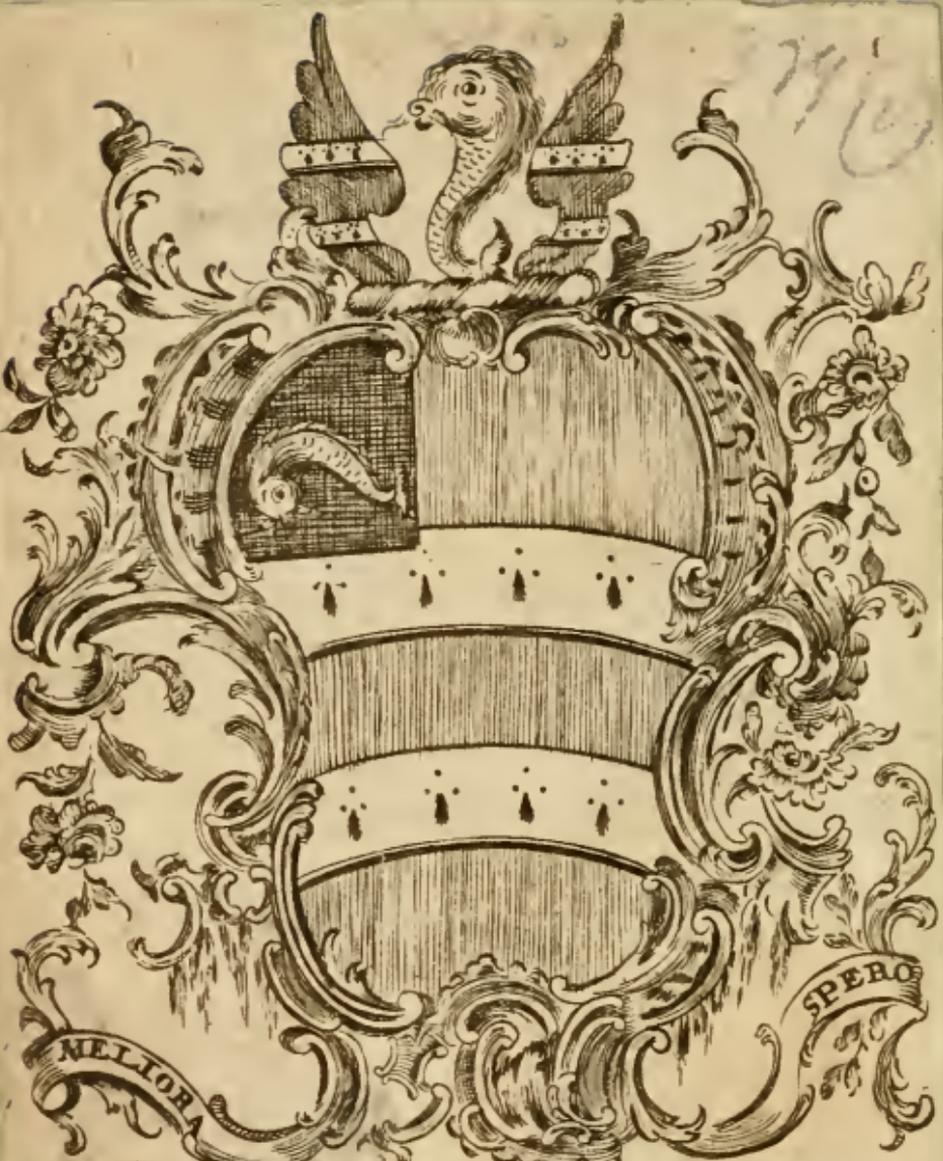


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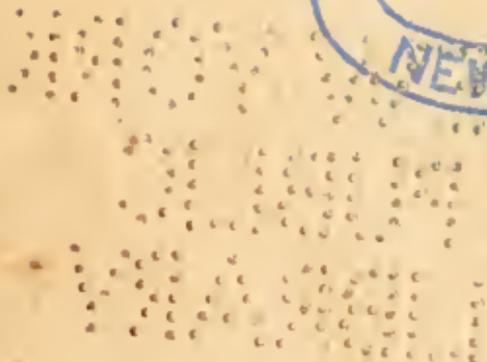
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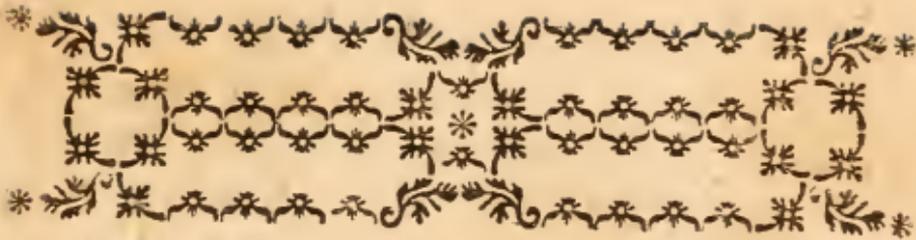


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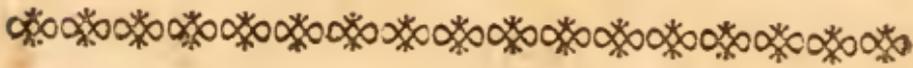
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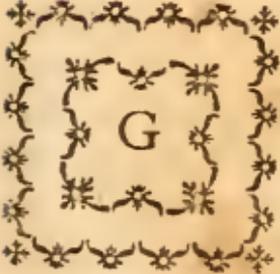
T H E

BRITISH PLUTARCH.



THE LIFE OF

GEORGE MONK.



GEORGE MONK, duke of Albermarle, the renowned restorer of king Charles II. to his crown and kingdom, was descended of a family settled so early as the reign of Henry III. at Potheridge, in Devonshire, where he was born on the sixth of December, 1608. He was likewise chiefly educated there by his grand-father and god-father Sir George Smith, with whom he mostly resided.

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He dedicated himself to arms from his youth, no provision being expected from his father Sir Thomas Monk; whose reduced fortune, however, brought an affront upon him, which was resented by our young warrior in such a spirited manner as obliged him to enter into the service sooner than was intended; which rendered it necessary for him, when not quite seventeen years of age, to enter as a volunteer under his kinsman Sir Richard Greenville, then lying at Plymouth, and just upon setting out under lord Wimbedon, on the ill-concerted, and worse executed, expedition against Spain.

The ill success which attended our young volunteer's first essay, neither damped his courage nor changed his martial inclination; for the very next year he obtained a pair of colours under Sir John Burroughs, in the expedition to the isle of Rhee and Rochell. From hence he returned at the end of that 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 art military, and become extremely useful to the service, he retired on a disgust given him by the prince of Orange,
and

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; wherein what little was performed the lieutenant-colonel had an ample share in; and, perhaps, it was none of that prince's least misfortunes, that our hero had so small a portion of power and influence at that critical juncture.

The treaty commenced at Rippon, and the summoning a parliament had scarce put an end to the Scotch war, when the horrid Irish rebellion broke out; to quell which, lord Leicester was appointed to succeed the late earl of Strafford, who went with colonel Monk there (that lord having raised him to that post in his own regiment) where he did such considerable service, that the lords-justices appointed him governor of Dublin; but the parliament interceding, 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 by the marquis of Ormond, on his signing a truce with the Irish rebels, pursuant to the king's orders; which was done on the fifteenth of September, 1643: but, on the colonel's arrival at Bristol, he was met by orders sent both from Ireland and Ox-

ford, directing lord Hawley, governor of Bristol, to secure him till further orders. However, his lordship (on being informed of the unjust suspicions entertained of the colonel, purely for being an officer under the earl of Leicester, who was nominated by the parliament to command the forces raised, and paid by them for the Irish service; and from a fear that he might not willingly enter into a war against those whose pay he received; and being satisfied he had no sort of inclination to side with them) suffered him to proceed to Oxford on his bare 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 make him amends for this precipitancy, 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 post major-general Monk speedily repaired, but arrived only time enough to share in the unfortunate surprisal of that whole brigade by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who brought a considerable body of the parliament's forces to the relief of that place; from whence he was sent to Hull, amongst the other prisoners, and was in a short time conveyed from thence to the Tower of London, where he remained in close confinement till the thirteenth of November,

1646;

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 Leicester and the colonel set out on their journey to Ireland on the twenty-eighth of January after; but, as the marquis of Ormond refused obedience to the orders of the parliament, nor would deliver up the city of Dublin to their deputy without the king's command, lord Lisle and his forces were obliged to steer for Cork, near which they landed; but not being able to do any great matters, and his lordship's commission expiring, on the seventeenth day of April he embarked again for England, together with colonel Monk; who was not long in a state of inactivity, having 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 Monroe, refusing to join the English in the service of the parliament, colonel 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 famished 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 the colonel.

During this inactivity, his elder brother dying without issue male, the family estate, by entail, devolved upon him, and he repaired
it

it from the ruinous condition in which his father and brother had left it.

He had scarce settled his private affairs when he was called in to serve against the Scots, who had proclaimed king Charles II. in that kingdom, 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; where personally charging and routing Lower's regiment, he led the way to that compleat victory there obtained by the English forces.

After this victory, the lieutenant-general was employed in dispersing a body of irregulars, known by the name of Moss-troopers; and 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 having also submitted to him, he was seized

with a violent fit of illness, which obliged him, in 1652, to have recourse to the bath for his recovery. Returning from whence, he set out again for Scotland, as one of the commissioners for uniting that kingdom with the new-erected English commonwealth; which having brought to a successful conclusion, he returned with the others again 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; in which service he had made his first military essay, as has been before related; and, on the second of June, 1653, he, by his courage and conduct, contributed greatly to the defeat then given to the Dutch fleet, and likewise to the next obtained on the thirty-first of July following.

While general Monk, and the other admirals, were thus triumphing over the nation's enemies, and encreasing the honour of the commonwealth abroad, Cromwell was paving his way to the supremacy at home; which, on the sixteenth of December, 1653, he obtained under the title of protector.

In this capacity he soon concluded a peace with the Dutch, who obtained much more favourable terms from him than what the council of state and parliament had appeared willing to grant. General Monk, who lay with
his

his fleet on the Dutch coast, remonstrated so warmly against this peace, and those remonstrances were so well received by Oliver's own (called the Little, or Barebones) parliament; and Monk, on his return, was treated so kindly by them, that Oliver is said to grow jealous of him to that degree, that he 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 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. sent him down there commander in chief, for which post he set out 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, on the fourteenth of May, 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 stayed in Scotland; amusing himself with the pleasures of a rural life, and beloved by the people, though his government was

more absolute than any of their princes had dared to practise.

The war in Scotland being put an end to thus speedily and happily for the protector, he appointed a council of state for that part of his government; consisting of the lord Broghill; general Monk; colonel Howard, created earl of Carlisle after the restoration; colonel William Lockhart; colonel Adrian Scroop; colonel John Whetham; and major-general Desborough; who came to Scotland in September, 1655, and began to exercise their authority, which was very extensive.

The majority of these commissioners (three of whom, lord Broghill, colonel Howard, and colonel Whetham, were afterwards very instrumental in the restoration) concurred with general Monk in almost every thing he proposed; by which means the government of Scotland still remained chiefly in his hands; which, together with his affable behaviour towards the better sort of all parties, made Cromwell begin to entertain some suspicions of him; and, in order to prevent his influence from growing too powerful, the protector used to make frequent changes in the forces under his command, by recalling such regiments as were most trusted by the general, and sending in their room those who were most violent and refractory at home; who gave him much trouble to bring them into order, and make them submit to that discipline which he obliged all under him strictly to observe.

Nor was this distrust entirely without some appearance of foundation. It is certain that the king entertained good hopes of him, and to that purpose wrote to him from Colen on the twelfth of August, 1655. 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; one of which was most graciously received by the protector on the nineteenth of March, 1657; and the same year he received a summons to Oliver's house of lords.

About this time George, second son of general Monk died in his infancy, which was a great affliction to his father, who was 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 further with the mad 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 there after his father's death, Richard having dispatched Dr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Clarges then commissioner of 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 and 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 scarce 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 wrote by him to general Monk but a little before his death, to which was added the following remarkable post-script:

“ 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.

It is well known a parliament was called by Richard Cromwell; and, also, that, by the divisions arising in the upper-house thereof,

of; which spread their influence over the army, he was soon obliged to dissolve it.

The general receiving advice of these transactions, and of the depositions 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 by recommending Richard to their favour; and, with his officers, 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 information 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 stile, 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.

The Royalists were far from being idle in this juncture; there had been a kind of secret committee of that party, for managing affairs in behalf of the crown, ever since the death of Charles I. among whom was the son of Sir John Greenville, our general's kinsman,
who

who had lately given a very good living in Cornwall to Mr. Nicholas Monk, his brother; and Sir John receiving at this time two letters from King Charles II. then at Brussels, one directed to himself, and the other to the general, together with a private commission to treat with the latter, the success of that overture ended, as is well known, in the restoration of the king.

On the eighth of May, the general assisted 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 twenty-fifth.

The interview between the king and the general, was conformable to every one's expectation, full of duty on one side, and favour 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 brothers 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 honourable badges of that dignity.

From Canterbury the king removed to Rochester, where he lay on Monday the twenty-eighth; and the next morning, being his
birth-

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 his capital, into which he made his public entry with much magnificence.

General Monk was now sworn one of the privy-council, made master of the horse, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and 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, being made baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tees, earl of Torrington, and duke of Albermarle, with a grant of seven thousand pounds a year, estate of inheritance, besides other pensions; and 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 Albermarle 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 of the borough of South-
wark;

wark; 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 for the king's guard, being paid off and dismissed; as some time before had been the commissioners from Scotland, by a letter from the duke of Albermarle, signifying to them, that it was the king's pleasure, not to have them intermeddle any more in the government of that kingdom.

In January following, 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 Albermarle'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 averse thereto, 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.

On the twenty-second of April, 1661, the duke, as master of the horse, attended the king in his procession, leading the horse of state, from the Tower to White-hall; and the

the next day carried the sceptre and dove, and was one of the supporters of the canopy during the royal unction at the coronation; 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 Albermarle's vigilance and activity made his majesty regard him as the fittest nobleman to entrust with the care of his capital city in 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,

him, he readily accepted, and immediately set himself diligently about his new employment; wherein all the care of finishing those new ships which were on the stocks, repairing the old ones, which had been much damaged in an action with the Dutch that summer, 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 to 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 Ascough 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.

The particulars of his bravery against the Dutch in this station are properly the subject of general history, to which therefore we refer. He returned home in the beginning of September, and lay with the fleet at anchor in the bay of St. Helen's, near Spithead.

During that interval, broke out the terrible fire in London; which beginning on the second of 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 Albermarle to be recalled from the
fleet,

fleet, to assist in quieting the minds of the people, who expressed their affection and esteem for him, by crying out publicly, 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 Albermarle. This was the last testimony of the royal favour his grace 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 remarkable 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 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 the last great temporal affair,

affair, 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, on the thirtieth of December, 1669; and on the third of January, four days after, he died, sitting in his chair, without a single groan.

Thus, in the entrance of the sixty-second year of his life, died this noble and valiant commander, (for, whatever disputes there have been about his civil capacity, his military skill or courage were never called in question) beloved by most, admired by many, and envied but by few.







Tringham Sculp.
Hyde Earl of Clarendon

T H E L I F E O F

E D W A R D H Y D E.

THE antient and genteel family of the Hydés was originally of Northbury, in Cheshire; a branch of which settling at Gufage St. Michael, in the county of Dorset, Mr. Lawrence Hyde, of that place, being the father of several children, his third son was Henry Hyde, of Pyrton, in the county of Wilts, the father (by Mary, his wife, the daughter and heir of Mr. Edward Langford, of Tunbridge, in the same county) of our Mr. Edward Hydé, who was born at Dinton, near Hindon, in Wiltshire, on the sixteenth of February, or thereabouts, in the year 1608.

He was very carefully educated in grammar learning in his youth; soon discovered the pregnancy of his parts and elevated genius, and in Lent term, 1622, became a student of Magdalen hall, in the university of Oxford; where having applied himself to indefatigable study, and highly improved his natural endowments with acadèmic learning; he removed from thence after he had taken the degree of batchelor of arts to the Middle-Temple; where he studied the law for several years,

years, and attained to an uncommon perfection in that honourable profession.

Mr. Hyde made so considerable a figure in his profession, by the year 1633, when the gentlemen of the inns of court, having agreed to entertain the king and royal family with a masque, the better to effect it, resolved to choose two members out of each house whom they thought best qualified to carry on that affair, that he and Mr. Whitlock were chosen for the Inner-Temple.

There is nothing memorable concerning this gentleman from hence forward till the meeting of a parliament in April, 1640, after an interval of seven years, wherein he had the honour to serve the first time as a member for Wooten-Basset, in his native country. His abilities were soon discovered by the great and leading men of that house; and he shewed himself, through the course of the sitting of that parliament, a good and even patriot, wholly intent upon the welfare and tranquility of the nation, then in no small ferment upon many occasions.

But, though this parliament was so 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, and wherein Mr. Hyde served for the town of Saltash in Cornwall. His abilities begun now to be very
much

much taken notice of, and he was employed in several committees to examine, and give their opinions to the house concerning divers grievances; and when, from the importunity of the Scotch commissioners, now in treaty, to get money, some of the leading men seemed in despair of being able to borrow more, for that the city was disheartened to see no delinquents brought yet to justice; and therefore, that none could be expected from thence till some advance was made to those longed for ends; Mr. Hyde stood up, and said, He did not think the thing so difficult as was pretended; that no man lent his money who was not a gainer by it; that there was money enough to be had; and he did not doubt but if a small committee from the house was sent to confer in the name of the house, with those who were reputed to be monied men, they might prevail for as much as would serve the present exigence. Whereupon the house named him, Mr. Capel, Sir John Strangeways, and five or six more, who repaired into the city; and, after they had spoken together with four or five eminent men, of wisdom and sobriety, as well as ability to lend, they agreed to divide themselves, and confer separately with their particular acquaintance upon the same subject.

