Holland. On the 24th of the same month, the fleet returned; and his majesty and the duke of York going on board the admiral's ship, named "The Resolution," lay there that night, and reviewed and examined the squadron next morning.

A treaty of marriage having been concluded between king Charles II. and the infanta of Portugal, with whom he was to receive a portion of 300,000*l.* the island of Bombay, in the East Indies, and the city of Tangier, in Africa; it became necessary to send a fleet to bring over the queen, and to secure the last-mentioned city against any attempt from the Moors. For this purpose, the earl of Sandwich was again sent with a numerous fleet, which sailed on the 19th of June, 1661, from the Downs, after having been
first

first visited by the duke of York. His lordship afterwards sailed directly for Tangier, which place was put into the hands of the English on the 30th of January, 1662, when the earl of Peterborough marched into it with an English garrison, and had the keys delivered to him by the Portuguese governor. The admiral then returned to Lisbon, where he received the queen's portion, consisting in money, bills of exchange, &c. and then sailed with her majesty for England, and arrived at Spithead on the 14th of May, 1662.

When the Dutch war began in 1664, the duke of York took upon him the command of the fleet as high-admiral; and the earl of Sandwich commanded the blue squadron, and by his industry and care a great number of the enemy's ships were taken, and the best part of their Bourdeaux fleet. In the great battle, fought on the 3d of June, 1665, wherein the Dutch lost their admiral, Opdam, and had eighteen men of war taken, and fourteen destroyed, a large share of the honour of the victory was justly given to the courage and conduct of the earl of Sandwich, who, about noon, fell, with the blue squadron, into the center of the enemy's fleet; and thereby began that confusion which ended, soon after, in a total defeat of the enemy.

Soon after this, the fleet, after having returned home to refit, was put under the command of the earl of Sandwich, as the duke of York had now repaired to court. And, on the 4th of September, 1665, the earl took eight Dutch men of war, and two of their best East-India ships, and twenty sail of their merchantmen. Also on the 9th of September, a part of the fleet fell in with eighteen of the Hollanders, the greatest part of which they took, with four men of war, and above 1000 prisoners.

On his return to England, the earl was received with distinguishing marks of royal favour; and our affairs in Spain requiring an extraordinary embassy, the king dispatched his lordship to the court of Madrid, to mediate a peace between the crowns of Spain and Portugal. The earl of Sandwich managed this negotiation with great ability, and not only concluded a peace between those two nations to their mutual satisfaction, but also concluded with the court of Spain, says Dr. Campbell, the most beneficial treaty of commerce that ever was made for this nation.

On the breaking-out of the second Dutch war, his lordship went to sea with the duke of York, and commanded the blue squadron. The fleet was at sea the beginning of May, and on the 28th of that month came in sight of the Dutch fleet about break of day; an engagement began between the two fleets about eight o'clock in the morning. And on this occasion the earl, in the Royal James, a ship of an hundred guns, gave the most signal proofs of his valour. He was first attacked by a large Dutch ship, named the Great Holland, commanded by captain Brackell, followed by a fire-ship; which was soon seconded by the Dutch rear-admiral, Van Ghent, with his whole squadron. Brackell, though of much less force, depending on the assistance of his friends, who had the advantage of the wind, grappled the Royal James; and, while the earl was engaged with him, he was attacked by Van Ghent, with several other men of war and fire-ships, against all which he defended himself with great vigour. The Dutch rear-admiral, Van Ghent, was soon taken off by a cannon-shot; three of their fire-ships, and a man of war, which would have laid the earl on board, on the other side, were sunk; and, at length, he was disengaged from Brackell's
ship,

ship, with which he had been grappled an hour and an half, and had reduced her to the state of a wreck, wounded her commander, killed and wounded almost all his officers, and above two-thirds of his men. He had now defended himself and repulsed the enemy with the utmost bravery for five hours together, and it was believed might have made an honourable retreat. But he would not be persuaded to desist from the unequal combat, though not seconded, as he ought to have been, by his squadron. At length, another Dutch fire-ship, covered by the smoke of the enemy, grappled the Royal James, and set her in a flame. And the brave earl perished in her, with several other gallant officers.

Such was the end, on the 28th of May, 1672, of Edward, earl of Sandwich. He was a nobleman of great abilities, of extraordinary courage, of uncommon skill in all naval affairs, and possessed of many personal accomplishments. Bishop Parker says, he was "a gentleman adorned with all the virtues of Alcibiades, and untainted by any of his vices; of high birth; capable of any business; full of wisdom; a great commander at sea and land; and also learned and eloquent, affable, liberal, and magnificent." The earl was always against regarding any qualification but merit, in the preferments of the navy, declaring upon all occasions against shewing favour to the relations of peers, or other persons of distinction, to the prejudice of such as had served longer, or better: and this rendered him the idol of the fleet.

The earl's body was found near a fortnight after the engagement, an account of which, and of the manner in which he was buried, was inserted in the Gazette in the following terms: "Harwich,

June 10th, 1672. This day the body of the right honourable Edward, earl of Sandwich, being, by the order upon his coat, discovered floating on the sea, by one of his majesty's ketches, was taken up, and brought into this port; where Sir Charles Littleton, the governor, receiving it, took immediate care for its embalming and honourable disposing, till his majesty's pleasure should be known concerning it; for the obtaining of which, his majesty was attended at Whitehall the next day by the master of the said vessel, who, by Sir Charles Littleton's order, was sent to present his majesty with the George, found about the body of the said earl, which remained at the time of its taking up, in every part unblemished, saving some impressions made by the fire upon his face and breast: upon which, his majesty, out of his princely regard to the great deservings of the said earl, and his unexampled performances in this last act of his life, hath resolved to have his body brought up to London, there, at his charge, to receive the rites of funeral due to his great quality and merits." Accordingly, on the 3d of July, the body being laid in the most solemn manner in a sumptuous barge at Deptford, was brought by water to Westminster, attended by the royal barges; the barges of the nobility, of the lord mayor, and of the several companies of the city of London, decorated suitably to the melancholy occasion: the trumpets and other music on board sounded the deepest notes expressive of sorrow: the guns at the Tower were fired as the procession passed, and those at Whitehall when the corpse was conveyed to Westminster-abbey. Eight earls supported his son, Edward earl of Sandwich, the chief mourner; and most of the nobility, and other persons of quality then in town, assisted at the funeral obsequies of this illustrious admiral, whose

whose remains were deposited in the duke of Al-
bemarle's vault, on the north side of Henry the Se-
venth's chapel.

* * * *Autho. itics.* Lediard's Naval History. Camp-
bell's Lives of the Admirals. British Biography,
8vo. vol. 6.

THE LIFE OF

EDWARD HYDE,

EARL OF CLARENDON,

Lord High Chancellor of England.

[A. D. 1608, to 1674]

THIS celebrated statesman and historian was
descended from an ancient family in Cheshire,
and he was the third son of Henry Hyde, Esq; a
gentleman possessed of a small fortune, on the in-
come of which he resided at Dinton, near Hindon,
in Wiltshire, where the future chancellor was born
in 1608.

He was educated under the private tuition of the
vicar of Dinton, till he was turned of thirteen
years of age, when he was sent to Oxford, and, in
Lent term, 1622, became a student of Magdalen-
hall,

hall, where, having improved his natural endowments by academical learning, he removed from thence, after he had taken the degree of bachelor of arts, to the Middle Temple; there he studied the law for several years, and acquired great reputation in that honourable profession.

When the lawyers resolved to express publicly their disapprobation of Prynne's *Histriomastix*, a treatise against plays and masques, levelled at Charles I. and his queen; Mr. Hyde and Mr. Whitlocke were chosen by the Temple to be Managers, for that society, of a masque presented to their majesties at Whitehall by the gentlemen of the inns of courts, on Candlemas Day, 1634.

Mr. Hyde continued his attention to the business of his profession, seemingly without any intention to distinguish himself in public life, till the year 1640, when he was elected a member of the house of commons for Wotton Bassett, in Wiltshire. In parliament his abilities were soon discovered by the leading men of the house; and he shewed himself, through the course of the session, to be a steady and active patriot, wholly intent upon the welfare and tranquillity of the nation, then in no small ferment upon many occasions.

But though this parliament was abruptly dissolved, to the great grief and disappointment of Mr. Hyde, and all good men, the king and kingdom, as things stood, could not long remain without another, which met the third of November following, when Mr. Hyde served for the town of Saltash in Cornwall. His political talents began now to be very much taken notice of, and he was appointed chairman of several committees at that troublesome æra; and he acquired great reputation as a true patriot by his conduct as manager of a conference with the house of lords for abolishing
the

the oppressive jurisdiction of a tribunal called, "The court of York;" and likewise by his learned and eloquent speech against the six judges who gave their opinions to the king in support of the legality of levying ship-money.

But though Mr. Hyde was very active in endeavouring to redress the real grievances of the nation, he was, on the other hand, as watchful to prevent innovations in the constitution; and a short bill being brought in to take away the bishops' votes in parliament, and to leave them out in all commissions of the peace, or any thing that had relation to temporal affairs, he was very earnest for the throwing it out, and said, "That, from the time that parliaments began, bishops had always been a part of it; that, if they were taken out, there would be no representatives of the clergy; which would be a great injustice."

Lord Falkland, who always sat next to him (which was so much observed, that, if they came not in together as they usually did, every body left the place for him that was absent), upon this occasion opposed Mr. Hyde, and many of the house were so pleased to see the two inseparable friends divided on so important a point, that they could not conceal their joy, especially when they saw Mr. Hyde much surprised, as indeed he was, having never discovered the least inclination in the other towards such sentiments; and, therefore, they flattered themselves, that they might, in time, work the lord Falkland to a farther opposition to the measures of the court; but therein they found themselves much mistaken.

Mr. Hyde was one of the committee employed to draw up the articles of impeachment against the earl of Strafford, but being of the same opinion as the king, that he had been guilty only of misdemea-

nours, not of high-treason, he refused to have any hand in the proceedings by attainder. In a word, he acted upon patriotic independent principles in the house, never opposing the king but for his own and the public benefit, nor adhering to opposition any longer than while they had only the same glorious end in view. As soon, therefore, as the commons went beyond what he conceived to be the line of their duty, and began to assume the executive power vested in the crown, he left them, and repaired to the king at York, who was pleased to confer upon him the honour of knighthood, and made him chancellor of the exchequer.

He attended his majesty to Nottingham, where he set up his standard in August, 1642; but being a gentleman of the robe, and not of the sword, we hear little of him in the course of the civil war, till the treaty at Uxbridge in 1644, at which he was one of the commissioners for the king; where he shewed himself a strenuous assertor of the king's right to the militia; and vindicated the king's council from any mismanagement in reference to the affairs of Ireland, with which the parliament charged them.

The treaty being broken off, and the civil war going on, Sir Edward Hyde's province, for some time, was to attend the prince of Wales in the West. Upon the decline of the king's affairs, he embarked from Pendennis castle, in Cornwall, for the isle of Scilly, accompanied by the lords Capel and Culpepper, and from thence he went to Jersey, to meet the prince of Wales; but being greatly disgusted at the prince's removal to Paris in 1646, he refused to attend him there; and remained two years and an half at Jersey, where he employed his time in composing great part of his well-known "History of the Rebellion."

In the month of May, 1648, Sir Edward Hyde received a letter from the queen, consort to Charles I. requiring him, pursuant to his majesty's commands, transmitted to her from England, to give his personal attendance on the prince of Wales at Paris by a certain day; but the time was expired before he received the letter; and on his arrival at Rouen in Normandy, he found that the prince of Wales was gone to Flanders; upon which he followed him, and arriving at Dunkirk, he received intelligence, that his royal highness was on board a fleet, commanded by prince Rupert, which had set sail for the Thames, and had left orders for Sir Edward, and his companion, lord Cottington, to follow him. The governor of Dunkirk provided them a frigate, in which they set sail to join the fleet; but they were attacked, boarded, and plundered by Ostend pirates, which obliged them to put back; and the expedition failing, the royal fleet being refused admittance at Yarmouth, it was obliged to steer for Helvoetsluys; from whence the prince of Wales went to the Hague, and there Sir Edward Hyde and lord Cottington joined him.

In November 1649, they were sent by Charles II. joint ambassadors to the court of Spain, to solicit succours to enable the king to recover his crown; but the parliament fleet appearing upon the coast of Spain, deterred the Spanish ministry from aiding the royal cause; and after a tedious negotiation they returned the following year.

Upon their arrival at the Hague, the king gave them an account of his unfortunate expedition to Scotland, and his defeat at Worcester; and, as Sir Edward had given his advice against this expedition before he set out for Spain, he was not a little displeas'd that it had been undertaken in his absence. And finding he could be no longer useful to

the king by his personal attendance at a debauched court, he retired to Antwerp, where he had settled his family. Here he left no measures unattempted by letters and negociations to compass the Restoration; but this correspondence his enemies about the king misrepresented, and pretended that he was secretly negotiating with Cromwell.

But in the end, having baffled all the designs of his adversaries, the most potent of whom was the queen-dowager, and fully convinced the king, not only of his innocence, but of his zealous, constant attachment to his cause, his majesty was pleased to make him lord-chancellor of England in 1657, upon the death of Sir Edward Herbert, the last lord-keeper of the great seal. He received the great seal very unwillingly: the king first employing the marquis of Ormond, with whom his majesty knew he had an entire friendship, to dispose him to receive it; which he could not accomplish, Sir Edward giving him many reasons why there was no need of such an officer, or indeed any use of the great seal till the king, then at Bruges, should come into England.

The marquis told the king of it; who went himself to the chancellor's lodging, and took notice of what the marquis had told him; and said, he would deal truly and freely with him; that the principal reason which he had alleged against receiving the seal was the greatest reason that disposed him to confer it upon him; and then he pulled letters out of his pocket, which he had received from Paris, for the grant of several reversions in England of offices, and of lands. He mentioned to him also many other importunities with which he was every day disquieted; and that he saw no other remedy to give himself ease, than to put the seal out of his own keeping into such hands as would not be importuned,

portuned, and would help him to deny : and thereupon he conjured Sir Edward to receive that trust, with many promises of his favour and protection : whereupon the earl of Bristol, and secretary Nicholas, using likewise their persuasions, he submitted to the king's pleasure.

The chief administration of affairs was now, in a very great degree, in the hands of the lord-chancellor ; of whose capacity, as well as integrity, his majesty had had so long and convincing experience, that he was the more ready to leave all to him. Oliver's death, and the various revolutions that happened upon it in England, revived the hopes and activity of the chancellor to promote the restoration of his royal master to his lost dominions ; and most, if not all, the royal declarations, which were published, were of his drawing-up. The Restoration being happily effected, Sir Edward, as he had been partaker of the sufferings of his sovereign, had now a proportionable share in his good fortune.

Besides the office of lord-high-chancellor, which was confirmed to him, he was employed as a statesman, and the king entrusted the management of the public business of the nation chiefly to him. In 1660, he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford, and created a peer of the realm by the title of baron Hyde, in Wiltshire ; and, in 1661, he was raised to the dignity of viscount Cornbury ; and earl of Clarendon.

But his situation was far from being desirable, being attended with many difficulties and vexations, owing to the thoughtless disposition of the king, who had been very liberal of his promises to his friends during his exile, without considering how he should perform them ; and now being importuned daily for places, pensions, and other gratifications,

cations, he answered these solicitations with a gracious smile, and referred them for satisfaction to the lord-chancellor, who being unable to gratify their desires, they threw the blame upon him, became his bitter enemies, and entered into schemes to ruin him. A most favourable opportunity soon offered, which seemed well calculated to procure his disgrace. His eldest daughter had been maid of honour to the king's sister, married to the prince of Orange, and, during Miss Hyde's residence at the Hague in this station, the duke of York, afterwards James II. fell in love with her, and made dishonourable proposals; but these being rejected, he privately married her. After the Restoration, the lady came to England, and, being with child, insisted upon the duke's avowing the marriage, which he endeavoured to evade; but the duchess persisting, "that she would have it known that she was his wife, let him use her ever so ill for it," the duke communicated the whole affair to the king; and requested permission to acknowledge her publicly. Her father, upon the first intimation of the affair, fell into such apparent fits of rage, and so rashly devoted his daughter to death, as a proper punishment for her presumption, that his friends thought he was unnaturally severe; and his enemies said he over-acted his part as a political dissembler; and the latter opinion prevailed, when it was found that the king was easily reconciled to the match, and that the reconciliation of the chancellor with his daughter followed close upon it; and the malice of his enemies suggested the idea of a strange accusation against him, in consequence of this family-alliance with the crown. It was said, that he had contrived the king's marriage with the infant of Portugal, with a view of securing the succession to the throne, on the issue of his daughter the duchess of York; for it had been declared before the king's marriage took place

place by the Spanish ambassador, and the earl of Bristol, that the intended queen could have no children; and this declaration was verified in the sequel, for the queen was barren. However, the imputation on lord Clarendon was groundless; for it was well known that the great inducement to this marriage was the dowry, which was to be 500,000 l. besides the cession of Tangier and Bombay, to which was annexed a commercial treaty with Portugal, highly beneficial to the English merchants.

The first open attack made upon the lord chancellor was by the earl of Bristol, who, in 1663, exhibited articles of high-treason against him in the house of lords. And, what is still more remarkable, there had been a long course of uninterrupted friendship both at home and abroad, both in prosperous and adverse fortune, between the earl of Bristol and the earl of Clarendon; so that the same seemed to be, like the Gordian knot, indissoluble: but the chancellor refusing a small boon, as the earl of Bristol took it to be, which, it was said, was the passing a patent in favour of a court-lady, this soured the other's spirits, never dreaming he should be denied, that his thoughts suggested nothing to him from thenceforwards but malice and the highest revenge.

The whole charge teeming with inconsistency, and being evidently the effect of violent anger, could not affect him capitally; but several particulars in the accusation gave his enemies an opportunity to lessen him in the king's esteem, so that, though he was honourably cleared from this prosecution without a trial, the judges having given it as their opinion, that there was not sufficient ground for proceeding farther, yet it laid the foundation of his future disgrace. And from this time intrigues were carried on against him by the duke of Buckingham,

ingham, Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards earl of Arlington, and colonel Titus; and at length the king grew tired of the chancellor's private remonstrances against his irregular life; his mistresses likewise complained to him of the disrespect shewn them by his lordship; and these discontents in the palace uniting with the clamours of the people against him, his majesty thought proper to send for the great seal in August, 1667, which was no sooner delivered up, and his lordship removed from the exercise of all public trust and employment, but the commons proceeded to draw up articles against him; and Mr. Seymour, in their name, impeached him, at the bar of the house of lords, of treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours.

Thus was the disgrace of this great man accomplished, after he had enjoyed the king's confidence, and the most honourable office in the state, about seven years. During which time, the following incidents had rendered him extremely unpopular. His aversion to declaring war against the Dutch, though the nation had been grossly insulted by that country; his advising the sale of Dunkirk; erecting a superb palace in a time of war, and in the year of the great plague, in which too he made use of some stones which had been bought for the repair of St. Paul's cathedral, a circumstance sufficient to exasperate the superstitious; the disrespect with which he affected to treat the house of commons, and his manifest contempt of their privileges; and his opposition to the bill for liberty of conscience, in which his zeal for the Protestant religion overshot its mark, for, while he endeavoured to exclude Papists from toleration by opposing this bill, he forgot that it included Protestant Dissenters of every denomination, whom he thereby made his enemies.

A great

A great number of satirical pieces were published before and after his dismissal; and among the rest a song consisting of many stanzas, at the close of which was the following epigram, comprizing the principal heads of popular clamour against him. The song is intituled "CLARENDON'S HOUSE-WARMING."

Here lie the sacred bones
 Of Paul, beguiled of his stones.
 Here lie the golden briberies
 Of many ruined families.
 Here lies the cavalier's debenture-wall,
 Fixed on an eccentric basis:
 Here's Dunkirk town and Tangier-hall,
 The queen's marriage and all,
 The Dutchman's *Templum pacis*.

However, it must be confessed, that the people were too severe upon the fallen minister, and rather ungrateful; for it is an undoubted fact, that he curbed the prerogative of the crown, and prevented the designs of his brethren in office, particularly the earl of Southampton, lord-high treasurer, who wanted to make the king independent of parliaments, by procuring such a revenue to be settled on him for life, as would enable him to reign without calling them, except upon extraordinary emergencies, such as wars or rebellions.

Lord Clarendon perceiving he had no mercy to expect, by the virulent attacks made upon his character by almost all orders of men, and a new impeachment having been carried up to the lords against him by the commons, he thought proper to leave the kingdom. But before he embarked for his second and last exile, he drew up an apology in a petition to the house of lords, vindicating his

own conduct in the management of public affairs, and charging others with the miscarriages that had lately incensed the nation. The lords, upon reading it, sent two of the judges to desire a conference with the commons on the contents of it. But the duke of Buckingham, who was clearly aimed at in the petition, delivered it to the lower house, and, in his usual style of insult and ridicule, said, "The lords have commanded me to deliver to you this scandalous and seditious paper sent from the earl of Clarendon. They bid me present it to you, and desire you, in a convenient time, to send it to them again; for it has a style they are in love with, and therefore desire to keep it." Thus prejudiced, the commons read the petition; and the duke's friends had influence sufficient to carry the following vote, that it was "scandalous, malicious, and a reproach to the justice of the nation;" whereupon it was ordered by both houses to be burnt by the common hangman; a proceeding which was a much greater reproach to a nation, too much swayed by popular prejudice. Lord Clarendon retired to France, but he was very near being driven from that kingdom by the interest of his enemies: for, soon after he landed at Calais, he received orders from the French court to leave France instantly; but being confined to his bed with the gout, he petitioned for time; and, in the interval, the French court finding their political intrigues in England did not succeed as they expected, their behaviour to his lordship suddenly changed, and he was permitted to remain in that kingdom. The earl, upon this permission, set out for Avignon; and in his way thither, having taken up his lodgings in a small town called Eureux, he was assaulted in a violent and unexpected manner by a body of English, Irish, and Scotch seamen, who had entered into the service of France; and
who,

who, on the frequent complaints from the inhabitants of their ill behaviour, were to have been removed that very night. These desperadoes, being informed of lord Clarendon's arrival, pretended great arrears were due to them for wages in England, and that he should pay them before he left the town. They likewise thought they should be rewarded by the English government, if they killed him, and they had certainly effected it, having dragged him from his bed down into the courtyard of the house for that purpose, when providentially their own commanding officer, assisted by the officers of the police, rescued him, and seized the ring-leaders, three of whom were broke upon the wheel for this cruel attempt; and the French minister wrote a polite letter to his lordship in the king's name, expressing his majesty's concern for the affront and danger he had undergone.

The earl was succeeded in the seals by Sir Orlando Bridgman, by the title of Lord-keeper; in his chancellorship of Oxford, by archbishop Sheldon; and being informed, two or three years after his exile, that his daughter, the duchess of York, was turning, if not turned, Papist, he wrote a well-penned letter to the duke on the subject, as if his highness had been still a Protestant, though he knew him to be a concealed Papist, and another more at large to his daughter; wherein he used the freedom and authority, as well as the tenderness, of a parent, and manifested the great knowledge he had in polemical divinity, and the artifices of the church of Rome to gain profelytes.

After sojourning in different parts of France, he at last fixed his residence at Rouen in Normandy, where he died in the year 1674. His body was brought to England, and buried on the north side of Henry VIIIth's chapel in Westminster-abbey.

This

This great and learned chancellor, besides several letters, speeches, &c. of his that are extant, wrote, 1. A full Answer to an infamous and traitorous Libel, entituled, A Declaration of the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, expressing their Reasons and Grounds for passing their late Resolutions, touching no farther Address or Application to be made to the King. Lond. 1648, 4to. 2. The Difference and Disparity between the Estates and Conditions of George Duke of Buckingham, and Robert Earl of Essex. See Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, &c. Lond. 1672, 8vo. 3. Animadversions on Mr. Cressy's book, entituled, Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church, by Dr Stillingfleet, &c. Lond. 1674, 8vo. 4. A brief View and Survey of the dangerous and pernicious Errors to Church and State in Mr Hobbes's Book, The Leviathan. Oxon. 1676, 4to. 5. The History of the Rebellion, begun in 1641, &c. 3 vols. folio, and in 6 vols. 8vo. And, in 1759, three volumes more of his lordship's history were published by the university of Oxford, in 8vo. containing his life, as well as a continuation of his history, from the Restoration to his banishment. To these the reader is referred for a more ample account of his private life after his banishment, and of the affairs of England from the Restoration to that time; the limits of this work not admitting of tedious details of trifling incidents, much less of long political discussions and negociations.

* * *Authorities.* Whitlocke's Memorials. Lives of the Lord Chancellors, Lond. 1708. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times.

THE LIFE OF
SIR MATTHEW HALE,

Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench.

[A. D. 1609, to 1676.]

THIS great ornament of the law was the son of Robert Hale, Esq; a barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, a gentleman of such strict honour, that he threw up his practice at the bar, because he could not reconcile it to his conscience, that what is called giving colour in pleadings, and some other chicanes common to the profession, were reconcilable to that scrupulous exact veracity and justice required in a pious Christian. Upon this account he retired to the country, and lived upon the income of a small estate at Alderley, in Gloucestershire, where his son Matthew was born in 1609. Both his parents died while he was a child, and the care of his education devolved on his guardian Anthony Kingscot, Esq; who put him under the tuition of Mr. Staunton, vicar of Wotton-under-Edge, till the year 1626, when he was sent to Magdalen-hall, in Oxford, where he became a great proficient in learning; and continued for some time to be very assiduous at his studies. But some strolling players arriving at the university, his manners were corrupted by frequenting theatrical amusements; and he fell into many levities and extravagancies of youth, which took him off from his studies,

studies, and even gave him an aversion to them; so that he now began to learn manly exercises, and being robust and active, he succeeded so well in fencing, and the management of warlike weapons, as turned his thoughts to a military life, and induced him to accompany Mr. Sedgwick, his tutor, who was appointed chaplain to lord Vere, then serving in the Low Countries under the prince of Orange, to whom Mr. Hale intended to offer himself as a volunteer. But he was diverted from this course of life by a law-suit commenced against him for part of his paternal inheritance by Sir William Whitmore; and, upon this occasion, having recourse to Serjeant Glanville for his opinion on the case, that gentleman advised him to apply himself to the study of the law, and to embrace that profession. Mr. Hale took this advice, and was entered at Lincoln's-Inn, in the year 1629.

From this time, he gave up his disorderly company, and with it every kind of dissipation; and to make up for the time he had lost by idleness, he now applied so closely to his studies, that, it is said, he studied for many years at the rate of sixteen hours daily. He had before been very expensive and gaudy in his apparel; but he now neglected his dress so much, that being a robust well-made man, and but meanly clothed, he was seized by a press-gang as a fit person to serve his majesty; and this accident made him more circumspect for the future, but it did not make him to run into any extremes, his apparel being neat, but plain.

His confirmed resolutions to reform his life likewise arose from another extraordinary incident: he went out of town with some other young students on a party of pleasure, when one of them drank so much wine, though Mr. Hale used his utmost endeavours to prevent it, that he fell down before
them

them to all appearance dead, but, with proper assistance was, with great difficulty, recovered. Upon this occasion Mr. Hale retired to another room, and shutting himself in, fervently prayed to God for the life of his friend, and likewise for himself, that he might be forgiven for countenancing such excess; and he made a solemn vow, that he would never again keep such company, nor drink a toast to his dying-day; and in both these points he religiously kept his word.

Not satisfied with the law-books then extant, he was very diligent in searching ancient records, and from these, and collections out of the books he had read, he composed a most valuable common-place book. Mr. Hale's researches into antiquity were aided by the learned Mr. Selden, who, very early in life, formed an acquaintance with him, and had so great an esteem for him, that he appointed him to be one of his executors. Mr. Noy, the attorney-general, likewise directed his studies; and such an intimacy sprung up between them, that Mr. Hale was usually called, Young Noy.

Mr. Hale was called to the bar a short time before the open rupture between king Charles I. and his parliament; and at this critical juncture it was extremely difficult for the gentlemen of the robe to act in such a manner as to preserve independency in their principles, and to steer clear of danger. Our young counsellor, however, had read the life of Titus Pomponius Atticus, the celebrated Epicurean philosopher and Roman orator, who, during the wars of Cæsar and Pompey, and of Anthony and Brutus, conducted himself with such address, that he was esteemed and caressed by all parties; and Mr. Hale made him the model for his own behaviour, closely adhering to the two favourite maxims of the Roman philosopher, "To engage

in no faction, nor meddle with public affairs :” —
 “Constantly to favour and relieve the oppressed.”
 Thus he ingratiated himself with the Royalists, by benevolent assistance to distressed cavaliers ; and he procured the esteem of the parliamentarians by his integrity and great abilities in his profession, so that he was employed as counsel by both parties ; and though he carefully avoided giving offence, he did not want spirit and resolution upon proper occasions. He was one of the counsel for the earl of Strafford, for archbishop Laud, and for Charles I ; but the king not acknowledging the jurisdiction of the court, he had no opportunity to display his eloquence in the royal cause ; but, in the defence of lord Craven, he pleaded with such strength of argument, that the attorney-general threatened him for appearing against the government ; upon which he boldly replied, “ That he was pleading in defence of those laws which the government had declared they would maintain and preserve, and he was doing his duty to his client ; so that he was not to be daunted by threatenings.” In 1643, he took the covenant, and sat several times with other laymen in the assembly of divines. He was then in great esteem by the parliament, and employed by them as a lawyer upon many important affairs. In particular he was appointed one of the commissioners to treat with those nominated by the king upon the reduction of Oxford. In this capacity he performed a signal service to the republic of letters, by entreating general Fairfax to spare the university, with all its ancient treasures of learning.