Many men chusing rather to lend their money than be thought to have it, and being very cautious in their expressions, except in private, they found, when they had again
commu-

communicated together, that the business was very easy, every man with whom they had conferred being willing to lend upon their security who had proposed it: and Mr. Hyde the next day reported the success of their employment, and then enlarged upon the temper they found the city to be in, upon the authority of those who might reasonably be supposed to know it best. That indeed it was much concerned to see two armies maintained at so vast a charge, within the bowels of the kingdom; and, that they who were able to make good what they promised, had readily engaged, if a peremptory day was assigned for being rid of those armies, there should be no want of money to discharge them.

The major part of the house received this report with great applause; and Mr. Hyde was no less active and serviceable to his country, in endeavouring to take away the court of York, of which the earl of Strafford had for some years been president.

The commons in a committee having taken the same into consideration, Mr. Hyde, the chairman, then reported the case; and thereupon it was resolved, that the commissions and instructions, whereby the president and council in the north exercised a jurisdiction, was illegal both in creation and execution, and that it was unprofitable to his majesty, and inconvenient and grievous to his subjects in those parts. Mr. Hyde thereupon being appointed to manage the conference with the lords,
touching

touching the same court, he made a most learned and eloquent speech upon that occasion.

But, though Mr. Hyde was as willing to proceed as any body in redressing the grievances of the nation, he was, on the other hand, as watchful for the security of the established church, now begun to be struck at; 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 begun, bishops had always been a part of it: that, if they were taken out, there was no body left to represent the clergy; which would introduce another piece of injustice, no other part of the kingdom could complain of; who, being all represented in parliament, were bound to submit to whatever was enacted there, because it was upon the matter of their own consent; whereas, if the bill was carried, there was no body left to represent the clergy, and yet they must be bound by their own determination.

When he had done, the 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) stood up; and declaring he was of another opinion, many of the house were wonderfully pleased to see the

two inseparable friends divided in so important a point, that they could not restrain from a kind of rejoicing; and the more, because they saw Mr. Hyde much surprized, as indeed he was, having never discovered the least inclination in the other towards such a compliance; and therefore, they flattered themselves, that they might, in time, work the lord Falkland to a further compliance with them; but therein they found themselves much mistaken.

The earl of Strafford's trial was now depending; and, how warm soever Mr. Hyde appeared against that noble lord, as he had been president of the council in the north, yet being fully convinced in mind that the earl had committed no crimes of state which by law could affect his life, he neglected no opportunities to save him.

We need not here recount the earl's unhappy fate; attainted he was, and beheaded: but though those who were supposed to favour him, either of lords or commons, were branded with the name of Straffordians, and betrayers of their country, and that a list of them was posted up at the corner of the wall of Sir William Brunkard's house, in the Old Palace-yard, in Westminster, yet, such was the sagacity and caution of Mr. Hyde, in his conduct about this unhappy affair, that he was not included amongst them.

The king being now on his return from Scotland, and the commons having prepared a remonstrance of the illegal practices since the beginning of his reign, it admitted of
many

many warm and sharp debates before it could be carried in the affirmative; but then Mr. Hambden moving for an order for the present printing of it, Mr. Hyde, as soon as the motion was made, said, somewhat warmly, He believed it was not lawful to print it before it was sent up to the house of peers for their concurrence, and feared it might be mischievous in the effect; and therefore desired, if the question, when it was put, should be carried in the affirmative, he might have leave to enter his protestation.

This was resented very much; and two days after, after long and warm debates, they ordered, that he should be sent to the Tower; the warm men among them urging earnestly that he should be expelled the house: but, at last, they were content with his commitment to the Tower; from whence he was in a few days released, and sat in the house. The parties and animosities ran so high, that this is all the favour Mr. Hyde received, little consideration being had to his services performed but very little before this against those barons of the Exchequer who had given their opinions in favour of ship-money, and other but too arbitrary proceedings of these times.

Things in a short while after coming to extremities between the king and parliament, Mr. Hyde continued in the house as long as he had any prospect of doing the king service; and then retiring to his majesty at York, he was pleased to confer upon him the honour of

Knighthood,, and make him chancellor of the Exchequer.

He attended his majesty to Nottingham, where he set up his standard, in August, 1642; but being a man of the gown, 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 cruel war going on, Sir Edward Hyde's province, for some time, was to attend the prince of Wales in the west; from whence he afterwards went to Jersey, where he spent a year and an half, chiefly in compiling *The History of the Civil-War*; and from whence, in 1648, he passed over into France, to attend the prince there, who, not long after, had the title, though not the power, of king, upon the barbarous murder of his father; and Sir Edward settling some time after with his family at Antwerp, the king thought fit to send him and the lord Cottington upon a joint-ambassy into Spain, to renew the alliance between the two crowns.

Their reception and encouragement at first were pretty tollerable, but the tranquillity they enjoyed was soon over, by the arrival of a
squadron

squadron of the parliament's fleet on the coast of Spain, which frightened the Spanish court from all the seeming affection they had for the royal cause. This, together with the murder of Ascham, the parliament's agent, by some English and Irish ruffians, together with the news of the defeat of the king's army in Scotland, by Cromwell, made the Spaniards heartily desirous they should be gone.

Sir Edward Hyde, in his passage through France to Antwerp, waited upon, and was very graciously received by, the queen-mother; and in vain endeavoured to do the English Protestants at Paris some service with respect to the exercise of their religion. Sir Edward hastening from hence to his family at Antwerp, and the king, in the mean time, after his defeat at Worcester, in 1650, having made his escape into France, he, pursuant to his commands, went and attended him at Paris; where, by his averfeness, first, to the duke of York's marrying Mademoiselle de Longueville; and then to the proposal of a match between the king and Mademoiselle de Mompefier, he so highly incurred the displeasure of the queen-mother, that, at length, she would not vouchsafe to speak to him: and this disinclination towards him produced, at one and the same time, a contrivance of an odd nature, and an union between two seemingly irreconcilable parties, the Papists and Presbyterians.

They framed their petitions against him; but the whole contrivance having been discovered to the king before Sir Edward knew any thing of it, and also a copy of the petitions put into his hands, he shewed them to him and the marquis of Ormond, and afterwards made himself very merry with it; spoke of it sometimes at dinner, when the queen-mother, who had been in the secret, was present; and asked pleasantly, when the petitions would be brought against the chancellor of the Exchequer.

In the mean time, the queen-mother took all occasion to complain to the queen-regent of the king's unkindness; that she might impute all that she disliked to the chancellor: and the queen-regent of France having intercepted a letter of his to the cardinal de Retz, which he had not thought fit to communicate first to her, she presently did it to his mother; and a little after, there being a masque at court that the king liked very well, he persuaded the chancellor to see it; and vouchsafed, the next night, to carry him thither himself, and to place the marquis of Ormond and him next the seat where all their majesties were to sit: and, when they entered, the queen-regent asked, who that fat man was that sat by the marquis of Ormond. The king told her aloud, That was the naughty man who did all the mischief, and set him against his mother; at which the queen herself was little less disordered.

dered than the chancellor; but they within hearing laughed so much, that the queen was not displeas'd; and somewhat was spoken to his advantage.

Though the chancellor of the Exchequer was not, perhaps, in compliance with the queen, against making Sir Edward Herbert, keeper, which happened in 1652, yet his troubles did not cease; for Mr. Robert Long, who, when the king was in Scotland, had been secretary, an office now performed by Sir Edward Hyde, petitioning to be restored to the place, and being refused, he thereupon accused Sir Edward of having betrayed the king; and undertook to prove that he had been over in England, and had private conference with Cromwell: which was an aspersion so impossible that every body laughed at it: yet, because he undertook to prove it, the chancellor press'd that a day might be appointed for him to produce his proof; and at that day the queen came again to the council, that she might be present at the charge.

There Mr. Long produced one Massonet, a man who had served him, and afterwards had been an under clerk for writing letters, and had been taken prisoner at Worcester, and being released with the rest of the king's servants, had been employed, from the time of the king's return, in the same service, under the chancellor of the Exchequer; who said, That, after his release from his imprisonment, and whilst he stay'd in London, he

spoke with a maid, who had formerly served him, that knew the chancellor very well, and who assured him, that one evening she had seen the chancellor go into Cromwell's chamber at White-hall; and after he had been shut up with him some hours, she saw him conducted out again. And Mr. Long desired time that he might send over for this woman, who should appear and justify it.

To this impossible discourse, the chancellor said, He would make no other defence, than, that there were persons then in town, who, he was confident, would avow that they had seen him every day, from the time he returned from Spain, to the day on which he attended his majesty at Paris: and when he had said so, he offered to go out of the room; which the king would not have him do: but he told his majesty, that it was the course, and that he ought not to be present at the debate that was to concern himself; and the lord-keeper, who was his enemy, with some warmth, said, it was true: and so he retired to his own chamber.

The lord Jermyn, as soon as he was gone, said, He never thought the accusation had any thing of probability in it; and, that he believed the chancellor a very honest man; but that the use that he thought ought to be made of this calumny, was, that it appeared that an honest and innocent man might be calumniated, as he thought Mr. Long had likewise been; and therefore they ought both to
be

be cleared. The keeper said, He saw not ground enough to condemn the chancellor; but he saw no cause neither to declare him innocent; that there was one witness which declared only what he had heard; but that he undertook also to produce the witness herself if he might have time; which, in justice, could not be denied; and therefore he proposed that a competent time might be given to Mr. Long to make out his proof; and, that, in the mean time, the chancellor might not repair to the council.

With much warmth the king said, He discerned well the design; and, that it was so false and wicked a charge, that, if he had no other exception against Mr. Long than this foul and foolish accusation, it was cause enough never to trust him: and therefore he presently sent for the chancellor, and, as soon as he came in, commanded him to sit in his place; and told him, He was sorry he was not in a condition to do him more justice than to declare him innocent.

The lord-keeper having as ill success in another accusation formed against Sir Edward, as if he had spoke disrespectful words of the king, and the king himself at last having declared he was very well satisfied in the chancellor's affection, and took nothing ill that he had said, and directed the clerk of the council to enter such his majesty's declaration in his book; from that time, there were no

farther public attempts against the chancellor during the time of his majesty's abode in France.

The king, some time after this, being grown perfectly weary of France, before he retired from thence into Germany, he desired that the chancellor of the Exchequer might part in the queen's good grace; and, being introduced into her presence by the lord Piercy, he told her majesty, That now she had vouchsafed to admit him into her presence, he hoped she would let him know the ground of the displeasure she had conceived against him; that so having vindicated himself from any fault towards her majesty, he might leave her with a confidence in his duty, and receive her commands with an assurance that they should be punctually obeyed by him.

The queen, with a loud voice, and more emotion than she was accustomed to, told him, That she had been contented to see him, and to give him leave to kiss her hand, to comply with the king's desires, who had importuned her to it; otherwise that he lived in that manner towards her, that he had no reason to expect to be welcome to her: that she need not assign any particular miscarriage of his, since his disrespect towards her was notorious to all men; and, that all men took notice that he never came where she was, though he lodged under her roof, (for the house was her's); and that she thought she had not seen him in six months.

months before : which she looked upon as so high an affront, that only her respect towards the king prevailed with her to endure it.

When her majesty made a pause, the chancellor, with admirable presence of mind, and happy turn of thought, so peculiar to himself, answered, That her majesty had only mentioned his punishment, and nothing of his fault; that, how great soever his infirmities were, in defect of understanding, or in good manners, he had yet never been in Bedlam; which he had deserved to be, if he had affected to publish to the world that he was in the queen's disfavour, by avoiding to be seen by her; that he had no kind of apprehension that they who thought worst of him, would ever believe him to be such a fool, as to provoke the wife of his dead master, the greatness of whose affections to her was well known to him; and the mother of the king, who subsisted by her favour; and all this in France, where himself was a banished person, and she at home, where she might oblige or disoblige him at her pleasure. So that he was well assured that no body would think him guilty of so much folly and madness as not to use all the endeavours he possibly could to obtain her grace and protection: that it was very true he had been long without the presumption of being in her majesty's presence, after he had undergone many sharp instances of her displeasure, and after he had observed some al-

teration and aversion in her majesty's look^s and countenance upon his coming into the room where she was, and during the time she stayed there; which others likewise observed so much, that they withdrew from holding any conversation with him in those places, out of fear to offend her majesty: that he had often desired; by several persons, to know the cause of her majesty's displeasure; and, that he might be admitted to clear himself from any unworthy suggestions which had been made of him to her majesty, but could never obtain that honour; and therefore he had conceived, that he was obliged in good manners, to remove so unacceptable an object from the eyes of her majesty, by not coming into her presence; which all who knew him could not but know to be the greatest mortification that could be inflicted upon him; and therefore he most humbly besought her majesty, at this audience, which might be the last he should receive of her, that she would dismiss him with the knowledge of what had been taken amiss, that he might be able to make his innocence and integrity appear; which he knew had been blasted by the malice of some persons, and thereby misinterpreted by her majesty.

But all this prevailed not with her majesty; who objected his credit with the king, and his endeavours to lessen that credit which she ought to have; and concluded, that she should be glad to see reason to change her opinion;

opinion; and so carelessly extended her hand towards him, which he kissing, she departed to her chamber.

Having continued some years longer in exile, his majesty was pleased to make him lord-chancellor of England in the Christmas holidays preceding Oliver's death; Sir Edward Herbert, who was the last lord-keeper of the great-seal, being lately dead at Paris. He received the seal very unwillingly; but the king first employed the marquis of Ormond, with whom his majesty knew he had an entire friendship, to dispose him to receive it; which when he could not do, he giving him many reasons why there was no need of such an officer, or indeed any use of the great-seal till the king should come into England; and, that his majesty found some ease in being without such an officer, that he was not troubled with those suits which he would be, if the seal were in the hands of a proper officer to be used, since every body would be then importuning the king for the grant of offices, honours and land, which would give him great vexation to refuse, and do him great mischief by granting.

The marquis told the king of it; who went himself to the chancellor's lodgings, 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 alledged 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 received lately 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, 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 papers, declarations, and the like, which were put out to this end, were of his drawing. It would be needless to hint the particulars; his prudence suggested seasonable thoughts of moderation and mildness to him in the several particulars contained in them.

At length the happy and longed-for day came, when his majesty was restored; and, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1666, made his public entry through the city of London, which put an end, for the present, to the lord-chancellor's exile, and afforded him kind and promising views of a large and prosperous fortune.

The lord-chancellor, who was a very forward instrument with the king at Breda, to make the largest concessions of favour and indemnity, that well could be, to his subjects, upon the prospect he had of his restoration, thought it now his honour, as well as his duty, to endeavour the punctual performance of every particular: and therefore finding there were some persons, who most maliciously endeavoured to insinuate that his majesty intended nothing less than the performance of his promises, the chancellor advised him to send a message to the commons to quicken their debates about the act of a general pardon and indemnity, as that which would best quiet the minds of the people.

That necessary bill, and many others, being at length dispatched, the chancellor concluded that sessions with a very noble speech; wherein, among many other most excellent things, he said a very remarkable thing concerning the army then in being, which, perhaps, could never be said before or after of any other in the world, in these words:

“ If God had not restored his majesty to that rare felicity, as to be without apprehension of danger at home or abroad, and without any ambition of taking from his neighbours what they are possessed of, himself would never disband his army: an army whose order and discipline, whose courage and success, hath made it famous and terrible over the world; an army of which the king and his two royal brothers may say, as the noble Grecian said of Æneas,

—————*Stetimus tela aspera contra,
Contulimusque manus, experto credite quantus
In clypeum assurgat, quo turbine torqueat
hastam.*

“ They have all three, in several countries, found themselves engaged in the midst of these troops, in the heat and rage of battle; and if any common soldier, as no doubt many may, will demand the old Roman privilege for having encountered princes single, upon my conscience he will find both favour and preferment. They have all three observed the discipline, and felt, and admired, and loved the courage of this army, when they were the worse for it; and I have seen them, in a season when there was little of comfort in their view, refresh themselves with joy that the English had done the great work, the English had got the day; and then please themselves

elves with the imagination of what wonders they should perform at the head of such an army."

Nothing seemed now to blow on all sides, but gales of prosperity to the king and the whole nation; and none so much courted and caressed as the lord-chancellor, of all the ministers, whereof he indeed was the chief and most capable; and William, duke of Somerset, giving way to fate in the month of October, this year, the university of Oxford were pleased to make choice of Sir Edward Hyde to be their chancellor in his room. About the same time, he was one of those lords put in a commission of oyer and terminer to try the regicides; and his majesty, on the third of November, was pleased, in gratitude for the long and faithful services of my lord-chancellor, and as an instance of his royal favour, to raise him to the degree of a baron of England, by the title of the lord Hyde, of Hindon, in the county of Wilts; and, on the twentieth of April, 1661, he created him viscount Cornbury, in the county of Oxford, and earl of Clarendon, in Wiltshire, with ceremony in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, three days before his majesty's coronation, being the first of the six earls who were made against that solemnity.

Between the dissolution of this convention-parliament and the meeting of the next, which was to be on the eighth of May, 1661, there was a matter agitated at the helm, that afterwards

wards through the malice of enemies and the credulity of the unthinking populace, was trumped up to the disadvantage of the chancellor.

It is true his daughter was married to the duke of York, then presumptive heir to the crown; and proving to be a prolific lady, it was natural for him to wish that some one of the descendants of his own body might, in time, inherit the crown of England; but, that he should be the contriver, and the only one too, of the match with Portugal, in order to it, is as great a piece of forgery and falsehood as ever could be put upon a man; and of which the king, who could not foresee this, sufficiently cleared him in his next speech in parliament in these very words:

“ And I tell you, with great satisfaction and comfort to myself, that; after many hours debate in full council, for I think there was not above one absent; and truly I believe upon weighing all that can be said upon that subject, for or against it, the lords, without one dissenting voice, yet there were very few sat silent, advised me, with all imaginable cheerfulness, to this marriage, which I look upon as very wonderful, and even as some instances of the approbation of God himself.”

It was a great weakning to my lord-chancellor Clarendon's interest and stability at court, that Mr. Secretary Nicholas should, on the second of October, 1662, be put out of his

his office of secretary of state; and, that Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards created earl of Arlington, no real friend of the chancellor, and one that died, at length, a Papist, should be sworn into his place. This the chancellor, who was a nobleman, not only of great experience in state affairs, but of an uncommon discerning genius, could not but foresee was designed for no good to him, and therefore he armed himself with all his dexterity against it, as against an enemy that would give him no quarter; and indeed he made such a provision for a secure footing where he stood, that there could be no just apprehensions of losing any ground; but the real and heavy storm proceeds many times from the most unexpected quarter.

There had been a long course of uninterrupted friendship both at home and abroad, in a prosperous and adverse fortune, between George 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, and wherein the chancellor, who was best judge of his own office, was certainly in the right.

This so sowed the other's spirits, as, never dreaming he should be denied, that his thoughts suggested nothing to him from thenceforwards but malice and the highest revenge;
and,

and, having digested all things within himself, which he imagined might tend to the disadvantage and ruin of the chancellor, he first made a bitter and artful speech enough against him in the house of lords; and then, on the tenth of July, 1663, exhibited articles of high-treason and other heinous misdemeanours against Edward earl of Clarendon, lord high-chancellor of England.

This bold attack upon the lord-chancellor, though he came off without any blemish, rendered him more cautious and circumspect in his conduct; so that things, in all outward appearance, went smoothly on with him, bating that the gout racked him now and then, till the war with the Dutch broke out; which the libellers of that age made to be one of his heinous crimes, though he abhorred it.

In the mean while, the lord Morley having killed one Mr. Hastings, for which he was to be arraigned at Westminster by his peers, the lord-chancellor was appointed high-steward for the day, and carried every thing with the utmost decorum, circumspection, and justice. My lord Morley was found guilty of manslaughter, but had the benefit of his clergy.

Now comes on this great earl's own misfortunes; for the great-seal being taken from him on the thirtieth of August, 1667, it is incredible with what rage and fury every body fell upon him: nay, when the parliament met on the tenth of October following, both houses thanked the king in a more especial manner,

manner, for having displaced the earl, and removed him from the exercise of any public trust and employment: and the commons proceeding to draw up articles against him, Mr. Seymour, in the name of the commons of England, impeached him, at the bar of the house of lords, of treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours.

About this time, his lordship, thinking it adviseable for him to withdraw out of the kingdom for his greater security, he sent a petition to the House of Lords in a very noble stile; and, though writ with an air of great candour and sincerity, had no influence at all in his favour. There were several conferences held between the lords and commons about the manner of proceeding against the earl, which ended at last in a bill for banishing and disabling him.

It should have been observed before, that my lord Clarendon's address, or paper, to the house of lords, which was printed, in those days, under the opprobrious title of, "News from Dunkirk-house; or, Clarendon's Farewell to England; in his Seditious Address to the Right Honourable the House of Peers, on the third of December;" was, on the twelfth of the same month, according to the sentence and judgment of both houses of parliament, burned by the hands of the common hangman, in the presence of the two sheriffs of London and Middlesex, with very great and signal applause of the populace.

Every body now flung dirt at him, and, like gudgeons, greedily swallowed all that tended to his disreputation and disgrace, without ever enquiring into the reasons of them. Satyrical Andrew Marvel, in his Advice to the Painter, could not, among the rest, forbear to have a fling at him in these opprobrious lines :

But damn'd, and doubly damn'd, be Clarendine,
 Our Seventh Edward, with all his house and line ;
 Who, to divert the dangers of the war,
 With Bristol, hounds us on the Hollander.
 Fool-coated gownman! Sells, to fight with
 Hans,
 Dunkirk, — dismantling Scotland, — quarrels
 France ;
 And hopes he now hath business, shape, and
 power,
 T' out-last our lives, or his, and 'scape the
 Tower ;
 And, that he yet may see, ere he go down,
 His dear Clarinda circled in a crown.

But the true cause of the noble earl's disgrace proceeded from none of these suggestions. I find, by an anonymous pamphlet, which severely reflects upon the court proceedings in those times, an insinuation, as if the chancellor had lost his place for deserting the French and popish interest ; and, that his zeal for the protestant religion was such, that,
 some

some time before he was turned out, he refused to seal a new commission for the duke of York, to evade a late act made against popery.

There might be some truth, in all likelihood, in this; it is well known his lordship was a zealous Protestant, and that our court might be somewhat popishly affected, even at that time: but

————— Extempore verum
Nascitur, & veniens ætas abscondita pandit.

Dr. Welwood, in his Memoirs, after having premised, that it looked as if Heaven took a more than ordinary care of England, that we did not throw up all our liberties at once upon the restoration of king Charles II. for, tho' some were for bringing him back upon terms, yet after he was once come he possessed so entirely the hearts of his people, that they thought nothing was too much for them to grant, or for him to receive; he tells us, among other designs, that, to please him, there was one formed at court to settle such a revenue upon him, by parliament, during life, as should place him beyond the necessity of asking more, except in the case of a war, or some such extraordinary occasion: that the earl of Southampton, lord high-treasurer, came heartily into it, out of a meer principle of honour and affection to the king; but that chancellor Clarendon secretly opposed it:

that

that it happened, that they two had a private conference about the matter; and the chancellor being earnest to bring the treasurer to his opinion, took the freedom to tell him, That he was better acquainted with the king's temper and inclinations than Southampton could reasonably expect to be, having had long and intimate acquaintance with his majesty abroad; and that he knew him so well, that, if such a revenue was once settled upon him for life, neither of them two would be of any farther use; and, that they were not, in probability, to see many more sessions of parliament during that reign: that Southampton was brought over; but that this passage could not be kept so secret, but it came to king Charles's ears; which, together with other things, wherein Clarendon was misrepresented to him, proved the true reason why he abandoned him to his enemies.

The earl was succeeded in his office by Sir Orlando Bridgeman, with 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 dutchess of York, was turning, if not turned papist; he wrote a very artful letter to the duke about it, as if he had been still himself a protestant, though he knew him to be a concealed papist; and another more at large to his daughter; wherein, though he shewed a very laudable distance and respect, upon account of the difference of their conditions, yet he

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.

The noble earl, in the course of his exile, sojourned in several parts of France, till the year 1674, when, on the seventh of December, he paid his last debt to Nature, near the city of Roan, in Normandy; from whence his body was conveyed into England, and buried on the north side of Capella Regum, in St. Peter's, commonly called the abbey church of Westminster.

This great and learned chancellor, besides several letters, speeches, &c. of his that are extant, wrote, 1, A Full Answer to an Infamous and Trayterous Libel; entitled, A Declaration of the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, expressing their Reasons and Grounds of passing their late Resolutions, touching no farther Address or Application to be made to the King, Lond. 1648, 4°. 2, The Estates and Conditions of George Duke of Buckingham, and Robert, Earl of Essex. See Reliquæ Wottonianæ, &c. Lond. 1672, 8vo. 3, Animadversions on a Book entitled, Fanaticism, fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church, by Dr. Stillingfleet; and the Imputation Refuted and Retorted, by Ser. Cressi. Lond. 1674, 8vo. 4, A Brief View and Survey of the Dangerous and Pernicious Errors to Church and State, in Mr. Hobbs's

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The History of the Rebellion, begun in 1641,
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in manuscript, *A History, or Historical Ac-*
count, of Ireland; made use of by Edmond
Borlace, without acknowledgment, in his
book, or books, published of the affairs of
that kingdom: and, within these few years,
three volumes more of his lordship's *History*
have been published by the university of Ox-
ford.







Tringham Sculp
Anth: Ashley Cooper E: of Shaftsbury

THE LIFE OF

Anthony A. Cooper.

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, earl of Shaftsbury, a most able person and great politician, was 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, upon the twenty-second of July, 1621.

Being a boy of uncommon parts, he was sent to Oxford at the age of fifteen, and 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 hard there for about two years, and then removed to Lincoln's-inn, where he applied himself, with great vigour, to the study of the law, and especially 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 that parliament which met at Westminster on the thirteenth of April, 1640, but was soon dissolved.

He seems to have been well affected to the king's service at the beginning of the civil-war, for he repaired to the king 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.

Being at Oxford in the beginning of the civil-war, for he was on that side so long as he had any hopes to serve his country there, he was brought to king Charles I. by the 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 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 an home again, if they could be assured of redress of their grievances, and have their rights and liberties secured to them.

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 impower 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, should reinstate all things in the same posture they were before the war, and then a free parliament should do what more remained to be done for the settlement of the nation."

He added farther, That he would begin and try the experiment in his own country, and doubted not but the good success he should have there, would open him the gates of other adjoining garrisons, by bringing them the news of peace and security in laying down their arms.

Being furnished with full power, according to his desire, away he goes 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.

This Sir Anthony saw with the utmost displeasure, and could not forbear his resentments

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, that he sent 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 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 into the parliament quarters, and soon after went up to London, where he was well received by that party, to which he gave himself up body and soul. He accepted a commission from the parliament, and raising forces, took Wareham by storm, in October, 1644; and soon after reduced all the adjacent parts of Dorsetshire.

Towards the end of the year 1645, he was chosen sheriff of Norfolk, and approved by the parliament. The next year he was sheriff of Wiltshire. In 1651, he was of the committee of twenty, appointed to consider of ways and means for reforming the law. He was also one of the members of that convention that met after general Cromwell had turned out the long parliament.

He was again member of parliament in 1654, and one of the principal persons who signed that famous protestation, charging the protector with tyranny and arbitrary government;

ment; and he always opposed the illegal measure 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. 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; which brought him into peril of his life with the powers then in being.

The wisest of kings tells us, That, in the multitude of counsellors there is strength: and how much it is the interest of princes to advance men of the highest qualifications into such trust, the experience of all ages testifieth. The affairs of the public receive their exaltation, or their detriment, from their advices; and, according to the qualifications and inclinations of those great ministers, may be calculated the fate of kingdoms. This hath obliged monarchs to take to their councils men of the largest prospect, the greatest eloquence, and steadiest principle to the interest of the government; persons knowing in the laws and constitutions of the kingdom whereof they are members, that espouse the interest of their country with an inviolable resolution of adhering to it, with the hazard of their dearest lives and liberties; such as prefer the concern of the public above their own private

satisfactions and enjoyments; that dare deny themselves for the good of their prince: and of this sort, without encroachment on the just acquirements of any other minister, with what admirable policy did he influence and manage the councils he was concerned in during the inter-regnum, towards his majesty's interest! With what exquisite subtilty did he turn all the channels of their councils to swell this stream! And how unweariedly did he tug at the helm of state, till he had brought his great master safe into the desired port!

A sense of these great abilities, and firmness to the public good, still kept him up in the esteem of his country, who would always chuse him one of their representatives in the great exigencies of state. They knew him to be one of those that could not believe prerogative to be incompatible with property, but as he believed that motto *Rex legis tutamen*, so he would not have that other, *Grege regis tutamen*, to be rejected.

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 that point of a free parliament been then gained. His majesty's restoration must have been the natural consequence of it. The constant correspondence he always kept with the royal party, and that almost to the hazard of his life and family, are sufficient testimonies

testimonies of his sincerity to his master's interest and service.

His house was a sanctuary for distressed Royalists, and his correspondence with the king's friends (though closely managed, as the necessities of those times required) are not unknown to those that were the principal managers of his majesty's affairs at that time. This made that great politician, Oliver Cromwell, so apprehensive of this great assertor of his country's rights, and opposer of arbitrary government and enthusiasm, that, though his vast abilities were known, at least, to equal the ablest pilot of the state, yet we cannot find him among the creatures of his cabinet, or council; nor amongst the eleven major-generals, to whom the care of the nation was committed: no, their principles, their aims, and designs, were incompatible; one was for subverting, the other for maintaining, the antient standing fundamentals of the nation; which once dissolved, it were impossible but an universal deluge of confusion, blood and rapine, must ensue.

This made our brave patriot, with divers of the heroic English race, to the utmost oppose the growth of a protectorian power: so that we find Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper 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 and bring his majesty to

his rightful throne. And we find him one of the nine of the old council of state who sent that encouraging letter to general Monk, to promote his undertaking for the advantage of the three nations.

Again, we find him 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 the influence of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and general Monk, upon colonel Morley, that oath was opposed in council, as being a snare and against their consciences. This was strongly pleaded by the soberer part of the council, whercof this great patriot was one ; and so an end was put to that oath and to the council.

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.

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
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trial of the Regicides ; and, though the Oxford historian is very severe upon him on this occasion, yet he is not believed to have been any ways concerned in betraying or shedding the blood of his sovereign.

By letters patent, dated April 20, 1661, he was created baron Ashley, of Winborn St. Giles's; soon after 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 Shaftsbury.

On the fourth of November following, he was raised to the post of lord high-chancellor of England; which office he executed with great ability and integrity. He shone particularly in his speeches in parliament; and, if we judge only from those which he made upon the swearing-in of the lord high-treasurer Clifford, his successor, Sir Thomas Osborne, and Mr. baron Thurland, we must conclude him one of the ablest men and most accomplished orators this nation ever bred. The short time he was at the helm, was a season of storms and tempests; and it is but doing him strict justice to say, that they could not either affright or distract him.

Upon the ninth of November, 1673, he resigned the great-seal, and with some parti-

cular circumstances, which the reader may like to hear. Soon after the breaking up of the parliament, as Mr. Echard relates, 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 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 entertained the king with news and entertaining stories till the very minute he was to go to chapel, purposely to amuse 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 surprised them all; and some ran immediately to tell the duke of York that all their measures were broken.

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; his abilities enabled him to shine, and he was not of a nature to rest. In 1675, the lord-treasurer Danby introduced the test-bill into the house of lords, which was vigorously opposed by the earl of Shaftsbury, 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, 1676-7, the duke of Buckingham argued, That it ought to be considered as dissolved. The earl of Shaftsbury was of the same opinion, and maintained it with so much warmth, that, together with the duke before-mentioned, the earl of Salisbury, and the lord Wharton, he was sent to the Tower, where he continued for thirteen months, 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.

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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 Shaftsbury was appointed lord-president. He did not hold this employment longer than the fifth of October following. 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.

It is almost incredible, how, in this interval, the papists lifted up their heads, braving the very face of justice; for now they had got such a cast of evidence, that would have accused innocence itself; there being a large sum of money offered by the lady Powis, if any would undertake to murder the earl of Shaftsbury, against whom the rage of that bloody party was now so great that they left no base and unwarrantable action unattempted to rob him of his life. Some were hired to stab or shoot him, others to swear treason against him, or any other course the devil could suggest, so as he were but made away, on whose life they thought the ill success of their diabolical machine depended. Libels, containing the blackest treasons against his majesty, were forged in the names of the
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most eminent protestant peers of the nation, scarce any persons of integrity against the Roman superstitions, but would have been made a party to it : but, who ever was omitted, the lord Shaftsbury was sure to be drawn into the plot.

These were, by their mercenary agents, secretly to be conveyed into the houses of the Protestants aforesaid ; and then they wanted not a set of base and mean spirited villains to swear it home upon them ; persons of that profligate and contemptible disposition, that, for a mess of pottage, would not only forsake all claim to honesty and virtue, but prostitute their souls to the lust and ambition of the worst of men : but these were no new things to the brave and excellent, to be exposed by trials of this nature to the rage of brutish and inhuman wretches. To what a pitch of heroic magnanimity must that person needs be arrived that can buoy up his soul against such foul tempests, when the consideration of simple innocence shall maintain a perpetual serenity within, amidst all the cloudy fogs of adversity !

Mr. Dangerfield gives a large account, in his Narrative, of two several times that he had attempted the life of the earl of Shaftsbury ; and that he had been instigated thereto by the popish priests, and that the lady Powis, particularly, had offered him five hundred pounds to perform it, whereof he received twenty pounds in part, but that still he had been

been providentially disappointed of that barbarous enterprize.

One day, Dame Cellier demanded of him, whether he had dispatched the earl; and he replying, that he could have no opportunity to come at him; "Give me the poniard," said she, "you shall see what a woman can do for the catholic cause:" and, accordingly, by the instigations of the devil, and a hellish rage which the Papists miscall a holy zeal, she addressed herself to the execution of that execrable design. She made a visit to the earl, under pretence of paying her thanks for favours obtained through his means; but the consecrated dagger still lurked under the skirt of her gown, ready to have expressed her gratitude by opening the veins of this protestant peer's heart. He had no reason to be over-fond of the conversation of such cattle; and therefore, in a short time, she was dismissed without having an opportunity of putting her wicked and treacherous design in execution.