Though he sincerely lamented the fate of Charles I. yet he thought it his duty to take the engagement to the Commonwealth ; and, in 1652, he was one of the able men in the law appointed by

by the parliament to revise and reform the laws of England.

Oliver Cromwell, as soon as he was made protector, rightly judging that the countenance of a man of Mr. Hale's abilities and character on the bench of justice, would give weight to his government, never ceased his importunities, till he accepted the office of one of the justices of the common bench, as it was then called: for which purpose he was made by writ a serjeant in January, 1654. He had great scruples concerning the legality of the authority under which he was to act as a judge; and, after he had been two or three circuits, he refused to try criminal causes; and he was the more readily excused, because, upon some occasions, he had acted with remarkable integrity and firmness, even in opposition to the power from whence he enjoyed his commission. Dr. Burnet, in his life of Sir Matthew Hale, produces one instance which ought to be transmitted, with his name, to latest posterity, if it were only as a mirror for judges. "Soon after he was made a judge, a trial was brought on before him at Lincoln assizes, against a soldier of the garrison there, for the murder of a townsman who had been of the king's party. The townsman was in a field with a fowling-piece on his shoulder, which the soldier observing, he went up to him, and told him, he was acting contrary to an order made by the protector, "that none who had been of the king's party should carry arms," and thereupon would have forced his gun from him; but he, being stronger than the soldier, threw him down, and, having beat him, left him. The soldier, however, soon went into the town, and telling a comrade how he had been used, prevailed on him to assist him in taking revenge. Accordingly they both watched his coming to town; the comrade de-

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manded his gun, which he refusing, the same soldier struck him, and as they were struggling the other came behind him, and ran his sword into his body, which killed him on the spot. It happened in the time of the assizes, so that they were both tried soon after the fact. Against the comrade there was no evidence of malice prepense; he was therefore found guilty only of manslaughter, and burnt in the hand; but the other, on the clearest evidence, was convicted of murder, and though colonel Whalley, governor of the garrison, came into court, and urged, that the man was killed for disobeying the protector's order, and that the soldier had but done his duty, yet judge Hale paid no regard to his reasoning, nor to some menaces he threw out; for he not only passed sentence against him, but ordered execution to be done so suddenly, that there could be no time to apply for a reprieve. Upon the demise of Oliver, he not only excused himself from accepting the mourning that was sent him, but also refused to accept the new commission tendered to him by Richard Cromwell, alleging, "that he could no longer act under such authority." In the parliament, convened by Richard Cromwell in January, 1659, he was elected one of the burgesses for the university of Oxford, in gratitude for the service he had formerly done that learned body. In the Healing Parliament of 1660, which recalled Charles II. he was knight of the shire for the county of Gloucester; and moved the house, that a committee might be appointed to look into the propositions that had been made, and the concessions that had been offered, by Charles I. during the civil war, that from thence such propositions might be digested, as they should think fit to be sent over to the king at Breda.

In the space of a month after the king's restoration, he was recalled to the degree of a serjeant at law, by the royal writ, Cromwell's being deemed illegal; and, upon settling the courts of Westminster-hall in November, he was constituted chief baron of the exchequer. When the lord-chancellor Clarendon delivered him his commission, he told him, "that if the king could have found an honest and fitter man for that employment, he would not have advanced him to it; and that he had therefore preferred him, because he knew none that deserved it so well." In this station he continued eleven years, and he very much raised the reputation and practice of his court, by his impartial administration of justice, his indefatigable diligence, and his great exactness in trials. This gave occasion to the only complaint that was made against him; "that he did not dispatch matters quick enough;" but his delay generally proved decisive, so that there were seldom any new trials by appeal from his judgment. It was usual for persons, in such high stations as his, to have the honour of knighthood conferred upon them; but he was desirous to avoid it, and therefore did not go to court, which the lord-chancellor observing, sent for him to his house upon business, when he knew the king was to be there; and when they met, he told his majesty "there was his modest chief baron;" upon which his majesty insisted upon making him a knight. It is recorded of this great man, that he manifested such an aversion to the very appearance of bribery, as was construed into affectation; and some remarkable instances are given of this his scrupulous disposition; one of which may suffice to determine his character.

Upon one of his circuits, a gentleman, who had a trial to come on at the assizes, sent him a buck

for his table; upon which, when he heard his name mentioned in court, he asked, if he was not the same person that had sent him the buck, and being answered in the affirmative, he told him, he could not suffer the trial to go on, till he had paid him for his buck; to which the gentleman answered, "that he never sold venison, and that he had done no more to him, than to every judge that had gone the circuit;" but all would not do, for the chief baron would not suffer the trial to proceed till he had paid for the venison; and it appeared that he was right, for the gentleman withdrew the record, which plainly shewed he intended the present should influence him.

Sir Matthew Hale, agreeably to one of the maxims of Pomponus Atticus, now favoured the Dissenters, thinking that they were oppressed in this reign; and he readily joined with the lord-keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and the learned Dr. Wilkins, bishop of Chester, in a bill for the comprehension of the more moderate Dissenters within the pale of the Established Church, and a limited indulgence to others; but the design proved abortive, the clergy of the establishment exerting themselves with great violence against it; and by their influence the bill miscarried in the house of commons.

In 1671, our learned and upright judge was promoted to the high office of lord chief-justice of all England, vacant by the death of Sir John Keeling. This promotion gave great satisfaction to the people, who highly applauded the king's choice; for they considered Sir Matthew Hale, in his capacity of chief-justice of the court of King's-bench, as the guardian of their liberties, and thought they could not be better deposited than in the hands of a judge, who thoroughly understood them, and who possessed courage and integrity to maintain the sac-
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cred trust reposed in him: so far were they in his time from considering this high officer as an instrument of regal prerogative, ready upon all occasions to sacrifice the rights and privileges of the people to the will of the sovereign, signified by his support of arbitrary ministers of state. But he held this important post only four years and a half, for he was suddenly attacked with an inflammation of his midriff, in the beginning of the year 1676, which, in two days, reduced him so very low, that he found himself unable to go through the fatigue of public business, and therefore he solicited a writ of ease, which being delayed, he resigned in February, and he died in the month of December of the same year. He was interred in the church-yard of Alderly; for he did not approve of the indecent practice of burying in churches, but used to say, "the churches were for the living, and the church-yards for the dead."

Sir Matthew Hale was twice married, and had ten children by his first lady, but he survived all but his eldest daughter, and his youngest son. The character of this upright judge was as laudable in private, as in public life. He was eminent for piety, hospitality, and charity, and much commended for his judgment in the choice of the objects of his benevolence. In a word, we have not a finer picture in modern history, of a great and good man, than is exhibited in the life of Sir Matthew Hale; as it is written at large by Dr. Burnet, the famous bishop of Salisbury.

During the vacations of the law, he amused himself with the study of natural and moral philosophy and mathematicks, in which sciences he was a writer of no small repute, for the time in which he lived: but his fame as an author is chiefly

founded upon an elaborate work, intituled, *Historia Placitorum Coronæ*; the History of the Pleas of the Crown. first published in 1736, from his original manuscript; the several references to the records being examined by the originals, and large notes added by Sollom Emlyn, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq; in two volumes folio. By his will he bequeathed all his law-manuscripts, which he had been collecting upwards of forty years, to the society of Lincoln's-Inn; and he ordered that they should be bound, and kept safe together, by chaining them, not to be lent out or disposed of; but if any of his posterity, being members of that society, should desire to transcribe any book, and give good security to restore it again in a prefixed time, they were empowered to lend one volume at a time. And he calls them "A treasure not fit for every man's view:" nor, says he, is every man capable of making use of them.

The list of his law-tracts, and miscellaneous works of less note, are to be found in The General Biographical Dictionary, in the Biographia Britannica, and in Burnet's Life; to which authorities we stand indebted for our concise memoirs of this illustrious magistrate.

THE LIFE OF
ANDREW MARVELL.

[A. D. 1620, to 1678.]

THIS renowned patriot was the son of Mr. Andrew Marvell, minister and schoolmaster of Kingston upon Hull, in Yorkshire, where he was born in the year 1620; and in early youth discovering a genius for letters, he was admitted (at thirteen years of age) a student in Trinity-college Cambridge. But he had not been long at the university before he was enticed from his studies by the Jesuits, and taken to London. Fortunately his father got early intelligence of this seduction, and finding him in a bookseller's shop, persuaded him to return to college, where he applied to his studies again with great assiduity, and took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1638, the eighteenth year of his age. About this time he lost his father, by a melancholy accident, the particulars of which are thus related. "On the shore of the Humber, opposite to Kingston, lived a lady of exemplary virtue and good sense, between whom and Mr. Marvell, the father, a close friendship subsisted; and this lady had an only daughter, the emblem of her mother, for every laudable accomplishment,

which made her so fond of this darling child, that she could scarcely bear to let her go out of her sight. Yet, upon the earnest request of her friend, Mr. Marvell, she permitted her to go to Kingston to stand godmother to one of his children, though she knew she must be absent at least one night. The next day, when the young lady came down to the water-side, in order to return home, she found the wind very high, and the passage so dangerous, that the watermen earnestly dissuaded her from crossing. But she, having never willingly disobliged her mother, and knowing that she would be miserable till she saw her again, resolved to hazard her life rather than prolong the anxiety of a fond parent: upon which Mr. Marvell, having with difficulty prevailed on some watermen to attempt the passage, accompanied the young lady; and just as they put off, apprehensive of the consequence, he flung his gold-headed cane on shore, desiring some friends who had attended them, if he perished, to give that cane to his son, and bid him remember his father: his fears were too just, for the boat soon overfet, and they both perished. The mother of the young lady was for some time inconsolable, but when her grief subsided; she reflected on young Marvell's loss, and determined to supply to him the want of a father; his future education therefore was at her expence, and she made him her heir."

With the assistance of this lady's fortune, the young gentleman was enabled to travel through most of the polite countries of Europe. It appears by his satirical poem, intituled, "Flecknoe, an English Priest at Rome," that he had visited that city, where it is thought he composed it. He was likewise in France, where he exercised his poetical talents upon Lancelot Joseph de Maniban, a French abbot, who pretended to characterise persons he had never seen,
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and to prognosticate their good or ill fortune from their hand-writing: the absurdities of this man he ridiculed in a Latin poem written upon the spot, and addressed to him. But we have no account of the time when this occurrence happened, nor any regular memoirs of him till his return to England, except a slight intimation that he passed some time at Constantinople, in the capacity of secretary to the English embassy. In 1653, he was employed by Oliver Cromwell as preceptor to a young gentleman of the name of Dutton; and, in 1657, he was appointed assistant Latin secretary to the protector, in conjunction with the celebrated John Milton. A short time before the Restoration, he was chosen to represent his native town in parliament, in which station, being constantly re-elected upon the calling of new parliaments, he served till his death; and it was his custom to send the particulars of the proceedings of the house of commons, on subjects of consequence, to the principal townsmen of Hull, always joining his opinion on the business in hand. And his constituents entertained so high a sense of their obligations to him, that they allowed him an honourable pension all the time that he represented them, and always treated him with the greatest respect.

Mr. Marvell merited the applause, not only of his constituents, but of all his virtuous countrymen, for his incorruptible integrity, of which a remarkable instance is given by Mr. Cooke, in his life of our patriot, prefixed to his edition of his works. He informs us, that Mr. Marvell had rendered himself obnoxious to government, both by his actions and his writings; and notwithstanding his proceedings were all contrary to his private interest, nothing could ever shake his resolution. Having one night been entertained by the

king, who took great delight in his company, his majesty, the next day, sent the lord-treasurer Danby to find out his lodging. Mr. Marvell, who then lodged up two pair of stairs in a court in the Strand, was writing when the lord-treasurer opened the door abruptly upon him. Surprized at the sight of so unexpected a visiter, he told him, he believed he had mistaken his way. Lord Danby replied, "Not now I have found Mr. Marvell;" telling him he came with a message from his majesty, which was, to know what he could do to serve him. But then coming to a serious explanation of his meaning, he told the lord-treasurer he knew the nature of courts full well, and was sufficiently sensible, that whoever is distinguished by a prince's favour, is expected to vote in his interest. Lord Danby told him, his majesty had only a just sense of his merits, in regard to which alone he desired to know whether there was any place at court he could be pleased with. These offers had no effect on him, though urged with the greatest earnestness. He told the lord-treasurer, he could not accept them with honour; for he must be either ungrateful to the king in voting against him, or false to his country in giving into the measures of the court; therefore the only favour he begged of his majesty was, that he would esteem him as dutiful a subject as any he had, and more in his proper interest in refusing his offers, than if he had embraced them. Lord Danby, finding no arguments could prevail, told him, that the king his master had ordered a thousand pounds for him, which he hoped he would receive, till he could think what farther to ask of his majesty. The last offer was rejected with the same steadiness as the first; though, as soon as the lord-treasurer was gone, he was forced to send to a friend to borrow a guinea.

In 1672, Mr. Marvell, with a public spirit becoming his patriotic character, engaged in a controversy with Dr. Samuel Parker, at that time archdeacon of Canterbury, and afterwards bishop of Oxford. This divine had signalized himself by his zeal for the hierarchy of the church of England, by defending and encouraging prosecutions against all Non-conformists. In 1670, he had published a book, intituled, "Ecclesiastical Polity," which being warmly opposed, the following year he published, "A Defence of it;" but what particularly excited Mr. Marvell to attack him, was his preface or dedication to bishop Bramhall, in which he favours unlimited monarchy, and recommends a rigorous prosecution of all Dissenters from the Established Church. His "Ecclesiastical Polity" is a bitter libel upon the religious and civil rights of mankind. Marvell, now fully convinced of the dangerous tendency of such books, was determined to expose the author, and, if possible, to drive him out of the field of controversy with disgrace. This he happily effected by a tract called, "The Rehearsal transposed;" in which, with great strength of argument, and much wit and humour, he points out the absurdity of Parker's tenets. To this the doctor published an answer, but without his name; whereupon Mr. Marvell, in 1673, published, "A second part of his Rehearsal transposed;" occasioned by two letters, the first, printed by a nameless author, intituled, "The Reproof, &c." the second, left for Mr. Marvell at a friend's house, subscribed J. G. and concluding with these words: "If thou darest to print or publish any lie or libel against doctor Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat." Several other anonymous pieces were published against Mr. Marvell in favour of Parker; but the patriot had so greatly the advantage,

that he silenced the doctor, and humbled his whole party; for even the king himself, in behalf of whose unlimited power Parker had written, was charmed with the wit of Marvell's Rehearsal; and it was read with avidity by all ranks of people; so that the archdeacon, for very shame, was obliged to retire from London, and did not trouble the press again for many years.

Our steady and active friend to the interests of religious and civil liberty attended closely to the duties of his parliamentary trust from this time to 1676, without engaging in controversial writing; his hours of avocation from his attendance in parliament being chiefly employed in writing to his constituents, and to his particular friends, the most instructive and entertaining accounts of the affairs of the nation, and of the intrigues of the court. These epistles, which are very curious, make part of his works, which highly merit the attention of every friend to the constitution of his country.

In the year abovementioned, Mr. Marvell published another controversial piece, intituled, "Mr. Smirk, or the Divine in Mode, being certain Annotations on the Animadversions on 'The Naked Truth.'" Together with a short historical Essay, concerning General Councils, Creeds, and Impositions in Matters of Religion." "The Naked Truth" had been written in favour of religious liberty, in opposition to the arrogant claims of assuming churchmen, and particularly against Dr. Turner, then master of St. John's College, Cambridge, a great defender of ecclesiastical tyranny, and the imposition of human creeds and articles of faith: an answer to this book, under the title of "Animadversions on the Naked Truth," appeared soon after its publication, but the writer was not known; however, it was suspected to be his old
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antagonist Parker ; therefore our author once more employed his masterly pen in annotations upon the animadversions of his adversary, and silenced him a second time.

Having now completed his victory over the advocates for ecclesiastical despotism, he resolved to push the matter home upon administration, and to demonstrate, that in consequence of the principles maintained and propagated by those zealous high-churchmen, Popery and arbitrary government had made a considerable progress lately in England. This gave birth to his admired historical and political treatise on the growth of Popery and arbitrary government in England ; particularly from November 1675, when the parliament was prorogued, to the meeting of that national council in July, 1677. In this work, the principles of our excellent constitution are clearly laid down, and the limited, legal authority of the kings of England is ascertained ; and it is proved, that the glory of the monarch, and the happiness of the people, depend on a strict, mutual observance of the laws prescribed by the constitution. In comparing the sovereigns of England with other potentates, he has this remarkable passage : “ The kings of England are in nothing inferior to other princes, save in being more abridged from injuring their own subjects, but have as large a field as any of external felicity, wherein to exercise their own virtue, and to reward and encourage it in others. In short, there is nothing that comes nearer the divine perfection, than where the monarch, as with us, enjoys a capacity of doing all the good imaginable to mankind, under a disability to do all that is evil.”

He likewise draws a striking contrast of the miseries of a nation living under a Popish administration, opposed to the blessings enjoyed under a

Protestant government; and a stronger proof cannot be given of the complexion of the politics of the court at that æra, than the disgust taken by the ministry to the free sentiments contained in this book. It has been denied by some historians, that Charles II. either encouraged Popery, or governed arbitrarily: how then are we to account for the conduct of his ministry, respecting a publication, which tended to infuse into the minds of his subjects just notions of their allegiance to their sovereign, a veneration for the constitution of their country, and an attachment to the Protestant religion, as being the firm support of that constitution? It was styled in the Gazette a scandalous libel, and a reward of one hundred pounds was offered for the discovery of the hander of it to the press, and of fifty for the author, printer, or publisher: but it does not appear that any information was given in, either against the author, or any other persons, for no prosecution ensued. But Mr. Marvell had now rendered himself so obnoxious to administration, to the venal friends of a corrupt court, and to the heir-apparent to the crown, James duke of York, afterwards James II. who was himself a bigotted Roman Catholic, that he was beset on all sides by powerful enemies, who watched all his motions, and even proceeded so far as to menace his life; which obliged him to use great caution, to appear seldom in public, and frequently to conceal the place of his abode; yet it is presumed all his care proved ineffectual to preserve him from their vengeance, for he died in August, 1678, not without strong suspicions of being poisoned. The public, however, reaped the benefits of his patriotism the following year; for his speeches in parliament, and his writings, had opened the eyes of several members of the house of commons, and those who had
been

been for many years obsequious to the court now formed a strong opposition to its measures; so that the king saw himself under a necessity, in the beginning of the year 1679, to dissolve this favourite assembly, which had sat for eighteen years, one long prorogation excepted, and had incurred the odious epithet of "The Pensionary Parliament." The new parliament, which met in March 1679, seemed to have imbibed the sentiments of the deceased patriot; the growth of Popery, the arbitrary measures of the ministry, and the expediency of excluding the duke of York from the succession, were the chief objects that engaged their attention, which produced their dissolution in the month of July, in the same year. But the spirit of civil liberty was now gone forth among the people, and the next parliament, which met in 1680, still more steadily opposed the Popish succession; and the same expedient to ward off this fatal blow was made use of; this parliament was likewise dissolved in 1681, and no other was called during the remainder of the reign of Charles II; for a new race of patriots had sprung up, as it were, from the ashes of Andrew Marvell, whose measures against the court had such an influence, that the ministry dreaded a new parliament; and though some of them fell a sacrifice to their zeal, yet it may with great truth be asserted, that the vigorous opposition of Andrew Marvell, and of those illustrious patriots who immediately succeeded him, and whose lives will be given in the course of this volume, laid the foundation of the glorious Revolution.

In 1668, the inhabitants of the town of Kingston upon Hull, to testify their grateful remembrance of Mr. Marvell's patriotic services, collected a sum of money to erect a monument over his grave, in the parish church of St. Giles's in the Fields, London; but

but the bigotted rector would not suffer any monument, or inscription, to be placed there; so that this laudable design was laid aside. The epitaph drawn up on the occasion is a manly composition; and it is hoped, that the insertion of it, in *THE BRITISH PLUTARCH*, may, in some measure, answer the best use of monumental inscriptions, that of exhibiting to the sons and heirs of freedom a bright example of active and irreproachable patriotism.

Near this place

Lieth the body of *ANDREW MARVELL*, Esq.

A man so endowed by nature,
 So improved by education, study, and travel,
 So consummated by experience and learning;
 That, joining the most peculiar grace of wit
 With a singular penetration and strength of judgment,
 And exercising all these in the whole course of his life,
 With unalterable steadiness in the ways of virtue,
 He became the ornament and example of his age;
 Beloved by good men, feared by bad, admired by all;
 Though imitated, alas! by few;
 And scarce paralleled by any.

But a tomb-stone can neither contain his character,
 Nor is marble necessary to transmit it to posterity:
 It is engraved on the minds of this generation,
 And will be always legible in his inimitable writings.
 Nevertheless,

He having served near 20 years successively in parliament,
 And that with such wisdom, dexterity, integrity, & courage,
 As became a true Patriot;

The town of Kingston upon Hull,
 From whence he was constantly deputed to that assembly,
 Lamenting, in his death, the public loss,
 Have erected this monument of their grief and gratitude,

1688.

He died in the 58th year of his age,
On the 16th day of August, 1678.

*Heu fragile humanum genus! heu terrestria vana!
Heu quam spectatum continet urna virum!*

An elegant edition of the works of Andrew Marvell, in three volumes, quarto, was published by captain Edward Thompson, in 1776.

* * * *Authorities.* Cooke's Life of Andrew Marvell prefixed to his works, in 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1727. Macaulay's Hist. of England. Biog. Britan.

THE LIFE OF

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER,

EARL OF SHAFTESBURY,

Lord High Chancellor of ENGLAND.

(A. D. 1621, to 1683.)

THIS able and honest statesman was the only son of Sir John Cooper, of Rockborn, in the county of Southampton, bart. by Anne, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Anthony Ashley, of Winborne St. Giles, in the county of Dorset, bart. where he was born in the year 1621.

His

His father dying before he was ten years of age, he succeeded to an estate of 8000 l. per annum. Being a boy of uncommon parts, his guardians sent him to Oxford at the age of fifteen, where he became a fellow-commoner of Exeter-college, under the tuition of the famous Dr. John Prideaux, who was then rector of it. He is said to have studied assiduously there for about two years: he then removed to Lincoln's-inn, where he applied himself, with great vigour, to the study of the law, and especially to that part of it which gave him a perfect insight into the constitution of this kingdom.

In the nineteenth year of his age, he was elected for Tewksbury, in Gloucestershire, in the parliament which met at Westminster on the thirteenth of April, 1640.

The outlines of a true patriot, and of an able politician, were discovered very early in his lordship's character, by an amiable instance of his loyalty to his king, and of his regard for the public tranquillity; for at the beginning of the civil war, he repaired to CHARLES I. at Oxford, offered his assistance, and projected a scheme, not for subduing or conquering his country, but for reducing such as had either deserted or mistaken their duty to his majesty's obedience.

He was introduced to the king by lord Falkland, his friend, then secretary of state, and presented to him, as having something to offer to his majesty worthy consideration. At this audience he told the king, that he could put an end to the war, if his majesty pleased, and would assist him in it. The king answered, That he was a very young man for so great an undertaking. "Sire," replied he, "that will not be the worse for your affairs, provided I do the business." Whereupon the king shewing
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a willingness to hear him, he discoursed to him to this purpose :

“ The gentlemen, and men of estates, who first engaged in this war, seeing now, after a year or two, that it seems to be no nearer an end than it was at first, and beginning to be weary of it, I am very well satisfied, would be glad to be in quiet at home again, if they could be assured of redress of their grievances, and have their rights and liberties secured to them. This, I am satisfied, is the present temper generally throughout England, and particularly in those parts where my estate and concerns lie. If, therefore, your majesty will empower me to treat with the parliament garrisons, to grant them a full and general pardon, with an assurance that a general amnesty, arms being laid down on both sides, shall reinstate all things in the same posture they were before the war, and that then a free parliament shall do what more remains to be done for the settlement of the nation ; in that case, I will begin and try the experiment in my own country, and I doubt not but the good success I shall have there will open the gates of other adjoining garrisons, by bringing them the news of peace and security, on laying down their arms.” The king appearing to accede to these propositions, and Sir Anthony being furnished with full power, according to his desire, he repaired to Dorsetshire, where he managed a treaty with the garrisons of Pool, Weymouth, Dorchester, and others ; and was so successful in it, that one of them was actually put into his hands, as the others were to have been in a few days : but prince Maurice, who commanded some of the king’s forces, being with his army then in those parts, no sooner heard that the town was surrendered, but he presently marched into it, and gave the pillage of it to the soldiers.

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This Sir Anthony saw with the utmost displeasure, and could not forbear expressing his resentment to the prince, so that there passed some pretty hot words between them; but the violence was committed, and thereby his design broken. All that he could do was to send to the other garrisons he was in treaty with, to stand upon their guard, for that he could not secure his articles to them: and so this design proved abortive, and died in silence.

Sir Anthony, it is said, soon after projected another scheme in conjunction with serjeant Fountain, to terminate the war; which was, that the gentlemen of all the counties in England should arm the countrymen, and endeavour to suppress both armies; and this plan being partly carried into execution gave rise to the third army called the *Clubmen*, who struck so much terror into the armies of both the king and the parliament, that the former never forgave Sir Anthony. If all the leaders in this project had been true to their engagements, and had risen at the appointed time, it is thought they would have carried their point; but some of them failing, it miscarried.

Sir Anthony was afterwards invited to Oxford by a letter from his majesty; but perceiving that he was not confided in, that his behaviour was disliked, and his person in danger, he retired to the parliament quarters, and soon after went up to London, where he was well received by that party, to which he then adhered. He accepted a commission from the parliament, and, raising forces in Dorsetshire, took Wareham by storm in 1644; and soon after reduced all the adjacent parts.

In 1646, he was sheriff of Wiltshire. In 1651, he was one of the committee of twenty, appointed to consider of ways and means for reforming the law.

law. He was also one of the members of the convention that met after Cromwell had turned out the Long Parliament, in 1653.

He was again member of parliament in 1654, and one of the principal persons who signed the famous protestation, charging the protector with tyranny and arbitrary government; and he always opposed the illegal measures of that arbitrary usurper to the utmost.

When the protector Richard was deposed, and the Rump came again into power, they nominated Sir Anthony one of their council of state, and a commissioner for managing the army. But he was at that very time engaged in a secret correspondence with the friends of king Charles II. and was greatly instrumental in promoting his restoration.

By this may be easily discerned the opinion he had of the illegal and arbitrary proceedings of Oliver Cromwell, and how much of the sufferings of the royal party would have been prevented, had the point of a free parliament, which he always contended for, been then gained. His majesty's restoration must have been the natural consequence of it. The constant correspondence he always kept up with the royal party, to the hazard of his life and fortune, are sufficient testimonies of his sincerity to the royal interest and service; so far as that was at all consistent with the rights and interests of the people.

In short, he was so strenuous in opposing the authority of the protectors, father and son, that we find him accused before the parliament, in the year 1659, for keeping intelligence with the king, and for having provided a force of men in Dorsetshire, to join with Sir George Booth, in attempting to restore his majesty to the throne. After the resignation of Richard Cromwell, he was one of the
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nine of the old council of state who sent the letter to general Monk, to encourage him in his design of accomplishing the Restoration.

He was likewise in the list of that council of state, consisting of thirty-nine, upon whom an oath was endeavoured to be imposed for the abjuration of the royal line; but by his influence, and general Monk's, over colonel Morley, that oath was opposed in council, as being a snare, and against their consciences. This was strongly pleaded by the moderate part of the council, whereof this great patriot was one; and thus an end was put to that oath, and to the council, chosen only for that purpose.

He was returned a member for Dorsetshire in that which was called the Healing Parliament, which sat upon the twenty-fifth of April, 1660; and a resolution being taken to restore the constitution, he was named one of the twelve members of the house of commons to carry their invitation to the king. It was in performing this service that he had the misfortune to be overturned in a carriage upon a Dutch road, and thereby to receive a dangerous wound between the ribs, which ulcerated many years after, and was opened when he was lord chancellor.

But though Sir Anthony was greatly instrumental in forwarding the Restoration, it ought to be remembered to his honour, that he was for prescribing conditions to the king, and even proposed that he should be obliged to sign the treaty offered to his father in the Isle of Wight, for the security of the rights and privileges of the subjects; but in this he was over-ruled by Monk.

Upon the king's coming over, he was sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council. He was also one of the commissioners for the trial of the

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the regicides ; and he has been much censured for his acceptance of this office.

By letters patent, dated April 20, 1661, he was created baron Ashley, of Winborn St. Giles's : soon after he was made chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and then one of the lords commissioners for executing the office of high-treasurer. He was afterwards made lord-lieutenant of the county of Dorset ; and, on the twenty-third of April, 1672, created baron Cooper, of Pawlet, in the county of Somerset, and earl of Shaftesbury.

At this time, his conduct as a minister of state is greatly censured, because he was one of that junto, known by the name of the *Cabal* ; being so styled from the initial letters of their titles. Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale ; but he had no concern in some of their most iniquitous measures.