The catholic gallantry stops not here, but pursues this noble peer with forgery of his hand, other, their little black artifices, and sham-plots. What base and villainous arts the Papists used, to destroy the lord Shaftsbury, is not only evident by their many endeavours to have stabbed him, as hath been deposed by divers persons, to whom the parliament, as well as the nation, have given belief; but may be further confirmed by their intercepting
letters

letters directed to his lordship: and after they had, in a hand as near the original as they could counterfeit, inserted treason in them, they were transmitted to such as would certainly acquaint the ministry with it. In short, one story of their mischievous practice of this kind, is this:

There was a gentleman, who was a commander of a regiment of horse in the service of Charles I. and lost all for his sake; and his majesty, Charles II. wrote to the noble peer about relieving him against the gout, with which he used to be afflicted. This letter was intercepted; and, the person then living in the French king's dominions, after adding to it an account, that the writer was able to furnish the earl with forty thousand men from France, to oppose the duke of York's interest, it was then conveyed to some of the French king's ministers, who they supposed would send a copy of it hither; but, by a strange providence, the original was returned into the gentleman's own hands.

So endless were the designs and conspiracies of the Papists against this noble peer, that, notwithstanding they met with many disappointments in their attempts, the Almighty Providence protecting his innocence from their hellish machinations, that another female agent was discovered for tampering with Mr. Dugdale to retract what he had sworn before the king and parliament, towards the detec-
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tion of the damnable popish plot, the sum of two thousand pounds was offered him, by one Mrs. Price, and divers great persons named by her to be security for the payment of it, in case he would sign such a recantation, and affix the odium of a protestant or presbyterian plot on some of the protestant peers, and others of known loyalty and integrity to their prince and country; particularly on the right honourable the earl of Shaftsbury: of which barbarous design, Mr. Dugdale (being at that time touched with some remorse at such a horrid villainy) gave his lordship an account, which occasioned the miscarrying of that foul and traiterous enterprize.

Nor were they wanting in their famous method and artifice in calumniating and throwing dirt on the reputation of this noble peer, which is a faculty they are very famous for, and on the account of which they may particularly value themselves; for a packet of base libels, and treasonable reflections, were, by the penny-post, transmitted to a printer, and copies of the same dispersed about the parts of Westminster, full of venomous and malicious slanders, and imputations, tending to take away the life of that protestant earl, and divers other peers of right honourable account; but the printer detesting so black a design, published an invitation to any person that would detect the author or publisher of that infamous libel.

In October, during the session of the last parliament, it was very remarkable, that Francisco de Faria, interpreter to the Portugal ambassador, amongst other high matters relating to the popish plot, gave it in his information, at the bar of the house, he declared, that the said ambassador had tempted him to kill the earl of Shaftsbury, by throwing a hand grenado into his coach as he was passing the road into the country: and, about the twentieth of November, one Zeal being called to the bar of the house, delivered his information at the bar; That, being a prisoner in the Marshalsea, Mrs. Cellier came divers times to him, and treated with him, not only to be instrumental himself, but to procure others to assist him, to fire his majesty's ships as they lay in the harbour; as also to swear against the earl of Shaftsbury such articles of high-treason as she should get ready prepared for him; or to that purpose. To sum up the various methods and ways that were devised, and put in execution, to cut off the life of this noble peer, would be task enough to fill up many volumes.

Upon the king's summoning a parliament to meet at Oxford, on the twenty-first of March, 1680 1, he 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 and his friends soon contrived to make him feel the weight of

of his resentments; for his lordship was apprehended for high-treason on the second of July, 1681; and, after being examined by his majesty in council, was committed to the Tower, where he remained upwards of four months.

He was at length tried, acquitted, and discharged; yet did not think himself safe, as his bitterest enemies were now in the zenith of their power. He thought it high time, therefore, 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, in November, 1682, he embarked for Holland; 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, 1682-3, in the sixty-second year of his age.

His body being embalmed, was transported to England, and interred with his ancestors at Winborne St. Giles; and, in 1732, a noble monument, with a large inscription to his honour, was erected by the present earl of Shaftsbury.

It was a misfortune to this noble personage, that those who were angry with him 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 making so amiable a figure in history; and, 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, what arts and contrivances were set on foot by his enemies in his life-time to render his name odious and detestable.

Marchmont Needham, who had been employed by the Regicides and the parliament to vilify the royal family in the most scandalous and barbarous manner, was paid by the ministers to abuse and defame the earl of Shaftsbury. This he did with great pleasure, in a quarto pamphlet, intitled, *A Pacquet of Advices, and Animadversions, sent from London to the Men of Shaftsbury; which is of Use for all his Majesty's Subjects in the Three Kingdoms.* London, 1676. And, what is remarkable enough, his abuse is transferred, verbatim, into the account given of this noble person by the Oxford historian.

The earl of Shaftsbury 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 stile him Shiftsbury instead of Shaftsbury.

It is remarked that Sir Paul Neal watered his mares with Rhenish and sugar; that is, entertained his mistresses. His lordship is supposed to have been a little intemperate in this way; 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, Shaftsbury, 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.







Tringham

Duke of Ormond

THE LIFE OF

JAMES BUTLER,

DUKE OF ORMOND,

Including the MEMOIRS of the

EARL OF OSSORY.

JAMES BUTLER, the seventh earl, and first duke, of Ormond, was born in 1610, and, at the age of three years, passed over into Ireland, a year before the death of the old earl Thomas, whose figure and caresses he always after remembered.

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 schoolmaster, who bred him in the errors of the Romish church till king James, who considered him as a ward of the crown, placed him in the house of archbishop Abbot: but having, at that time, seized upon his grandfather's estate, allowed him only forty pounds a year for the support
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of himself and his servant; and made the archbishop no allowance for his maintainance or education: which was probably one reason why he was taught nothing — A neglect which might have deprived the age of one of its greatest ornaments, had not diligence and capacity found means to supply the want of education.

At the age of sixteen he left Lambeth, and lived with his grandfather, who had now recovered his liberty and a great part of his estate: and now, being 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 loose 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 so 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 enterprizing character, soon engaged in public affairs; and grew, by the

countenance of the earl of Strafford, then lord-deputy of Ireland, one of the chief actors in the house of peers.

The regard which the deputy, who was remarkably well qualified to judge of men, thought it always proper to shew him, was begun by a very odd occurrence. 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 popish assemblies, they should appeal from argument to the sword. For this reason, the lord-deputy published a proclamation by which he forbid any man to sit in either house with his sword; a precaution which had been used in former times, and in other places where usages were now settled; and the chief governor was more restrained, and so was, by no means, unjustifiable in this case.

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, with the usual confidence of momentary power, enforced his demand with some rudeness, That, if he had his sword, it should be in his guts. 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 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 this pacification 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 most furious, though not the ablest leader of this rebellion, was Sir Phelim O'Neil, who began the design on the twenty-second of October, the day appointed for the general insurrection,

surrection, 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 absolute lords 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'Neal had gathered, in the same time, a body of near thirty thousand men; which is a sufficient proof 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?

There is, however, a distinction always to be made between severity and inhumanity. If the Irish thought themselves oppressed, and to be reinstated in the rights of nature only by the sword, they might give many arguments, and shew many precedents, for recourse to it; but, for the butcheries they committed, without resistance, without provocation, and without advantage, nothing can be pleaded; at least nothing but what may serve as an excuse for any other wickedness; that they were heated in the prosecution of their design beyond compassion and beyond policy.

It is apparent that the followers of Phelim O'Neal had, in a short time, learned to take pleasure in cruelty; and not only to murder those

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 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 inciting himself and his followers to 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, one hundred and fifty thousand English were destroyed; and, to ag-

Gravate 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 thirty-seven thousand.—A dreadful slaughter, which surely needs not to be made more detestable by any exaggerations.

To trace the progress of this rebellion from country to country, and to shew how one city was taken after another, and all parts of the kingdom successively laid waste, is not necessary to our present design; but it is always proper, in relating calamities, to mention likewise the best manner of obviating or escaping them; and therefore it is the duty of an historian to observe, that the rebellion rose to its height, and became irresistible, not by the valour or policy of the Irish, but by the imprudence or cowardice of those whom they invaded. The rebels had, indeed, in a short time, raised great numbers, but they were without arms; and therefore, if the English, instead of endeavouring to provide every man for his own private security, had unanimously assembled in large bodies, and opposed their enemies in the field, they might easily, as they wanted not weapons among them, have dispersed a naked and tumultuary rabble, which could not be armed, but by degrees, with the weapons which their plunder furnished; and who, without arms, could only distress and embarrass one another.

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That this method would have been successful appeared from the consequences of resistance where-ever it was made; for, at the beginning of the commotions, when any gentleman, either bred to arms, or incited by his natural courage to dispute his fortune and his life, was able to collect a small party, and to make a stand against the Irish, he scarcely ever failed of defeating them, and preserving himself and neighbours; till, partly by ravages, and partly by purchase in other countries, the Irish had provided themselves with weapons; and, by frequent encounters with inferior numbers, had been taught to use them with skill and confidence.

Of this the earl of Ormond was so much convinced, that, having, about this time, received the following commission to be lieutenant general of the king's forces, he made an offer to the lords justices, to march against them with six troops of horse, and two thousand five hundred foot; with which he made no doubt of defeating and dispersing them, if they were attacked, without delay, before they had gathered any cavalry, or had time to furnish themselves with arms.

“ ORMOND,

“ THOUGH I am sorry for this occasion I have to send unto you, which is the sudden and unexpected rebellion of a great and considerable part of Ireland; yet I am

glad to have so faithful and able a servant as you are, to whom I may freely and confidently write in so important a business. This is therefore to desire you to accept of that charge over this, which you lately had over the former army. The which, tho' you may have some reason to excuse, (as not being so well acquainted with this lord-lieutenant as you was with the last) yet I am confident, that my desire, and the importance of the business, will easily overcome that difficulty; which layed aside for my sake, I shall accept as a great renewed testimony of that affection which I know you have to my service. So referring what I have else to say to captain Weerns's relation, I rest

Edinburgh,
31st of October,
1641.

Your most assured Friend,

CHARLES R."

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

bably drew upon him ; for, at this time, the prevailing party in England began to set their sovereign at open defiance, and to charge him, amongst other attempts against the constitution and religion of the nation, 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 encreased, 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 in

deed sent, but under commanders who rather hindered than promoted the subjection 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.

The marquis, restrained in the execution of his power, by directions from the justices, unseasonably and offensively circumstantial, and was so much perplexed with distrust and misrepresentation, that nothing prevented his resignation of his command, but the certain knowledge that he would be succeeded by some one not equally anxious to promote the advantage, and defend the honour, of the king.

About this time it was thought necessary to send the army into the field, and an expedition was intended for the conquest of Rose and Wexford. The marquis of Ormond set out therefore with his forces, and came before Rose on the twelfth of March, 1643; 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, were so negligently;

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, which was sent, in a very little quantity, from the garrison of Duncannon.

Having no provisions, and being unable to lye before a town well provided, they first resolved upon an attack, which was made without success, though with no great loss; but there was no time for enlarging the breach, or proceeding by more slow and certain methods, for Preston had now gathered an army of six thousand foot, and six hundred and fifty horse; and, by having possession of the country, cut off the foragers, and reduced the besiegers to the necessity of abandoning their design, or of starving in their camp. A council was called in this exigence, by which it was soon determined to come to an engagement, for there was indeed nothing else in their power: and therefore the army was immediately drawn off from before the place, and marched against the enemy, who, determining to give them battle, waited only for the attack.

The battle lasted not long before Preston's troops gave way, and fled first to a bog, and then over the Barrow, where he broke down the bridge behind him, and left the marquis to supply himself with necessaries from

the country, which was now wholly at his mercy.

But the distress and poverty of the army was the same after the victory as before it; for, though the country, which was now open to them, furnished them with provisions for their 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, with other accounts which had been transmitted, had such an effect, that Sir William Parsons was at length removed from his post 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

quarters on every side, and the imprudence of some officers, and the barbarity of others, by whom the Protestants were commanded, was such, that they were perpetually encreasing that hatred which, among bigots, was naturally raised by the imputation of heresy, and disposed multitudes to rise against them, who had of themselves no inclination to war, or necessity of living by plunder.

Distress thus hourly encreasing, 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 thought it necessary, 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,

demand, 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, or could give 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 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 victuals, 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 consulted 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.

It is not to be imagined, but that 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; for it was necessary for the government to maintain an air of superiority, even when its distresses could not but be known; and therefore was not to be avoided, that many difficulties would arise which, between enemies of another kind, could not have happened.

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 he exerted in opposing the cessation: but there were still, 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 the fifteenth of September; and, in the mean time, the Irish had not only gathered in the harvest almost without interruption, but had frequently adventured by night into the other 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

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 not less by those 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.

This cessation being thus concluded, the influence, fidelity, and diligence of the marquis of Ormond became so conspicuous, that it was thought necessary to confer upon him the lieutenancy of the kingdom; and he soon afterwards received the sword, and entered upon his office; not, indeed, with much hope of serving his king, or of 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, tho' 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, which cannot, in this place, be recounted. He was to
endeavour

endeavour to retain all, without having the means of recompencing 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 and provision; and he was unprovided with money.

The Irish, during the quiet of 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 rights 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 they with the condition of Ireland; and whose personal influence on 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 arguments.

His knowledge, likewise, of the affairs of the kingdom, which was under his government, would give him opportunity of distinguishing between the propositions of more or less importance, and of the consequences which might be hoped or feared from any grant or denial. There were not, indeed, reasons wanting 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: and the event of this treaty gave the lieutenant new conviction of the impossibility of a valuable service to be performed by him; and, as it was natural to desire, that it might appear from equal failures in others, that his impotence was not the effect of negligence, or want of dexterity; and, as he soon grew weary of a post in which he found nothing but the name of authority, and the
pomp

pomp of government, he entreated 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.

Before his departure, however, the marquis, by his unwearied endeavours, saw the peace concluded, without any concessions disadvantageous to the protestant religion, or derogatory from the honour of the king. The marquis of Ormond, also, in order to the promotion of the king's interest, and the reconciliation of the confederate Irish, he also marched with a small force to Kilkenny, where he was received with respect, by the supreme council, as a governor of the kingdom; and from thence he proceeded into the remoter parts of the island; but had not went 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 waggons 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

his designs might be no longer obstructed, led his army to 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, determined to put an end to the lieutenant's authority, and 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 of Preston for a union with the lord-lieutenant against O'Neil; but Preston was a man so little steady, 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 ladies having, to encourage the workmen and inhabitants, carried baskets of mould to form the trenches.

But, though fortifications might be built, provision could not be procured in an exhausted

hausted country; and therefore his enemies, who were well acquainted with his distress, had nothing more to provide against than the importation of victuals; and they might reduce the town without batteries or assaults; nor could he have avoided to fall into their hands, without the possibility of a struggle for victory, by any other way than that of delivering the city, and the commission by which he governed the kingdom, to the powers then prevailing in England; to whom, the king had informed him, that he desired the kingdom 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 encreasing, and the inhabitants of the place growing discontented, he was at last constrained to yield on such terms as he could obtain; and, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1647, resigned the sword of authority, and departed from the kingdom which he had defended with so much fidelity, and governed with so much wisdom.

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The confederates 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; and to provide for their defence, by strengthening their fortifications and encreasing their forces, ascertaining their intelligence, and storing their magazines.

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 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 to attend him at Hampton-court, where he was then, as he himself termed, an honourable prisoner, his friends not being yet excluded by violence, though, undoubtedly, very much discountenanced,

Here the marquis was admitted to that confidence which fidelity so long tried might
justly

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 the nation which he had left; and, that his conduct might be the better understood, presented a Memorial; most of which it is not improper to insert.

The MEMORIAL delivered to King CHARLES I. by the Marquis of ORMOND.

NOTWITHSTANDING your majesty's letter from Newcastle, forbidding any other treaty with the Irish; and, notwithstanding their having failed to send the men conditioned for, without which, though it was questionable how I might have justified the doing thereof, your majesty's commander in that point considered, yet I agreed to a peace. Soon after the conclusion whereof, I had notice of the practices of the nuncio and clergy against the same; their excommunicating of all that should adhere to the peace; their interdicting all places where it was proclaimed; and

and forbidding, upon like penalties, the collection and payment of monies collected, to those formerly appointed thereto by their general assembly. All which, notwithstanding, to the end your majesty might reap the fruits of a peace, I had so far adventured to conclude, that I went to Kilkenny, being invited thither, and informed by divers, especially those of Prestou's party, that my presence would soon remove the causes, or suppress the effect of the clergy's discontent.

When I came to Kilkenny, I found those who had concluded the peace with me, (by messengers from them; namely, Mr. Nicholas Plunket and Mr. Patrick Darcey) treating with the clergy at Waterford, under colour of endeavouring to appease them. Much heat there seemed to be betwixt them, and I really believe some of them were in earnest: but I easily discovered the drift of others was, either to force and confirm my lord of Glamorgan's conditions, or at least to engage myself in some new ones in point of religion. But considering how I was limited therein by your majesty, and how unbounded their demands would be, if I once gave way to any new treaty, I positively insisted upon their public faith already pledged, and absolutely refused to engage in any new treaty with the clergy: yet I assured them, that, without your majesty's directions, I would not dispossess them of the churches then in their possession, nor interrupt the jurisdiction of their clergy within
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the quarters possessed by them; and that I would not understand any directions from your majesty in those particulars to be yours, till your majesty should be restored to a free condition: and, further, that I would obey all such commands as I shall receive from your majesty to their advantage.

Whilst these affairs were in agitation, and great hopes were given me, that this assurance would satisfy them, so as to bring me into the greater security; the nuncio, and his party, sent for Owen O'Neil to cut off my retreat to Dublin, and to force me to comply with their terms; or, as by the sequel is more probable, to destroy the small party of one thousand two hundred foot, and two hundred horse, I had brought with me as guards; which, if they had effected, being the best men of the army, Dublin, and other garrisons rendering obedience to your majesty's authority, would have been theirs with much ease, when their united forces should be drawn against them, as afterwards they were.