In the month of November, the same year, he was raised to the dignity of lord-high-chancellor of England ; an office for which he was eminently qualified, as well by his great knowledge of the laws and constitution of his country, as by his powers of elocution and eloquence, which enabled him to make a great and distinguished figure in this important post, the duties of which he discharged with uncommon ability, and the utmost integrity. Yet he held the seals but a short time, the king having thought proper to remove him in November, 1673. And the following account is given of the manner of his resignation by Echard, in his History of England. " Soon after the breaking-up of the parliament, the earl was sent for on Sunday morning to court ; as was also Sir Heneage Finch, attorney-general, to whom the seals were promised. As soon as the earl came, he retired with the king into the closet, while the prevailing party waited

waited in triumph, to see him return without the purse. His lordship being alone with the king, said, "Sire, I know you intend to give the seals to the attorney-general, but I am sure your majesty never intended to dismiss me with contempt." The king, who could not do an ill-natured thing, replied, "God's fish, my lord, I will not do it with any circumstance that may look like an affront." "Then, sire," said the earl, "I desire your majesty will permit me to carry the seals before you to chapel, and then send for them afterwards from my house." To this his majesty readily consented; and the earl amused the king with news and entertaining stories till the very minute he was to go to chapel, purposely to deceive the courtiers and his successor, who he believed was upon the rack, for fear he should prevail upon the king to change his mind.

The king and the earl came out of the closet, talking together and smiling, and went together to chapel, which greatly surpris'd them all; and some ran immediately to tell the duke of York, that all their measures were broken. After sermon, the earl went home with the seals; and that evening the king gave them to the attorney-general."

After he had quitted the court, he continued to make a great figure in parliament; and, in 1675, the lord-treasurer Danby introduced the test-bill into the house of lords, which was vigorously opposed by the earl of Shaftesbury, who, if we may believe bishop Burnet, distinguished himself more in this session than ever he had done before. This dispute occasioned a prorogation, and there ensued a recess of fifteen months.

When the parliament met again on the sixteenth of February, 1677, the duke of Buckingham argued that it ought to be considered as dissolved. The earl

earl of Shaftesbury was of the same opinion, and maintained it with so much warmth, that himself, the duke, the earl of Salisbury, and the lord Wharton, were sent to the Tower, where he continued for thirteen months, because he would make no submission; though the other lords, upon their submission, were immediately discharged.

When he was set at liberty, he managed the opposition to the earl of Danby's administration with such vigour and dexterity, that it was found impossible to do any thing effectually in parliament, without changing the system which then prevailed.

The king, who desired nothing so much as to be easy, resolved to make a change, dismissed all the privy-council at once, and formed a new one. This was declared on the twenty-first of April, 1679; and, at the same time, the earl of Shaftesbury was appointed lord-president. He did not hold this new honour longer than six months. He had drawn upon himself the implacable hatred of the duke of York, by steadily promoting, if not originally inventing, the project of an exclusion-bill; and therefore no wonder if a party was constantly at work against him.

Upon the king's summoning a parliament to meet at Oxford on the twenty-first of March 1681, the earl of Shaftesbury joined with several lords in a petition to prevent its meeting there; which, however, failed of success. He was present at that parliament, and strenuously supported the exclusion-bill; but the duke of York, and his friends, soon contrived to make him feel the weight of his resentment; for the Popish zealots in his interest, who apprehended that as long as this noble patriot lived, their grand scheme of introducing the Roman Catholic religion, and arbitrary power, into the government of England, would not take effect, having
failed

failed in various attempts to take him off privately attempted it publickly, by presenting a bill of indictment against him to the grand jury at the Old Bailey; but after examining the witnesses in open court, the jury threw out the bill, and he was discharged from his imprisonment in the Tower, where he had been confined from July to November, 1682, on this malicious and groundless charge. Great rejoicings were made at his acquittal, and a medal was struck upon the occasion.

His lordship now justly apprehending, that his person was not secure in his native country, his bitterest enemies being now in the zenith of their power, he resolved to seek for some place of retirement, where, out of the reach of their endeavours to injure him, he might wear out the small remainder of his life in peace. It was with this view that he embarked for Holland soon after his discharge; and arriving safely at Amsterdam, after a very dangerous voyage, he took a house there, proposing to live in a manner suitable to his quality, being visited by persons of the first distinction, and treated with all the deference and respect he could desire: but being seized by his old distemper, the gout, it immediately flew up into his stomach, and soon became mortal; so that he expired on the twenty-second of January, 1683.

His body, being embalmed, was brought to England, and interred with his ancestors at Winborne St. Giles; and, in 1732, a noble monument, with an inscription highly to his honour, was erected by the late earl of Shaftesbury.

It was a misfortune to this noble personage, that those who were his professed enemies have transmitted to posterity the history of the times in which he lived, and of that government in which he had so large a share; and this may, in some measure,

account for his not making a very amiable figure in history; so that, while his prodigious abilities stand confessed by all, the goodness and integrity of his intentions are hardly acknowledged by any. It is also not to be imagined, at this distance of time, what arts and contrivances were set on foot by his enemies in his life-time, to render his name odious and detestable.

Marchmont Nedham is said to have been employed to abuse and defame the earl of Shaftesbury; and particularly in a quarto pamphlet, intituled, "A Pacquet of Advices, and Animadversions, sent from London to the Men of Shaftesbury; which is of Use for all his Majesty's Subjects in the Three Kingdoms." London, 1676. And this abuse is transferred, verbatim, into the account given of this noble person by Anthony Wood, the Oxford historian.

The earl of Shaftesbury was also represented as having had the vanity to expect to be chosen king of Poland; and this made way for calling him *Count Tapsky*, alluding to the tap which had been applied upon the breaking-out of the ulcer between his ribs when he was lord-chancellor. It was also a standing-jest, with the lower form of wits, to style him Shiftsbury, instead of Shaftesbury; his lordship being too much addicted to women: and it is recorded, that king Charles II. who would both take liberties and bear them, once said to the earl at court, in a vein of raillery and good-humour, and in reference only to his amours, "I believe, Shaftesbury, thou art the wickedest fellow in my dominions:" to which, with a low bow, and very grave face, the earl replied, "May it please your majesty, of a *subject* I believe I am." At which the merry monarch laughed most heartily.

* * * *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Hume's Hist. of England.

THE LIFE OF
ALGERNON SYDNEY.

[A. D. 1622, to 1683.]

Including Memoirs of WILLIAM LORD RUSSELL.

THIS illustrious politician and patriot was the second son of Robert earl of Leicester, by his wife Dorothy, the eldest daughter of Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland. He was born about the year 1622; his noble father gave great attention to his education, even in his early years, and in 1632, when he went ambassador to Denmark, he took his son with him; as also when he was sent in the same capacity to the court of France in 1636; and at that time his lively acute genius began to display itself: and an active part in life seeming to be best-suited to the bent of his natural disposition, his father, upon being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, procured him a commission for a troop of horse in his own regiment in 1641. Upon which he repaired to that kingdom, accompanied by his elder brother, Philip lord viscount Lisle, who acted as deputy to his father: the Irish rebellion had then broken out; and Algernon Sydney upon many occasions distinguished himself with great bravery.

In 1643, he had the king's permission to return to England, with his brother lord Lisle, but with express orders to repair without loss of time to his majesty at Oxford; of which the parliament having intel-

intelligence, they were both taken into custody upon their landing at some port in Lancashire. The king suspected that they had thrown themselves voluntarily into the hands of his enemies, and expressed his resentment at their behaviour, and the event seemed to justify the king's surmises; for from this time they adhered to the interest of the parliament, and Algernon accepted a captain's commission in the earl of Manchester's regiment of horse in 1644; and, in 1645, he was raised to the rank of colonel of a regiment of cavalry by general Fairfax.

In a short time his brother, lord Lisle, being appointed by the parliament lieutenant-general of Ireland, and commander in chief of the parliamentary forces in that kingdom, he served on an expedition there, under his brother, where he performed such signal military exploits, that he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general of the horse in Ireland, and made governor of Dublin. But the government of the capital being thought too weighty a concern for so young a man, it was taken from him in 1647, and given to colonel Jones, a senior officer. However, upon his return to England, he received the thanks of the house of commons for his good services in Ireland; and a resolution being made that he should receive a suitable recompence, he was soon after made governor of Dover-castle. In 1648, he was nominated one of the members of the high court of justice, appointed to try Charles I.; but it is certain that he did not act in that capacity, for he neither sat in judgment upon the king, nor does his name appear in the warrant for his execution; yet he was a zealous republican on patriotic principles, and always professed to make Marcus Brutus his model; so that, when Cromwell usurped the supreme authority, he

opposed him with great violence; and could not be prevailed upon to accept of any employment civil or military under either of the protectors.

It is conjectured by some writers, that he absented himself from the trial of Charles I. in compliance with his father's request, whose political principles led him to disapprove of that transaction; which his son vindicated afterwards in a conversation at Copenhagen, by saying, "it was the justest action that ever was done in England, or any where else;" but in justice to this consistent patriot, let us observe, that when the university of Copenhagen brought their *album* to him (a book with blank leaves, in which they desire learned strangers to write whatever they think proper), Algernon Sydney wrote the following lines, and signed his name to them.

— *Manus hæc inimica tyrannis*

Inse petit placidam sub libertate quietem.

From these sentiments, compared with the resolute part he acted in the cause of civil liberty, for which he died, we may fairly conclude, that if any well-concerted plan had been formed for deposing Oliver Cromwell, or for putting him to death as a just punishment for his usurpation, Sydney would have joined hand and heart in carrying it into execution.

After Richard Cromwell had resigned the protectorship, Sydney really believing that the remnant of the Long Parliament would establish a republican form of government, most willingly engaged in the administration of public affairs; and, in May, 1659, was nominated, by the parliament, to be one of the council of state; and, the following month, he was appointed one of the three commissioners who

who were sent to the Sound to mediate a peace between the kings of Denmark and Sweden.

Upon the restoration of Charles II. Mr. Sydney was advised by his friends to avail himself of his father's interest with the king, and to get his name inserted in the act of oblivion passed upon that occasion; but he refused it, and continued an exile in different parts of Europe seventeen years. His longest residence was at Rome, and in its environs, where he received great civilities from persons of the first rank, and was highly esteemed for his courage, wit, and learning. Tired of paying and receiving visits, and wishing to withdraw himself more from the world, he left Italy, and went to Switzerland, where he staid a short time with general Ludlow, and his other friends and companions in exile. He afterwards went to France; and it is said, that when he was hunting one day with Louis XIV. that monarch took great notice of a fine English hunter upon which Mr. Sydney was mounted, and afterwards sent a message to him, to request him to yield it to him at any price he thought proper to fix upon it. Sydney answered, "he did not chuse to part with his horse;" upon which the king, unused to such denials, gave peremptory orders to tender him a proper sum of money, and, in case of refusal, to seize the horse. Sydney, informed of these orders, instantly took a pistol and shot him, saying, "his horse was born a free creature, had served a free man, and should not be mastered by a king of slaves."

In the year 1677, the earl of Leicester, being desirous to see his son Algernon before he died, obtained from the king a special pardon for all past offences; and he returned home at the very critical juncture when the parliament urged the king to a war against France; and as he came last from that

country, and now took great pains to dissuade his countrymen from pressing administration to declare war, some shallow politicians conceived him to be in the pay and interest of France: but Sydney had the most laudable motives for giving this advice: he had in fact been a spy upon the secret negotiations of the English ministry and the court of France, and had the most authentic intelligence, that a perfect good understanding subsisted between the two crowns, and that all the pretended eagerness of the English ministry to go to war was only calculated to raise large supplies, which were afterwards to be applied to the support of the extravagant expences of the English court: and if any man at this time was in treaty for a pension from France, it was Charles II. himself, who cared little how he came by money, if he had but sufficient to maintain his mistresses, and to keep his favourite courtiers in good humour.

Mr. Sydney's father dying soon after he arrived in England, he was under no farther restraint with respect to his political sentiments and conduct; and, being unable to suppress his indignation at the duplicity of administration, he was soon noticed by the emissaries of the ministry, and a resolution was taken to compass the ruin of such a formidable adversary; and in this scheme the duke of York's party heartily concurred, for they detested his very name, as ominous to their cause. Great interest was made to keep him out of parliament in 1678, when he stood candidate for Guildford: he lost his election by court influence; and though he carried it in the next parliament, a double return was made by the same influence, and it was decided against him in the house.

But, not content with this success, it was resolved to sacrifice him and lord William Russell to the safety
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of a corrupt, venal administration; these illustrious patriots having rendered themselves very obnoxious to the court, by opposing the arbitrary proceedings of the king and his ministers, and by their zeal in promoting the bill for excluding the duke of York from the throne. They were known to be intimate friends, and it was no secret that they associated with the earl of Shaftesbury, and other malecontents, who frequently met together to consult on the measures proper to be taken to prevent the imminent danger the Church and State would be in from a Popish successor: and at these meetings some persons had gone so far, as to propose exciting insurrections, as no hopes remained of obtaining parliamentary redress for the many grievances the nation laboured under; and on this last circumstance he was indicted for high-treason. Lord William Russell was the third, and, at the time he was accused, the only surviving son of William the fifth earl, and first duke of Bedford, and, in order to strike the greater terror into the opposing party, the court began with him. He had taken an active part in the house of commons against the duke of York and the Papists: he had carried up a vote against the duke for the concurrence of the house of lords: he had presented the exclusion-bill to that house, and, upon its being thrown out, he made an eloquent speech at the bar of the house of lords, lamenting the conduct of that house, and justifying the lower house, of which he was a member, for passing the bill; and he had joined with other friends to the Protestant cause, in presenting reasons to the grand jury of Middlesex for indicting the duke of York as a Papist. These were more than sufficient causes for devoting him to destruction; accordingly an opportunity offered soon after the

discovery of the real, or pretended Rye-house plot, in June, 1683.

This plot is said to have been formed, by the Presbyterians of the republican party, and by some zealous men of eminence in the Church of England, who dreaded the Popish succession. The design was to kill, or to seize upon the king, as he passed through the inclosures of a farm called *The Rye-house*, in his way from Newmarket to London, which he usually did, to avoid the public road. It is added, that a fire happening at Newmarket, the king returned sooner to London than was expected, and before the conspirators were prepared to execute this base assassination. A proclamation was issued on the 23d of June, for apprehending Rumbold, a maltster, the owner of the farm, and several officers and gentlemen, who were said to be the principal conspirators; and on the 28th lord Howard of Escric, a man of abandoned life and character, pretending to be one of the conspirators, and offering to turn crown evidence, was accepted in that capacity, upon his accusing lord William Russell, and promising to make good the charge: whereupon lord Russell was apprehended and sent to the Tower. And soon after the same worthless evidence was prevailed upon to accuse Algernon Sydney, who was likewise taken into custody by a messenger, and at the same time one of the clerks of the privy-council seized all his papers.

But, for the reasons already assigned, lord Russell's trial was expedited without delay. It was brought on at the Old Bailey, on the 13th of July: he was indicted of conspiring to excite insurrection and rebellion in the kingdom; of compassing and imagining the death of the king; and of plotting with other traitors to seize his majesty's guards, &c. And so determined were the ministry not to let this
victim

victim escape, that the most unjustifiable methods were taken to convict him precipitately. He desired to have his trial put off till the next day, because some material witnesses could not be in town till late at night; this being refused, he requested it might be delayed till the afternoon, which was likewise denied. He challenged the foreman of the jury, but in that also he was over-ruled. The only evidences against him were lord Howard, and colonel Rumfey, another conspirator, who was pardoned by the king; and the whole of their joint-evidence proved no more, than that lord Russell had walked up and down in a room in the house of one Shepherd, while some persons held a discourse about seizing the king's guards, but it was not pretended that he either joined company with them, or uttered a single word.

In order to invalidate lord Howard's evidence, the earl of Anglesey deposed, on behalf of lord Russell, that about a week before he had met lord Howard at the duke of Bedford's, where he had declared to the duke, that he knew nothing against his son, or any body else concerned in the plot; and bishop Burnet corroborated the earl of Anglesey's evidence, by declaring, that lord Howard had been with him the night after the plot was discovered, and he did then, as he had done before, with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, say, "he knew nothing of any plot, nor believed any," and treated it with great scorn and contempt. Mr. Howard, a relation of lord Howard's, related a conversation with lord Howard to the same purport, and added these remarkable words: "If my lord Howard has the same soul on Monday, that he had on Sunday, this cannot be true that he swears against my lord Russell. I am very sorry to hear any man of my name guilty of these things."

It was evident to every impartial person in the court, that the testimony of lord Howard did not deserve the least degree of credit; yet the jury, who were packed for the purpose, brought him in guilty of high-treason; and though the most powerful interest was made to save him, it had no effect; for he could not be brought to make an open declaration in favour of the principle of non-resistance, which was what the court wanted from a man of his family and interest; and his firmness in refusing life, on conditions which he could not reconcile to his conscience, determines his character, and gives him rank with the first of patriots. It was part of his political creed, "that a free nation, like England, might defend their religion and liberty when invaded, or taken from them, though under pretence of colour of law" and, in support of this tenet, he suffered death; being beheaded on a scaffold, erected for that purpose, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, on Saturday, the 21st of July, 1683.

The general outcry against the jury, who had condemned lord Russell on the insufficient and corrupt evidence of lord Howard, made the court more wary in their proceedings against Algernon Sydney, and therefore his trial was delayed till other measures, still more arbitrary and illegal, had been taken to secure his condemnation. But at length, their scheme being ripe for execution, he was indicted for high-treason, and brought to his trial in the court of King's-bench, before the lord chief-justice Jefferies, on the 21st of November, 1683. The three first witnesses against him were, Robert West, colonel Rumsey, and Mr. Keeling, whose evidence amounted only to reports from others. Mr. Sydney justly objected to the illegality of admitting such evidence, but in vain; for the judge took it down, and delivered it as part of the
proofs

proofs against him, in summing up the evidence to the jury. Lord Howard then swore positively, that Mr. Sydney was present at two meetings, when schemes had been formed for exciting insurrections against the government; and that he had been concerned in sending one Aaron Smith into Scotland, to engage the disaffected in that country to join the malcontents in England; but, apprehensive that the jury might not give sufficient credit to the exploded evidence of this worthless nobleman, the attorney-general had recourse to a most shameful expedient, which ought not to have had the least weight with the jury. This was to produce a passage from his excellent discourses on government, in proof of his design to persuade the people of England to set aside their sovereign, whenever it should appear to them that he had violated the trust with which they themselves had invested him. Thus a general principle, advanced in a political treatise, was construed into a seditious and traitorous libel against the reigning prince, and made part of the evidence in a charge of high-treason against the author: no parallel instance can be found in our history of such a perversion of the law of evidence. Mr. Sydney made a short, manly defence, chiefly remonstrating against the unwarrantable step of bringing his writings in evidence against him, and offering the most solid reasons against giving any credit to the testimony of lord Howard; who, since he had been in prison, had called at his house, and told his servant that he was sorry Mr. Sydney should be brought into danger on account of this plot, and did then swear in the presence of God, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, that he did not believe in any plot, and that it was but a sham. The earl of Anglesey, lord Clare, lord Paget, Mr. Philip and Mr. Edw. Howard, and Dr. Burnet, again

confirmed the declaration that lord Howard had made to them, denying, in the most solemn manner, his knowledge of any plot, or of any persons concerned in it; but all to no purpose, for the jury being packed, as in the case of lord Russell, he was brought in guilty; and the usual sentence was passed upon him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which, as a special favour, was changed to beheading. He suffered on Tower-hill, the 7th of December, 1683, and met death with heroic fortitude. His remains were interred the next day at Penshurst in Kent, among those of his noble ancestors.

He left behind him, "Discourses upon Government." The first edition of which was published in 1698, the second in 1704, in folio. To the second was added the paper he delivered to the sheriffs on the scaffold: but the best edition is the very elegant one in 4to, published in 1772, at the expence of the late Thomas Hollis, Esq; a gentleman, who, in a private station, rendered himself remarkably useful to his country, by reviving and encouraging public virtue, and patriotic independent principles. This edition, which was revised, corrected, and much improved, by the reverend Mr. Robertson, contains his letters, his trial, and some Memoirs of his life, not to be found in the former.

Sydney's Discourses on Government have been considered, by many learned men, as an ample compensation for the loss of Cicero's six books *de Republica*; and, as they are adapted to the genius of the British constitution, they undoubtedly merit the attention of every studious Englishman.

In the second volume of Sir John Dalrymple's "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland," published in 1772, charges are brought against the
conduct

conduct and characters both of lord Russell and Algernon Sydney. These charges are, that lord Russell intrigued with the court of Versailles, and that Algernon Sydney took money from it. The papers on which these charges are grounded; we are informed by Sir John Dalrymple, are to be found in the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères* at Versailles, and were written by Mons. Barillon, ambassador from the court of France to that of England, in the reign of king Charles the Second. In 1773, was published, by Dr. Towers, "An Examination into the Nature and Evidence of the Charges brought against Lord William Russell and Algernon Sydney, by Sir John Dalrymple, Bart. in his *Mémoires of Great Britain.*" In this piece the author remarks, that, "Russell and Sydney were condemned in their own time without law, and without justice. Let not," says he, "posterity condemn them, but on the fullest evidence." He shews, that of the truth of the charges against them, or of the authenticity of the papers on which they are grounded, no proper evidence has yet been produced; and of the charge against lord Russell, he observes, that admitting the whole of what is stated in Dalrymple's papers to be true, it does not appear, that lord Russell had any private views to answer by his negotiation with the French minister, or that he promoted any measures which he considered as detrimental to the interests of his country. Of Lord Russell Dr. Towers farther says, that, "He was not more distinguished by his noble birth, than by his many amiable qualities, and the excellency of his character. He was a dutiful son, an affectionate husband, and a tender parent; generally beloved and esteemed for his benevolence, integrity, and honour; and indeed his personal virtues were acknowledged even by

“ his enemies. His noble birth, and the amiable-
 “ nefs of his character, together with his zeal for
 “ the caufe of public freedom, placed him at the
 “ head of the Whig intereft in the houfe of com-
 “ mons ; and, in this capacity, he difcovered the
 “ moft extreme folicitude for the religion and liber-
 “ ties of his country, at a time when they were ex-
 “ pofed to attacks of the moft dangerous and
 “ alarming nature.”

Of Algernon Sydney, Dr. Towers fays, “ He
 “ was a man of fine genius, ftudious and learned,
 “ and of elevated fentiments ; and ever animated
 “ by a generous ardour in defence of the liberties
 “ of his country, and the common rights of man-
 “ kind. One of the moft remarkable features in
 “ Sydney’s character, was a noblenefs and dignity
 “ of foul, which appeared fo ftroingly in his actions,
 “ and in his writings, as to render it impoffible for
 “ us to believe, but upon the fullft and moft cer-
 “ tain evidence, that any temptation could prevail
 “ on him to act in a difhonourable or unworthy
 “ manner. His high fpirit appears even in his let-
 “ ters to his father, the earl of Leicefter ; who
 “ fometimes cenfured him for imprudence, in
 “ avowing his fentiments with an opennefs and
 “ freedom that were manifftly prejudicial to him.
 “ But he had a foul above difguife, and fuperior to
 “ the little arts of interefted men.

“ In a letter to one of his friends in England,
 “ written when he was in exile, are the following
 “ expreffions :”—“ Whilft I live, I will endeavour
 “ to preferve my liberty ; or, at leaft, not confent
 “ to the destroying it. I hope I fhall die in
 “ the fame principles in which I have lived,
 “ and I will live no longer than they can preferve
 “ me. I have in my life been guilty of many fol-
 “ lies ; but, as I think, of no meannefs. I will

“not blot and defile that which is past, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my mind, that, when God should cast me into such a condition, as that I cannot save my life, but by doing an indecent thing, he shews me the time is come wherein I should resign it.” — “Shall we hastily believe of the man capable of these sentiments, and the general tenor of whose life appears to have corresponded with them, that he could be prevailed upon to take money from the court of France for an unworthy purpose? and when the inflexibility of his spirit, in matters in which he believed himself to be right, would not suffer him meanly to supplicate even his own father for money, or in the least to recede from his principles, when reduced to the greatest straits, and in a foreign country?”

Even admitting the papers published by Sir John Dalrymple to be genuine, and the facts contained in them to be true, which has never yet been proved, it does not appear, that he was engaged in any transactions unfavourable to the liberties of his country. After the time in which the money is said to have been paid to Sydney, the French minister, Barillon, who is stated to have paid it, says, in one of his dispatches to the French court, as published by Dalrymple, “The *Sieur* Algernon Sydney is a man of great views, and very high designs, which tend to the establishment of a republic.” And in another letter he says, that Mr. Sydney “always appeared to him to have the same sentiments, and not to have changed maxims.”

The characters of Algernon Sydney and lord Russell were also defended against the accusations brought by Sir John Dalrymple, in an Introduction

tion to the Letters of Lady Ruffell, published in 4to. in 1773,

* * *Authorities.* General Biog. Dict. Memoirs prefixed to the edition of Sydney's works, by Mr. Hollis. Towers's Examination into the Nature and Evidence of the Charges brought against lord William Ruffell and Algernon Sydney, 8vo. 1773.

THE LIFE OF

JAMES BUTLER,

DUKE OF ORMOND.

[A. D. 1610, to 1686.]

JAMES BUTLER, the seventh earl, and first duke of Ormond, was born in 1610, and at the age of three years was carried over-into Ireland.

In 1619, his father Thomas, eldest son of Walter, earl of Ormond, being drowned in his passage to England, he was called lord James, as heir-apparent of his grandfather. The year afterwards he was brought by his mother to England, and lived, for a short time, with a Popish school-master, who bred him in the errors of the Romish Church till the

the accession of king James, who, considering him as a ward of the crown, placed him in the house of archbishop Abbot: but his majesty, having at that time seized upon his grandfather's estate, allowed him only forty pounds a year for the support of himself and his servant; and made the archbishop no allowance for his maintenance or education. By the archbishop he is said to have been first instructed in the principles of the Protestant religion, to which he adhered to his death.

At the age of sixteen he left Lambeth, and lived with his grandfather, who had recovered his liberty and a great part of his estate: and being now no longer confined to his former penurious allowance, he engaged in the amusements and diversions of young men, and was particularly delighted with the performances of the theatre; so that most of the eminent players had the honour of his acquaintance: but he did not lose in his diversion that regard to his fortune and interest which becomes a rational and prudent mind; for seeing the estate of lord Preston, which had been with so much violence forced from the house of Ormond, now wholly devolved to an heiress, he found means of marrying her, and so put an end to the differences which had given so much disturbance to both families, and by which his grandfather had severely suffered.

In 1632, about two years after his marriage, he became, by the death of his grandfather, earl of Ormond; and, being naturally of an active and enterprising character, soon engaged in public affairs: and by the countenance of the earl of Strafford, then lord-deputy of Ireland; he took an active part in the Irish house of peers.

The regard which the deputy, who was remarkably well qualified to judge of men, always thought proper to shew him, was begun by a very odd occurrence.

currence. The animosity in the Irish parliament had risen so high, that there was danger lest their debates should terminate in blood; and lest, as it has been related of Polish assemblies, they should appeal from argument to the sword. For this reason, the lord-deputy published a proclamation, by which he forbade any man to sit in either house with his sword; a precaution which had been used in former times.

When the lords therefore entered the house, their swords were delivered by them at the door to the usher of the black-rod, who stood ready to receive them; but, when the earl of Ormond was about to enter, he refused to deliver his sword; and told the usher, who enforced his demand with some rudeness, "That, if he had his sword, it should be in his body." The deputy, imagining his authority treated, by this refusal, with contempt, sent for the earl, and demanded the reason of his disobedience; but was answered, by being presented with the writ in which he was summoned, as earl of Ormond, to sit in parliament girded with a sword. The deputy had nothing ready to offer as a reply, and the earl therefore was dismissed, not only without censure, but with such esteem of his spirit (which was, indeed, on this occasion more conspicuous than his prudence,) that the lord-deputy had him, ever afterwards, in particular esteem; and, when he returned to England, recommended him to the privy-council as one who was likely to prove a great and able servant of the crown.

In 1640, an army being thought necessary to be raised in Ireland, the care of making the levies, and ascertaining their maintenance, from the funds which the parliament had provided, was reposed in the earl of Ormond. This army was to have rendezvoused at Carrickfergus, and to have been transported from thence to Scotland; but the pacifica-
tion

tion which soon after followed prevented the execution of the design.

The next year broke out the terrible and bloody Irish rebellion, made for ever memorable by a rage of cruelty scarcely ever exercised on any other occasion, and which filled that unhappy country, for many years, with slaughter and desolation. The most cruel and furious, though not the ablest leader of this rebellion, was Sir Phelim O'Neil, who opened the horrid scene on the twenty-second of October, the day appointed for the general insurrection, by the seizure of the castle of Charlemount, a very important fort upon the pass of Blackwater.

The perfidy with which he transacted this first part of his scheme, was a natural prelude to the barbarities which he practised in the prosecution of it. He sent word to the lord Charlemount, who was governor of the fortress, that he would that day be his guest; and an entertainment was accordingly provided; to which, as was not uncommon in those times, great numbers resorted, as to a general festival. Lord Charlemount had one company of soldiers in his garrison; but they not suspecting danger, and being equally inclined with the strangers to pass the day in plenty and merriment, laid aside their arms, and mingled with the company. The table was spread, the guests were gay, and all was jollity and civility till towards evening, when Sir Phelim finding all his accomplices entered, and all dangers of resistance removed, seized upon lord Charlemount, and his family, while his followers murdered or secured the soldiers, and took possession of the castle.