Upon notice of Owen O'Neile's being invited by the clergy, having reason to be jealous of his readiness to answer their summons, for that he had not caused the peace to be proclaimed in his army, as general Preston had, with great solemnity, done in his; I sent several letters and messages to general Preston, and to all I thought well affected, urging them to draw together, for the making good the peace they had so cheerfully received, and

for the preservation of themselves and their country from the rapine of the northern army, wherewith they had been acquainted.

By some I was answered, That their men were dispersed by their excommunications; by others, that they had no means to keep or draw them together; for that the collectors, terrified with the church censures, would pay them nothing; and to this effect was Preston's answer also: whereupon I sent to speak with him, if any thing from the clergy stuck with him; but he made his excuse, pretending sickness.

Notwithstanding all these ill signs, I yet determined to use all possible ways to try what might be done; and with this resolution went from Kilkenny to Carrick, and from thence towards Castel, where the peace had been proclaimed: but when I had got within two miles thereof, I met with a letter from the mayor, desiring me not to come thither, for that he and the town were threatened, if they received me, to be utterly destroyed by the northern army, then within a day's march of them.

The advance of that force in pursuit of me, the lord Dillon, and others who met me that day, gave me notice of. I was then also advertised, that Mac Thomas, as they call him, with the Munster horse, declared for the Romish clergy, and was within some small distance, drawing towards me: and, being thereof assured by the earl of Castlehaven and others

others, I quickly found myself forsaken by most of those who had received and proclaimed the peace: and having not had, before that time, so much as intelligence of Owen O'Neile's march, though his way was close by Preston, I conceived it then high time to look back towards my small party of foot, which I had left near Kilkenny; and accordingly, that night, I sent them orders to draw back towards Dublin; and, having myself marched all that night, the next day I quartered with the horse five miles short of them, at a garrison then in your majesty's power; but, having fresh intelligence that Owen O'Neile marched fast on the left hand of us, a nearer way towards Dublin, I hastened, and, by long marches, came to Dublin on the thirteenth of September, having been forth about three weeks: but neither in my march, going or coming, was there any violence offered to the country, nor was there any thing taken but what was paid for.

When we were come to Dublin, my lord Digby and I considered what was then to be done; and at last determined to make application to the parliament, upon conditions, and for reasons, to be otherwise imparted to your majesty.

Not long after my return to Dublin, I received letters from Sir Lucas Dillon and Dr. Gerard Fennel, who were employed for the clergy, giving an account of their negotiation and their advices; which tending to a forbear-

ance of acts of hostility, I took hold of; and, in my answer, did, in a manner, beg a cessation, to the end that misunderstandings might be removed; and, if it were possible, the peace might yet be settled. But to this answer of mine there was no reply, nor so much as any overture tending towards a looking into the former passages, or reconciling of differences: but the next news I heard was of their drawing forces together; raising of new; and, at length, of Owen O'Neile's summoning your majesty's garrisons, taking some upon conditions, and some by force, and using great cruelty to those that resisted. Preston was also drawing together his forces, but yet used no acts of hostility.

Whereupon I wrote letters to them both, to know what was the end and ground of their proceedings: whereon they severally returned me answers, by which I could gather nothing but assurance, that they intended the taking of all your majesty's garrisons, and destruction of your majesty's servant: and, though, by letters from colonel Fitz-Williams, I had some information of Preston's joining therein with Owen O'Neile, I could not believe, however his tender conscience might induce him to help us, though he was sufficiently engaged thereunto, that yet he would, contrary to so many protestations, appear actively against us; and therefore expostulated the matter with him in the best and least offensive manner I could: which produced no other answer than
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certain unreasonable propositions, whereunto I nevertheless returned a reasonable answer, desiring to be informed with whom I was to treat, and how they were authorized: whereunto I never had any reply; but, instead thereof, had such assurances that they fell to destroying your majesty's quarters, and at last to the blocking up the city of Dublin; which, for mere want of powder, whereof there was not, in his majesty's stores, fourteen barrels, they had carried: if, upon sending commissioners to treat with the parliament, according to what was resolved between my lord Digby and me, we had not gotten about thirty barrels from a sea-captain then in the bay of Dublin.

Whilst Preston and Owen O'Neile lay thus before the city, there arrived commissioners from both houses of parliament, with power to treat, and with supplies of men, money, and victuals; which, at such a time, being in want of food, and all necessaries for defence, and blocked up by two strong armies, by whom we expected hourly to be assaulted, they thought I durst not refuse, upon what conditions, soever offered; or, if I did, that your majesty's army, and the inhabitants of Dublin, would rise against me. Yet they, wanting your majesty's directions for delivering unto them the places under your majesty's authority, and refusing to succour us upon any other terms, the treaty broke off; and they, with

their men, were sent away greatly displeas'd with me.

During the stay of those commissioners at Dublin, began the treaty between my lord Clanricard and general Preston, together with his officers; which, though I very much doubted, was drawn on, rather for fear of any agreement with the aforesaid commissioners, and to break off my treaty with them, than out of any real intention or inclination to peace and quietness: yet, Preston and his officers having so deeply and solemnly sworn to stand to the peace, and be thenceforth obedient to your majesty's authority, I suffered myself to be persuaded to undertake, and do, all things that by my lord Clanricard's engagement was expected from me, the receiving of a mastering power of Preston's men in your majesty's garrisons excepted; which, by all means possible was tried; though it was neither absolutely agreed to by my lord Clanricard, nor by him pressed to be assented unto; which pressure of theirs, in that point, added to my suspicion, that all their professions were the effects of a contrivance between the nuncio and Preston, to procure an entrance into, and the mastery of, Dublin; as since it hath appeared to be.

Yet still I resolv'd to drive them to a point, and being thereto invited by Preston's agreement with, and letters to, my lord Clanricard, I march'd out, in hopes of the conjunction

tion of his forces with those few I was able to bring, according to his engagement: but, being come within a day's march of the place assigned, I met with a letter from Preston to the marquis of Clanricard to this effect: that his officers, not being excommunication-proof, were deserted from him to the nuncio's party; and therefore he advised me to proceed no farther, but expect the issue of a general assembly, that was to be at Kilkenny on the tenth of January following, where he doubted not but things would be set right by the consent of the whole kingdom; which would be much more for his majesty's service, than to attempt the forcing of a peace upon those that were averse to it.

Though I was little satisfied with that disappointment, and feared that the power of the clergy had, to frustrate a peace, concluded by virtue of the best authority, any person in their case could delegate, would rather encrease than diminish by the time that was given them to work in; and though I could not apprehend how it could be possible for me, in the mean time, to maintain the army; or, when it should come to want, to keep off the city, that would be raised for a new address to the parliament, the Irish having so often deceived us: yet, that they might be left without any excuse, I resolved, through all difficulties and hazards, to expect the issue of that assembly: but, for the ease of our quarters, which were so wasted by the enemy's lying before Dublin,

and the destruction that I was forced to make upon their approach, that they were utterly unable to maintain the half of that little army.

I drew out as many more to the men I had with me, as made them, in all, about one thousand two hundred foot and six hundred horse, and with them marched into their quarters; where, notwithstanding their provocations by several breaches of faith, aggravated by high and cruel acts of hostility, I suffered no violence to be done upon any man's person or goods; or any thing to be taken but necessary provisions of meat and drink; though, during my abode in this friendly manner among them, the captain and lieutenant of my guard were barbarously murdered upon the high-way, having staid at a town a little while after their company was marched away, in confidence of the good affection professed by the country: and, though not only their new-elected council had proclaimed us enemies, and commanded hot war to be made upon us; but, which was more contrary to my expectation, they had prevailed with Preston to disavow any obligation upon him, by the transaction with my lord Clamcard; at length, after all our pains taken to make the nobility and gentry understand, how much the honour and security of their nation was concerned, in the vindication of their public faith, and in their submission to your majesty's authority: after all the hopes we
could

could desire was given us by all the considerable men of English extraction, and by some well affected of Irish extraction; and after six weeks patient endurance, and very incommo-
dious and hazardous removals, from place to place, in the depth of winter; there came forth from the assembly that strange declaration that at once acquitted those that had concluded the peace, as men fully entrusted, and faithfully discharging that trust; and yet declared the peace so concluded to be void.

Soon after there came forth certain propositions offered them by their clergy, which they approved of, and solemnly swore to insist upon them; which were such as, I well knew, your majesty would never consent to upon any consideration.

Here, I humbly conceive, your majesty will judge there was a full period to all our hopes from the Irish: and now your majesty may please to understand, that, upon the first advancement of the armies under Preston and Owen O'Neile's leading to the city of Dublin, I applied myself for succour to the Scots in the north of Ireland; by whose answer, sent by one captain Cunningham, both in writing and verbally, and also by papers that passed from the Scots commissioners in England, and more particularly those said to be the speeches of the chancellor of Scotland, I conceived some hopes, that, possibly, some use might be made of them for the preservation of your majesty's interest in Ireland: whereunto to invite them,

I employed my best endeavours, by my answers to Cunningham, and by sending soon after him major Gibson, a man of approved genius; but he returning to me with an unsatisfactory answer to my propositions, I instructed Sir George Hamilton, and sent him from Dublin, to attend your majesty, then, as I hoped, upon good terms with your Scottish subjects at Newcastle: and, in his way, he was instructed to make trial, once more, of the affections of the Scotch army.

He began his journey at the time I was drawing forth upon Preston's invitation; but, through sickness, was obliged to stay some days at Dundalk; and, during his stay there, he desired an interview with colonel John Hamilton; which being given him, he from him understood the resolution taken by the parliament of Scotland, and by their army, to deliver your majesty to the houses of parliament in England; and, with a sad assurance thereof, Sir George returned to me to Trym, where he found me, and the party I had with me, in such want of provision, and so harrassed, that, within a few days, after having made some successful inroads into the county of Cavan, for the gaining of cattle; and hearing from your majesty's council at Dublin, that the inhabitants there, being brought to extreme poverty, flatly refused longer to contribute towards the support of the army; I was forced to return to Dublin.

There

There, upon consideration of our weak and desperate condition, and of the approach of the spring, which would certainly bring some enemy against us, it was unanimously resolved by your majesty's council, that it was more for your majesty's honour and interest, to put Dublin, and all the garrisons that remained in obedience to your majesty, into the hands of the two houses of parliament in England, than to suffer them to be taken by the Irish: and, for this opinion, some of the reasons were,

First, It was doubted it would give too much advantage to these calumnies that had been cast upon your majesty, of too much favouring the popish religion, if all the churches in the quarters, yielding obedience to your majesty, should be given, or suffered to be taken, to the use of that religion; and the exercise of the protestant religion either totally suppressed, or, at the best, be allowed, by connivance in corners, a favour not then afforded to any within the Irish quarters.

Secondly, It was feared it might reflect on your majesty's honour, if those subjects of yours, that had so constantly served you, and still continued so to do, long after your majesty had no one place, that I can call to mind, holding for you in all your three kingdoms, should, at last, be subjected to the tyranny of those that then ruled among the Irish; from whom what usage they were to

expect, was obvious by their frequent perfidies, by the usage of others of your majesty's subjects fallen into their hands.

A third reason was, upon the consideration of the interest of your majesty's crown; wherein it appeared to us, that, if the places we held were put into the hands of the two houses of parliament, they would revert to your majesty when, either by treaty, or otherwise, you would recover your rights in England, and that, in all probability, without expence of treasure or blood.

The marquis, though he had the satisfaction of finding that his endeavours, however unprosperous, were well accepted, and that he still retained the favour of his sovereign, was yet, 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 were now required to be discharged.

Indeed he had, by his capitulation, six months to liquidate them; but this term being very near expired, he made his apprehension from them the pretext for going off privately; though the real motives were an order from the committee at Derby-house, dated on the

the fifteenth of February, 1648, requiring him to fend 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 in disservice of 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 no 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 king's interest, 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, took shipping at Haltings, in Suffex, landed at Diepe, and went to pay his duty to the queen and 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, kept up, in Ireland, the correspondence he had before settled with lord Inchiquin, who, sincerely affected to monarchy and the English constitution, was resolved, at all hazards, seeing the Independants take large strides towards the murder of the king, and depression of the nobility, to serve and restore his majesty.

The marquis had not been long at Paris before agents, deputed by the general assembly, arrived there, from Ireland, to the
queen:

queen and 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; to which it was thought the marquis might greatly contribute by his return thither; and he not only designed it, but made what provision he was able, to that end, equally wished and urged by the well-affected among the confederates; and by the lord Inchiquin, on whom they chiefly depended; but it was necessary, previously, to reconcile some animosities between him, Inchiquin, and lord Broghill, general of the horse; which, if not removed, might much obstruct the measures of the former, notwithstanding they had equally his majesty's interest at heart: wherefore he thought it absolutely necessary to reconcile these two, that they might unite in the support of the royal cause.

Having been assured of Inchiquin's resolution, he endeavoured, even before he left England, to engage Broghill in, and found him as ready as he could have wished, to enter upon so glorious an enterprize: nay, he found his lordship, generous enough to make his resentments give place to the royal service, and willing to be the first in his advances to a reconciliation with Inchiquin: which was extremely well received by the queen and prince: but the parliament of England altering

ing their proposed measures, rendered abortive the views of the marquis and these noblemen.

The marquis's return to Ireland being, as affairs then stood, the only method that could be taken to save the kingdom, 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 on the twenty-ninth of September, 1648, with no more than thirty French pistoles for his military chest.

The marquis had now no power but from the queen and prince to conclude a peace with the Irish; but this, however, he got ratified by the king, then 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, on the sixth of October, in which he mentions his having
delivered

delivered up Dublin to the parliament, with his reasons for so doing. He declares, That he deems it his duty to use his endeavours to recover his majesty's rights; and observes, that the protestant army, in Munster, having manifested their integrity to the king's person and right, was esteemed by the king as a reasonable expression of their loyalty. That he would employ his utmost endeavours for settling the protestant religion, for maintaining the privileges and freedom of parliament, and the liberty of the subject.

He declares he will, at the hazard of his life, oppose all rebels who shall refuse obedience to his majesty on the terms he shall require it, and endeavour the suppression of the Independants. That, to prevent all distrust from former differences, he declares himself fully authorized to assure them, that no distinction shall be made on any such account; but, that all who engaged in the cause should be treated with equal regard and favour. That the past should be forgot, and he would use his utmost diligence to provide for their subsistence, and do them all the good offices in his power, requiring no other return than their perseverance, &c.

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,

culties, it was at length concluded ; but not till some days preceding that execrable parricide was perpetrated.

The marquis was inexpressibly grieved when he received an account of the king's murder, though it was what he had long foreseen, as knowing his enemies capable of the most enormous crimes. He immediately caused the prince to be proclaimed in all the towns which were subject to royal authority.

The marquis had many and very great difficulties to struggle with, arising from ambitious pretensions in which it was impossible to please all ; consequently the disappointed were also the discontented : beside the Roman clergy endeavoured to inflame the minds of the people ; and Owen O'Neile, who commanded a body of five thousand foot and three thousand horse, of the best and most experienced of the Irish forces, would, upon no terms but his own, which the obstinate Irish commissioners could not be induced to comply with, listen to any accommodations, hoping to make good conditions with the Independants in England, with whom a negotiation was carrying on by the abbe Crelly and the intervention of the Spanish ambassador, O'Neile designing to quit Ireland and enter into that service.

Add to these obstructions to the king's service, the avarice and partiality to friends of the commissioners for raising money in the country ; the great want of that and provisions,

sions, and the Confederates reducing a great number of forces, under pretence that the provinces could not pay them; and these men going over to, and enlisting with, O'Neile, it is easy, without enumerating more, to judge the perplexing situation of the marquis.

There was one remedy to all these evils, the presence of the king; which he advised and earnestly pressed, both when he was prince, and after the murder of his royal father, as it would have strengthened his party by the accession of O'Neile; and, if not all, of the greater part, of Jones's army; have put an end to many troublesome pretensions, and have united the kingdom in his service; which was obstructed even by those who were sent to assist the marquis; and who, through envy to him, avarice, indolence, pride, or concealed views, slighted his advice, and rendered the aid he had expected from the fleet altogether vain though it might have been of the most signal service in distressing the enemy and reducing the kingdom.

His majesty, convinced by the strength of his excellency's arguments, resolv'd 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, with most insolent propositions; and by the mean artifice of the deputies of the states, who warmly espoused their cause.

The

The marquis, 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, but not without disgusts among themselves, not 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 been the reduction of the whole kingdom, and might probably have been the means of wresting out of the possession of the usurper those of England and Scotland.

The marquis being obliged to raise the blockade of Dublin, by Cromwell's having landed there with forces, money, and provisions; and by the death of O'Neile, with whom he was in treaty, and had gained over to his majesty's interest, broke the measures of his excellency, and changed his situation from an offensive to a defensive war.

He was at the same time destitute of money and provision to keep his troops together; and by his authority, being greatly clogged by that of the commissioners co-ordinate of the Confederates, without whose concurrence he could do nothing among the Irish.

Being thus cramped in power, he again thought the king's presence absolutely necessary,

fary, as that of the Co-ordinates was then to cease. Notwithstanding the marquis had written to his majesty to wait the success of his attempt upon Dublin, though there was no apparent danger for the king's person. But his majesty having sent to the marquis for a state of affairs in Ireland, and for his opinion as to his going thither, at the same time sending him the garter, though by his answer he gave his majesty a melancholy account of the situation of that kingdom, yet he urged his coming into it, for which he gave his reasons; but, before his letter reached Jersey, where the king then was, the Scottish policy had removed from about his person, by the specious pretences of his service, his ablest counsellors; and his majesty's deviating from his former resolutions, agreed to the Scots propositions of the like tenor with those he had rejected in Holland; and was prevailed upon to desert his father's and his own best friends, and bring a stain upon his reputation, when he had, in a manner, nothing else to depend upon; and, by playing the hypocrite, destroyed that confidence so essentially necessary to the honour and interests of a prince, that his subjects should repose in his character.

The marquis, having, with unparalleled resolution and constancy, struggled against such a sweeping torrent, which had collected the streams of every obstructive evil, finding all endeavours vain; in 1650, hopeless of preserving the kingdom in his majesty's obedience,

ence, and, at the same time, anxious for his own character, as knowing censure was the inseparable attendant on disasters, however unavoidable, entreated his majesty to recall him, and obtained his consent to withdraw; but yet would not, disagreeable as was his situation, and insincere as he found the bishops, whom he convened to consult on the distracted state of the nation, prefer his own quiet to his majesty's interests, and leave the kingdom, while he had the least probability, on which he could ground any hope of its preservation, the only point he had in view, and which engrossed his whole attention; but which the power and refractoriness of the clergy; the absolute and insuperable obstinacy of Limerick and Galway; the former having received propositions and listened to overtures from the rebels without his consent, or even knowledge, made it impossible for him to accomplish; even, either to gather, or keep together, an army, or prevent his being enclosed by the enemy, and with all who withstood them, be given into their hands by treachery.

He had no longer the least hopes of success, and consequently his longer stay in Ireland could no way be of service to his majesty's interest, if not by preventing the different parties from making terms with the enemy, and farther his majesty's designs to attack England with a Scotch army, by causing some diversion in Ireland.

These

These considerations were, however, sufficient to prevail on him not to quit the kingdom till it was absolutely impossible for him to contribute any thing to the keeping it in obedience to his majesty, notwithstanding the groundless and incredible aspersions cast on him by the clergy, who at length rejected the king's authority, and insisted on his lieutenant's quitting the kingdom; nay, to such a height of presumption did they arrive, that they sent him a message, desiring him to leave Ireland without delay; to which his loyalty prevailed on him to return a mild answer, though he had vainly appointed them to meet and confer with him; and they had replied, by a declaration against continuing of his majesty's authority in the lord-lieutenant; excommunicating all that should adhere to, assist, support, give him intelligence, or obey his commands: their design being to throw off the English government, and to subject Ireland to some foreign Roman catholic power.

His last effort for the king's service was the calling a general assembly at Loghreah, 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.

Having the king's permission, and being again requested by the clergy, he put to sea on the eleventh of December, and, in about three weeks, after a tempestuous voyage,
landed

landed at 'Perose, in Basse-Bretagne, leaving the marquis of Clanricard deputy of the kingdom ; of the affairs of which it is foreign to our design to take any farther notice than as they coincide with what relates to the marquis, who having landed in France in the beginning of January, 1651, after a few days stay with his family at Caen, went, on the twenty-first, to pay his duty to the queen at Paris, and acquaint her majesty with the state of affairs in Ireland ; which having done, he returned to his family, where he continued till the latter end of June.

He made a second journey to Paris to wait on the duke of York. He there remained a month, the duke requiring his assistance in settling and proportioning the expence of his family to his small pension of four thousand pistoles a year allowed him by the court of France.

This being done, he again visited and stayed with his family till his majesty escaped from the battle of Worcester, and from the pursuit and narrow search made for him returned to Paris. The marquis was reduced at this time to great streights, being obliged to board himself at a pistole a week ; to walk on foot, which is not very reputable at Paris, and his family not able longer to subsist in Caen ; for the pension granted to his majesty not exceeding six thousand pistoles, barely sufficed for his own table, consequently there was nothing to be expected for his servants.

These

These circumstances made it necessary, for the support of the marquis's family, that the marchioness should go over to England, and solicit the parliament for an allowance of her own hereditary estate. She at length obtained an order of parliament to authorize the commissioners for Irish affairs, to set apart, for a provision for her and her children, the clear yearly value of two thousand pounds out of her own inheritance, with Donemore-house, near Kilkenny, for her abode; where she continued, and never saw her lord till after the king's restoration.

The marquis 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: wherefore, having obtained of the cardinal Mazarine barely sufficient to pay his debts, and defray the expences of his journey, he set out from Paris for Spaw, where meeting his sister, the princess of Orange, they went together to Aix la Chapelle; and, after a few months stay in that town, his majesty, attended by the marquis, who had never quitted him, went to Cologne; but hardly had he been there three months, before he was ordered back to Paris, to wait on the duke of Gloucester from thence to Cologne, Cromwell having, at the latter end of the year 1652, permitted his royal highness to depart England. After having conducted the duke to the king, he was ordered

to the Hague, to attend the princess royal to his majesty.

The marquis, early in the spring, was sent to the duke of Newburg, to engage him to employ his interest at the court of Brussels, to engage their espousing his majesty's cause, and for promoting an alliance between the king of England and the king of Spain, the duke being in perfect amity with the Spaniards, and desirous to serve the king of England. He, however, for very substantial reasons, thought any overtures of this nature might, at that juncture, rather prejudice than advance his majesty's interests.

The peace concluded between France and Cromwell, another between him and Portugal, and the taking Jamaica, made it the interest of the Spanish court to distress Cromwell as much as possible; but, notwithstanding the above treaty had been entered upon, it went on but slowly; and his majesty, till the arrival of Don John, obtained no more than the permission of residing incognito at Bruges; and a promise of the assistance of six thousand men, with a quantity of arms and ammunition to make a descent, when he should be master of a good port in England. With Don John he entered into a new treaty, which afforded him an immediate support of three thousand crowns a month.

His majesty lost no time in removing into Flanders, and from thence sent for the duke of York to come to him at Bruges; which

command his royal highness obeyed, having, before he set out, engaged some of the chief Irish officers then in the French service. His majesty formed five or six regiments of such of his subjects as were then in the Spanish service, and of those who had left that of the French, which were by much the greater number, and mostly Irish. The marquis had the command of one of those regiments.

The king entertained some hopes, from his treaty with the Spaniards, which had raised those of his subjects, who sent him several messengers to assure him of their readiness to join him; but Don Juan, who saw plainly, by the account he received, that a person of eminent credit with the king, to conduct the design, was wanting, would not hazard the Spanish forces.

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 came over, but soon was convinced, that all hopes from the cavalier's zeal were built upon a sandy foundation.

The marquis found an aversion from the government, which at that time possessed all parties; but such mutual jealousies among one another, that an intercourse was impracticable. In short, he returned with no other fruits reaped, than the certainty that all hopes of

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any thing being done by the Cavaliers, for his majesty, were entirely vain; though the general inclination to throw off the yoke of the usurper was so great, that, had the king been supported by a foreign force, his lordship thought a restoration would meet with but small resistance.

This made his majesty solicit the Spanish ministry, who flattered, but failed, his expectations. The marquis, in the interim, stayed at Paris, in almost as much danger of imprisonment there as of death in London, Cromwell having sent to the cardinal to get him secured.

The king, deluded by the Spaniards, sent for the marquis to attend him to Brussels; but, as it was dangerous for him to go near any part of the frontiers towards Flanders, he rode to Lyons; from thence to Geneva; and, passing through the palatinate, went to Dusseldorp, and from thence to Brussels.

The king, disgusted with the Spanish ministers, who amused him with vain hopes, withdrew from Brussels to Hookstraten, Cromwell being dead; and the Dutch seemed to take a favourable turn. The marquis, to forward his master's interest, which he hoped by such means to strengthen, agreed to his son's second marriage with Emilia, daughter of Lewis of Nassau, lord of Beverweert, natural son of Maurice, prince of Orange; with a fortune of only ten thousand pounds.

M E M O I R S

O F T H E

E A R L O F O S S O R Y.

THIS young nobleman has been made such honourable mention of by all our historians, that, in this place, we shall give some Memoirs of his Life, which was cut off before his father's.

He was named Thomas, and born in the castle of Kilkenny, on the ninth of July, 1634. In 1647, he went into England with his father, when he quitted the government of Ireland, and stayed in London, till the duke of Ormond, going in disguise to escape beyond the sea, passing near the town, took him with him to France.

When his grace, in 1648, returned to Ireland, lord Ossory was left with his brother, lord Richard Butler, under the tuition of a French minister, at Caen, in whose house he boarded: but, in October, 1649, they went both to Paris, to Monsieur de Camp's academy, where lord Ossory grew expert in every exercise, and gained great reputation.

In December, 1650, he came back to Caen to his mother, the duchess of Ormond. The duchess soon after going into England, he accompanied her; where, in March, 1655, he was put, by Cromwell's order, into the Tower. There was no particular thing laid to his charge; his crime was, being conversant among the dangerous men, and one who would expose his life for the king on the first occasion.

The guard that came to secure him at Wild-house, departed upon the duchess's assurance of his appearing the next morning. His lordship was not in the house at that time, and Mr. Stephen Ludlow finding him, told him how matters stood; and, that, if he were inclined to make his escape, there was a vessel ready to carry him abroad: but her grace having promised that he should be forth coming, was against that step, and persuaded him to go very early the next morning to attend the protector at Whitehall. He stayed there, in the drawing-room, till three in the afternoon, sending in several messages, but receiving no answer to any, till Baxter told him, he was commanded to provide him a lodging in the Tower.

Thus, without being examined or admitted to the protector, he was hurried away thither in a hackney-coach, and there remained till October following; when, falling ill of a dangerous fever, and the physicians certifying

that he could not live without change of air, he was released, and suffered to go down into Gloucestershire; but continuing still very ill, and the physicians advising him to try a foreign air, a pass was, with much difficulty, procured him; upon which his brother, lord Richard, went with him as one of his servants.

They landed in Flanders, but soon removed into Holland, where lord Ossory continued, not daring to come near the king as long as Cromwell lived, for fear it should be a pretence for taking away from the duchess the tenancy of her own estate; which she had, at last, obtained and got settled by the favour of Henry Cromwell.

In November, 1659, the earl of Ossory was married to Emilia, daughter of Monsieur de Beverweertz, natural son of the prince of Orange, governor of Sluys, and all its dependencies, and a very leading man in the assembly of the states-general.

After the restoration, coming into England, he was made, by patent, colonel of foot in Ireland, on the eighth of February, 1661; and colonel and captain of horse, by a like patent, on the thirteenth of June. On the nineteenth of the same month, he was made lieutenant-general of the horse by another patent; and, on the sixteenth of August, 1665, appointed lieutenant-general of the army in that kingdom.

In the year last mentioned, he was at Euston, in Norfolk, when the four days fight happened with the Dutch; and hearing the guns from sea, he and Sir Thomas Clifford found means, from Harwich, to get on board the duke of Albermarle's ship, the duke being then retiring, and fighting as he retreated, to preserve the smaller vessels, which he caused to sail before him, while he faced the enemy with the larger. The earl brought his grace the first news he had, that prince Rupert was ordered back from the west to join his fleet.

When the Dutch fleet pressed hard upon the duke, lord Ossory said to him, He saw no help but that he must be taken. But his grace replied, No, he knew how to prevent that; and when, upon the danger encreasing, his lordship was more curious to know how he would avoid being taken, the duke answered, He would blow up the ship. This brave resolution was so agreeable to lord Ossory's own sentiments, that he ever had his grace in great esteem.

He was at this time very well with lord Arlington; and, in April, 1666, contracted that alliance by this nobleman's marrying Mademoiselle Isabella de Beverweert, sister to the countess of Ossory, which cemented a friendship between them that lasted till fate put an end to the life of the former.

Lord Arlington always shewed a passionate regard for the earl of Ossory in all his con-

cerns, on all occasions, assisting him with his interest and councils to the very last: and, on the other hand, when lord Arlington was going to be impeached by the commons, and the matter was debated five days together in the house, lord Ossory stood every day, like a solicitor, in the lobby, pressing the members with the most earnest entreaties, and neglecting nothing till he had carried the point in his favour.

In the same year, the earl of Ossory, upon his father's resignation of the place, was made gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king; and, in June following, was sworn of the privy-council of England.

Soon after, by a writ, bearing date on the fourteenth of September, he was called to the parliament, then sitting at Westminster, by the title of lord Butler, of Moor park, and took his place there accordingly on the tenth day of the same month. In May, 1640, he waited on his majesty to Dover, when he went to meet the duchess of Orleans.

In October, that year, the king being desirous to see his nephew, the prince of Orange, sent the earl for his highness. His lordship accordingly set sail for Holland, attended by several yachts; and, about the latter end of that month, put him and his train on shore at Margate, in Kent.

In February following, he waited on the prince back to the Hague; went from thence to view the French king's new conquests in Flanders;

Flanders; and proceeded to the court of France, with a design of serving that monarch as a volunteer, in an expedition then intended by his most christian majesty, in person, towards Alsace: but the king having altered his resolutions, he returned, by the way of Holland, into England: and, in April, 1671, the prince of Orange sent him a present to London, being a bason and ewer of massy gold.

In June, 1671, the earl went for Flanders, designing to go to the siege of Brunswick; but understanding there that all differences were accommodated, he returned by the Hague into England.

In January, 1671-2, he had a commission to command the Resolution, a third rate man of war; and another, in April, 1672, to command the Victory, a second rate. After the Solebay fight, on the third of June, he sent Mr Mullys to visit the sick and wounded seamen in St. Thomas's hospital, Southwark; and to relieve them according as he found their necessities. Pursuant to his orders, Mr. Mullys gave to them he found most maimed forty shillings; to such as had less hurt, twenty shillings; and to those who had the slightest wounds, ten shillings a-piece.

In September, that year, he was elected knight of the garter, and installed at Windsor on the twenty-third of the next month. In November following, he was sent envoy-

extraordinary to the court of France, with compliments of condolence to that king upon the death of Louis Francis, of France, duke of Anjou. He was highly cared for in that court, and treated, in some respects, as a prince of the blood. The king pressed him to take a command in his army, and bid him ask what appointments he pleased; adding, “ & j’ en feray au dela. I will do even more. I know,” said he, “ you are born to a great estate; yet, while your father lives, you are in the condition of a cadet.” His lordship excusing himself, the king sent Monsieur de Louvois the next day to his lodgings; who told him the king was pleased to bestow a command upon him; and desired him to ask what command he would have; and, that, in asking, he might be as bold as a lion. His lordship returned him a compliment in answer: upon which he said, “ Come, my lord, I see you are modest, let me speak for you; will twenty thousand pistoles for an equipage, and ten thousand pistoles a year do? If not, say what you will have, and chuse what command you please.” The earl still declined the offer, saying he was already engaged in the sea-service of his own prince in the war against the Dutch. At his parting from the court of France he was presented with a jewel of two thousand pounds value.

In May, 1673, the king gave him the command of the *St. Michael*, a first-rate ship,

ship, and made him rear admiral of the blue squadron, for that great sea-fight against the Dutch which happened shortly after. Sir Edward Spragge commanded in chief that squadron in the engagement, being on board the Prince; but that ship being disabled in the fight, with Van Trump, and Spragge himself slain, as he was going in his boat on board another ship, his lordship lay to defend the Prince from being fired, or taken, by the enemy; and, towards night, brought her off in tow, and joined prince Rupert's squadron.

He was then made rear-admiral of the red squadron, and, towards the close of that summer's expedition, in September, he was sent to the Buoy in the Nore to command the fleet there lying, in chief; and to wear the flag of union on his main-top-mast-head. This was attended with a pension of two hundred and fifty pounds settled upon him, as having had that command and privilege, it being a usual establishment, given of course, or by the king's courtesy, to all who have had the honour of the flag.

It was at the latter end of the same year, that he formed a design upon Helvoetsluys, where, when he was last in Holland, he had seen, with indignation, the Royal Charles, taken by the Dutch at Chatham, lain up, with all the Maes squadron, as in a secure harbour.

Being desirous, from that time, of an opportunity to revenge the disgrace that this nation suffered at Chatham, by returning another of the like nature upon Holland, he received advice from a correspondent in that country, that this place, where twenty-two of the largest Dutch men of war were lain up, close by one another, and, which, for its great importance, used to be well guarded, was then left with only a small garrison of two companies of foot; and, that the batteries, at the entrance of the port, were in no good condition.

His lordship thereupon sent Monsieur St. Paul, his gentleman of the horse, who, tho' a Frenchman, spoke very good Dutch, and, having married a Dutch woman of the Hague, had acquaintance in that town, and the country about it, to take an exact account of the place, and to bring him a plan.

St. Paul executed his commission with much industry, exactness, and great hazard of life; and, when he brought the account of it to White-hall, his majesty was so pleased with it, that he promised him a considerable reward for his pains, though he never had it. The execution of the design appearing very feasible, the earl obtained the king's orders and instructions to go, with ten frigates and two thousand land-men, to make a descent at Helvoetfluys, and to destroy the Royal Charles and such other ships as he found there.

Every

Every thing was ready; but, on the same night he was to take his leave, he received the king's countermand, which gave him great vexation. Sir John Narborough, who was to command next his lordship, in this expedition, knew the coasts of Holland, and the port of Helvoetsluys, perfectly well, and was to discharge the part of chief-pilot in the action.

When the king made difficulties in the matter, Sir John told him, He would undertake, at the peril of his head, to carry in the ships at half flood; and the earl undertook to tell his majesty, That he would fire the Dutch ships with a halfpenny candle, or he should place his head upon Westminster-hall, by Cromwell's, for the greatest traitor that ever breathed.