On the same day, many other chieftains raised their septs, and endeavoured to take possession of the towns in their neighbourhood; at some of which they succeeded, and at others were disappointed. They grew, however, every day stronger, as they
were

were absolute masters of all that was to be found in the open country, and had therefore sufficient means to tempt the needy peasants to join them. The whole country of Craven was reduced by Philip O'Reily, and seven others by other leaders, in the first week; and Sir Phelim O'Neil had gathered in the same time a body of near thirty thousand men; which is a sufficient proof of the intention of the Irish to rebel: but is it not likewise a reasonable ground of suspicion, that, since the effect must bear a natural proportion to the cause, they had received some general provocations; that the English had forgotten that industry with which disputed titles ought always to be enjoyed; and that kindness, with which intruders, however powerful, and however supported, ought always to endeavour to recommend themselves to original inhabitants?

It is apparent, that the followers of Phelim O'Neil had, in a short time, learned to take pleasure in cruelty; and not only to murder those who fell into their hands without reluctance, but with merriment and delight: and, so much had he heightened their barbarity, that, if they happened to have no prisoners to destroy, they would amuse themselves with seizing the cattle, not to drive them away or devour them, but to torture them; and would cut off the legs of sheep or oxen, and leave them to expire in lingering agonies. By this stupid cruelty did they destroy great numbers of the cattle, which the death or escape of the owners put into their hands: and by this practice did they, in any interval of human massacre, keep their hearts from learning to relent.

Sir Phelim was so far from endeavouring to repress this rage of cruelty, that he encouraged it by his own example; for, whenever he was accidentally discomposed, his rage always broke out in some horrible and useless act of cruelty. At one
time

time he ordered the lord Charlemount, whom he had seized at Charlemount, to be shot; at another, he massacred great numbers whom he had received under his own hand to quarter; and was every day inventing new forms of barbarity, and accumulating one murder upon another.

The accounts which have been generally received of this horrid massacre are, in many circumstances, very remote from truth. It is asserted, that, at least, 150,000 English were destroyed; and, to aggravate the horror, it is added, that they were all butchered in one day; but it is certain, that there was no particular day remarkable for bloodshed; and it is probable, that the numbers massacred did not exceed 37,000.; a dreadful slaughter, which surely needs not to be made more detestable by any exaggerations.

It was upon this occasion that the earl of Ormond received his first military appointment from Charles I. in an affectionate letter, dated at Edinburgh, in October 1641, desiring him to take upon him the command of the army, in quality of lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces in Ireland.

In consequence of this commission, the earl of Ormond continued to serve the king with all the zeal that bravery and fidelity could inspire, though not with the success which might have been expected from him, had he been at liberty to form his own measures, and to lay hold of those advantages which, whenever his own diligence had procured them, the delays of the lords justices compelled him to lose; and, in the mean time, he was forced to struggle with numberless calumnies, which his loyalty to the king probably drew upon him; for at this time the prevailing party in England began to charge the king, amongst other attempts against the constitution and religion of the nation,

tion, with the crime of having encouraged the rebellion and massacre of Ireland.

The earl of Ormond, however, having defeated the rebels at Kilrush, and distinguished himself by many other actions as a general and subject, the king, since his affairs were at that time in such a situation that he had nothing but honours to bestow, thought it proper to distinguish him by a higher title; and therefore in 1642 created him marquis of Ormond.

About the same time, a controversy between him and the earl of Leicester, then lord-lieutenant, was decided in such a manner as gave him power to dispose, while the lord-lieutenant was absent, of all the posts that should become vacant in the army: by which his interest was increased, and his authority confirmed; as the soldiers had no means of obtaining preferment but by gaining the approbation of their general: but this new dignity conferred no strength, and he was only exposed to the mortification of seeing himself unable to return the regard which had been shewn him by his master, by any important service, which he had every day less hopes of effecting, as the parliament declared more openly against the king. Some forces were indeed sent, but under commanders who rather hindered than promoted the suppression of the rebels; for, by plundering all indiscriminately, they weakened those most who were least able to bear new losses; by disregarding all those who acted by the king's authority, they destroyed the union which was necessary to success; and, by treating the whole kingdom with unreasonable severity, they encouraged the opinion, that nothing less than extirpation was intended; and therefore added to the ardour of resentment, the fury of despair.

In the spring of the year 1643, it was thought necessary to send the army into the field, and an expedition was intended for the conquest of Ross and Wexford. The marquis of Ormond set out therefore with his forces, and came before Ross on the 12th of March; and would soon have been able to take it, being at first but weakly garrisoned, had not the justices neglected to send him, not only ammunition, but victuals for his soldiers; all which, being to be transported by sea, was so negligently provided, that the wind, which was for many days favourable, altered before the vessel was ready for the voyage; and the army, instead of annoying the enemy, had no care so pressing as that of procuring bread: so that, in these circumstances, it was found necessary to draw off the army from before the place, and by the appearance of a retreat to induce the enemy to sally out, and come to an engagement. This stratagem succeeded, and the rebel army was defeated; and the marquis, being master of the open country, supplied his army with provisions.

But the distress and poverty of the army was the same soon after the victory as before it; for, though the country furnished them with provisions sufficient for a retreat, yet, being naked and exhausted, it would not supply any stores for a longer support, and therefore they returned to Dublin, where they found the same distress, and where they were again to represent, to remonstrate, to petition, and to starve. The justices were unwilling that the king should receive any information of the state of the nation, or of the army; and therefore the marquis of Ormond, who was not equally inclined to make his sovereign contemptible, sent, without their concurrence, such a narrative as was concerted by him with several of the privy-council.

This,

This, with other accounts which had been transmitted, had such an effect, that Sir William Parsons was at length removed from his office of lord justice, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Tichbourne, who had more affection for the king's service. But the change of one of the governors, though it might set the marquis free from some embarrassments, could contribute very little to the support of the army, whose necessities grew every day more pressing, and whose hopes of relief became more distant; for the Papists enlarged their quarters on every side.

Distress thus hourly increasing, and the enemy, though they were often driven out of the field, yet returning to it with greater numbers, it was at length thought convenient by the king, that a cessation of arms should be proposed; and a commission to treat was sent to the marquis of Ormond, who approved of the measure, but knew not how to set it on foot without inconvenience or disgrace to his sovereign.

It was necessary to the king's honour, that the first offer should be made by the rebels; and it was likewise proper, that the council should own, in some solemn manner, their conviction of the impracticability of establishing the peace of the nation by any other means.

In order to procure the first overtures from the Irish, agents were employed, who, after long deliberation, prevailed upon them to propose a cessation for twelve months; and, that the justices might have no pretences that a negotiation of such importance was set on foot, either without their concurrence, or in opposition to their advice, the marquis first demanded, in a full council, Whether any man could offer a proposal more honourable for the king, or more advantageous to the nation, than that of a cessation? None had any thing to offer,

offer, or could give any information of any measures that had a probable appearance of success; and therefore a cessation was necessarily to be admitted as the only resource then remaining. The marquis was willing, however, that no possibility of suspicion should be left, that might subject this part of his conduct to the imputation of cowardice, or an inclination to gratify the rebels by concessions which might have been avoided; and therefore, to put a stop for ever to all such insinuations, he made an offer, That, if the justices and council, who were best acquainted with the condition of the state, could procure only ten thousand pounds, half in money, and half in ammunition and provisions, he would still prosecute the war, and endeavour to enlarge his quarters.

Upon this proposal, the mayor of Dublin, and some of the most wealthy citizens, were required to attend, and consult by what means such a supply could be procured: but they declared their opinion, that no such levy could be made; and that the country was too much exhausted to be able to give any farther assistance for its own preservation. The marquis was therefore at full liberty to pursue his own measures, and proceed to negotiate a cessation; but the rebels were fully sensible of their own superiority, and were therefore not easily to be persuaded to such terms as it was fit to allow them.

About this time, arrived likewise a commissioner from the pope, with a supply of money, and with stores of war. These added great weight to the influence which his holiness exerted in opposing the cessation; but there were in the army of the Papists men of great rank and reputation, who still retained their duty to the king, and who wished, with the utmost ardour, to put a stop to the desolations of their country. These men struggled very earnestly

for the cessation, and by their means it was at last concluded.

The articles were not ratified till September; and, in the mean time, the Irish had not only gathered in the harvest almost without interruption, but had frequently adventured by the night into the English quarters, and reaped the corn, and carried it away: so that the only just complaint that could be made against the cessation was, that it was too long delayed; but that delay was unavoidable, where so many men of different interests, opinions, and inclinations, were to be consulted.

This cessation, however, while it hurt only the Papists, whose union it broke, and whose ardour it relaxed, was represented by the enemies of the marquis, and of the king, as an unseasonable concession; and loud clamours were raised, as if the Protestant interest had been betrayed, and the nation given up by treaty.

Yet these complaints had no weight with his majesty; and the influence, fidelity, and diligence, of the marquis of Ormond became so conspicuous, that he thought it necessary to confer upon him the lieutenancy of the kingdom; and he soon afterwards received the sword of state, and entered upon his office; not, indeed, with much hope of serving his king, or remedying many of the disorders. They had proceeded too far to give way to a government which was without any force to support it; which only a very small district professed to obey; and which had no advantage, but that of its legality. He had therefore this only comfort, that though he could not do much, he could yet do more than any other man; and that what authority was yet maintained by his sovereign in Ireland was the consequence of the reputation and influence of the lieutenant.

In the beginning of his lieutenancy, he was embarrassed with many difficulties. He was to endeavour to retain all, without having the means of recompensing any; and to command without the power of compulsion. There were few who thought their duty of so much importance as to be preferable to their interest; and undoubtedly many, if they were inclined to the right, were, in the distraction of opposite motives, unable to determine their own choice.

In the midst of these perplexing disturbances, it was hoped that he might send some assistance to the Royalists; but armies could not be enlisted, nor transported, without pay or provision; and he was unprovided with money.

The Irish, during the cessation, by which some desires of a fixed and lasting peace could not but be excited, sent commissioners to Oxford, to treat with the king; but, at first, proposed conditions which could not, without reproach, be made the foundation of a treaty; and on which, therefore, no conference was allowed. They soon discovered that they had required more than could be granted; and therefore, in a few days, moderated their demands; insisting only on the abrogation of the penal laws against recusants; the right of enjoying posts and offices in the government; the exclusion from the parliament of all persons who had not estates in the kingdom of Ireland; and a general act of oblivion which should secure both person and estate.

To these several other propositions were added, of less importance, or less extensive in their consequences: upon which, the treaty of peace was wholly referred to the marquis of Ormond, who was more acquainted than the court with the condition of Ireland, and whose personal influence over many of the commissioners might enable him to reason with

more immediate reference to their particular opinions and designs, and to suggest motives more likely to operate upon their minds than general argument.

In short, many cogent reasons concurred for throwing the burthen of this treaty upon the lord lieutenant; but most of the arguments which inclined the council at Oxford to chuse him for the task, were of equal weight to determine him against the undertaking; therefore he intreated the king's permission to lay down the sword, that the direction of the affairs of Ireland might be committed to some person more equal to the burthen.

But before any answer could arrive to this request the peace was concluded, without any concessions disadvantageous to the Protestant religion, or derogatory from the honour of the king. Upon this the marquis, in order to promote the king's interest, and reconcile the confederate Irish, marched with a small force to Kilkenny, where he was received with respect, by the supreme council, as governor of the kingdom; and from thence he proceeded to the remoter parts of the island; but he had not gone far before he received intelligence of a design laid by O'Neil to surprize him, and to force him to consent to a new peace upon other terms. O'Neil was to be assisted by Preston; and both were endeavouring, in the most secret manner, to direct the march of their forces so as to intercept the lieutenant in his progress.

Of this design he received such accounts as he could not distrust, and therefore returned to Dublin with the utmost caution and expedition; his waggon's being plundered at Kilkenny, and his plate, and other things of value, taken away.

The pope's nuncio, then in Ireland, now found himself master of the field; and, that his designs might be no longer obstructed, he led his army to
Kilkenny,

Kilkenny, and imprisoned the supreme council, which he had found not sufficiently disposed to comply with his proposals.

That the government might be carried on, he summoned an assembly of the clergy, who invested themselves with the authority which they had taken from the council, and assumed the unlimited direction of temporal as well as spiritual affairs. They were now at the height of prosperity, and endeavouring to extend their authority to the utmost boundaries of the kingdom, and determined to put an end to the lieutenant's authority, they ordered their forces to besiege Dublin.

The two bodies of men under O'Neil and Preston did not wholly trust, or very diligently assist, each other; and there was some prospect of a treaty with Preston for the union with the lord-lieutenant against O'Neil; but Preston was so unsteady, and the Irish confederates had so little fidelity, that nothing was to be trusted to their honour or their oaths; and therefore the marquis would not put the last remains of the Protestant power into their hands; but resolved to sustain a siege in Dublin, which he had fortified and provided as well as he could; the marchioness and other ladies having, to encourage the workmen and inhabitants, carried baskets of mould to form the trenches.

But, though fortifications might be built, provisions could not be procured in an exhausted country; and therefore his enemies, who were well acquainted with his distress, had nothing more to do but to prevent the importation of supplies, and this they effected; so that he must have submitted at discretion, if he had not delivered up the city, and his commission, to the deputies and the army sent from the parliament of England, to whom, the king had informed him, that he desired the king-

dom should, when it could be kept no longer, be resigned, rather than to the Irish.

When the commissioners, who were dispatched to treat with him for the surrender of the city, and of his authority, arrived at Dublin, they likewise were inclined to impose such conditions upon him, as the distress to which they saw him reduced might oblige him to accept. But these he thought inconsistent with his honour and his duty, and therefore rejected their offers, and suffered them to depart without any agreement: but his distresses every day increasing, and the inhabitants of the place growing discontented, he was at last constrained to yield on such terms as he could obtain; and, in July, 1647, he resigned his authority, and departed from the kingdom, which he had defended with so much fidelity, and governed with so much wisdom.

The confederate Irish durst no longer continue the siege, but retired when the new garrison was admitted, and returned into the country, where it was now necessary for them to unite against a more furious and potent enemy.

Those that had adhered to the king and the marquis were now without any advantage from their loyalty, being equally hated and suspected on every side. When the marquis left Dublin in this forlorn and calamitous condition, he could not forbear declaring, with that cheerfulness which has been usually known to accompany great minds, that he expected some time or other to return in a state of power and prosperity, of which there was not, at that time, any prospect; for the king was in the hands of his most implacable enemies, all his forces were suppressed, and all his garrisons surrendered.

The marquis, however, whose ardour for the service of his master did not depend upon fortune,
went

went to attend him at Hampton-court. Here the marquis was admitted to that confidence which fidelity so long tried might justly expect; and, when he offered to resign the lieutenancy, in which he had been able to effect so little, was told by the king, that he should keep his commission to a time of better fortune; for that no other should have the satisfaction of enjoying that authority which he had used so well, though so unsuccessfully. The lord-lieutenant then gave him an account of the state of Ireland, and of his own conduct, in a long memorial.

He had now the satisfaction to find that his endeavours, however unprosperous, were well accepted, and that he still retained the favour of his sovereign, but he was by no means in a state of happiness or safety; for he was not only afflicted with the misfortunes of his master, who was then visibly losing the little influence and respect which his character had hitherto enabled him to retain, even among those who now had him in their power; but he was likewise himself harrassed with personal difficulties, the debts which he had contracted for the public service being now demanded.

Indeed he had, by his capitulation, six months to liquidate them; but, this term being very nearly expired, he made his apprehensions of them the pretext for going off privately; though the real motives were an order from the committee at Derby-house, dated in February, 1648, requiring him to send them, upon his parole of honour, and under his own hand, an assurance that he would not, during his residence in England, do any thing prejudicial to the parliament; and he had no inclination to be served with this order. He was also sensible they were grown jealous of him, and wanted a pretence to seize upon his person, for which he had been advised a warrant was actually issued.

It was therefore prudent to provide for his foreign's interests, by securing his own liberty; and crossing the country from Acton, about ten miles distant from Bristol, where he had fixed his residence, the better to carry on the correspondence he had entered into with the lord Inchiquin, he took shipping at Hastings, in Suffex, landed at Dieppe, and went to pay his respects to the queen and the prince at Paris, where he corresponded with the earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Lanerick, in Scotland, by the means of Sir John Hamilton; and, by the intervention of colonel John Barry, he kept up, in Ireland, the correspondence he had before settled with lord Inchiquin.

The marquis had not been long at Paris before agents, deputed by the general assembly, arrived there, from Ireland, to the queen and the prince, to treat of a peace, as the only expedient to save the kingdom. The marquis was consulted, and gave his opinion on the demands they brought, and the method necessary to be followed to promote his majesty's interest.

The marquis's return to Ireland being judged the only method that could be taken to save the kingdom, this made him very importunate with the French court for the necessary supplies; but he was long delayed, and, at length, put off with such a trifling sum, that it was consumed in necessaries for the voyage, and the subsistence of his attendants, before he could get his dispatches from St. Germain and embark for Ireland. However, he arrived in that kingdom, where he was impatiently expected by Inchiquin, landing at Cork in September, 1648, with no more than thirty French pistoles for his military chest.

The marquis had now no power but from the queen and the prince to conclude a peace with the Irish;

Irish; but this, however, he got ratified by the king, then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight; and with this ratification, which was by letter only, he received his majesty's commands to disobey all public orders, which he should give him, while under restraint.

The uniting Ireland in his majesty's interests was the only visible means to save his life, and the only proposed end of the marquis's return to that kingdom. With this view he published a declaration, in October, in which he mentions his having delivered up Dublin to the Parliament, with his reasons for so doing.

The marquis, though unassisted, entered upon the treaty of peace with the confederates, and, after having, with indefatigable zeal, unwearied diligence, labour, and exemplary, steady loyalty, surmounted many difficulties, it was at length concluded, a few days before the death of Charles I.

His next care was to proclaim Charles II. in all the towns which remained subject to the royal authority; after which he wrote to the new king, then at the Hague, earnestly entreating him to strengthen his interest in Ireland by his presence.

His majesty, convinced by the strength of his excellency's arguments, resolved upon following his advice, and passing over into Ireland; but was frustrated in his design by the Scotch commissioners, who were sent from the convention in Scotland to him in Holland, and by the deputies of the States, who warmly espoused their cause.

The marquis, thus left alone to struggle with innumerable difficulties, was not, however, discouraged; his spirits seemed to rise in proportion to the difficulties he had to encounter; for, with a small army, without money, without provisions, and not without disgusts among themselves, nor entirely to be depended upon, and at the same time advised of a design to assassinate him; he meditated a design

upon Dublin, which might have been easily carried, had others been equally vigilant, diligent, and zealous, for his majesty's service. The taking of this city would undoubtedly have occasioned the reduction of the whole kingdom.

But Cromwell himself arrived at Dublin at this juncture, with a powerful army, and well provided with money and provisions, which concurring with the death of O'Neil, whom he had brought over to the king's party, obliged the marquis to raise the siege; and, the king being gone to Scotland, he had no longer the least hopes of success, and consequently his longer stay in Ireland could not be of any service to the king's interest, but by preventing the different parties from making terms with the enemy, or by covering his majesty's designs to attack England with a Scottish army, by causing some diversion in Ireland.

These considerations were, however, sufficient to prevail on him not to quit the kingdom till it was absolutely impossible for him to keep it in obedience to his majesty. His last effort for the king's service was the calling a general assembly at Lough-reeh, in which he acquainted them with his design of departing, requiring them to consider on the most probable means of preserving the kingdom from utter ruin: and now having obtained the king's permission to leave the kingdom, he embarked for France, and landed at Perose, in Basse Bretagne, in January, 1651.

The marquis afterwards attended his majesty at Paris till the treaty between the court of France and Cromwell made the king's departure from that kingdom indispensably necessary. He then retired with him to Bruges in Flanders, where a treaty being set on foot between Charles and the court of Spain, in resentment for Cromwell's taking Jamaica, it was proposed, that some person of credit should be sent

sent to England, to sound the disposition of the people upon the subject of the Restoration, which was to be attempted by a Spanish army.

The marquis, in this exigence, generously offered to go to England in disguise, and act in the manner that should be most conducive to his majesty's interest, either as a chief or as a subaltern; which was, with some reluctance, accepted by the king. He accordingly went to England, but soon was convinced that all hopes from the cavaliers were built upon a sandy foundation.

The king, disgusted with the Spanish ministers, soon after withdrew from Brussels to the Hague. And here the marquis, to forward his royal master's interest, which he hoped by these means to strengthen, consented to a marriage between his son Thomas earl of Ossory, and Emilia, daughter of Lewis of Nassau, lord of Beverweert, natural son of Maurice, prince of Orange. The marquis of Ormond remained in Holland with the king, and came to England with him at the Restoration, when he was sworn a member of the privy-council, made lord-steward of the household, lord-lieutenant of Somersetshire, high-steward of Westminster, Kingston, and Bristol, and was restored to his dignity of chancellor of the university of Dublin.

His majesty gave back to him the county of Tipperary, together with the same privileges which his family had, for some centuries, enjoyed. He was, after this, created earl of Brecknock, and baron of Lanthony in England, and, by act of parliament, restored to his whole estate.

Soon after the Restoration, he found means to do a considerable and acceptable service to the English families in Ireland, by preventing the insertion of some clauses in the act of indemnity, which must have proved their ruin.

The king, in consideration of the marquis's services, made him very liberal grants; and, in February, 1661, he was joined with the duke of Albemarle, and others, in a commission to determine the claims usually entered at coronations, preparations being at that time making for the king's. In March, he was created duke of Ormond; and, about that time, being also made lord-high-steward of England, he assisted in that capacity at the coronation.

In the grand affair of the settlement of Ireland, the duke was inclined to do all possible service to the Irish; but as they not only rejected his advice, but even traduced his character, he resolved not to intermeddle in that affair, and his name appeared not in any one committee, to which it was referred, till after he was lord-lieutenant; which employment he accepted, when the duke of Albemarle had declined it on account of the jarring interests of the different parties. It was the duke of Ormond's entire submission to the will of his master which prevailed with him to enter upon an employment, the inconveniences of which he well foresaw; for he, speaking of it to a friend, said, "Besides many other unpleasant difficulties, there are two disadvantages proper to me; one of the contending parties believing I owe them more kindness and protection than I can find myself chargeable with; and the others suspecting I retain that prejudice to them which I am as free from. This temper in them will be attended with clamour and scandal, upon my most equal and wary deportment."

Four days after the duke of Ormond was declared lord-lieutenant, the agents of the parliament of Ireland had an audience of the king; when the bishop of Elphin, in the name of the lords, expressed their joy at the nomination of a person of whom his
lordship.

lordship gave the highest encomiums, and under whose conduct, he said, the kingdom of Ireland could not but speedily flourish. Sir A. Mervin, in the name of the commons, also gave his majesty thanks for having named the duke to be lord-lieutenant; and the news was received in Ireland with public rejoicings.

The parliament of Ireland, in 1662, considering the great losses the duke had sustained by his services to the crown, and the expence which his grace must necessarily fall into to support the dignity of his office, made him a present of thirty thousand pounds.

The king's marriage deferred the duke's departure for Ireland to the beginning of July, when he set out from London, and arrived in Dublin the latter end of that month, where he was splendidly received. And now all things relating to the government devolving upon him, what he had foreseen was soon verified; for, though he acted with the strictest integrity and impartiality, yet he could not avoid the resentment of numbers, who applied to him for what he could not grant, consistent with his duty. Whence arose new clamours, and his administration was not only rendered uneasy to him, but the course of his majesty's affairs was interrupted.

An act of settlement, and some others, were passed in September, when his grace made an excellent speech, well adapted to promote a mutual confidence and a perfect harmony between the king and his subjects; which the two houses desired might be printed.

One of the first things to which the duke applied himself, was the purging the army, by disbanding the disaffected. The Exchequer being empty, he
paid

paid their arrears out of his own pocket, as it was a service which admitted no delay.

The republican party in England, who were said to meditate a new Commonwealth, or at least some limitation of the regal authority, flattered themselves with the assistance of these forces, and with the concurrence of the Presbyterians, discontented by the act of uniformity; and the resolution of the parliament to support that act put the malcontents upon making an insurrection, hoping strength from Scotland, but more from Ireland, to support their attempts. Many of the Irish were, by the Court of Claims, to be re-possessed of their estates; which making the soldiers adventurers, every one for himself, by the fear of being thrust out of the lands they enjoyed, occasioned great clamours against the proceedings of that court, and the designs of the government; and some of the most furious spirits, resolving to keep by the sword what estates they enjoyed, readily engaged with that party.

An insurrection was intended, a conspiracy formed, and a private committee appointed for conducting the affair; but the whole was discovered to the duke. Blood, who afterwards stole the crown from the jewel office in the Tower, was one of the committee. But, notwithstanding this intelligence, the duke owed his preservation to his own vigilance; for the day pitched upon, to seize him and surprize the castle, was the tenth of March; of which he had notice; but the conspirators altering the time, and fixing it on the fifth, his informer was ignorant of the change till near the hour of its designed execution. The duke, however, was on his guard; of which the traitors having some information, the attempt was not made. Some of them fled, and others were taken.

In the year 1670, the duke's unalterable zeal for his majesty's service induced him to protect the Irish Remonstrants. These were the Catholics who opposed the violences of the Pope's nuncio; but the Anti-remonstrants prevailing by the support of the English ministry, that which the duke had offered others was the ground of a general hatred which the Irish Roman Catholics bore to his grace.

In the year 1677, the duke of Ormond was for the third time declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He was received by the university with all possible demonstrations of respect and esteem, and with very great ceremony, by the earl of Essex, who was to resign the sword to him. Soon after his arrival, he laid the foundation of the hospital for soldiers; erected Charles-fort, to secure the harbour of Kinsale; and employed the greatest part of his time in detecting frauds in the revenue, which, as also the forces of the kingdom, he considerably augmented.

His majesty, at this time thinking to gain over his enemies, took the method to make them more formidable, by putting them into posts of power and credit; to which end he desired the duke to resign his post of lord steward of the household. The account of the Popish-plot being sent to his grace, with its extending to Ireland, and a design upon his own life, occasioned his issuing proclamations necessary for the security of that kingdom, and taking other proper methods to that end. Though the duke used very necessary precautions to prevent the threatened commotions, yet his moderation not agreeing with more violent tempers, a design of assassinating his grace was strongly rumoured, and letters to that purpose dropt in the streets, in hopes that his own security might push him on to severities; but his firmness of mind was not to be shaken; and he made use of no harsher means than what were necessary,

fary, had the imaginary danger been real; except against Tories, or common robbers and murderers, in the persons of their relations, who protected or concealed them.

The lord Shaftesbury, in a speech in the house of peers, insinuated, that the duke of Ormond was popishly inclined. This attack from him made the duke's friends apprehend farther designs against him, and give him their advice to come to England. He accordingly wrote to Mr. secretary Coventry for his majesty's permission; but the answer his majesty gave, was, "He had one of his kingdoms in good hands, and was resolved to keep it so." It was, however, reported, that the duke was to be removed; and lord Arlington asked his majesty, "If such a report was true?" he answered, "It was a damned lie; and that he was satisfied while he, the duke of Ormond, was there, that kingdom was safe."

The king, who believed that designs were formed to limit his authority, resolving to exert himself, would have brought lord Shaftesbury to his trial; but the grand jury, very properly, threw out the bill; and, as the ferment afterwards abated in England, the people's minds were quieted in Ireland; when all being hushed into a calm, the Duke of Ormond had an opportunity, the king having sent for him, to come to England, leaving his son, the earl of Arran, lord-deputy.

He received the compliments of, and presents from, every town through which he passed from Chester to London; into which he was ushered by a great number of persons of distinction. In his entry he was attended by twenty-seven coaches and the king's trumpets, the serjeant-trumpet, and a kettle-drum. At court he met with an affectionate reception from his majesty, and was immediately
sworn

sworn of the privy-council; and soon after created an English duke.

The king's affairs being so well established in England, that there was not any necessity for his grace's absence from his government, after two years stay at court, he received orders, in June, to return to Ireland; but his departure was retarded till August, by the death of his duchess.

No sooner had he left London, but he was attacked on some suggestions from colonel Talbot; who made such a report to the king, that a general reformation in the council, magistracy, and army of Ireland, was determined; and his grace, on the fifth of September, had a hint from Sir Robert Southwell of his removal. In October the king intimated his pleasure on this head, and of lord Rochester's succeeding to his post.

On the 6th of February, 1684, king Charles II. died; and the duke, four days after, being sent for, left Dublin to proceed to England, having first caused James II. to be proclaimed; and, as ordered, laid down his office; which was a treatment he had little reason to expect, and an indignity that the late king would not have put upon him.

He set out for England, and, on the road, met the news of his regiment of horse being given to colonel Talbot; but, notwithstanding these affronts from court, he was, when near London, met by numbers of coaches, and received at his house by a multitude, and loud acclamations. He was continued lord steward of the household, and at the coronation again carried the crown.

The lord Clarendon succeeded to the lieutenancy of Ireland; but, after a year, was recalled to make way for colonel Talbot, created earl of Tyrconnel, who made great changes both in the civil and military establishment; and the duke lost his regiment

of foot; though he kept his regiment of horse, which he had purchased fifty years before; and this was the only military employment he held.

In February, 1686, the duke retired for some weeks to Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, a seat lord Clarendon had lent him; and in August he attended his majesty in his progress as far as Bristol. He, after this, withstood the first instance of his majesty's exercising a dispensing power; and, when the king felt his pulse on the design of abolishing the penal laws, he found him unalterably steady in his aversion to what he foresaw would be contrary to his majesty's interest, though it might flatter his inclinations.