It was, in truth, the easiness of executing so great an enterprize, that caused it to be thwarted by a very great man, who was jealous of the glory that would thence redound to the earl of Ossory. Mr. Ellis was afterwards upon the place with his lordship, who found the plan St. Paul had brought him very exact, and the thing as easy to have been executed as he had before imagined.

In November, 1674, the earl was sent into Holland about the match between the prince of Orange and the lady Mary, daughter to the duke of York. On the eighteenth of November, 1676, he was made lord chamberlain

berlain to the queen, Don Francisco de Melo, the Portuguese ambassador, who was also her chamberlain, being displaced on a complaint of the bishop of London for licensing popish books.

The prince of Orange sending over M. Bentick to England, recommended him by letter to the earl of Ossory, and to his father, to assist him in proposing the match with the lady Mary; but these noblemen advised him to apply to the earl of Danby, then lord-treasurer, lest he should oppose it if moved by any other. The affair succeeded, and the prince had leave to come over at the end of the campaign.

In February following, the earl of Ossory went into Holland, to enter upon the command of general of the king of Great-Britain's subjects in the pay of the states. It was in the campaign of that year, and at the conclusion of the war, that the memorable battle of Mons was fought, in which the famous marshal of Luxemburgh was forced to retreat, and the earl of Ossory gained so much glory. The states of Holland, the duke of Villa-Harman, governor of the Low-Countries, and the king of Spain himself, in a letter under his own hand, acknowledged the great services he had performed in the campaign.

In April, 1678, he was restored to the privy-council, of which the earl of Shaftsbury was made president, and was soon after
designed

designed to be governor of Tangiers, then besieged by the Moors : but, as he was preparing to go there with a considerable brigade, he died, in the forty-sixth year of his age, to the general regret of this nation.



CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of the

DUKE OF ORMOND.

WE left the marquis of Ormond at the time of king Charles's restoration. On such an event as his majesty's trusty servants could not but meet the rewards due to the merit of such a long series of adversity, with which, supported by their loyalty, they had long struggled; the marquis 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 restored to his dignity of chancellor of the university of Dublin; and there he restored all such fellows as had been ejected for their loyalty.

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

The marquis, soon after the restoration, found means to do a considerable and acceptable

ble 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, as his royal father had, in 1642, conveyed to the marquis, all the right, title, and interest, which the crown had, or might have, to the lands forfeited by the rebellion of the vassals of the said marquis; of which grant had the marquis taken the benefit, it had been an immense improvement of his estate. The king's letters patent, which put him into the rest of his estate, make honourable mention of his loyal and eminent services.

The pressage of wine, a perquisite belonging to the marquis and his family, as butler of Ireland, having been, during the usurpation, charged with an impost, the king ordered it to be taken off.

On the thirteenth of February, 1661, the marquis was joined with the duke of Albermarle, and others, to determine the claims usually entered at coronations, preparations being at that time making for the king's. On the thirtieth of March, he was made duke of Ormond; and, about that time, being created lord-high-steward of England, he assisted in that capacity at the coronation, on the twenty-third of April, and carried St. Edward's crown.

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 fell foul of 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, after the duke of Albermarle 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 inconveniencies of which he well foresaw; and, speaking of it to a friend, said, "Beside 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 name of a person of whom his lordship gave the highest encomia, and under whose conduct,
 he

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 post, 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 on the twenty-seventh of that month, where he was splendidly received. And now all things relating to the government devolving upon him, what he had before seen was soon verified; for, though he acted with the strictest integrity and impartiality, and kept his master's service, 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, by some who were favourably held at court.

An act of settlement, and some others, were passed on the twenty-seventh of September, when he made an excellent speech, well adapted

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

The Fanatics in England, who meditated a new commonwealth, 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 the act, put the sectaries 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 repossessed of their estates ; which making the adventurers and soldiers, every one for himself, fear 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

discovered to the duke. Blood 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, engaged his protection of 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 general hatred which the Irish Roman-catholics bore 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 by that learned and loyal body, and with very great ceremony by the earl of Effex, who was to resign the sword to him. Soon after his arrival, he laid the foundation of the great hospital for soldiers; erected Charles-fort, to secure the harbour of Kinfale; and employed the greatest part of his time in
detecting

detecting frauds in the revenue; which, as also the forces of the kingdom, he considerably augmented for the security thereof.

His majesty, at this time thinking to gain over his enemies, took the method to make them more formidable, by putting them into the 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 by 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, 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 Shaftsbury (to whose views the duke, in retaining the government of Ireland, was a main obstacle) in a speech to the lord's house, insinuated that his grace was popishly inclined. This attack from him made the
duke's

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, convinced, to demonstration, of the design of setting up a commonwealth a second time, resolving to exert himself, would have brought lord Shaftsbury to his tryal; but the grand-jury refused to find the bill upon the strongest evidence.

This infamous partiality, however, answered the king's views, by opening the eyes of the people; which was so fatal to the Republicans that they could never recover the blow. His majesty's resolution to assert his authority, extricated him out of all his difficulties, and lessened those under which the duke had long struggled; and, as the ferment abated in England, the people's minds were quieted in Ireland; where, all being hushed into a calm, his grace had an opportunity, the king having sent for him, to cross to England, leaving his son, the earl of Aran, lord-deputy.

He

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 six, three hundred gentlemen on horseback, five of the king's trumpets, the serjeant-trumpet, and a kettle-drum. At court he met with an affectionate reception by his majesty, and was immediately sworn of the privy council.

The city of London had been poisoned with republican principles, and the dependance that set of men had on juries, encouraged them openly to avow their designs to overturn the constitution. The duke was indefatigable in his endeavours to defeat the designs of the anti-monarchical faction. He saw nothing less than the whole constitution at stake; and these endeavours were not only well understood by, but extremely grateful to, his majesty, who made him an English duke on the ninth of November.

In 1633, the Rye-house plot was the last recourse, after the faction had in vain tried to get a parliament called before they had lost all influence. The king reflecting on the end designed by, and the generality of persons concerned in it, said, in his reflections in the intended assassination, That it was very strange beggars should contend for property, atheists for religion, and bastards for succession.

On

On the ninth of April, this year, the castle of Dublin was burnt; but the indefatigable care of the lord-deputy saved the magazine, and consequently the city from being buried in its ruins. The duke's loss in furniture, &c. was very considerable.

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, having, in June, received orders for his return, set out for Ireland; but his departure was, by the death of his duchess, retarded till August.

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 sixth of February king Charles died; and the duke, four days after, being sent for, left Dublin to proceed to England, having first caused king James to be proclaimed; and, as ordered, lain down his character; which was a treatment he had little reason to expect, and an indignity 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; 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 of lord Clarendon's lent him; and, in August, 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 the king's 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 at his return. He permitted his grace to retire, and dispensed with his attendance at
court,

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 ; and, on the fourth of August, his corpse was deposited in Westminster-abbey.

What has been already said of this great man, renders a character of him needless.



THE LIFE OF

JOHN WILMOT.

IT is an observation founded on experience, that the poets have, of all other men, been most addicted to the gratifications of appetite, and have pursued pleasure with more unwearied application than men of other characters. In this respect they are indeed unhappy, and have ever been more subject to pity than envy. A violent love of pleasure, if it does not destroy, yet, in a great measure, enervates all all other good qualities with which a man may be endowed: and, as no men have ever enjoyed higher parts from nature than the poets, so few, from this unhappy attachment to pleasure, have effected so little good by those amazing powers. Of the truth of this observation, the nobleman, whose Memoirs we are now to present to the reader, is a strong and indelible instance; for few ever had more ability, and more frequent opportunities, for promoting the interests of society; and none ever prostituted the gifts of Heaven to a more inglorious purpose.

Lord Rochester was not more remarkable for the superiority of his parts, than the extraordinary



Tringham Sculp

John Earl of Rochester



ordinary debauchery of his life ; and, with his dissipation of pleasure, he suffered sometimes malignant principles to govern him : and was equally odious for malice and envy, as for the boundless gratifications of his appetites.

This is, no doubt, the character of his lordship, confirmed by all who have transmitted any account of him ; but, if his life was supremely wicked, his death was exemplary pious : before he approached to the conclusion of his days, he saw the follies of his former pleasures ; he lived to repent with the severest contrition ; and charity obliges all men to believe, that he was as sincere in his protestations of penitence, as he had been before in libertine indulgence. The apparent sorrow he felt, arising from the stings and compunctions of conscience, entitle him to the reader's compassion, and has determined us to represent his errors with all imaginable tenderness ; which, as it is agreeable to every benevolent man, so his lordship has a right to this indulgence, since he obliterated his faults by his penitence, and became so conspicuous an evidence on the side of virtue, by his important declarations against the charms of vice.

Lord Rochester was son of the gallant Henry lord Wilmot, who engaged with great zeal in the service of king Charles I. during the civil-wars ; and was so much in favour with Charles II. that he entrusted his person to him, after the unfortunate battle of Worcester ; which

trust he discharged with so much fidelity and address, that the young king was conveyed out of England into France, chiefly by his care, application, and vigilance.

The mother of our author was of the ancient family of the St. Johns, in Wiltshire, and has been celebrated both for her beauty and parts.

In the year 1648, distinguished to posterity by the fall of Charles I. who suffered on a scaffold erected before the window of his own palace, our author was born at Dichley, near Woodstock, in the same county, the scene of many of his pleasures and of his death.

His lordship's father had the misfortune to reap none of the rewards of suffering loyalty, for he died in 1660, immediately before the restoration, leaving his son, as the principal part of his inheritance, his titles, honours, and the merit of those extraordinary services he had done the crown; but, though lord Wilmot left his son but a small estate, yet he did not suffer in his education by these means; for the œconomy of his mother supplied that deficiency, and he was educated suitable to his quality.

When he was at school, it is agreed by all his biographers, he gave early instances of a readiness of wit; and those shining parts which have since appeared with so much lustre, began then to shew themselves. He acquired the Latin to such perfection, that,

to his dying day, he retained a great relish for the masculine firmness, as well as more elegant beauties, of that language; "and was," says Dr. Barnet, "exactly versed in those authors who were the ornaments of the court of Augustus, which he read often with the peculiar delight which the greatest wits have often found in those studies."

"When he went to the university, the general joy which over ran the nation upon his majesty's return, amounted to something like distraction, and soon spread a very malignant influence through all ranks of life. His lordship tasted the pleasures of libertinism, which then broke out in a full tide, with too acute a relish, and was almost overwhelmed in the abyss of wantonness.

His tutor was Dr. Blandford, afterwards promoted to the sees of Oxford and Worcester; and under his inspection he was committed to the more immediate care of Phineas Berry, fellow of Whadham-college, a man of learning and probity, whom his lordship afterwards treated with much respect, and rewarded as became a great man; but, notwithstanding the care of his tutor, he had so deeply engaged in the dissipations of the general jubilee, that he could not be prevailed upon to renew his studies, which were totally lost in the joys more agreeable to his inclination. He never thought of resuming again the pursuit of knowledge, till the fine address of his gover-

nor, Dr. Balfour, won him in his travels, by degrees, to those charms of study which he had, through youthful levity, forsaken; and, being seconded by reason, now more strong, and a more mature taste of the pleasure of learning, which the doctor took care to place in the most agreeable and advantageous light, he became enamoured of knowledge, in the pursuit of which he often spent those hours he sometimes stole from the witty and the fair.

He returned from his travels in the eighteenth year of his age, and appeared at court with as great advantage as any young nobleman ever did. He had a graceful and well-proportioned person, was master of the most refined breeding, and possessed a very obliging and easy manner. He had a vast vivacity of thought, and a happy flow of expression; and all who conversed with him entertained the highest opinion of his understanding; and indeed it is no wonder he was so much carested at a court which abounded with men of wit, countenanced by a merry prince, who relished nothing so much as brilliant conversation.

Soon after his lordship's return from his travels, he took the first occasion that offered to hazard his life in the service of his country.

In the winter of the year 1665, he went to sea with the earl of Sandwich, when he was
sent

sent out against the Dutch East-India fleet, and was in the ship called the *Revenge*, commanded by Sir Thomas Tiddiman, when the attack was made on the port of Bergen, in Norway, the Dutch ships having got into that port.

“ It was,” says Burnet, “ as desperate an attempt as ever was made; and, during the whole action, the earl of Rochester shewed as brave and resolute a courage as possible. A person of honour told me he heard the lord Clifford, who was in the same ship, often magnify his courage at that time very highly; nor did the rigour of the season, the hardness of the voyage, and the extreme danger he had been in, deter him from running the like the very next occasion; for the summer following he went to sea again, without communicating his design to his nearest relations. He went aboard the ship commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, the day before the great sea-fight of that year; in which almost all the volunteers that went in that ship were killed. During the action, Sir Edward Spragge, not being satisfied with the behaviour of one of the captains, could not easily find a person that would undertake to venture through so much danger to carry his command to the captain, this lord offered himself to the service, and went in a little boat, through all the shot, and delivered his message, and returned back to Sir Edward; which was much commended by all who saw it.”

These are the early instances of courage which can be produced in favour of lord Rochester, which was afterwards impeached, and very justly; for, in many private broils, he discovered a timid, pusillanimous spirit, very unsuitable to those noble instances of the contrary which have just been mentioned.

The author of his life, prefixed to his works, which goes under the name of M. St. Evremond, addressed to the duchess of Mazarine, but which M. Maizeau asserts not to be his, accounts for it, upon the general observation of that disparity between a man and himself, upon different occasions. "Let it suffice," says he, "to observe, that we differ not from one another more than we do from ourselves at different times." But we imagine another, and a stronger, reason may be given, for the cowardice which Rochester afterwards discovered in private broils, particularly in the affair between him and the earl of Mulgrave, in which he behaved very meanly. The courage which lord Rochester shewed in a naval engagement, was in the early part of his life, before he had been immersed into those labyrinths of excess and luxury into which he afterwards sunk.

It is certainly a true observation that guilt makes cowards; a man who is continually subjected to the reproaches of conscience, who is afraid to examine his heart lest it should appear too horrible, cannot have much courage; for, while he is conscious of so many errors to
be

be repented of, of so many vices he has committed, he naturally starts at danger, and flies from it as his greatest enemy. It is true courage is sometimes constitutional; and there have been instances of men, guilty of every enormity, who have discovered a large share of it: but these have been wretches who have overcome all sense of honour, been lost to every consideration of virtue, and whose courage is like that of the lion of the desert, a kind of ferocious impulse unconnected with reason. Lord Rochester had certainly never overcome the reproaches of his conscience, whose alarming voice at last struck terror into his heart, and chilled the fire of the spirits.

Since his travels and naval expeditions, he seemed to have contracted a habit of temperance; in which had he been so happy as to persevere, he must have escaped that fatal rock, on which he afterwards split, upon his return to court, where love and pleasure kept their perpetual rounds, under the smiles of a prince whom nature had fitted for all the enjoyments of the most luxurious desires. In times so dissolute as these, it is no wonder if a man of so warm a constitution as Rochester could not resist the too flattering temptations, which were heightened by the participation of the court in general.

The uncommon charms of Rochester's conversation, induced all men to court him as a

companion, though they often paid too dear for their curiosity, by being made the subject of his lampoons, if they happened to have any oddities in their temper, by the exposing of which he could humour his propensity to scandal. His pleasant extravagancies soon became the subject of general conversation; by which his vanity was at once flattered, and his turn of satire rendered more keen, by the success it met with.

Rocheſter had certainly a true talent for ſatire, and he ſpared neither friends nor foes, but let it looſe on all without diſcrimination. Majeſty itſelf was not ſecure from it; he more than once lampooned the king, whoſe weakneſs and attachment to ſome of his miſtreſſes he endeavoured to cure by ſeveral means; that is, either by winning them from him, in ſpite of the indulgence and liberality they felt from a royal gallant, or by ſeverely lampooning them and him on various occaſions; which the king, who was a man of wit and pleaſure as well as his lordſhip, took for the natural fallies of his genius, and meant rather as the amuſements of his fancy, than as the efforts of malice; yet, either by a too frequent repetition, or a too cloſe and poignant virulence, the king baniſhed him the court for a ſatire made directly on him. This ſatire conſiſts of twenty-eight ſtanſas, and is entitled, *The Reſtoration; or, The Hiſtory of the Inſipids*: and, as it contains the keenest reflections
againſt

against the political conduct, and private character, of that prince, and having produced the banishment of this noble lord, we shall here give it a place ; by which his lordship's genius for this kind of writing will appear.

The RESTORATION ; or, The History
of INSIPIDS ; a Lampoon.

I.

Chaste, pious, prudent, Charles the Second,
The miracle of thy restoration,
May like to that of quails be reckon'd,
Rain'd on the Israelitish nation ;
The wish'd-for blessing, from Heaven sent,
Became their curse and punishment.

II.

The virtues in thee, Charles, inherent,
Altho' thy count'nance be an odd piece,
Prove thee as true a God's viceregent,
As e'er was Harry with his cod-piece :
For chastity, and pious deeds,
His grandfire Harry Charles exceeds.

III.

Our Romish bondage-breaker, Harry,
Espoused half a dozen wives ;
Charles only one resolv'd to marry,
And other mens he never — :

Yet has he sons and daughters more
Than e'er had Harry by threescore.

IV.

Never was such a faith's defender ;
He, like a politic prince, and pious,
Gives liberty to conscience tender,
And does to no religion tie us !
Jews, Christians, Turks, Papists, he'll please us
With Moses, Mahomet, or Jesus.

V.

In all affairs of church or state
He very zealous is, and able ;
Devout at prayers, and sits up late
At the cabal and council-table.
His very dog, at council-board,
Sits grave and wise as any lord.