The duke, being laid up with the gout at Badminton, had the honour of two visits from the king, in going from Bath to Chester, and on his return. He permitted his grace to retire, and dispensed with his attendance at court, as lord-steward; from which he would not remove him. His grace removed from Badminton, and hired a seat in Dorsetshire, called Kingston-hall, where he died on the twenty-first of July, 1686; and, on the fourth of August, his corpse was deposited in Westminster-abbey.

* * * *Authorities.* Rapin's History of England. Salmon's Chronological Historian. Leland's Hist. of Ireland. Clarendon's History of the Great Rebellion. Biog. Britannica.

THE LIFE OF
GEORGE VILLIERS, the Younger,
Second Duke of BUCKINGHAM of that Name.

[A. D. 1627, to 1688.]

THIS accomplished courtier having had the chief direction of public affairs for a short time under Charles II. intitles him to a place in the class of public characters who flourished at this æra, though he was more distinguished for his literary than his political abilities ; and, if it would not have made a chasm in the annals of this reign, he might have ranked with the poets in the supplement.

He was the son and heir of that unfortunate statesman and favourite, the first duke of Buckingham of the name, whose life the reader will find in vol. III. He was born at Wallingford-house in Westminster, in 1627, and was little more than sixteen months old when his father was assassinated : “ from whom,” says Mr. Brian Fairfax, one of the writers of his life, “ he inherited the greatest title, as he did from his mother the greatest estate, of any subject in England ; and from them both so graceful a body, as gave lustre to the ornaments of his mind.” He was educated for some years by private tutors at home, under the direction of the duchess his mother, and, at a proper age, he was sent with his younger brother, lord Francis Villiers, to Trinity-college, Cambridge. It is not certain how long he remained at the university before he went upon his travels
into

into foreign parts ; it is only ascertained, that he did not return to England till after the commencement of the civil war, when he and his brother repaired to Charles I. at Oxford, and distinguished themselves soon after by their zeal and activity in the royal cause, particularly in storming of the close at Litchfield, for which the parliament seized on their estates, but restored them again in consideration of their youth. In 1648, the noble youths appeared again in arms against the parliament, under the standard of the earl of Holland ; and general Fairfax himself being sent out against the earl, engaged him near Kingston in Surrey ; and lord Francis Villiers, having his horse slain under him in the action, placed himself against an oak-tree in the high-way, where he valiantly defended himself with his sword, scorning to ask quarter till he received nine wounds in his face and body, and thus gallantly fell a victim to loyalty in the twentieth year of his age.

The duke, after the loss of his brother, escaped, with great difficulty, to St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, as did the earl of Holland, who was there taken and beheaded. The next morning, the duke, finding that the house wherein he lay was surrounded, and a troop of horse drawn up before the gate, had just time to mount himself and his servants, and then, ordering the gates to be thrown open, he resolutely charged the enemy, slew the commanding-officer, and fought his way through the corps ; after which he effected his escape to the sea-coast, and found means to join the prince of Wales, who lay in the Downs with the ships that had deserted from the earl of Warwick. The parliament now required him to surrender in the space of forty days ; which the duke refusing, his estate was confiscated, amounting to 25,000*l.* per annum.

After

After this, he retired to Holland, and subsisted, for some time, on the produce of the sale of his pictures at Antwerp, which were part of the valuable collection purchased by his father in Italy, through the friendly assistance of Sir Henry Wotton, and other English gentlemen, who were travelling, or resided in that country at the time. This costly collection adorned York-house in London, to the admiration of all men of judgment in pictures; and they were secretly conveyed to the duke by John Traylman, a trusty old servant, who had the care of that house.

In 1651, the duke of Buckingham, who had attended Charles II. in his expedition to Scotland, fought by his side at the battle of Worcester, with signal bravery, which ought to be remembered to his honour, because he had taken a disgust at the king's refusal, before the battle, to take the command of the army from the Scottish general, and to bestow it on him, alleging that it would not be consistent with the dignity of an English peer to act under his orders. After the loss of the day, the duke had the good fortune once more to escape from the enemy, too busily engaged in the plunder of the royal camp, in the disguise of a labourer, and, after various distressful adventures in the north of England, to get safe to London, and from thence to Holland, where he was at first mistaken for the king, who, soon after, with still more difficulty, got to France, where the duke joined him.

Charles, in recompence for his faithful services, had made the duke a Knight of the Garter, and he was always glad to see him at court; but the duke saw no great prospect of promotion, in case of a restoration, for the earl of Clarendon, and some other persons of distinction about the king, had conceived a great dislike to him; he therefore, about

this time, took some very extraordinary steps, which alarmed the cavaliers. He entered himself a volunteer in the French army, and greatly signalized himself at the sieges of Arras and Valenciennes; and his military reputation being now thoroughly established, his conduct being highly extolled by the French officers, the next thing he did was to go over privately to England, where he paid his addresses to general Fairfax's daughter, whom he married with her father's consent. Though this was a match of interest, the parliament having given the greatest part of the duke's estate to Fairfax, yet it was considered by the cavaliers as an open desertion of the royal cause: yet, on the other hand, Cromwell was so displeas'd at this alliance, that he sent the duke to the Tower, which so provoked the general, that it occasioned a quarrel between him and the protector, whose death soon after put an end to the contest. The duke of Buckingham, however, remained a kind of state-prisoner at Windsor castle, till after the resignation of Richard Cromwell, when he was set at liberty.

Nothing can be a greater proof of the extraordinary address of this professed courtier, than his making himself equally acceptable to the rigid, devout Fairfax, and to that dissolute, immoral prince, Charles II. Upon his enlargement, he retired to his father-in-law's house at Appleton; where the old general, then lord Fairfax, received him with open arms, and here he resided with his wife till the Restoration, lord Fairfax continuing to be highly pleas'd with his company, and with his conformity to the sober regulations of his family.

Soon after the Restoration, the duke's whole estate was restored to him, which enabled him to appear with great splendour at the coronation, and he

he rendered himself popular by his hospitality ; but being obliged to give entertainment to several young French noblemen, in return for the civilities he had received in France, they induced him to game, and he had such bad success, that his estate would soon have been considerably diminished, if he had not taken a sudden resolution not to play any more, which, it is said, he adhered to, even amidst all his other dissipations, ever after.

The duke's advancement at court after the Restoration was impeded as much as possible by the earl of Clarendon, and the duke of Ormond, his sworn foe ; at first he was only made one of the lords of the bedchamber, and sworn of the privy-council ; he then got the appointment of lord-lieutenant of Yorkshire, and, at length, that of master of the horse. But it does not appear that he had any distinguished abilities as a politician ; on the contrary, it is said that he had neither wisdom, prudence, nor steadiness, and that he could not possibly have been of the least service to any court but that of Charles II. in which humour, buffoonery, obscenity, and immorality, were the characteristics of the monarch and his chief favourites. Buckingham possessed the talent of mimicry in a high degree ; and that first of debauchees, Rochester, joining his pernicious talents to those of the duke, these inseparable companions cheated the king of his most grave and able counsellors and servants. But both of them, at times, though in different ways, grew mischievous as well as witty, and incurred the king's displeasure. Rochester's tricks were of too low and trivial a nature to be recorded in history ; they occupy a fitter place at the head of his obscene poems ; but the duke of Buckingham's misconduct was of a public nature, and, if properly inquired into, would probably have been found

found to be no less than treason to his king and country. For he was accused of maintaining a secret correspondence with the French; and likewise with disaffected and discontented persons, to whom he wrote letters which had a tendency to excite sedition; and this being discovered, and laid before the king in council in 1666, he withdrew from court, and thereupon he was dismissed from all his employments. The serjeant at arms was likewise sent to his house, to take him into custody; but he defended it by force, till he found means to escape: upon which a proclamation was issued, requiring him to surrender by a certain day; but he lay concealed above a year, till he had felt the pulse of the good natured king by the agency of his friends and spies, and then, upon his submission, the charge of treason was dropped, and he was restored to his place at the council board, and to his office of lord of the bed-chamber; and from this time gained such an ascendancy over the king, that he made him his chief confidant, and at his instigation removed the lord-chancellor Clarendon.

The duke of Buckingham now took the lead in administration, and was at the head of the cabinet-council styled the CABAL, which was formed in 1670. The same year he went ambassador to France, in order to break *the triple alliance*, which had been the boast of Sir William Temple, (see his Life in vol. V.). Anthony Wood says, that his person and his errand were so acceptable to the French king, that he entertained him very nobly for several days together, and gave him a sword and belt set with diamonds, to the value of 40,000 pistoles; and a French historian, *Mons. de Veraille*, assures us, that "the most Christian king shewed him greater respect than ever any foreign ambassador had been known

known to receive, as he knew him to be *un homme de plaisir*, he entertained him accordingly. "Nothing," says he, "could be so welcome to the court of Versailles as the business he came about; for which reason a regale was prepared for him, that might have befitted the magnificence of the Roman emperors, when Rome flourished in its utmost grandeur." But nothing could be more unpopular in England than this embassy, which was calculated to ruin the Dutch, and to destroy the Protestant interest in Europe: so that the duke was very differently received upon his return home; and his enemies being loud in their complaints against him, he is strongly suspected of a base attempt to take off the duke of Ormond, his old adversary, by encouraging Blood, the villain who afterwards stole the crown from the Tower, in his assault upon Ormond. That nobleman was taken out of his coach in St. James's Street by Blood and his associates, and dragged beyond Devonshire-house, in Piccadilly, before he was rescued: their design was to have carried him to Tyburn, and to have hanged him on the gallows. The earl of Ossory, the duke of Ormond's son, it is said, was so convinced of Buckingham's guilt, that, in the king's presence, he told the duke, if his father should come to an untimely end, he should consider him as the author, and most assuredly would pistol him, even if he stood behind the king's chair.

In 1671, the duke was installed chancellor of the university of Oxford; and, the same year, his celebrated comedy, intituled *THE REHEARSAL*, was first brought upon the stage. The uncommon applause with which it was received appears to have been due to the merit of the piece; though it was, by many at the time, ascribed to the high rank of the author; but it has since constantly engaged the

attention of the public ; and, when the principal character is well filled, always draws together crowded audiences. Indeed, the Rehearsal is justly considered as a most perfect piece ; and, as lord Shaftesbury observes, is the standard of true comic ridicule. The foibles and partialities of poets, especially in the dramatic walk, are finely satirised ; but Mr. Dryden, who was principally aimed at, could never forgive the duke ; and he has returned the compliment, by a most bitter satire, in the character of Zimri, drawn for the duke, in his poem of Absalom and Achitophel.

The only account we have of the duke's conduct in public affairs this year is, that he was an adviser of the declaration of indulgence, by which the penal laws against Dissenters from the Church of England were suspended. The following year, he was joined in a secret commission, with the lords Arlington and Halifax, to Louis XIV. then at Utrecht, to concert measures with that monarch for carrying on a second war against the Dutch ; but as soon as the parliament met, in 1673, a complaint was exhibited against him in the house of commons, for the share he had had in the late mal-administration of public affairs ; upon which he laid the blame of the Dutch war upon lord Arlington, who was thereupon impeached ; and he vindicated himself so ably, in a long speech before the managers on the part of the house of commons, that the prosecution against him was laid aside. From this time, the duke lost all favour at court, and began openly to oppose the measures of administration. In 1675, he brought a bill into the house of lords for tolerating the Dissenters ; and he was one of the managers for the house of lords in the famous conference they held that year with the commons, respecting the jurisdiction of the upper house, in the case of Dr. Shirley's

ley's appeal from the court of chancery against Sir John Fagg, a member of the house of commons; which appeal the commons had so highly resented, that they ordered Dr. Shirley to be taken into custody. The debates at this conference ran so high, that the king, apprehensive of the consequences of the quarrel between the two houses, prorogued the parliament to a term exceeding twelve months, and thence called the Long Prorogation. When this parliament met again, in February 1677, the duke of Buckingham made a florid speech, as soon as the king had left the house, tending to shew that his majesty had gone beyond the bounds of the royal prerogative in the late prorogation; that the parliament then assembled had no right to sit, being in fact dissolved; and that a new parliament ought to be called according to law. He was seconded in this declaration by the lords Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton; and as they defended their assertion the next day, by strong arguments from law and reason, it was moved, by the lords in administration, that they should be committed to the Tower; which being carried by a majority, they were accordingly sent to that state-prison, where the earl of Shaftesbury was confined upwards of a year; but the duke of Buckingham, and the other lords, upon making their submission, in a petition to the king, were soon released. Yet this did not prevent the duke's future vigorous opposition to the earl of Danby's measures, who was then at the head of the treasury, and deemed the prime minister. In this view, upon the discovery of the Popish plot by Dr. Tongue and Titus Oates, he was zealous in the prosecution of the accused, and became greatly instrumental to the impeachment of the earl of Danby, who escaped further punishment by pleading the king's pardon. He likewise

attempted the removal of the duke of Lauderdale, by using his interest in the house of commons to procure an address to the king for that purpose; but he failed in this design, for the king refused to gratify the commons, and even took upon himself the vindication of Lauderdale, who had the chief management of the affairs of Scotland during the greatest part of this reign.

Though the Tory ministry was discarded in 1679, and a new one formed, consisting of a medley of both parties, in which lord Shaftesbury was included, yet Buckingham had given the king so much personal offence, by speaking of his majesty with the utmost contempt in all companies, that all the interest of his friends proved ineffectual to restore him to any employment about the court; and it is most probable that, from this time, he gave a loose to dissipation, and lived upon his estate (the greatest part of which he spent before he died) without interfering with public affairs; for we have no further account of him as a public character during the remainder of his life. But the following particulars of his latter days are related by Mr. Fairfax: Upon the death of the king, he went into the country to his manor-seat at Helmesley, in Yorkshire. There he passed his time in hunting and entertaining his friends, which he did a fortnight before his death, as pleasantly and hospitably as ever he had done. He took cold one day after fox-hunting, by sitting on the ground, which brought on an ague and fever, of which he died, after three days sickness, at a tenant's house on Kirby-moor-side, a lordship of his own, near Helmesley, in the year 1688. Anthony Wood says, that he died at his house in Yorkshire; but the circumstance of his sitting upon the cold ground, when warm with the chace, renders it highly probable, that he was suddenly taken ill,

ill, and carried to his tenant's house, which might be an inn. And thus we may account for the pathetic reflections on his death, contained in the following elegant lines of Mr. Pope :

Behold what blessings wealth to life can lend !
 And see what comfort it affords our end !
 In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half-hung,
 The floors of plaster, and the walls of dung,
 On once a flock-bed, but repair'd with straw,
 With tape-tied curtains, never meant to draw,
 The George and Garter dangling from that bed,
 Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,
 Great *Villiers* lies : alas ! how changed from him,
 That life of pleasure, and that soul of whim !
 Gallant and gay, in Cliveden's proud alcove,
 The bower of wanton *Shrewsbury* and love ;
 Or just as gay at council, in a ring
 Of mimick'd statesmen, and their merry king,
 No wit to flatter left, of all his store !
 No fool to laugh at, which he valued more.
 There, victor of his health, of fortune, friends,
 And fame ; this lord of useless thousands ends.

Epistle on the Use of Riches, v. 297.

The duke of Buckingham's character may be collected from the accurate sketch of it drawn by the pencils of those great masters of descriptive poetry, Dryden and Pope ; and though the former was his professed enemy on account of the Rehearsal, yet, upon a comparison of *Zimri* with bishop Burnet's account of the duke, the picture does not seem to be greatly overcharged. His grace had no children by his duchess, so that in him the title, in the family of *Villiers*, became extinct. It was afterwards transferred to that of *Sheffield*.

The literary abilities of the duke of Buckingham have entitled him to rank with the first of the minor British poets. His dramatic pieces, besides *The Rehearsal*, are, *The Chances*, a comedy, altered from Fletcher; and still occasionally represented. *The Restoration*, or *Right will take place*, a tragi-comedy. The battle of *Sedgmoor*, a farce. And, *The Militant Couple*; or, *The Husband may thank himself*, a fragment. His other poetical writings consist of small poems, complimentary and satirical. One is intitled, *The Lost Mistress*, a complaint against the countess of Shrewsbury, as is supposed. This abandoned woman was so lost to all sense of honour, shame, or even humanity, that she is charged with having excited a duel between the duke and her husband, in which the duke killed the earl; and it is added, that she not only held the duke's horse in the disguise of a page, while the duel was fought, but afterwards went to bed with him, before he had changed his shirt, stained with the blood of her husband.

But how will the reader be astonished to find, that such a professed debauchee as Buckingham wrote also some prose compositions on serious subjects, which would have done honour to the pen of a divine. Such however are, his "Short Discourse upon the Reasonableness of Men's having a Religion or Worship of God," which was published about three years before his death, and passed through several editions; his "Essay on Reason and Religion;" and another on "Human Reason." Of a less serious cast, but containing much wit, and some just, though severe strictures on the Romish religion, is his account of a conference between himself and father Fitzgerald, whom king James sent to him, during a fit of illness, to convert him

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to the Romish Church. Several of his speeches in parliament have likewise been published, which, together with most of the above mentioned tracts and poems, were printed in a miscellany, under the title of "The Works of his Grace, George Villiers, late Duke of Buckingham." London, 1715. 2 volumes octavo. They contain, however, various poems and speeches of other eminent persons.

* * * *Authorities.* Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. Memoirs of the Life of G. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, by Mr. Brian Fairfax, Lond. 4to. 1758. Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Times. Biog. Britannica.

S U P P L E M E N T.

T H E L I F E O F

J O H N S E L D E N.

[A. D. 1584, to 1654.]

THIS eminent lawyer, and learned critic, was descended from a good family, and born at Salvinton, near Terring, in Suffex, the 16th of December, 1584. He was educated at the free-school in Chichester; and, at sixteen years of age, was sent to Hart-Hall, in Oxford, where he continued about three years. Then he entered himself of Clifford's-Inn, London, in order to study the law; and about two years after removed to the Inner-Temple, where he soon acquired a great reputation by his learning. His first friendships were with Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Spelman, Camden, and Usher, all of them learned in antiquities; which was also Mr. Selden's favourite object. In 1610, he began to distinguish himself by publications in this way, and put out two pieces that year: "*Jani Anglorum facies altera*," and "*De Duello*, or of Single Combat." In 1612, he published notes and illustrations on the first eighteen songs in Michael Drayton's "*Poly-Olbion*:" and, the year after, wrote verses in Greek, Latin, and English, upon Browne's "*Britannia's Pastorals*;" which, with
divers

divers poems prefixed to the works of other authors, occasioned Sir John Suckling to give him a place in his "Session of the Poets." In 1614, came out his "Titles of Honour," a work much esteemed at home and abroad; and which, "as to what concerns our nobility and gentry," says bishop Nicholfon, "all will allow ought first to be perused, for the gaining a general notion of the distinction of a degree, from an emperor down to a country gentleman." In 1616, he published "Notes on Fortescue's *De laudibus legum Angliæ*;" and, in 1617, "*De Diis Syris Syntagmata Duo*," which was reprinted at Leyden, 1629, in 8vo. by Ludovicus de Dieu, after it had been revised and enlarged by Selden himself.

Mr. Selden was not then above three and thirty years of age; and yet he had shewn himself a great philologist, antiquary, herald, and linguist: and his name was so wonderfully advanced, not only at home, but in foreign countries, that he was actually then become; what he was afterwards usually styled, the great dictator of learning to the English nation. In 1618, when he was in his thirty-fourth year, his "History of Tithes" was printed in 4to. in the preface to which he reproaches the clergy with ignorance and laziness, with having nothing to keep up their credit, but beard, title, and habit, their studies not reaching farther than the breviary, the postils, and polyanthea: in the work itself he endeavours to shew, that tithes are not due under Christianity by divine right, though he allows the clergy's title to them by the laws of the land. This book gave great offence to the clergy, and was animadverted on by several writers; by Dr. Richard Montague, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, in particular. The author was also called before some lords of the high com-

mission, and also of the privy-council, and obliged to make a submission: when he expressed his concern for publishing a book, which against his intention had given offence, yet without recanting any thing contained in it.

In 1621, king James I. being displeas'd with the parliament, and having imprison'd several members, whom he suspected of opposing his measures, order'd Mr. Selden likewise to be committed to the custody of the sheriff of London: for though he was not then a member of the house of commons, yet he had been sent for and consult'd by them, and had given his opinion very strongly in favour of their privileges, in opposition to the court. However, by the interest of Andrews, bishop of Winchester, he, with the other gentlemen, was set at liberty in five weeks. He then return'd to his studies, and wrote and publish'd learned works, as usual. In 1623, he was chosen a burges for Lancaster; in 1625, he was chosen again for Great Bedwin in Wiltshire; and, in this first parliament of king Charles I. he declar'd himself warmly against the duke of Buckingham, and, when that nobleman was impeach'd in 1626, was one of the managers of the articles against him.

He oppos'd the court-party the three following years with great vigour in many speeches. The king, having dissolv'd the parliament in 1628, order'd several members of the house of commons to be committed to the Tower. Mr. Selden, being one of this number, insist'd upon the benefit of the laws, and refus'd to make any submission to the court; upon which he was remov'd to the King's-bench prison. He was releas'd the latter end of the year, though it does not appear how; only, that the parliament, in 1646, order'd him 5000*l.* for the losses he had sustain'd on that occasion. In 1650, he was again committed to custody,

tody, with the earls of Bedford and Clare, Sir Robert Cotton, and Mr. St. John, being accused of having dispersed a libel, intituled, "A Proposition for his Majesty's Service to bridle the Impertinency of Parliaments;" but it was proved, that Sir Robert Dudley, then living in the duke of Tuscany's dominions, was the author. All these various imprisonments and tumults gave little interruption to his studies; but he proceeded, in his old way, to write and publish books.

King James had ordered Mr. Selden to make collections proper to shew the right of the crown of England to the dominion of the sea, and he had engaged in the work; but upon the affront, which he had received by his imprisonment, he laid it aside. However, in 1634, a dispute arising between the English and the Dutch concerning the herring-fishery upon the British coast, and Grotius having before published, in 1609, his "*Mare Liberum*" in favour of the latter, Mr. Selden was prevailed upon by archbishop Laud, who, though he did not love his principles in church and state affairs, yet could not help revering him for his learning and morals, to draw up his "*Mare Clausum*;" and it was accordingly published in 1636. This book recommended him highly to the favour of the court, and he might have had any thing he would; but his attachment to his books, and his zeal for the liberties of his country, made him averse to court preferment. In 1640, he published, "*De Jure Naturali & Gentium juxta disciplinam Hebræorum*," folio. Mr. Puffendorff applauds this work highly; but his translator, Barbeyrac, observes, with regard to it, "that besides the extreme disorder and obscurity, which are justly to be censured in his manner of writing, he does not derive his principles of the law of nature from the pure light of reason, but merely from the seven precepts given to Noah; and frequently

quently contents himself by citing the decisions of the Rabbins, without giving himself the trouble to examine whether they be just or not." Monsieur Le Clerc. says, "that, in this book, Mr. Selden has only copied the Rabbins, and scarcely ever reasons at all. His rabbinical principles are founded upon an uncertain Jewish tradition, namely, that God gave to Noah seven precepts to be observed by all mankind; which, if it should be denied, the Jews would find a difficulty to prove. Besides his ideas are very imperfect and embarrassed." There is certainly some foundation for this; and what is here said concerning this particular work may be more or less applied to all he wrote. Mr. Selden had a great memory and prodigious learning; and these had oftentimes the same effect on him, as they have always on men of lower abilities, such as Dodwell, for instance: that is, they checked and impeded the use of his reasoning faculty, perplexed and embarrassed his ideas, and crowded his writings with citations and authorities, to supply the place of sense and argument.

The same year, 1640, he was chosen member of parliament for the university of Oxford; and though he was against the court, yet, in 1642, the king had thoughts of taking the seal from the lord-keeper Littleton, and giving it to him. The lord Clarendon tells us, that the lord Falkland and himself, to whom his majesty referred the consideration of that affair, "did not doubt of Mr. Selden's affection to the king:" but withal they knew him so well, that they concluded he would absolutely refuse the place if it were offered to him. "He was in years," continues the noble historian, "and of a tender constitution: he had for many years enjoyed his ease, which he loved; was rich, and would not have made a journey to York, or have lain out of his own bed, for any preferment, which he had never

ver affected." The noble historian might have added, that he was too much attached to the liberties of his country, to be at all inclined to promote the king's views. In 1643, he was appointed one of the lay-members to sit in the assembly of divines at Westminster, in which he frequently perplexed those divines with great learning: and, as Mr. Whitlocke relates, "sometimes when they had cited a text of scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, perhaps in their little pocket-bibles with gilt leaves, which they would often pull out and read, the translation might be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew signified thus and thus; and so would totally silence them."

About this time he took the covenant; and the same year, 1643, was, by the parliament, appointed keeper of the records in the Tower. In 1644, he was elected one of the twelve commissioners of the admiralty; and the same year was nominated to the mastership of Trinity-college in Cambridge, which he did not think proper to accept. About this time he did great services to the university of Oxford, as appears from several letters written to him by that university, which are printed; and indeed he never concurred in any violent or unjust measures, but often opposed, and always discountenanced, them. Upon the publication of the *Eikon Basilike*, Cromwell employed all his interest to engage him to write an answer to that book; but he refused. In the beginning of 1654, his health began to decline; and he died on the 30th of November that year, in White-Friars, at the house of Elizabeth, countess of Kent, with whom he had lived some years in such intimacy, that they were reported to be as man and wife; and Dr. Wilkins supposes that the wealth which Mr. Selden left at his death was chiefly owing to the generosity of that countess: but there is no good reason for either of these surmises.

mises. He was buried in the Temple church, where a monument was erected to him: and archbishop Usher preached his funeral sermon. He left a most valuable and curious library to his executors, Matthew Hale, John Vaughan, Edward Heywood, and Rowland Jewks, Esquires; which they generously would have bestowed on the society of the Inner-Temple, if a proper place had been provided to receive it; but this being neglected, they gave it to the university of Oxford.

Mr. Selden's extensive learning procured him the esteem of all the learned men of his time in Europe; and even the celebrated Grotius, with a generosity uncommon in literary rivals, styles him, "The Glory of the English nation." But the noblest testimony of his great abilities, is that of his friend the earl of Clarendon, with whose sketch of his character we shall close these memoirs.

"Mr. Selden was a person," says he, "whom no character can flatter, or transmit in any expressions equal to his merit and virtue. He was of so stupendous learning in all kinds, and in all languages, as may appear from his excellent and transcendent writings, that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant among books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability, was such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good-nature, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating all he knew, exceeded that breeding. His style in all his writings seems harsh, and sometimes obscure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse subjects, of which he commonly treated, out of the paths trod by other men, but to a little undervaluing the beauty of a style, and too much propensity to the language of antiquity; but, in his conversation, he was the most clear discourser, and had

had the best faculty in making hard things easy, and presenting them to the understanding, of any man that hath been known."

His works were collected by Dr. David Wilkins, and printed at London in three volumes, folio, 1726. The two first volumes contain his Latin works; and the third, his English. The editor has prefixed a long life of the author, and added several pieces never before published; particularly letters, poems, &c.

* * *Authorities.* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Life of Selden, by Wilkins. Nicholson's English Historical Library.

THE LIFE OF

DR. WILLIAM HARVEY.

(A. D. 1578, to 1657.)

THIS celebrated physician was the eldest son of Thomas Harvey, a gentleman of Folkstone in Kent, where he was born in 1578. At ten years of age he was sent to the grammar-school at Canterbury; and, in May, 1593, when he was somewhat turned of fifteen years of age, he was removed to Gonvil and Caius College, in the university of Cambridge. Having spent six years in this university, in the study of logic and natural philosophy, as a proper foundation for the study of physic, he travelled abroad, and went to Padua in Italy,

Italy, where he attended the lectures of the famous Fabricius of Aquapendente on anatomy, of Mino-daus on pharmacy, and of Casserius on chirurgery; and, having taken the degree of doctor of physick in that university, when he was twenty-four years of age, he returned home to his native country.

After his return to England, he took the degree of doctor of physick at Cambridge, and, going to London, entered upon the practice of his profession there. In the thirtieth year of his age, he was chosen a fellow of the college of physicians in London; and, soon after, he was appointed physician to St. Bartholomew's hospital.

On the 4th of August, 1615, he was appointed by the college of physicians to read the anatomy and chirurgery lecture founded by Dr. Richard Caldwell. And it was probably on this occasion, that he first proposed his sentiments concerning the use of the heart, and the circulation of the blood. For, in an anatomical treatise, written about this time, and still extant in his own hand, the chief principles of his discovery upon this subject are to be found. But, in the first lectures hereupon, he only opened, as it were, his sentiments upon the subject; but, when he had afterwards examined and discussed his hypothesis more thoroughly, fortified it with arguments, and confirmed it by repeated experiments made before the college of physicians, he published at Frankfort, in 1628, in 4to, his "*Exercitationem Anatomicam de Cordis et Sanguinis Motu.*" Of this book, whether we consider the importance of the subject, the clearness of the method, or the strength of reasoning with which Dr. Harvey supports his opinion, we may truly assert, that there is scarcely any treatise on a similar subject to be compared with it.

Dr. Harvey's discovery was of the greatest importance in the whole art of physic. But no man who had attained great excellence has ever escaped the attacks of envy. Discoveries or improvements in any art or science have generally been viewed with a very jealous eye by the bulk of the professors of those arts or sciences, And accordingly Harvey's discovery concerning the circulation of the blood brought upon him many opponents of his own profession. Their several attempts to refute his book were indeed without success; but some of his antagonists seem to have been mean enough to endeavour to obstruct him in his private practice; for it appears, that Harvey complained to one of his friends, that he was much less frequently called upon to visit the sick, after he had published his book concerning the motion of the heart.

Harvey's adversaries may be divided into two classes, by which he was attacked on different sides, and by very different arguments. Of these the one party endeavoured to make it appear, that Harvey's hypothesis was false; whilst the other admitted it to be well-founded, but asserted that he was not the author of the discovery. One of the first who attacked Harvey's principles concerning the circulation, was Æmilius Parisanus, a physician of Venice; but he was opposed by Sir George Ent, of the college of physicians, between whom and Harvey there was a great friendship, in his, "*Apologia pro Sanguinis Circulatione.*" Harvey was also attacked by Riolanus, a French physician and anatomist; but he answered him himself in his "*Exercitationes Anatomicæ duæ de Circulatione sanguinis, ad J. Riolanum J. Filium.*"

Those, who endeavoured to deprive Harvey of the honour of discovering the circulation, asserted that it was known to preceding writers. Vander Linden
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took much pains to prove that it was known to Hippocrates; others said it was known to Galen; others to Michael Servetus; and others to Columbus, an anatomist; and Mr. Bayle afterwards affirmed very confidently, that it was known to Caesalpinus. Passages were cited from these authors to prove this; but it has been shewn very clearly by Dr. Freind, in his History of Physic, as well as by others, that the passages cited do by no means answer the purpose for which they were produced. The honour of discovering the circulation was also attributed to the famous Father Paul. This was occasioned by the following incident. The Venetian ambassador in England was presented by Dr. Harvey with his book on the circulation of the blood; which, on his return to Venice, he lent to Father Paul, who transcribed the most remarkable particulars out of it. These transcripts, after Father Paul's death, came into the hands of his executors, which induced several persons to imagine that he was the author of them, and gave rise to the report that he had discovered the circulation of the blood. But Dr. Harvey had letters from Fra. Fulgentio, Father Paul's most intimate friend, which set the affair in a clear light. Upon the whole, we may conclude with the words of Dr. Freind, "As this great discovery was intirely owing to our countryman, so he has explained it with all the clearness imaginable; and though much has been written upon that subject, I may venture to say, his own book is the shortest, the plainest, and the most convincing of any, as we may be satisfied, if we look into the many apologies written in defence of the circulation."

On the third of February, 1623, letters were granted by king James I. permitting Dr. Harvey to wait and attend on his majesty in the same manner as the physicians in ordinary did, with a promise

mise that he should succeed to that office on the first vacancy. And he was afterwards appointed physician to king Charles I. He adhered to that prince upon the breaking-out of the civil wars, and attended his majesty at the battle of Edge-hill, and from thence to Oxford; and, in 1642, he was incorporated doctor of physic in that university. In 1645, by the king's influence, he was elected warden of Merton-college; but, upon the surrendering of Oxford the year after to the parliament, he was obliged to quit that office; and, retiring to London, he passed his time privately in the neighbourhood of that city.

In 1651, he published his "*Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium: quibus accedunt quædam de Partu, de Membranis ac Humoribus Uteri, et de Conceptione.*" This is a curious and valuable work, and would certainly have been more so, had not the civil war occasioned the loss of some of his papers. For although he had permission from the parliament to attend the king upon his majesty's leaving Whitehall, yet his house in London was in his absence plundered of all the furniture; and his *Adversaria*, with a great number of anatomical observations, relating especially to the generation of insects, were carried off; and never afterwards recovered by him. This loss he greatly lamented.

Dr. Harvey had the happiness to live to see the doctrine of the circulation generally received. And, in 1652, a statue was erected to his honour by the college of physicians. Two years after, he was chosen president of the college in his absence; and coming there the day after, he acknowledged his great obligations to the electors for the honour they had done him, but declined accepting of the office, on account of his age and weakness. As he had no children, he made the college his heirs, and settled his

his paternal estate upon them in July following. He had three years before built them a room to assemble in, and a library; and, in 1656, he brought the deeds of his estate, and presented them to the college. He was then present at the first feast, instituted by himself, to be continued annually, together with a commemoration speech in Latin, to be spoken on the 18th of October, in honour of the benefactors of the college. He died on the 3d of June, 1657, and was carried to be interred at Hempstead, in the county of Essex, where a monument was erected to his memory. It has been reported, that Dr. Harvey, before his death, was deprived of his sight, and thereupon drank a glass of opium, and expired soon after: but this report appears to have been entirely without foundation.

The following character of this great physician is given by the author of the British Biography: ‘ Dr. Harvey was not only eminently learned in the sciences more immediately connected with his profession, but was also well versed in other branches of literature. He was well read in ancient and modern history; and when he was wearied with too close an attention to the study of nature, he would relax his mind by discoursing with his friends on political subjects, and the state of public affairs. He took great pleasure in reading some of the ancient poets, and especially Virgil, with whose works he was exceedingly delighted. He was laboriously studious, regular, and virtuous in his life, and had a strong sense of religion. In his familiar conversation there was a mixture of gravity and cheerfulness; he expressed himself with great perspicuity, and with much grace and dignity; and was eminent for his great candour and moderation. He never endeavoured to detract
‘ from

‘ from the merit of other men ; but appeared al-
 ‘ ways to think that the virtues of others were to
 ‘ be imitated, and not envied. And in the contro-
 ‘ versy which was occasioned by his discovery of the
 ‘ circulation, he seemed much more solicitous to
 ‘ discover truth, than to obtain fame. In the latter
 ‘ part of his life he was greatly afflicted with the
 ‘ gout. He married the daughter of Launcelot
 ‘ Browne, doctor of physick, but had no children
 ‘ by her.’

An elegant and correct edition of Dr. Harvey’s works, in one volume, quarto, was published by the College of Physicians at London in 1766, with a life of him in Latin prefixed.

* * *Authorities.* Biographica Britannica ; and British Biography, 8vo. vol. iv.

M E M O I R S O F

S A M U E L C O O P E R , P A I N T E R .

[A. D. 1609, to 1672.]

S A M U E L C O O P E R was born in London, in the year 1609, and bred up under the care and instructions of Mr. John Hofkins, his uncle, a limner of some eminence ; but he derived the most considerable advantages from the observations which he made on the works of Vandyke, insomuch that he was commonly styled “ The Vandyke in Little.” His pencil was generally confined to a head only ; and
 indeed

indeed below that part he was not always equally successful. But for a face and all the dependencies of it, the graceful and becoming air, the strength, relieve, and noble spirit, the softness and tender liveness of flesh and blood, and the loose and gentle management of the hair, his talent was so extraordinary, that he was considered as at least equal to the most famous Italians: and it is said, that hardly any one of his predecessors had ever been able to shew so much perfection in so narrow a compass. The high prices his works sold at, and the great esteem they were in at Rome, Venice, and in France, were abundant proofs of their great worth, and extended the fame of this master throughout all parts of Europe. He so far exceeded his master and uncle, Mr. Hoskins, that he became jealous of him; and, finding that the court was better pleased with his nephew's performances than with his, he took him into partnership with him. His jealousy, however, increased, and he dissolved it; leaving our artist to set up for himself, and to carry, as he did, most of the business of that time with him. He drew king Charles II. and his queen, the duchess of Cleveland, the duke of York, and most of the court: but the two most famous pieces of his were those of Oliver Cromwell, and of one Swingfield. The French king offered 100*l.* for the former, but could not have it: and Mr. Cooper carrying the latter with him to France, it was much admired there, and introduced him to the favour of that court. He likewise did several large limnings in an unusual size for the court of England; for which his widow received a pension during her life from the crown,

As Mr. Cooper had great abilities in painting, so he was also eminently skilled in music; and was esteemed one of the best lutenists of his time. He spent

spent several years of his life abroad, was personally acquainted with the greatest men in France, Holland, and his own country, and by his works more universally known in all parts of Europe. He died at London in 1672, at sixty-three years of age, and was buried in Pancras church in the fields; where there is a marble monument set over him, with a Latin inscription upon it. He had an elder brother, Mr. Alexander Cooper, who, together with him, was also brought up to limning by Mr. Hoskins, their uncle. Alexander performed well in miniature; and, going beyond sea, became limner to Christiana queen of Sweden, yet was far exceeded by his brother Samuel. He also did landscapes in water-colours extremely well, and was accounted an admirable draughtsman.

THE LIFE OF

JOHN MILTON.

[A. D. 1608, to 1674.]

THIS great and illustrious poet was descended from an ancient family of that name, at Milton, near Abingdon, in Oxfordshire. The family had been long seated there, as appears by the monuments still to be seen in the church of Milton, till one of them, having taken the unfortunate side in the contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, was deprived of his estate, except what he

he held by his wife. Our poet's grandfather, whose name was John Milton, was under-ranger, or reaper, of the forest of Shotover, near Halton, in Oxfordshire, and being a zealous Papist, he disinherited his son for having very early in life embraced the Protestant faith; upon which he went to London, pursued the business of a scrivener, and marrying a gentlewoman of a good family, he purchased a house and settled in Bread-street, where this sublime poet, his eldest son, was born in 1608. But a man of Milton's genius needs not have the circumstances of birth called in to render him illustrious; he reflects the highest honour upon his family, which receives from him more glory than the longest descent of years can give.

Milton was both educated under a domestic tutor, and likewise at St. Paul's school, under Mr. Alexander Gill, where he made, by his indefatigable application, an extraordinary progress in learning. From his twelfth year he generally sat up the greatest part of the night at his studies, which occasioning frequent head-achs, proved very prejudicial to his eyes, and, in his own opinion, laid the foundation of his future blindness. In the year 1625, he was entered at Christ's-college in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards bishop of Ross in Ireland. The same year he wrote a Latin elegy on the death of Dr. Andrews, bishop of Winchester, and a fine poem on the discovery of the gunpowder-plot; but, before that time, he had distinguished himself by several Latin and English poems, and in his most juvenile compositions had discovered a capacity superior to his age.

After he had taken the degree of master of arts, in 1631, he left the university, and for the space of five years lived with his parents at their house at
Horton,

Horton, near Colnbrook, in Buckinghamshire, where his father, having acquired a competent fortune, thought proper to retire, and spend the remainder of his days.

His father designed him for the church, and for some time could not be diverted from his intention; but, at length, young Milton having expressed himself very freely, in letters to his friends, against the subscription to the thirty-nine articles required from all persons on taking orders; and likewise against the administration of ecclesiastical affairs in the church of England; his father had too much honour to force his conscience. His objections are stated in the clearest manner, by his own masterly pen, in his "Introduction to the Reason of Church Government."

In his retirement at Horton, which lasted five years, he read over all the Greek and Latin authors, and closely applied himself to the study of history, and to improving himself in poetry.

In the year 1634 he produced his Masque of Comus, performed at Ludlow-castle, before John earl of Bridgewater, then president of Wales. It appears from the edition of this Masque, published by Mr. Henry Laws, that the principal performers were, the lord Barclay, Mr. Thomas Egerton, the lady Alice Egerton, and Mr. Laws himself, who represented an attendant spirit. In 1637 our author published his Lycidas. In this poem he laments the death of his friend Mr. Edward King, who was drowned in his passage from Chester, on the Irish seas, in 1637. It was printed the year following at Cambridge, in quarto, in a collection of Latin and English poems upon Mr. King's death, with whom he had contracted the strongest friendship. The Latin epitaph informs us, that Mr. King was son of Sr John King, secretary for Ireland to queen Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. that he was a fellow of Christ's-college, Cambridge, and was drowned in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

It was within this period of time that he also composed his well known poems intituled *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. His poetical fame now began to be circulated; and, as it frequently happens to men of great genius, an attempt was made to blast his laurels in the bud. A slight circumstance was swelled into a calumnious charge: he wrote a Latin elegy to his intimate friend Charles Diodati, a learned foreigner, in which he reflected on the two universities, on account of the ignorance of the professors, and the debauchery that prevailed in them; upon which his enemies reported that he was expelled from Cambridge for some misdemeanor, or left it in discontent, because he could not get any preferment there; and that he had spent his time since in an irregular, licentious course of life at London. These scandalous reports were totally void of truth; he did indeed make frequent excursions to London, but only to buy books, and to improve himself in mathematics and music.

Upon the death of his mother, Milton obtained leave of his father to travel; and having waited upon Sir Henry Wotton, formerly ambassador at Venice, and then provost of Eaton-college, to whom he communicated his design, that gentleman wrote a very friendly letter to him, dated from the college, April 16, 1638, which is printed among the *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, and in Dr. Newton's *Life of Milton*. It contains directions for his route; recommendations to persons of eminence abroad; and an assurance of more at every place where he might reside any time. Immediately after the receipt of this letter our author set out for France, accompanied only by one servant, who attended him through all his travels.

At Paris, Milton was introduced to the famous Hugo Grotius; from thence he went to Florence, Sienna, Rome, and Naples; in all which places he was entertained with the utmost civility, by persons of the first distinction.

When our poet was at Naples, he was introduced to the acquaintance of Giovanni Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a Neapolitan nobleman, celebrated for his taste in the liberal arts, to whom Tasso addresses his "Dialogue on Friendship," and whom he likewise mentions in his "Gierusalemme Liberata," with great honour. This nobleman shewed extraordinary civilities to Milton, frequently visited him at his lodgings, and accompanied him when he went to see the several curiosities of the city. He was not content with giving our author these exterior marks of respect only; but he honoured him with a Latin distich in his praise, which is printed before Milton's Latin poems. Milton, no doubt, was highly pleased with such condescension and esteem from a person of the marquis of Villa's quality; and, as an evidence of his gratitude, he presented the marquis, at his departure from Naples, his eclogue, intituled "Mansus;" which, says Dr. Newton, is well worth reading among his Latin poems; so that it may be reckoned a peculiar felicity in the marquis of Villa's life, to have been celebrated both by Tasso and Milton, the greatest poets of their respective countries.

Having seen the finest parts of Italy, and conversed with men of the first distinction, he was preparing to pass over into Sicily and Greece, when the news from England, that a civil war was likely to lay his country in blood, diverted his purpose; for as by his political principles he was attached to the parliamentary interest, he thought it a mark of abject cowardice for a lover of his country to take his

pleasure abroad, while the friends of liberty were contending at home for the rights of human nature. He resolved therefore to return by the way of Rome, though he was dissuaded from pursuing that resolution by the merchants, who were informed by their correspondents, that the English Jesuits there were forming plots against his life, in case he should return thither, on account of the great freedom with which he had treated their religion, and the boldness he discovered in demonstrating the absurdity of the Popish tenets. But, stedfast in his resolution, he went to Rome the second time, and stayed there two months more, neither concealing his name, nor declining any disputations to which his antagonists in religious opinions invited him: he escaped, however, the secret machinations of the Jesuits, and came safe to Florence, where he was received by his friends with as much tenderness as if he had returned to his own country. Here he remained two months, as he had done in his former visit, excepting only an excursion of a few days to Lucca; and then crossing the Appenines and passing through Bologna and Ferrara, he arrived at Venice, in which city he spent a month; and having shipped off the books that he had collected in his travels, he took his course through Verona, Milan, and along the lake Lemane to Geneva. In this city he continued some time, meeting there with people of his own principles, and contracted an intimate friendship with Giovanni Deodati, the learned professor of divinity, whose Annotations on the Bible are published in English; and from thence, returning to France the same way he had gone before, he arrived safe in England, after an absence of fifteen months, in which he had seen much of the world, read the characters of famous men, examined the policy of dif-

different countries, and made more extensive improvements than travellers of an inferior genius, and less penetration, can be supposed to do in double the time.

Soon after his return he took a handsome house in Aldersgate-street, and undertook the education of his sister's two sons, upon a plan of his own. And being strongly solicited by some gentlemen, his intimate friends, to whom he could not give a denial, to impart the same benefits of learning to their sons, especially as the trouble was little more with many than with a few, he consented; and having now occasion for some system of education, because he disapproved of the common methods, he planned his academical institution, afterwards set forth in his Treatise on Education, in which he leads his scholar from Lilly, as he expresses it, to his commencing master of arts. His success with his pupils was answerable to his capacity for the undertaking; and in this kind of scholastic solitude he continued some time; but he was not so much immersed in academical studies, as to remain an indifferent spectator of what was acted upon the public theatre of his country.

The nation being in a great ferment in 1641, and the clamour against episcopacy running very high, Milton, who discovered how much inferior in eloquence and learning the Puritan ministers, in general, were to the bishops, engaged warmly with the former in support of the common cause, and exercised all the powers of reason and learning in endeavouring to overthrow the prelatical establishment, and accordingly published five tracts relating to church-government: they were all printed at London, in quarto. The first was intitled, "Reformation touching Church Discipline in England, and the Causes that have hitherto hindered it. In

Two Books : written to a Friend." The second was of " Prelatical Episcopacy," written against archbishop Usher. The third was, " The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy, in Two Books." The fourth was, " Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnus;" or, as the title-page is, in some copies, " An Apology for Smectymnus, with the Reason of Church Government."

In the year 1643, Milton married Mary, the eldest daughter of Richard Powell, Esq. of Forrest-hill, in Oxfordshire. This lady had not lived with her husband much above a month, before she procured letters from her father, inviting her to pay a visit to her relations during the summer-season, to which Milton readily consented, provided she would return at Michaelmas. In the mean time he applied himself closely to his studies; and his chief amusement was now and then in an evening to visit the lady Margaret Lee, daughter to the earl of Marlborough, lord-high-treasurer of England, and president of the privy-council under James I. This lady Margaret, being a woman of excellent understanding, took great delight in Milton's conversation, and shewed particular respect to him, as did likewise her husband captain Hobson. What a regard Milton had for her, he has left upon record in a sonnet to her praise, extant among his other poems.

At the appointed time, Milton expected the return of his wife, but having no tidings of her, he wrote to her, but he received no answer. Repeated letters produced none; upon which he sent a special messenger with a letter, desiring her return; but she positively refused, and dismissed the messenger with contempt. Milton's biographers have assigned various reasons for this extraordinary conduct; some
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suppose that she had conceived a dislike to her husband's person, or to his retired and philosophical manner of life, having been accustomed to gaiety and company. Whatever was the cause, Milton was so highly incensed, that he resolved to repudiate her; and it was upon this occasion, that he published, "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce;" wherein he endeavoured to prove, that indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, proceeding from any unchangeable cause in nature, hindering, and ever likely to hinder, the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace, are greater reasons of divorce than adultery, or natural frigidity, especially if there be no children, and there be mutual consent for separation. This piece he at first published without his name; but the style having betrayed the author, he published a second edition, much augmented, with his name, and dedicated it to the parliament of England, and to the assembly of divines, desiring the subject might be taken into serious consideration. This novel doctrine now making a great noise, he was warmly attacked from the press, which obliged him to support his own opinion, by the authority of Martin Bucer, on divorces. But it being still objected, that his doctrine was not scriptural, he published, in 1645, his "Tetrachardon; or, Expositions upon the Four chief Passages in Scripture," which treat of marriage, and nullities of marriage. The assembly of divines so highly disapproved of his books, that they summoned him before the house of lords; but he was dismissed without even a reprimand. And a pamphlet appearing against him, intituled, "Divorce at Pleasure;" and another, called, "An Answer to the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," he published his "Colasterion, or Reply;" and here ended the contest. But soon

after, Milton resolved to put his opinions in practice, for he actually paid his addresses to a young lady, designing to marry her; which, coming to the knowledge of his wife, brought her to submission; and a reconciliation was effected in the following manner: he had a relation, one Blackborough, living in St. Martin's-le Grand, whom he often visited; this gentleman being in the scheme, one day when he was visiting, it was contrived that his wife should be in another room; and, when he least thought of it, he was surprised to see her falling upon her knees before him, and with tears imploring his forgiveness. At first he shewed some signs of aversion; but he did not long continue inexorable: his wife's intreaties, and the intercession of friends, soon procured a happy reconciliation, and an oblivion of the past. For, in his own words respecting Eve—

“ — Soon his heart relented
Towards her, his life so late, and sole delight,
Now at his feet submissive in distress.”

Milton's generous behaviour to his wife's father, and the rest of her family, whom he took under his protection after the royal party was ruined, which they had warmly espoused, does great honour to his character. He entertained them at his own house, till, by his interest, their estate and effects were restored to them by the parliament. In 1646, his wife bore him a daughter, and it appears that they lived very happily together.

About this time, his zeal for the republican party had so far recommended him, that a design was formed of making him adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army; but the new-modelling the army proved an obstruction to that advancement.

ment. Soon after the march of Fairfax and Cromwell with the whole army through the city, in order to suppress the insurrection which Brown and Maifey were endeavouring to raise there against the army's proceedings, he left his great house in Barbican, for a smaller in High-Holborn, where he prosecuted his studies till after the king's trial and death; when he published his "Tenure of Kings and Magistrates;" proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all ages, for any persons, who have the power, to call to account a tyrant, or wicked king, and, after due conviction, to depose and put him to death, if the ordinary magistrates have neglected or refused to do it. In the same year, 1649, appeared his "Observations on the Articles of Peace, between James Earl of Ormond for King Charles I. on the one hand, and the Irish Rebels and Papists on the other hand; and a Letter sent by Ormond to Colonel Jones, Governor of Dublin; and a representation of the Scotch Presbytery at Belfast in Ireland."

He was now admitted into the service of the Commonwealth, and was made Latin secretary to the council of state, who resolved neither to write nor receive letters but in the Latin tongue, which was common to all states. He was not only employed as Latin secretary, but likewise as a political writer; for the famous "Eikon Basilike, or the Royal Image," said to be written by Charles I. in vindication of himself, appearing soon after his death, Milton was requested to write an answer to it, which he performed under the title of "Eikonoclastes, or the Image-Breaker." And, in 1651, he published his "Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio," for which he was rewarded by the Commonwealth with a present of a thousand pounds; and he had also a considerable hand in correcting and im-

proving a piece written by his nephew, Mr. John Philips, and printed at London, in 1652, under this title, "Joannis Philippi Angli responsio ad Apologiam anonymi cujusdam Fenebrionis pro Rege & Populo Anglicano infantissimam." During the writing and publishing of this work, he lodged at one Thompson's, next door to the Bull-head tavern, at Charing-cross; but he soon removed to a Garden-house in Petty-France, next door to lord Scudamore's, where he remained from the year 1652 till within a few weeks of the Restoration. In this house, his first wife dying in child-bed in 1652, he married a second, Catherine, the daughter of captain Woodcock, of Hackney, who died of a consumption in three months after she had been brought to bed of a daughter. This second marriage was about two or three years after he had been wholly deprived of his sight; but by his continual studies, the head-ach, to which he was subject from his youth, and his perpetual tampering with physick, his eyes had been decayed for twelve years before. In 1654, he published his "Defensio Secunda," and the year following, his "Defensio pro Se."

Being now at ease from his state-adversaries, and public controversies, he had leisure again to prosecute his own studies and private designs, particularly his "History of England," and his new "Thesaurus Linguae Latinae," according to the method of Robert Stephens, the manuscript of which contained three large volumes, folio, and has been made use of by the editors of the Cambridge Dictionary, printed in quarto, 1693. In 1658, he published "Sir Walter Raleigh's Cabinet Council;" and, in 1659, "A Treatise of the Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Courts, and Considerations touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church;

Church; wherein are also Discourses of Tythes, Church-fees, Church-revenues, and whether any Maintenance of Ministers can be settled in Law." Lond. 1659. in 12mo.

Upon the dissolution of the parliament by the army, after Richard Cromwell had been obliged to resign the protectorship, Milton wrote a letter, on which he laid down the model of a commonwealth; not such as he judged the best, but what might be the readiest settled at that time, to prevent the restoration of kingly government and domestic disorders till a more favourable season, and better dispositions for erecting a perfect democracy. He drew up likewise another piece to the same purpose, which seems to have been addressed to general Monk; and he published in February, 1659, his "Ready and easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth." Soon after this, he published his "Brief Notes" upon a late sermon, intituled, "The Fear of God and the King," printed in quarto, Lond. 1660. These notes were as speedily remarked upon by Roger L'Estrange, in a piece, intituled, "No blind guides."

Just before the Restoration he was removed from his office of Latin secretary, and concealed himself by the advice of his friends till the event of public affairs should direct him what course to take; for this purpose he retired to a friend's house in Bartholomew-clofe, near West-Smithfield, till the general amnesty was published.

A story has been lately propagated, that, when Milton and John Goodwin, after the Restoration, were both in danger of prosecution, the friends of Milton made a mock-funeral for him, in order to put a stop to any prosecution against him; but Milton was a man so well known, the contrivance was so unsuitable to his character, and the story is

so totally destitute of any proper evidence, that it is not entitled to any credit.

The act of Oblivion, says Mr. Philips, proved as favourable to him as could be hoped or expected, through the intercession of some who stood his friends both in council and parliament; particularly in the house of commons, where Mr. Andrew Marvell, member for Hull, who had prefixed a copy of verses before his *Paradise Lost*, exerted himself vigorously in his behalf, and made a considerable party for him; so that, together with John Goodwin of Coleman-street, he was only so far excepted as not to bear any office in the Commonwealth. But the chief promoter of the pardon was Sir William Davenant, whose life Milton had saved by his interest with the parliament, when he was condemned as an active royalist in 1650.

Milton, being secured by his pardon, appeared again in public, and removed to Jewin-street, where he married his third wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr. Minshul of Cheshire, recommended to him by his friend Dr. Paget, to whom he was related; but he had no children by her. Soon after the Restoration, he was offered the place of Latin secretary to the king, which, notwithstanding the importunities of his wife, he refused. We are informed, that when his wife pressed him to comply with the times, and accept the king's offer, he made answer, "You are in the right, my dear; you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honest man." Soon after his marriage with his third wife, he removed to a house in the Artillery-walk, leading to Bunhill-fields, where he continued till his death, except during the plague in 1665, when he retired with his family to St. Giles Chalfont, Buckinghamshire, at which time
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his PARADISE LOST was finished, though not published till 1667.

Mr. Richardson says, "that when Milton dictated, he used to sit leaning backwards obliquely in an easy chair, with his legs flung over the elbows of it; that he frequently composed lying a-bed in a morning, and that when he could not sleep, but lay awake whole nights, he tried, but not one verse could he make; at other times flowed easy his unpremeditated verse, with a certain *Impetus*, as himself used to believe; then, at what hour soever, he rung for his daughter to secure what came. I have been also told, he would dictate many, perhaps forty lines in a breath, and then reduce them to half the number."

Mr. Philips likewise relates a remarkable circumstance in the composition of this sublime poem, told him by Milton himself, "that his poetical vein never flowed happily but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal, and that what he attempted at other times was not to his satisfaction." After the work was ready for the press, it was near being suppressed by the ignorance, or malice, of the licenser, who, among other trivial objections, imagined there was treason in that noble simile, b. i. v. 594.

As when the sun new-risen
Looks through the horizontal misty air,
Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon,
In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs.

The ignorance of this licenser, in objecting to this simile, has indeed perpetuated his name, but it is with no advantage; he, no doubt, imagined, that "Perplexes monarchs" was levelled against
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the reigning prince ; and it is, perhaps, the highest simile in our language.

This noble work of genius, which does honour to human nature, having at length surmounted the obstructions of the licenser, was permitted to be printed ; when he sold it only for *five* pounds, but was to receive *five* pounds more after the sale of 1300 of the first impression ; *five* pounds after the sale of a like number of the second edition ; and *five* after the sale of the same quantity of the third edition. This original contract with Samuel Simmons the printer, which is still in being, is dated April 27th, 1667, and serves to correct some mistakes we meet with in some writers relative to the sale and earlier editions of this work.

The first edition of PARADISE LOST, in ten books, was printed in a small 4to, and, before it could be disposed of, had three or more different title-pages of the years 1667, 1668, and 1669. So that two years elapsed before he was intitled to the second five pounds, for which his receipt is still in being, dated April 26, 1669. And this was probably all that he received ; for he lived not to enjoy the benefits of the second edition, which was not published till 1674, the year of his death. The second edition was printed in a small octavo, corrected by the author, and increased to twelve books, with the addition of some few verses. The third edition was printed in 1678 ; and it appears that Milton had bequeathed the copy-right to his widow, who agreed with Simmons the printer to accept eight pounds in full of all demands ; and her receipt for the money is dated December 21, 1680.

Most of the writers of Milton's life have reflected on the taste of the age, because this poem did not meet with that applause and success it merited at its first publication. But if it be considered how small
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the number of readers was at that æra, and how few of these could have the judgment to discern the beauties of a new species of poetry, this being the first in the English language of any note not in rhyme, the success will appear to be very great, especially when it is likewise remembered, that the publick was strongly prejudiced against the political principles of the author, and that, though he had escaped the talons of the law, he was in perpetual danger of assassination from the mad rage of some of the most violent royalists. Under these circumstances the sale of the first impression, the number of which we know not, but it must have exceeded 1300 in two years, is a strong proof that the merit of the poem was known and felt in its fullest extent by every man of learning and taste in Britain; but that their applause was withheld for fear of giving offence to government, the author being obnoxious to the court, then in the zenith of its power, and adulated by almost all ranks of the people.

Mr. Richardson gives the fullest account of the first public notice taken of this inimitable poem, which was by Sir John Denham's coming into the house of commons one morning with a sheet of Paradise Lost, wet from the press, in his hand, and being asked what he was reading, he answered, "Part of the noblest poem that ever was written in any language, or in any age." No precise date is given to this incident by Mr. Richardson; but, as Sir John Denham died in 1668, it must have happened while the first edition was at press. However, it has been said, that the book was not known till about two years after, when the earl of Dorset recommended it, as appears by the following story, related to Mr. Richardson, by Dr. Tancred Robinson, an eminent physician in London, who was informed by Sir Fleetwood Shephard, "That the earl,

earl, in company with that gentleman, looking over some books in Little Britain, met with *Paradise Lost*; and, being surpris'd with some passages in turning it over, bought it. The bookseller desired his lordship to speak in its favour, since he liked it, for the impression lay on his hands as waste paper." The earl, having read the poem, sent it to Mr. Dryden, who, in a short time, returned it, with this answer: "This man cuts us all out, and the antients too." But this story is extremely improbable; and as to what is said of Dryden, who was personally known to Milton, he was certainly not unacquainted with the *Paradise Lost*.

The 4th edition, a very pompous one in folio, with *Paradise Regained* and *Sampson Agonistes* annexed, was published in 1688, through the patronage of John Somers, afterwards the famous lord Somers, who advised the bookseller to undertake it by subscription, and in the list of subscribers we find his own, and the most respectable names of that time, as well for high rank, as eminence in learning. The fifth edition in folio was published in 1692; and the sixth in 1695; and the poem was now so well received, that the sale increased double the number every year, though the price was four times greater than before. It has gone through numberless editions since, particularly one in 1727, by Elijah Fenton; and another by Dr. Bentley in 1732. But the most elegant edition was published in 1749, in two volumes 4to. with notes, and the life of the author, by Dr. Thomas Newton, afterwards bishop of Bristol. Foreign nations have likewise been sensible of the great merit of this performance. It was translated into blank-verse in Low Dutch, and published in 1728; into French prose in 1729; and into Italian verse in 1736. There are also three Latin versions, one by Mr Hog,

a Scotsman, published in 1690; and two others, one by Dr. Trapp, the other by Mr. Dobson, fellow of New-college, Oxford: the two last were undertaken in consequence of a reward of 1000*l.* offered by Mr. Benson, auditor of the imprest, for the best Latin translation, and the prize was adjudged to Mr. Dobson. "Thus was justice at length done to the merits of this illustrious bard. Milton, says Dr. Newton, is now considered as an English classick, and the *Paradise Lost* generally esteemed the noblest and most sublime of modern poems, and equal at least to the best of the antient; the honour of this country, and the envy and admiration of all others!"

Before we take our leave of *PARADISE LOST*, it is proper to observe, that various criticisms have been published upon this celebrated poem; and different conjectures having been stated by men of learning, concerning the source from which Milton took the first idea of the plan, they ought to be noticed, because the candid opinion of these gentlemen most probably opened the door to an impotent attempt made to blast the reputation of Milton, by one Lauder a Scotsman, who in his essay on Milton's use and imitation of the moderns, printed at London in 1750, charges him not only with stealing the plot from a tragedy called *Adamus Exul* written by Grotius, but of culling the flowers of this and other modern poets, and transplanting them into his own garden, where he has made them pass for his own. The charge was refuted by the Rev. Mr. Douglas, now Dr. Douglas, bishop of Carlisle, in a pamphlet intituled, "Milton vindicated;" and Lauder justly incurred both censure and contempt. But it is acknowledged, that Milton might have taken the hint of his subject from an Italian tragedy called "*Il Paradiso Perso*," printed many years before he undertook

took his poem ; and this seems the more probable, because it is evident Milton at first intended to have written a tragedy on the subject, there being extant several rough sketches of the tragedy of Paradise Lost, in his own hand-writing. This conjecture, however, coming from so respectable an authority as the late Dr. Zachary Pearce, bishop of Rochester, encouraged others to throw out similar remarks ; and Mr. Peck accordingly ventured his opinion, that the hint was taken from a celebrated Spanish romance called "*Gerzinam.*" But if to these were added ten thousand demonstrations of his having consulted modern authors for the outlines of his immortal work ; the masterly execution of the poem, being truly original, must acquit him, in the opinion of every sound critic, of every species of plagiarism.

The extraordinary merit of Paradise Lost must not, however, render us inattentive to the other learned labours of our author : it will therefore be necessary to resume the history of his life at the year 1670, when he published at London, in quarto, his "History of Britain, that Part especially, now called England, from the first traditional beginning, continued to the Norman Conquest, collected out of the ancientest and best Authors thereof." It is reprinted in the first volume of Dr. Kennet's compleat History of England. Mr. Toland, in his life of Milton, page 43, observes, that we have not this history as it came out of his hands ; for the licensers, those sworn officers to destroy learning, liberty, and good sense, expunged several passages of it, wherein he had exposed the superstition, pride, and cunning, of the Popish monks in the Saxon times, but applied by the sagacious licensers to Charles II'd's bishops. In 1681, a considerable passage, which had been suppressed in the publication of this history, was printed at London, in quarto,

quarto, under this title: "Mr. John Milton's Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines in 1651, omitted in his other Works, and never before printed." It is reported, and from the foregoing character it appears probable, that Mr. Milton had lent most of his personal estate upon the public faith, which when he somewhat earnestly pressed to have restored, after long and chargeable attendance, he met with very sharp rebukes; upon which, at last, despairing of any success in this affair, he was forced to return from them poor and friendless, having spent all his money, and wearied all those who had espoused his cause; and he had not, probably, mended his circumstances in those days, but by performing such service for them as afterwards he did, for which scarcely any thing would appear too great.

In 1671, he published at London, in octavo, "Paradise Regained," a poem in four books, to which is added, "Sampson Agonistes." Milton is said to have preferred this poem of "Paradise Regained," to "Paradise Lost;" but it is a natural and just observation, that the Messiah in "Paradise Regained," with all his meekness, unaffected dignity, and clear reasoning, makes not so great a figure as when, in the "Paradise Lost," he appears clothed in the terrors of Almighty vengeance, wielding the thunder of heaven, and riding along the sky in the chariot of power, drawn, as Milton greatly expresses it, "With four Cherubic shapes; when he comes drest in awful majesty, and hurls the apostate spirits headlong into the fiery gulf of bottomless perdition, there to dwell in adamant chains and penal fire, who durst defy the Omnipotent to arms." Dr. Newton has dissented from the general opinion, concerning "Paradise Regained:" "Certainly," says he, "it is very worthy of the author, and, contrary

to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be seen in *Paradise Regained*, as well as in *Paradise Lost*; if it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is inferior in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it is more argumentative; if it does not sometimes rise so high, neither does it ever sink so low; and it has not met with the approbation it deserves, only because it has not been more read and considered. His subject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon; but he has raised as noble a superstructure as such little room, and such scanty materials, would allow. The great beauty of it is, the contrast between the two characters of the tempter and our Saviour; the artful sophistry, and specious insinuations of the one, refuted by the strong sense and manly eloquence of the other."

The first thought of *Paradise Regained* was owing to Elwood the quaker, as he himself relates the occasion, in the history of his own life. When Milton had lent him the manuscript of *Paradise Lost*, at St. Giles Chalfont, and he returned it, Milton asked him how he liked it, and what he thought of it; "which I modestly and freely told him (says Elwood); and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*?" He made no answer, but sat some time in a muse, then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject." When Elwood afterwards waited upon him in London, Milton shewed him his *Paradise Regained*; and in a pleasant tone said to him, "This is owing to you, for you put it into my head, by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of."

In the year 1672, he published his “*Artis Logicæ plenior institutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata*,” London, in octavo. Upon the indulgence granted to protestant dissenters in 1673, he published a defence of universal toleration for sectaries of all denominations, except Papists, in a discourse, intituled, “*Of true Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and what best Means may be used against the Growth of Popery*,” London, in quarto. He published likewise, the same year, “*Poems, &c. on several occasions, both English and Latin, composed at several Times, with a small Tractate on Education, dedicated to Mr. Hartlib*,” London, in octavo. Early in the year 1674, he published his *Epistolarum familiarium*, lib. i. and some Latin academical Exercises, in octavo; and in the same year, in quarto, “*A Declaration of the Poles concerning the Election of their King John III. translated from the Latin Copy*.”

Mr. Wood tells us, that Milton was thought to be the author of a piece called “*The grand Case of Conscience; concerning the Engagement stated and resolved; or, a strict Survey of the solemn League and Covenant, in Reference to the present Engagement*;” but others are of opinion, that the style and manner of writing do not in the least favour that supposition. He left several pieces in manuscript; among the rest, his “*Brief History of Muscovy, and of other less-known Countries lying Eastward of Russia, as far as Cathay*,” printed in 1682, in octavo. His Latin state-letters were first printed at London in 1676, in twelves, and translated into English, and printed in 1694. His historical, poetical, and miscellaneous works were printed in three volumes folio, in 1698, at London, though Amsterdam is mentioned in the title-page, with the life of the author, by Mr. Toland; but the most compleat

pleat and elegant edition of his prose-works was printed, in two volumes in folio, at London, in 1738, by the Reverend Dr. Birch, late secretary to the royal society. In this edition the several pieces are disposed according to the order in which they were printed, with the addition of a Latin tract, omitted by Mr. Toland, concerning the reasons of the war with Spain in 1655, and several pages in the history of Great Britain, expunged by the licensers of the press, and not to be met with in any former impressions.

After a life of indefatigable study, and of active exertion in the cause of religious and civil liberty, for which he contended to the very last, this excellent man died, of the gout in his stomach. He had languished under this disorder for some years before, and was so reduced by that, and other infirmities, as to render his dissolution scarcely perceptible by those who were in the room with him. His death happened in November, 1674. His remains were decently interred, near the body of his father, in the chancel of the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate: but, no monument being found there afterwards, a very neat one was erected to his memory in Westminster-abbey in 1737, at the expence of William Benson, Esq; one of the auditors of the impress.

By his first wife he had four children, a son and three daughters. The daughters survived the father. Anne, the eldest, married a master-builder, and died in child-bed of her first child, which died with her; Mary lived and died single; Deborah left her father when she was young, and went over to Ireland with a lady, and came to England again during the troubles of Ireland under king James II. She married Mr. Abraham Clark, a weaver in Spittal-fields; and died in 1727, in the seventy-sixth year of her age.

Dr. John Ward, fellow of the royal-society, and professor of rhetoric in Gresham-college, London, saw the above Mrs. Clark, Milton's daughter, at the house of one of her relations, not long before her death; "when she informed me," says that gentleman, "that she and her sisters used to read to their father in eight languages; which by practice they were capable of doing with great readiness and accuracy, though they understood no language but English; and their father used often to say, in their hearing, one tongue was enough for a woman.

"None of them (proceeds Dr. Ward) were ever sent to school, but were all taught English at home by a mistress kept for that purpose. And Milton himself learnt them to pronounce Greek and Latin. Homer, and Ovid's Metamorphoses, were books which they were often called to read to their father; and, at my desire, she repeated a great number of verses from the beginning of both these poets with great readiness. I knew who she was upon the first sight of her, by the similitude of her countenance with her father's picture; and upon my telling her so, she informed me, that Mr. Addison told her the same thing, on her going to wait on him; for he, on hearing she was living, sent for her, and desired if she had any papers of her father's, she would bring them with her, as an evidence of her being Milton's daughter; but immediately on her being introduced to him, he said, 'Madam, you need no other voucher; your face is a sufficient testimonial whose daughter you are:' and he then made her a handsome present of a purse of guineas, with a promise of procuring her an annual provision for life: but he dying soon after, she lost the benefit of his generous design. She appeared to be a woman of good sense and genteel behaviour, and to bear the in-

conveniences of a low fortune with decency and prudence."

Her late majesty, queen Caroline, sent her fifty pounds, and she received presents of money from several gentlemen not long before her death.

She had ten children, viz. seven sons and three daughters; but none of them had any children, except one of her sons, named Caleb; and the youngest daughter, whose name was Elizabeth. Caleb went over to Fort St. George, in the East Indies, where he married and had two sons, Abraham and Isaac. Of those, Abraham, the elder, came to England with governor Harrison, but returned again upon advice of his father's death; and whether he or his brother be now living is uncertain. Elizabeth, the youngest child of Deborah, married Mr. Thomas Foster, a weaver; and such is the caprice of fortune, that this grand-daughter of the illustrious Milton, for some years before her husband's death, kept a little chandler's or grocer's shop at the lower end of Holloway, and afterwards in Cock-lane Shoreditch, where she was found by Dr. Birch, and afterwards visited by Dr. Newton; and in 1750 the mask of Comus was performed at Drury-lane, and produced her a great benefit. A pathetic prologue was written on the occasion by Dr. Johnson, and spoken by Mr. Garrick. She had had seven children, three sons, and four daughters, who all died before the mother.

Milton had a brother, Mr. Christopher Milton, who was knighted, and made one of the barons of the Exchequer, in the reign of king James II. but he does not appear to have been a man of any abilities; at least, if he had any, they are lost to posterity in the lustre of his brother's.

There was lately alive a grand daughter of this Christopher Milton, who was married to one Mr.

George Lookup, advocate at Edinburgh, remarkable for his knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. This lady, says Theoph. Cibber, whom I have often seen, is extremely corpulent, has in her youth been very handsome, and is not destitute of poetical genius. She has written several copies of verses, published in the Edinburgh Magazines; and her face bears some resemblance to the picture of Milton.

Mr. Fenton has given us the following description of Milton's person.

“ He was of a moderate size, well-proportioned, and of a ruddy complexion, light-brown hair, and had handsome features; yet his eyes were none of the quickest. When he was a student at Cambridge, he was so fair and clear, that many called him *The Lady of Christ's College*. His deportment was affable, and his gait erect and manly, bespeaking courage and undauntedness. While he had his sight, he wore a sword, and was well-skilled in using it. He had a delicate, tunable voice, an excellent ear, could play on the organ, and bear a part in vocal and instrumental musick.”

Milton's character as a poet appears to the best advantage in the following lines, written by Dryden under his picture :

Three poets, in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England, did adorn.
The first, in loftiness of thought surpass'd;
The next, in majesty; in both, the last:
The force of Nature could no further go;
To make a third, the join'd the former two.

As to his political principles he was a thorough Republican; and in this he thought like a Greek or a Roman, as he was very conversant with their writings: and one day, Sir Robert Howard, who was a friend of Milton's, asked him how he came to side with the Republicans? Milton answered.

among other things, "because theirs was the most frugal government; for the trappings of a monarchy might set up an ordinary commonwealth."

This is not the only instance by which it appears that he was as free in his conversation as in his writings; and that he was no time-server or respecter of persons, when he knew himself to be in the right. A remarkable story is told of him, which confirms this observation.

The duke of York, afterwards James II. took it in his head to pay him a visit out of curiosity. In the course of their conversation, the duke asked Milton, Whether he did not think the loss of his sight was a judgment upon him for what he had written against the late king his father? Milton's reply was to this effect: "If your highness thinks that the calamities which befall us here are indications of the wrath of heaven, in what manner are we to account for the fate of the king your father? The displeasure of heaven must, upon this supposition, have been much greater against him, than against me: for I have only lost my eyes, but he lost his head." The duke was exceedingly nettled at this answer, and went away very angry.

As to Milton's religion, he was a dissenter from the Church of England, but in the latter part of his life he was not a professed member of any particular sect of Christians; he then frequented no public worship, and is said not to have used any religious rites in his family. He was an enemy to all kinds of superstitious ceremony, and thought that all Christians had in some things corrupted the simplicity and purity of the Gospel. He believed that inward religion was the best, and that public communion had frequently more shew in it than any tendency to promote genuine piety and unaffected goodness. The circumstances of our author were never very mean nor very affluent;

affluent; he lived above want, and was content with competency. His father supported him during his travels. When he was appointed Latin secretary, his salary amounted to two hundred pounds per annum; and, though he was of the victorious party, yet he was far from sharing the spoils of his country. On the contrary, as we learn from his Second Defence, he sustained great losses during the civil-war, and was not at all favoured in the imposition of taxes, but sometimes paid beyond his due proportion: and, upon the turn of affairs, he was not only deprived of his place, but also lost two thousand pounds, which he had for security put into the Excise-office.

Some time before he died, he sold the greatest part of his library, as his heirs were not qualified to make a proper use of it, and as he thought he could dispose of it to greater advantage than they could after his death.

“He died,” says Dr. Newton, “by one means or other, worth one thousand five hundred pounds, besides his household-goods, which was no incompetent subsistence for him, who was as great a philosopher as a poet.”

Milton seems not to have been very happy in his marriages. His first wife offended him by her elopement: the second, whose love, sweetness, and delicacy he celebrates, lived not a twelvemonth with him: and his third, by whom he had no issue, was said to be a woman of a most violent spirit, and a severe step-mother to his children. “She died,” says Dr. Newton, “very old, at Nantwich, in Cheshire; and, from the accounts of those who had seen her, I have learned that she confirmed several things related before; and, particularly, that her husband used to compose his poetry chiefly in the winter; and, on his waking on a morning, would

make her write down twenty or thirty verses. Being asked, whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from these authors; and answered, with eagerness, that he stole from nobody but the muse that inspired him: and being asked by a lady present, who the muse was, she answered, 'It was God's grace, and the holy spirit that visited him nightly.' She was likewise asked, whom he approved most of our English poets; and answered, 'Spenser, Shakespeare, and Cowley:' and being asked what he thought of Dryden; she said, 'Dryden used sometimes to visit him; but he thought him no poet, but a good rhimist.' But the reader will be pleased to observe, that this censure of Milton's was before Dryden had acquired much reputation as a poet, or had composed those immortal works of genius which afterwards raised eternal monuments to him, and carried his name to every country where poetry and taste are known. She likewise used to say, that her husband was applied to by message from the king, and invited to write for the court; but his answer was, that such a behaviour would be very inconsistent with his former conduct, for he had never yet employed his pen against his conscience.

It would be an injustice to this great man to omit any part of his character. We shall therefore just mention, that he was as eminent for his immense learning and erudition as for his extraordinary natural genius. He was a master not only of the Greek and Latin, but of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac languages. Likewise of the principal modern tongues, especially the Italian, which he wrote so elegantly, that many members of the academy *Della Crusca*, established at Florence for the refining and perfecting

perfecting the Italian language, highly commended his style.

In fine, he was an honest and a good, as well as a great man, being in his private life an example of sobriety, temperance, frugality, and patience; and, in his public capacity, a model of perseverance to the dictates of conscience, from which he could not be swerved by hopes or fears, by the dread of punishments, or the temptation of rewards.

Dr. Johnson, in his biographical prefaces to the works of the English poets, has done great injustice to the personal and private character of Milton; but he has spoken in the highest terms of his *Paradise Lost*, and of his genius as a writer. ‘The *Paradise Lost*,’ he says, ‘is a poem which, considered with respect to design, may claim the first place, and with respect to performance the second, among the productions of the human mind.’—‘The subject of an epic poem is naturally an event of great importance. That of Milton is not the destruction of a city, the conduct of a colony, or the foundation of an empire. His subject is the fate of worlds, the revolutions of heaven and of earth; rebellion against the Supreme King, raised by the highest order of created beings; the overthrow of their host, and the punishment of their crimes; the creation of a new race of reasonable creatures; their original happiness and innocence; their forfeiture of immortality, and their restoration to hope and peace. Great events can be hastened or retarded only by persons of elevated dignity. Before the greatness displayed in Milton’s poem, all other greatness shrinks away. The weakest of his agents are the highest and noblest of human beings, the original parents of mankind; with whose actions the elements consented; on whose rectitude, or devia-

‘tion of will, depended the fate of terrestrial nature, and the condition of all the future inhabitants of the globe.

‘Of the other agents in the poem, the chief are such as it is irreverence to name on slight occasions. The rest were lower powers—

—— ‘Of which the least could wield

‘Those elements, and arm him with the force

‘Of all their regions---

‘powers, which only the controul of Omnipotence restrains from laying creation waste, and filling the vaste expanse of space with ruin and confusion. To display the motives and actions of beings thus superior, so far as human reason can examine them, or human imagination represent them, is the task which this mighty poet has undertaken and performed.’

‘The thoughts which are occasionally called forth in the progress of his poem, are such as could only be produced by an imagination in the highest degree fervid and active, to which materials were supplied by incessant study and unlimited curiosity. The heat of Milton’s mind might be said to sublimate his learning, to throw off into his work the spirit of science, unmingled with its grosser parts. He has considered creation in its whole extent, and his descriptions are therefore learned. He had accustomed his imagination to unrestrained indulgence, and his conceptions therefore were extensive. The characteristic quality of his poem is sublimity. He sometimes descends to the elegant, but his element is the great. He can occasionally invest himself with grace; but his natural port is gigantic loftiness. He can please when pleasure is required; but

‘ but it is his peculiar power to astonish. He seems
 ‘ to have been well acquainted with his own genius,
 ‘ and to know what it was that nature had bestowed
 ‘ upon him more bountifully than upon others ;
 ‘ the power of displaying the vast, illuminating
 ‘ the splendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the
 ‘ gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful : he there-
 ‘ fore chose a subject on which too much could not
 ‘ be said, on which he might tire his fancy without
 ‘ the censure of extravagance.

‘ The highest praise of genius is original inven-
 ‘ tion. Milton cannot be said to have contrived
 ‘ the structure of an epic poem, and must therefore
 ‘ yield to that vigour and amplitude of mind to
 ‘ which all generations must be indebted for the
 ‘ art of poetical narration, for the texture of the
 ‘ fable, the variation of incidents, the interposition
 ‘ of dialogue, and all the stratagems that surprize
 ‘ and enchain attention. But, of all the borrowers
 ‘ from Homer, Milton is, perhaps, the least in-
 ‘ debted. He was naturally a thinker for himself,
 ‘ confident of his own abilities, and disdainful of
 ‘ help or hindrance : he did not refuse admission to
 ‘ the thoughts or images of his predecessors, but he
 ‘ did not seek them. From his contemporaries he
 ‘ neither courted nor received support ; there is, in
 ‘ his writings, nothing by which the pride of other
 ‘ authors might be gratified, or favour gained ; no
 ‘ exchange of praise, nor solicitation of support.
 ‘ His great works were performed under discounte-
 ‘ nance, and in blindness ; but difficulties vanished
 ‘ at his touch ; he was born for whatever is ardu-
 ‘ ous ; and his work is not the greatest of heroic
 ‘ poems, only because it is not the first.’

* * * *Authorities.* Wood’s Fasti Oxon. Toland’s
 Life of Milton, 1699 and 1761. Ellwood’s Life,
 M 4 edit.

edit. 1714. Fenton's Life of Milton, prefixed to his works, 1727. Richardson's Life of Milton. Dr. Birch's, 1738. Peck's Memoirs of the Life and poetical Works of Milton, 4to. 1740. Dr. Newton's, 1749 and 1764. Dr. Johnson's Lives of the Poets.

THE LIFE OF
S A M U E L B U T L E R.

[A. D. 1612, to 1680.]

THIS admired poet, though an inferior genius, forms a striking contrast to Milton; they differed not more in their poetic vein, than in their political sentiments. Milton was a sublime, Butler a satiric poet: the former was a zealous Republican, the latter a staunch Royalist.

Butler was the son of a substantial farmer who lived at Strensham in Worcestershire, where he was born in the year 1612. He received a grammar education at the free-school of Worcester; and Mr. Henry Bright, the master, having informed his father that he discovered in him an acute genius, and a ready disposition for learning, he resolved to encourage it, and to bring him up to the profession of the law. In this view he sent him to Cambridge to pursue his studies, but though he resided there

six or seven years, he was never matriculated, owing, as it was said, to his father's narrow circumstances, which would not permit him to go through the regular gradations of degrees, and to support the other incidental expences of university students. We are therefore to suppose that he only attended the public lectures in the university, which at that time were more numerous, more diligently read and attended to, and more in repute, than at present. The accounts of this part of his life, however, are very defective; and we are only told, that when he quitted Cambridge, he became clerk to Mr. Jefferys of Earl's Croom, an eminent justice of the peace for the county of Worcester, a station in those days in good esteem. With this gentleman he lived some years in a comfortable manner, having leisure sufficient to apply himself to those studies and amusements for which he perceived the strongest inclination, which were history, poetry, musick, and painting. He afterwards obtained the patronage of Elizabeth countess of Kent, a lady of great learning, and the protectress of men of letters. In the house of this lady he found an excellent library, and he likewise formed an acquaintance with other eminent men who frequently visited the countess: among others he became intimate with the learned Selden, who often employed him in literary business.

Mr. Butler's next residence was with Sir Samuel Luke, a gentleman of an antient family in Bedfordshire, and one of Oliver Cromwell's generals. In this situation it is generally believed that he planned, if he did not write, the famous poem of HUDIBRAS, under which character it is supposed he intended to ridicule Sir Samuel. History is silent with respect to our poet, from the time of his living with Sir Samuel Luke, which we find was after Oliver

Cromwell had the command of the army, till some years after the Restoration, when he was made secretary to Richard, earl of Carbury, lord president of Wales; who appointed him to be steward of Ludlow castle, when the lord-president's court was revived there; and about this time he married Mrs. Hubert, a widow lady of a very good family; but we have no dates to the few incidents of his life left on record, and must therefore be guided in point of time by other circumstances. The first part of *Hudibras* was published in 1663, in octavo; afterwards came out the second part, and both were printed together, with several additions and annotations. These, we are to suppose, first procured him the notice of the courtiers, and the patronage of the earl of Dorset, who introduced his poem at court, where it was so acceptable, that it became a matter of entertainment to the king, who often pleasantly quoted it in conversation. His slender, though honourable appointment under the lord-president of Wales, probably took place much about the same period, and with this income, and his wife's jointure from her former husband, it most likely be supported himself while he danced attendance on the court, in hopes of preferment or some suitable reward "for the great service it was said he had done to the royal family, by writing his inimitable *Hudibras*."

Major Richardson Pack, in his life of Wycherly, a brother poet, then in high favour at court, relates, that Wycherly took all opportunities to recommend Butler to the duke of Buckingham, and even went so far as to tell him, it was a reproach to the court, that a person of his loyalty and wit should suffer in obscurity, and under the wants he did; upon which the duke undertook to recommend him to his majesty; and Wycherly, to forward the
business,

business; requested the duke to name a day when he might introduce Butler to his grace. The duke accordingly fixed the time and the place, and the two poets attended the duke at the Roebuck, a noted tavern; but, unfortunately, soon after they were met, the door of the room where they sat being open and his grace sitting near it, he saw a rake, a knight of his acquaintance, pass by, with two loose women, whom he instantly pursued, and did not return to his company, nor from that hour did he take the least notice of his promises in favour of Butler. It is asserted likewise, that lord Clarendon, before his dismissal from employment, had promised Mr. Butler a good place, and had forfeited his word. However this be, it is certain, that he reaped no other benefit from the king's continual admiration of his poem, but a present of an order upon the treasury for three hundred pounds, which, by the interest of his friend Mr. Longueville, with the lord treasurer Danby, passed through all the offices without any deduction for fees; but when Mr. Longueville brought it to Butler, he recollected that he owed more than that sum, and therefore he requested his friend to pay it away in discharge of his debts. Some assert, that the king drew the order for three thousand pounds, but being in figures, a cypher was cut off in the treasury, or in some of the offices through which it passed; but this does not seem probable: for Butler, if this had been the case, would hardly have been so personally severe upon the king for his neglect of him, as we find him in the following lines of his poem, intituled, "HUDIBRAS at Court."

Now you must know, SIR HUDIBRAS
With such perfections gifted was,

M 6

And

And so peculiar in his manner,
That all that saw him did him honour ;
Among the rest, this prince was one,
Admired his conversation.

This prince, whose ready wit and parts
Conquer'd both men's and women's hearts,
Was so o'ercome by knight and Ralph
That he could never claw it off.

He never eat, nor drank, nor slept,
But Hudibras still near him kept ;

Never would go to church, or so,

But Hudibras must with him go :

Nor yet to visit concubine,

Or at a city feast to dine,

But Hudibras must still be there,

Or all the fat was in the fire.

Now, after all, was it not hard

That he should meet with no reward,

That fitted out this knight and 'squire

This monarch did so much admire ?

That he should never reimburse

The man for th' equipage, or horse,

Is sure a strange ungrateful thing

In any body but a king.

We have but few more particulars of his life; for he mixed very little with the world, being a very modest man, who studiously avoided multiplicity of acquaintance. Even the earl of Dorset, one of his best friends, was obliged to make use of a stratagem to get acquainted with him, as he was peculiarly shy to his superiors. His lordship prevailed on Mr. Fleetwood Shephard to introduce him into his company at a tavern, where Butler and he used frequently to spend their evenings together, in the character of a common friend. This being done, Mr. Butler, who did not shine to advantage in conversation

tion till he had drank pretty freely, appeared very flat and heavy while the first bottle went round; but in the course of drinking the second he became very sprightly, full of wit and learning, and a most pleasant, agreeable companion; but before the third was finished he sunk again into such stupidity and dulness, that hardly any body could have believed him to be the author of HUDIBRAS. Next morning, Mr. Shephard asked his lordship's opinion of Mr. Butler, who answered, "He is like a nine-pin, little at both ends, but great in the middle."

Our poet during the latter part of his life resided in Rose-street, Covent-garden, where it is supposed he ended his days. His death happened in 1680, and his constant friend, Mr. Longueville, made application to many of those great and wealthy persons, who had admired him while living, to contribute to the expence of burying him in Westminster-abbey; but they who had courted his company, without promoting his interest in life, now refused this last honour to his remains, and therefore he was interred very decently, but privately, in Covent-garden church-yard, at the sole expence of Mr. Longueville. From this and other circumstances it came to be reported, that he was reduced to great poverty, and died very much in debt. But Mr. Charles Longueville, the son of the above-mentioned gentleman, so lately as the year 1735, publicly contradicted these assertions, which had been taken up by some biographers.

The third and last part of Hudibras was published some time after the first and second part; and a complete edition of the whole was printed under the author's inspection in 1678, two years before his death. It has since received the highest commendations from foreigners, as well as from his own countrymen. Among the first, Voltaire has done it the greatest honour. This great genius thus ex-
presses

presses himself concerning it.—“There is an English poem, the title of which is HUDIBRAS; it is *Don Quixote*, and our *Satire Menippeæ*, blended together. I never met with so much wit in one single book as in this; and at the same time it is the most difficult to translate. Who would believe, that a work which paints in such lively and natural colours the several foibles of mankind, and where we meet with more sentiments than words, should baffle the endeavours of the ablest translators? But the reason of it is this; almost every part of it alludes to particular incidents.” Hudibras has gone through many editions, but the last and the most esteemed was published by Zachary Grey, LL. D. with large annotations, and a preface containing some memoirs of the author, Lond. 1744. 2 vol. 8vo. This edition has been since reprinted. In 1759, were published, “The genuine Remains, in Verse and Prose, of Mr. Samuel Butler, printed from original Manuscripts, formerly in the Possession of William Longueville, Esq; with Notes by Mr. R. Thyer, Keeper of the Public Library at Manchester,” 2 vol. 8vo. The first of these volumes consists chiefly of poetical pieces; the second, mostly of characters, drawn with great strength, to which are annexed ingenious thoughts on a variety of subjects. In justice to our author, we must not omit to make mention of an old edition of his posthumous works, first printed in three, and afterwards in one volume duodecimo, in which are many indecent and immoral pieces; and that Mr. Charles Longueville declared many of the pieces in this collection were spurious: we should therefore recommend it to the reader, to pay little regard to that edition.

* * * *Authorities.* Gen. Biog. Dictionary. Grey's Memoirs of Butler. Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. 2. British Biography, vol. 5. 8vo. 1769.

THE LIFE OF

EDMUND WALLER.

[A. D. 1605, to 1687.]

EDMUND WALLER was son to Robert Waller, Esq; of Agmondesham in Buckinghamshire, by Anne, sister to the celebrated Mr. Hampden. He was born in the year 1605, at Coleshill; which, though in the Parish of Agmondesham, stands in Hertfordshire. He lost his father when he was very young, so that the care of his education devolved upon his mother: he had, however, the advantage of being left in very plentiful circumstances. The writer of Mr. Waller's life, prefixed to his works, says, "His father had the reputation of a wise man, and his œconomy was one of the distinguishing marks of his prudence. For though the family of Waller in Buckinghamshire was but a younger branch of the Wallers in Kent, yet this gentleman at his death left his son an estate of 3500l. a year; a fortune at that time fit for a nobleman. And, indeed, the antiquity of this family, and the services they have rendered their country, deservedly place it among the most honourable in England." The same writer informs us, that our poet was sent to Eton school; but Mr. Wood tells us, that he

was

was mostly trained in grammar-learning under Mr. Dobson, minister of Great Wycombe in Bucks. He was afterwards sent to King's college in Cambridge; but his stay there could not be very long; for, before he was eighteen years of age, he was chosen into the third parliament of king James I. and served as burgess for Agmondesham.

Mr. Waller began to exercise his poetical talents so early as the year 1623, as appears from a copy of verses, in his works, upon the danger his majesty (being prince) escaped in the road of St. Andero; for there prince Charles had like to have been cast away, in returning from Spain that year. It has however been observed, that it was not Waller's wit, or his poetry, that occasioned him to be first publickly known; but it was his carrying the daughter and sole heiress of a rich citizen against a rival, whose interest was espoused by the court.

It is not known at what time he married his first lady; but he was a widower before he was five-and-twenty, when he became enamoured of the lady Dorothy Sydney, daughter to the earl of Leicester, and afterwards wife to the earl of Sunderland, whom he hath immortalized under the name of Sacharissa. But this lady did not favour Mr. Waller's passion, though he paid court to her in such strains,

“ As mov'd all hearts, but hers he wished to move.”

Our poet's attachment to this lady, however strong, did not prevent him from paying his compliments to another, whom he celebrates in his poems under the name of Amoret, by which he is said to have meant the lady Sophia Murray.

It was after his first marriage, that Mr. Waller began to be known at court, and from that time he was caressed by all the people of quality who
had

had any relish for wit and polite literature; and was one of the famous club, of which the Lord Falkland, Mr. Chillingworth, and other eminent men, were members. At one of their meetings, they heard a noise in the street, and being told a son of Ben Johnson's was arrested, they sent for him; and he proved to be Mr. George Morley, afterwards bishop of Winchester. Mr. Waller liked him so well, that he paid the debt, which was about 100*l.* on condition that he would live with him at Beconsfield. Mr. Morley did so eight or ten years; and was very useful to Mr. Waller in improving his taste, and assisting his studies.

Our author was returned burges for Agmondesham, in the parliament which assembled in April, 1640, in which he censured the arbitrary measures of the court, in a very free and spirited manner. He also engaged in the opposition to the court in the Long Parliament, which met in November following; and was chosen to impeach Judge Crawley, for his extrajudicial opinion in the affair of ship-money; which he did in a very nervous and eloquent speech on the 6th of July, 1641. This speech was so greatly applauded by the public, that twenty thousand of them were sold in one day.

At the latter end of 1642, he was one of the commissioners appointed by parliament to present their propositions of peace to the king at Oxford. But, notwithstanding this, he soon after engaged in a plot against the parliament, and in favour of the king: and it is supposed, by most writers, that he did this because he thought the parliament acted too violently against the king. Whatever his motives might be, he entered into a combination with Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and one Challoner, Tomkins's friend, to form a party strong enough to oppose

pose the means necessary to carry on the war against the king. The earl of Northumberland, lord Conway, and other noblemen, had so far encouraged the scheme, as to express desires that expedients might be found to limit the authority exercised by the commons.

This design had been so highly improved on by the royal council, that it arose to the taking into the custody of the party the king's children; the securing the principal leaders of the two houses, viz. the lords Say and Wharton, Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Strode, with the lord mayor, and committee of the militia; to seize upon the outworks, forts, magazines, gates, and other places of importance in the city and Tower; and to let in the king's forces, three thousand of which were to advance from Oxford, so soon as intelligence was received there that the matter was come to a proper ripeness. Whilst this affair was in agitation, and lists were forming of such as were conceived to be well-affected to the design, a servant of Tomkins, who had over-heard their discourse, immediately carried the intelligence to Mr. Pym: upon which, Waller, Tomkins, and Challoner, were taken into custody.

Mr. Waller's courage now began to fail him; so that, in hopes of saving his life, he readily confessed every circumstance of the plot, without concealing a tittle of any discourse he had ever had with the others who were engaged in the conspiracy. He also acted with the greatest art and dissimulation, counterfeiting such remorse of conscience, that his trial was put off, out of mere Christian compassion, till he might recover the use of his understanding. He invited visits from the ruling clergy, received their exhortations with reverence and humility, made them presents, and pretended to gain, from
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their instructions, a degree of religious light and knowledge which he had never before attained. In the mean time, his associates, Tomkins and Chaloner, were tried by a court-martial, and put to death. Writers of the greatest note differ in their account of some material circumstances relative to Mr. Waller. According to lord Clarendon, his speech before the house of commons so far prevailed with them, that he was not tried by a council of war, which was the means of saving his life: whereas, according to Whitlocke, and others, he was tried by a council of war, but obtained a reprieve from general Essex, and was afterwards pardoned. However, it is certain that Mr. Waller was heard before the house of commons, where he made a most eloquent and pathetic speech, in which he acknowledged his offence with much appearance of penitence; but, at the same time, strongly urged the danger which the parliament would incur, by subjecting their members to be tried at any other tribunal than their own; and he was afterwards permitted to compound for his transgression, being suffered to leave the kingdom, after a year's imprisonment, on paying a fine of ten thousand pounds.

Mr. Waller now retired into France, where he lived at Paris in a very hospitable and elegant manner: and it is said, that, except the lord St. Alban's, who was the queen of England's prime minister when she kept her court there, there was no English table but Mr. Waller's, which was so costly to him, that it brought his finances somewhat low. He had now married a second wife, named Mary, of the family of Bresse, or Breaux. During his stay in France he resided some time at Rouen, where his daughter Margaret was born. He was particularly fond of this daughter, and she used to serve him as his amanuensis. About this time, he published the
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first edition of his poems. When Cromwell had assumed the protectorship, Mr. Waller, who was related to him, made application to him by his friends, for leave to return home, and which he accordingly obtained. On his return home, he was well received by the protector, who often conversed with him very freely; and Mr. Waller used to declare, that Oliver was well read in Greek and Roman history. In 1654, he addressed a fine panegyric to the protector; Mr. Waller also paid a fine compliment to the protector's memory, in a poem which he wrote on his death, in 1658. However, on the restoration of king Charles II. our poet's courtly muse produced a poem, which he addressed to that monarch, upon his majesty's happy return. It is said, that when he presented this poem to the king, his majesty told him, that he thought it much inferior to his panegyric on Cromwell. "Sir," replied Mr. Waller, "we poets never succeed so well in writing truth, as in fiction."

He was always much caressed and respected in the court of king Charles II. and considered as one of the reigning wits there. That prince used him with great civility, and in his diversions at the duke of Buckingham's, and other places, generally made Mr. Waller one of the party, excusing to the company his not being able to drink; upon which Mr. Savile used to say, "No man in England should keep him company without drinking, but Ned Waller." Our author obtained from king Charles a grant of the provostship of Eton college; but this grant proved of no effect, it being represented to his majesty, that by the statutes of that college laymen were excluded from the provostship.

Mr. Waller sat in several parliaments after the Restoration: in 1661, he was member for Hastings in Suffex; and, in 1678, for Chipping-Wycombe,
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in Buckinghamshire. He was member for Saltash, in Cornwall, in the parliament assembled in 1685, in the reign of James II. He was now very old, but his wit and abilities still made him the object of admiration. "Waller" (says Burnet) "was the delight of the house; and, even at eighty, he said the liveliest things of any among them." His faculties being thus vigorous to the end of his life, together with its natural vivacity, made his company agreeable to the last. King James II. having once ordered the earl of Sunderland to bring Mr. Waller to him in the afternoon, when he came, the king carried him into his closet, and there asked him, how he liked such a picture. "Sir," (says Mr. Waller) "my eyes are dim, and I know not whose it is." The king answered, "It is the princess of Orange." "And" (says Mr. Waller) "she is like the greatest woman in the world." "Whom do you call so?" asked the king. "Queen Elizabeth," said he. "I wonder, Mr. Waller," replied the king, "you should think so; but, I must confess, she had a wise council." "Sir," (said Mr. Waller) "did you ever know a fool chuse a wife one?" Some time after this, as we are told by the writer of his life, prefixed to his works, it being known that Mr. Waller intended to marry his daughter to Dr. Birch, the king was prevailed with to endeavour to hinder it; and, with this view, directed a French gentleman of quality to tell him, that "the king wondered he should have any thoughts of marrying his daughter to a falling church." Mr. Waller made answer, "Sir, the king does me very great honour to take any notice of my domestic affairs; but I have lived long enough to observe, that this falling church has got a trick of rising again."

Some time before his death, he purchased a small estate, with a little house upon it, at Coleshill, his birth-place, to which he frequently retired, but did not stay long. Being once carried to dine there, he said, "he should be glad to die like the stag, where he was roused." But in this his wish was not gratified. He was at Beconsfield, when finding his legs begin to swell, he took his son-in-law, Dr. Birch, with him to Sir Charles Scarborough, then at Windsor, in attendance as first physician to king James II. He told him, that he came to him as an old friend, as well as physician, to ask him what that swelling meant. Sir Charles said plainly, "Why, Sir, your blood will run no longer." Upon which Mr. Waller repeated some lines out of Virgil, suitable to the occasion, on the condition of human life, and received his sentence very composedly. The dropical symptom encreasing, he ordered Dr. Birch to give him the holy sacrament, and desired all his children to join with him. At the same time, he professed his firm belief in Christianity with great earnestness, telling them, that, when the duke of Buckingham once talked profanely before king Charles, he told him, "My lord, I am a great deal older than your grace, and I believe I have heard more arguments for Atheism than ever your grace did; but I have lived long enough to see there is nothing in them, and so I hope your grace will." He died on the 21st of October, 1687, and was interred with his ancestors in the church-yard at Beconsfield, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory. He left several children, and bequeathed his estate (which he had already greatly reduced) to his second son Edmund; his eldest, Benjamin, being so far from inheriting his father's wit, that he even wanted

wanted common sense. Edmund was esteemed a man of good understanding, and was several times chosen a member of the house of commons; but, in the latter part of his life, he turned Quaker. His fourth son, Dr. Stephen Waller, was a famous civilian, and one of the commissioners appointed for the union of the two kingdoms.

Mr. Waller is justly considered as one of the greatest refiners of the English language and versification.

The best edition of Mr. Waller's works is that published in 1730, 4to. with notes and observations by Mr. Elijah Fenton. Mr. Fenton's edition has since been re-printed in small 8vo.

* * * *Authorities.* Life of Waller prefixed to the edition of his works, Lond. 1712. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Book VII.

THE LIFE OF

SIR WILLIAM PETTY.

[A. D. 1623, to 1687.]

THIS ingenious gentleman, whose talents were so various and extensive, that it is difficult to say to what class of men he properly belonged, was the eldest son of Anthony Petty, a clothier at Rumsey, in Hampshire, where he was born in the
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year 1623. Almost from his infancy he discovered a genius for the mechanic arts, his chief amusement being to observe artificers at work, to examine their tools, and to attempt imitations of their performances, till, in the end, he was so accustomed to these exercises, that, at twelve years of age, he had acquired great skill in the manual arts, and could use the tools of most workmen with great skill and dexterity. According to his own account, he made the same rapid progress in polite literature, having attained a competent knowledge of the Greek, Latin, and French languages; and made himself master of common arithmetic, practical geometry, dialling, and the astronomical part of navigation, by the time he was full fifteen years of age. Thus accomplished, he went in search of further improvement to the university of Caen in Normandy. Upon his return to England, he obtained some place in the navy-office; and, having saved up *threescore* pounds, he deemed this small sum a sufficient fund to defray the expences of travelling to foreign parts. With this pittance, therefore, our industrious adventurer embarked for the Netherlands about the year 1643, taking with him his younger brother Anthony, whose education he likewise undertook. At this time, he resolved to study physic, and, with this design, he visited Leyden, Utrecht, Amsterdam, and Paris, residing longest at the last, the university being then in great repute, and there he applied himself diligently to the study of anatomy, reading the works of Vesalius, the famous Flemish anatomist, in company with our celebrated philosopher Hobbes, who took great pleasure in associating with him, and in forwarding his pregnant genius.

It may easily be conceived, that sixty pounds could do little more than serve to set him forward

in his journey, and to defray the ordinary expences of travelling; it has therefore been generally furnished, that he carried on some advantageous branch of traffic with his own country during the three years he resided on the Continent, by which he was enabled to support himself genteely, and to return to England in 1646, bringing home with him *tén* pounds more than he carried out; but this is only conjecture, for he does not himself account for this extraordinary circumstance.

In the year 1647, he obtained a patent for an instrument he had invented for double writing; it is described to have been of small bulk and price, easily made, and very durable; whereby two resembling copies of the same thing might be wrote at once, as expeditiously, and as fair, as they could have been done by different persons in the ordinary way. It could be learnt in an hour's time, and it was supposed that it would have been of great advantage to lawyers and scriveners; but the additional fatigue to the hand, by the increase of weight above that of a pen, rendered the project useless with respect to the chief advantage proposed by it, that of expedition: so that Mr. Petty derived but little benefit from his exclusive privilege of teaching this art for seventeen years, except that it spread the reputation of his ingenuity, and brought him acquainted with all the learned men of those days. By their advice and interest he fixed his abode at Oxford, where he practised chemistry and physic with great success, and assisted Dr. Clayton, the anatomy-professor, in his dissections. The fame of his great abilities soon after reached London, the philosophical meetings of the learned, which preceded the institution of the Royal Society, having been held frequently at his lodgings at Oxford; by which means some of the leading men in

parliament made it a point to advance his interest; so that, in 1649, a parliamentary recommendation was sent to Brazen-nose-college to elect him to a fellowship, made void by ejection, which was complied with, and, at the same time, the university conferred upon him an honorary degree of doctor of physic. In 1650 he was admitted a candidate of the College of Physicians at London: and, in the month of December of the same year, he was principally concerned with some other physicians, in restoring to life one Anne Green, who had been hanged at Oxford for the murder of her bastard child.

It is related of this woman, that she hung near half an hour, during which time her friends, in order to put her out of pain, thumped upon her breast, suspended themselves upon her legs, lifted her up, and then pulled her down again with sudden and violent jerks, yet she was not deprived of life; for, after she was in her coffin, she was observed to breathe, when a lusty fellow stamped with all his force on her breast and stomach; the doctors then got possession of the body, and recovered her, but we are not told by what means, only that she lived many years after, and bore several children.

In the beginning of the year 1651, Dr. Petty was elected anatomy-professor upon the resignation of Dr. Clayton; and he likewise succeeded Dr. Knight in the professorship of music in Gresham-college. The following year he was appointed physician to the army in Ireland: he was likewise physician to three successive lord lieutenants, Lambert, Fleetwood, and Henry Cromwell; which preferments, together with great practice in the city of Dublin, placed him in a state of affluence. His fertile genius, however, could not be confined to the science
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of physic alone. Being an excellent mathematician, he was completely master of the art of surveying land; and having observed that, after the rebellion in Ireland of 1641, the forfeited lands, which had been allotted to the soldiers for suppressing it, were very defectively measured, he made such representations upon the subject to Oliver Cromwell, that he granted him a contract in 1654, to make new admeasurements, which he finished with such accuracy, that the true value of every estate, not under 60 l. per annum, was exactly ascertained, and plans were likewise drawn by him of the whole. By this contract he gained upwards of ten thousand pounds. And it appears by authentic records, that, in 1655, he had surveyed 2,800,000 acres of forfeited improveable land, part of which he had divided amongst the disbanded soldiers. Henry Cromwell being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland in the course of that year, he chose Dr. Petty to be his secretary; and, in 1657, he made him clerk of the council; and, by his interest, procured him a seat in the English parliament, in which he served for the borough of Westlow, in Cornwall. But here he met with a severe mortification, being impeached in March, 1658, by Sir Hierom Sankey, for high crimes and misdemeanours in the execution of his office of surveying, and distributing the Irish lands, a business for which he expected general applause. The charge being general, and the doctor absent in Ireland, it was thought reasonable that it should be reduced into articles, and, in the mean time, that he should be summoned to attend the house within the space of a month. This brought him to England before the appointed time; for he took his seat in the house on the 19th of April, and gave in his answer to the articles on the 21st; to which his prosecutors replying, the matter was ad-

journed to a distant day, and so came not to a final issue, the parliament being suddenly dissolved by Richard Cromwell.

The attempt against him failing in England, Sir Hierom Sankey countenanced a more vigorous prosecution against him in Ireland, upon his return thither, soon after the dissolution of the parliament; and though he published a justification of himself under the title of "Brief Proceedings between him and Sir Hierom, with Reflections upon some Persons and Things in Ireland," yet neither this performance, nor a letter written in his favour by Henry Cromwell, to his brother the protector, could prevent his being dismissed from all public employment, as soon as Richard Cromwell had resigned, and the remnant of the Long Parliament had re-assumed the reins of government. His dismissal happened in June, 1659, and he then became a member of the ROTA Club, at Miles's coffee-house, in New-palace-yard, Westminster. The scheme of this club was, that all officers of state should be chosen by ballot for a limited time, after which they were to resign, and others were to be elected in the same manner; a certain number of members of parliament were likewise to be changed annually, by rotation. But this plan not taking effect, and the doctor's interest visibly declining in England, he returned to Ireland, and employed his time in improving his own estates, which were then very considerable; there he remained till the restoration of Charles II. when he came to England, and was very graciously received by his majesty; and, soon after, he resigned his professorship of Gresham-college, the king having appointed him to be one of the commissioners of the court of claims, established in Ireland in 1662, to settle the claims relating to forfeited estates in that kingdom. His majesty like-
wife

wife conferred on him the honour of knighthood, granted him a new patent, constituting him surveyor-general of Ireland; and, in his instructions to the court of claims, he ordered that all the forfeited lands which had been assigned to him, and of which he had been possessed in May, 1659, just before his dismissal from his former employments, should be confirmed to him for ever; so that Sir William Petty's estate amounted, according to his own account, to six thousand pounds per annum; and from Mount Mangorton, in the county of Kerry, he could see fifteen thousand acres of his own land.

Upon the institution of "The Royal Society of London," in 1662, he was elected one of their first council; and though he no longer practised as a physician, his name was inserted in the list of the Fellows, upon the renewal of the charter of "The College of Physicians," in 1663. Sir William, about this time, gave a fresh proof of his genius for mechanics, and his skill in navigation; for he invented a double-bottomed ship, to sail against wind and tide, which performed one successful voyage very expeditiously, from Dublin to Holyhead, in July, 1664, turning into that narrow harbour against wind and tide. The earl of Ossory, and several other persons of distinction, embarked in her, upon her return to Dublin, and repeated the experiment within the bar, near Dublin. In a hard gale she put out to sea with a Dutch vessel, esteemed a prime sailer, which vessel was thought to be overfet, whilst Sir William's did not incline above half a foot. She was therefore called the *Pad* of the sea, and she seemed to excel all other forms of ships in sailing, carriage, and security, besides other advantages; but, in her return for Dublin, from a second voyage, she was

destroyed in a violent storm, in which a fleet, consisting of seventy sail, likewise perished. He gave a model of this vessel to the Royal Society, which is still preserved in their repository; he likewise communicated to that learned body, in 1665, a discourse on ship-building, containing some curious secrets in that art. But this piece was lost to the publick, for it was taken away from the Society by lord Broucker, one of their presidents, in the year 1682, though the author was then living, under pretence that it was too great an arcanum of state to be commonly perused.

Sir William Petty employed great part of his time for many years in attempts to improve upon his plan; and after having made upwards of twenty models at great expence, he at length had a vessel completed according to his own instructions, which was publicly tried in the harbour of Dublin for two days, in December, 1684; but she performed so abominably, that it seemed as if she had been built on purpose to disappoint every expectation that was formed concerning her; and the mortification was the greater to Sir William, because he had asserted, "that he would construct passage-boats between Dublin and Chester, which should be a kind of stage-boats; for they should be as regular in going out and returning on set days, in all weathers, as the stage-coaches between London and any country town.

Yet the vexation occasioned by this disappointment did not deter Sir William from continuing his studies for the improvement of shipping during the remainder of his life; and though he made no more public experiments, he wrote several ingenious essays on the subject to the Royal Society, and a treatise on Naval philosophy, addressed to the earl, afterwards the great duke of Marlborough, published after his death.

The accounts of this enterprize may be the more entertaining to the reader, while the adventure of the unfortunate Mr. Day, at Plymouth, is still fresh in his memory. It is probable this modern inventor had perused and studied the relation given of Sir William Petty's double-bottomed ship; and of the barge invented by Cornelius Drebel, a Dutchman, which was tried upon the Thames in the reign of James I. and was actually rowed under water for a considerable time and distance, with the greatest security to the persons on board. The only error in these extraordinary projects seems to be, that of imagining that what is right in theory and will stand the test of partial experiments, under favourable circumstances, can always be carried into general practice. Drebel, Petty, and Day, all made one successful experiment with every thing advantageously disposed; but deprived of all partial aid, the second experiment demonstrated, with respect to the two last, that the inventors had not made allowance for common accidents, or at least, that their machines were not better calculated to surmount them than any others of the same kind. Day's vessel had a false bottom, standing on feet like a butcher's block; the ballast was contained in this false bottom, and by the person in the vessel unscrewing some pins, she was to rise to the surface, leaving the false bottom behind. This had been done successfully in a Norwich market-boat fitted for his purpose, in which he sunk himself 30 feet under water in Yarmouth roads, and after remaining 24 hours, he rose in the vessel to the surface with great ease and safety; but at Plymouth, the second experiment proved fatal; for he went down in 22 fathom water, on the 28th of June 1774, and never rose again, nor could any thing be ascertained concerning the vessel.

We must now return to the year 1666, in order to proceed regularly with the remaining memoirs of Sir William Petty. This is the date of his "Verbum Sapienti, containing an Account of the Wealth and Expences of England, and the Method of raising Taxes in the most equal Manner: shewing likewise, that England can bear the Charge of four Millions annually, when the Occasions of the Government require it." Though this was the first tract which took in a general and comprehensive view of the abilities of the people, and of the nature of the public revenues published by our author, yet it appears that his famous treatise on political arithmetic, of which further mention will be made in the account of his posthumous works, was presented by him to Charles II. in manuscript, upon his restoration; and this accounts for the honours and favours conferred upon him by that prince, to whom no person could be more acceptable than an author who taught him how to increase his revenues. He had likewise published a small piece on a more confined plan in 1662, intituled, "A Treatise on Taxes and Contributions: shewing the Nature and Measures of Crown Lands, Assessments, Customs, Pollmonies, Lotteries, Benevolence, &c." chiefly calculated to answer the purposes of the court; but his "Verbum Sapienti" was a general display to the public of his abilities as a political calculator, and it was well received from its novelty, there being at that time scarcely any thing extant upon the finances, or upon the property and resources of the kingdom. In 1667, he married Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Hardresse Waller, and relict of Sir Maurice Fenton, baronet, and from this time he engaged in various pursuits, which shewed the great activity of his extensive genius, and how capable he was to promote the commercial interest of his country, and at the

same time to make it subservient to the advancement of his own fortune: for he opened lead mines, and a trade for timber; he likewise set up iron works, and established a pilchard fishery; all in the county of Kerry in Ireland, by which he greatly benefited that country and enriched himself; and though he chiefly resided in England, yet he made frequent visits to that kingdom, and promoted the establishment of a Philosophical Society at Dublin (in imitation of the Royal Society of London), of which he was president in 1684, when he drew up a catalogue of mean, vulgar, cheap, and simple experiments, proper for the infant state of that society, also his *Supplex Philosophica*, being a description of forty-five instruments, requisite to carry on their institution, which he afterwards sent to them as a present from London.

In 1685, he made his will, which is as remarkable as any other transaction of his life; and amongst other things he takes notice, that from thenceforward, "he should confine his studies to the anatomy of the people, to political arithmetic, and to the improvement of ships, land-carriages, and pumps, as of most use to mankind, not blaming the study of other men." But death put a period to his useful labours in the year 1687, when he was carried off by a gangrene in his foot, occasioned by the gout. His body was carried from his house in Piccadilly to Rumsley, and interred in the chancel of the church, near his parents, and over his grave was cut on a plain flat stone, by an illiterate workman, this simple inscription: *Here layes Sir William Petty*. He was the first able financier of this country, who reduced the science of raising and applying the public revenues of the kingdom to a regular system, in print. His enterprising and diffusive genius led him to embrace a variety of objects; which made his writings

numerous,

numerous, upon subjects belonging to the classes of arts and manufactures, particularly on dying and the woollen manufactory, most of which are to be found either in the Philosophical Transactions, or in the History of the Royal Society, by Dr. Birch. His POLITICAL ARITHMETIC is a masterpiece in its kind, and has served as a grammar to young students of political œconomy from the time of its publication; the increase of our national debts and taxes, of our revenue resources, and of our commerce, rendering it still more valuable as a *Vademecum* to modern financiers, who very often are put into offices in the treasury, and other revenue departments, before they know so much as the meaning of political arithmetic. For their benefit, as well as others, it may be necessary to explain it, by inserting in this place, the remaining copious title of this valuable performance.—“Or a Discourse concerning the Extent and Value of Lands, People, Buildings, Husbandry, Manufacture, Commerce, Fishery, Artisans, Seamen, Soldiers, Public Revenues, Interests, Taxes, Superlucration, Registries, Banks, Valuation of Men, increasing of Seamen, of Militias, Harbours, Situation, Shipping, Power at Sea, &c. as the same relates to every Country in general, but more particularly to the Territories of his Majesty of Great Britain, and his Neighbours of Holland, Zealand, and France.” It was published at London by his son, in 1690, in 8vo. and has been frequently re-printed. Sir William Petty’s eldest son was created baron of Shelburne, in the county of Waterford in Ireland, by WILLIAM III. but dying without issue, he was succeeded in that honour by his younger brother, Henry, who was created viscount Dunkeron in the county of Kerry, and earl of Shelburne in 1718. From this nobleman is descended the present illustrious William Petty, earl
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of Shelburne, in Ireland, and baron of Wycombe, and marquis of Lansdown in England. A remarkable instance this, and a striking example of the establishment of a noble family, from the united efforts of ingenuity and industry in one man, who from so small a beginning as sixty pounds, and after being reduced to such penury in France, as to be obliged “to live for a week on two or three pennyworth of walnuts, hewed out a fortune to himself,” and left his family, at his death, 6500l. per annum in land, above 45000l. in personal effects, and a plan of demonstrable improvement on his estate, to produce 4000l. per annum more.

* * * *Authorities.* Wood’s Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. Ward’s Lives of the Gresham Professors. Granger’s Biog. Hist. of England.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.