VI.

Let Charles's policy no man flout,
The wisest kings have all some folly :
Nor let his piety any doubt ;
Charles, like a sov'reign, wise and holy,
Makes young men judges of the bench,
And bishops, those that love a wench.

VII.

His father's foes he does reward,
Preserving those that cut off's head ;
Old cavaliers, the crown's best guard,
He lets them starve for want of bread.

Never

Never was any king endow'd
 With so much grace and gratitude.

VIII.

Blood, that wears treason in his face,
 Villain compleat in parson's gown,
 How much is he at court in grace,
 For stealing Ormond and the crown!
 Since loyalty does no man good,
 Let's steal the king, and out-do Blood.

IX.

A parliament of knaves and fors
 (Members by name you must not mention)
 He keeps in pay, and buys their votes,
 Here with a place, there with a pension:
 When to give money, he can't cologue 'em,
 He does, with scorn, prerogue, prorogue 'em.

X.

But they, long since, by too much giving,
 Undid, betray'd, and sold the nation,
 Making their memberships a living
 Better than e'er was sequestration.
 God give thee, Charles, a resolution
 To damn the knaves by dissolution.

XI.

Fame is not grounded on success,
 Tho' victories were Cæsar's glory;
 Lost battles make not Pompey less,
 But left him stiled great in story.

Malicious fate does oft devise
To beat the brave, and fool the wise.

XII.

Charles, in the first Dutch war, stood fair
To have been sov'reign of the deep,
When Opdam blew up in the air,
Had not his highness gone to sleep:
Our fleet slack'd sails, fearing his waking,
The Dutch had else been in sad taking,

XIII.

The Bergen business was well laid,
Tho' we paid dear for that design;
Had we not three days parling stay'd
The Dutch fleet there, Charles, had been
thine;
Tho' the false Dane agreed to sell 'em,
He cheated us, and saved Skellum.

XIV.

Had not Charles sweetly chous'd the states,
By Bergen-baffle grown more wise;
And made 'em shite as small as rats,
By their rich Smyrna fleet's surprize:
Had haughty Holmes but call'd in Spragg,
Hans had been put into a bag.

XV. Mists

XV.

Mists, storms, short victuals, adverse winds,
 And once the navy's wise division,
 Defeated Charles's best designs,
 'Till he became his foes derision :
 But he had swing'd the Dutch at Chatham,
 Had he had ships but to come at 'em.

XVI.

Our Black-Heath host, without dispute,
 (Rais'd, put on board, why? no man knows)
 Must Charles have render'd absolute
 Over his subjects, or his foes ;
 Has not the French king made us fools,
 By taking Maestricht with our tools ?

XVII.

But, Charles, what could thy policy be,
 To run so many sad disasters ;
 To join thy fleet with false d'Estrees
 To make the French of Holland masters ?
 Was't Carewell, brother James, or Teague,
 That made thee break the Triple League ?

XVIII.

Could Robin Viner have foreseen
 The glorius triumphs of his master ,
 The Wool-church statue gold had been,
 Which now is made of alabaster :

But

But wise men think, had it been wood,
'Twere for a bankrupt king too good.

XIX.

Those that the fabric well consider,
Do of it diversly discourse;
Some pass their censure on the rider,
Others their judgment on the horse:
Most say, the steed's a goodly thing,
But all agree, 'tis a lewd king.

XX.

By the lord mayor and his grave coxcombs,
Freeman of London Charles is made;
Then to Whitehall a rich gold box comes;
Which was bestow'd on the French jade*:
But wonder not it should be so, sirs,
When monarchs rank themselves with Grocers.

XXI.

Cringe, scrape no more, ye city-fops,
Leave off your feasting and fine speeches;
Beat up your drums, shut up your shops,
The courtiers then will kiss your breeches.
Arm'd, tell the popish duke that rules,
You're free-born subjects, not French mules.

* The duchess of Portsmouth.

XXII.

New upstarts, bastards, pimps, and whores,
 That, locust-like, devour the land,
 By shutting up th' Exchequer-doors,
 When there our money was trāpann'd,
 Have render'd Charles's restoration
 But a small blessing to the nation.

XXIII.

Then, Charles, beware thy brother York,
 Who to thy government gives law;
 If once we fall to the old sport,
 You must again both to Breda;
 Where, spite of all that would restore you,
 Grown wise by wrongs, we should abhor you.

XXIV.

If, of all Christian blood the guilt
 Cries loud of vengeance unto Heav'n,
 That sea by treach'rous Lewis spilt,
 Can never be by God forgiv'n:
 Whose scourge unto his subjects, lord!
 Than pest'ience, famine, fire, or sword.

XXV.

That false rapacious wolf of France,
 The scourge of Europe, and its curse,
 Who at his subjects cries does dance,
 And studies how to make them worse;

To

To say such kings, Lord, rule by Thee,
Were most prodigious blasphemy.

XXVI.

Such know no law, but their own lust ;
Their subjects substance, and their blood,
They count it tribute due and just,
Still spent and spilt for subjects good.
If such kings are by God appointed,
The devil may be the Lord's anointed.

XXVII.

Such kings ! curs'd be the pow'r and name,
Let all the world henceforth abhor 'em ;
Monsters, which knaves sacred proclaim,
And then, like slaves, fall down before 'em.
What can there be in kings divine ?
The most are wolves, goats, sheep, or swine.

XXVIII.

Then farewell, sacred majesty,
Let's pull all brutish tyrants down ;
Where men are born, and still live, free,
There ev'ry head doth wear a crown :
Mankind, like miserable frogs,
Prove wretched, king'd by storks and dogs.

Much about this time, the duke of Buckingham was under disgrace for things of another nature ; and, being disengaged from any particular attachment in town, he and lord Rochester resolved, like Don Quixote of old, to set out in quest of adventures ; and they met with some which will appear entertaining to our readers, which we shall give upon the authority of the author of Rochester's life, prefixed to his works. Among many other adventures, the following was one :

There happened to be an inn on New-market road to be lett ; they disguised themselves in proper habits for the persons they were to assume, and jointly took this inn, in which each in his turn officiated as master : but they soon made this subservient to purposes of another nature.

Having carefully observed the pretty girls in the country with whom they were most captivated, (they considered not whether they were maids, wives, or widows) and to gain opportunities of seducing them, they invited their neighbours, who had either wives or daughters, to frequent feasts ; where the men were plied hard with good liquor, and the women sufficiently warmed to make but as little resistance as would be agreeable to their inclinations, dealing out their poison to both sexes, inspiring the men with wine and other strong liquors, and the women with love. Thus they were able to deflower many a virgin, and
alienate

alienate the affections of many a wife by this odd stratagem; and it is difficult to say, whether it is possible for two men to live to a worse purpose.

It is natural to imagine that this kind of life could not be of long duration. Feasts so frequently given, and that without any thing to pay, must give a strong suspicion that the inn-keepers would soon break; or, that they were of such fortune and circumstance, as did not well suit the post they were in. This their lordships were sensible of, but not much concerned about it, since they were seldom found long to continue in the same sort of adventures, variety being the life of their enjoyments. It was, besides, near the time of his majesty's going to Newmarket when they designed, that the discovery of their real plots should clear them of the imputation of being concerned in any more pernicious to the government.

These two conjectures meeting they thought themselves obliged to dispatch two important adventures, which they had not yet been able to compass.

There was an old covetous miser in the neighbourhood, who, notwithstanding his age, was in possession of a very agreeable young wife. Her husband watched her with the same assiduity he did his money, and never trusted her out of his sight but under the protection of an old maiden sister, who never had
herself

self experienced the joys of love, and bore no great benevolence to those who were young and handsome.

Our noble inn-keepers had no manner of doubt of his accepting a treat, as many had done, for he loved good living with all his heart when it cost him nothing; and, except upon these occasions, he was the most temperate and abstemious man alive: but, when they could never prevail with him to bring his wife, notwithstanding they urged the presence of so many good wives in the neighbourhood to keep her company, all their study was then how to deceive the old sister at home, who was set as a guardian over that fruit which the miser could neither eat himself, nor suffer any other to taste; but such a difficulty as this was soon to be overcome by such inventions.

It was therefore agreed that lord Rochester should be dressed in women's cloaths, and, while the husband was feasting with my lord duke, he should make trial of his skill with the old woman at home. He had learned that she had no aversion to the bottle when she could come secretly and conveniently at it. Equipped like a country lass, and furnished with a bottle of spiritous liquors, he marched to the old miser's house.

It was with difficulty he found means to speak with the old woman, but at last obtained the favour; where, perfect in all the cant of those

those people, he began to tell the occasion of his coming, in hopes she would invite him to come in, but all in vain; he was admitted no farther than the porch, with the house-door a-jar. At last, my lord, finding no other way, fell upon this expedient: he pretended to be taken suddenly ill, and tumbled upon the threshold. This noise brings the young wife to them, who, with much trouble, persuades her keeper to help her into the house, in regard to the decorum of her sex and the unhappy condition she was in.

The door had not been long shut before our impostor, by degrees, recovers; and, being set on a chair, cants a very religious thanksgiving to the good gentlewoman for her kindness; and observed how deplorable it was to be subject to such fits, which often took her in the street, and exposed her to many accidents; but every now and then took a sip of the bottle, and recommended it to the old benefactress, who was sure to drink a hearty dram. His lordship had another bottle in his pocket qualified with opium, which would sooner accomplish his desire by giving the woman a somniferous dose, which drinking with greediness she soon fell fast asleep.

His lordship having so far succeeded, and being fired with the presence of the young wife, for whom he had formed this odd scheme, his desires became impetuous, which produced a change of colour, and made the
artless

artless creature imagine the fit was returning. My lord then asked if she would be so charitable as to let him lie down on the bed. The good-natured young woman shewed him the way; when, he being laid down, and she staying by him at his request, he put her in mind of her condition, asking about her husband, whom the young woman painted in his true colours, as a surly, jealous old tyrant. The rural innocent, imagining she had only a woman with her, was less reserved in her behaviour and expressions on that account, and his lordship soon found that a tale of love would not be unpleasing to her. Being now no longer able to curb his appetite, which was wound up beyond the power of restraint, he declared his sex to her, and, without much struggling, enjoyed her.

He now became as happy as indulgence could make him; and, when the first transports were over, he contrived the escape of this young adultress from the prison of her keeper. She hearkened to his proposals with pleasure, and, before the old gentlewoman was awake, she robbed her husband of an hundred and fifty pieces, and marched off with lord Rochester to the inn about midnight.

They were to pass over three or four fields before they could reach it; and, in going over the last, they very near escaped falling into the enemy's hands; but the voice of the

husband discovering who he was, our adventurers struck down the field out of the path; and, for the greater security, lay down in the grass. The place, the occasion, and the person that was so near, put his lordship in mind of renewing his pleasure, almost in sight of the cuckold. The fair was no longer coy, and easily yielded to his desires. He, in short, carried the girl home, and then prostituted her to the duke's pleasure, after he had been cloyed himself.

The old man going home, and finding his sister asleep, his wife fled, and his money gone, was thrown into a state of madness and soon hanged himself.

The news was soon spread about the neighbourhood, and reached the inn, where both lovers, now as weary of their purchase as desirous of it before, advised her to go to London; with which she complied, and, in all probability, followed there the trade of prostitution for a subsistence.

The king, soon after this infamous adventure, coming that way, found them both in their posts at the inn, took them again into favour, and suffered them to go with him to Newmarket.

This exploit of lord Rochester is not at all improbable when his character is considered; his treachery in the affair of the miser's wife is very like him; and surely it was one of the greatest acts of baseness of which he was ever guilty;

guilty : he artfully seduced her, while her unsuspecting husband was entertained by the duke of Buckingham ; he contrived a robbery, and produced the death of the injured husband. This complicated crime was one of those heavy charges on his mind when he lay on his death-bed, under the dreadful alarms of his conscience.

His lordship's amours at court made a great noise in the world of gallantry, especially that which he had with the celebrated Mrs. Roberts, mistress to the king, whom she abandoned for the possession of Rochester's heart, which she found, to her experience, it was not in her power long to hold. The earl, who was soon cloyed with the possession of any one woman, though the fairest in the world, soon forsook her : the lady, after the first indignation of her passion subsided, grew as indifferent, and considered upon the proper means of retrieving the king's affections.

The occasion was luckily given her one morning while she was dressing ; she saw the king coming by, she hurried down with her hair disheveled, threw herself at his feet, implored his pardon, and vowed constancy for the future. The king, overcome with the well-dissembled agonies of this beauty, raised her up, took her in his arms, and protested no man could see her and not love her. He waited on her to her lodging, and there completed the reconciliation.

This easy behaviour of the king, had, with many other instances of the same kind, determined my lord Hallifax to assert, That the love of king Charles II. lay as much as any man's in the lower regions; that he was indifferent as to their constancy, and only valued them for the sensual pleasures they could yield.

Lord Rochester's frolics in the character of a mountebank are well known; and the speech which he made upon the occasion of his first turning itinerant doctor, has been often printed; there is in it a true spirit of satire, and a keenness of lampoon which is very much in the character of his lordship, who had certainly an original turn for invective and satirical composition.

We shall give the following short extract from this celebrated speech, in which his lordship's wit appears very conspicuous.

“ If I appear, says Alexander Bendo, to any one like a counterfeit, even for the sake of that, chiefly, ought I to be construed a true man, who is the counterfeit's example, his original, and that which he employs his industry and pains to imitate and copy. Is it therefore my fault if the cheat, by his wit and endeavours, makes himself so like me, that, consequently, I cannot avoid resembling him? Consider, pray, the valiant and the coward, the wealthy merchant and the bankrupt, the politician and the fool; they are the same in
many

many things, and differ but in one alone; the valiant man holds up his hand, looks confidently round about him, wears a sword, courts a lord's wife, and owns it; so does the coward. One only point of honour, and that's courage, which (like false metal, one only trial can discover) makes the distinction. The bankrupt walks the exchange, buys bargains, draws bills, and accepts them with the richest, whilst paper and credit are current coin; that which makes the difference is real cash; a great defect indeed, and yet but one, and that the last found out, and still till then the least perceived.——Now for the politician; he is a grave, deliberating, close, prying man: Pray are there not grave, deliberating, close, prying fools? If therefore the difference betwixt all these, though infinite in effect, be so nice in all appearance, will you yet expect it should be otherwise between the false physician, astrologer, &c. and the true? The first calls himself learned doctor, sends forth his bills, gives physic and council, tells and foretells; the other is bound to do just as much. It is only your experience must distinguish betwixt them, to which I willingly submit myself."

When lord Rochester was restored again to the favour of king Charles II. he continued the same extravagant pursuits of pleasure, and would even use freedoms with that prince, whom he had before so much offended; for his

fatire knew no bounds, his invention was lively, and his execution sharp.

He is supposed to have contrived with one of Charles's mistress's the following stratagem to cure that monarch of the nocturnal rambles to which he addicted himself. He agreed to go out one night with him to visit a celebrated house of intrigue, where he told his majesty the finest women in England were to be found. The king made no scruple to assume his usual disguise and accompany him; and, while he was engaged with one of the ladies of pleasure, being before instructed by Rochester how to behave, she picked his pocket of all his money and watch; which the king did not immediately miss. Neither the people of the house, nor the girl herself, was made acquainted with the quality of their visiter, nor had the least suspicion who he was.

When the intrigue was ended, the king enquired for Rochester, but was told he had quitted the house without taking leave. But into what embarrassment was he thrown when, upon searching his pockets, in order to discharge the reckoning, he found his money gone. He was then reduced to ask the favour of the jezebel to give him credit till to-morrow, as the gentleman who came in with him had not returned, who was to have payed for both.

The consequence of this request was, he was abused and laughed at; and the old woman
told

told him, that she had often been served such dirty tricks, and would not permit him to stir till the reckoning was paid, and then called one of her bullies to take care of him. In this ridiculous distress stood the British monarch, the prisoner of a bawd, and the life upon whom the nation's hopes were fixed, put in the power of a ruffian.

After many altercations, the king at last proposed, that she should accept a ring which he then took off his finger, in pledge for her money; which she likewise refused; and told him, that, as she was no judge of the value of the ring, she did not chuse to accept such pledges. The king then desired that a jeweller might be called to give his opinion of the value of it; but he was answered, that the expedient was impracticable, as no jeweller could then be supposed to be out of bed.

After much entreaty, his majesty, at last, prevailed upon the fellow to knock up a jeweller and shew him the ring; which, as soon as he had inspected, he stood amazed, and enquired, with eyes fixed upon the fellow; who he had got in his house? To which he answered, A black-looking ugly son of a w--e who had no money in his pocket, and was obliged to pawn his ring. "The ring," says the jeweller, "is so immensely rich, that but one man in the nation could afford to wear it, and that one is the king."

The jeweller, being astonished at this accident, went out with the bully, in order to be fully satisfied of so extraordinary an affair; and, as soon as he entered the room, he fell on his knees, and, with the utmost respect, presented the ring to his majesty. The old jezebel and the bully, finding the extraordinary quality of their guest, were now confounded, and asked pardon most submissively on their knees. The king, in the best natured manner, forgave them; and, laughing, asked them, whether the ring would not bear another bottle.

Thus ended this adventure, in which the king learned how dangerous it was to risk his person in night-frolics; and could not but severely reprove Rochester for acting such a part towards him; however he sincerely resolved never again to be guilty of the like indiscretion.

These are the most material of the adventures, and libertine courses of the lord Rochester, which historians and biographers have transmitted to posterity; we shall now consider him as an author.

He seems to have been too strongly tinged with that vice which belongs more to literary people, than to any other profession under the sun; viz. envy. That lord Rochester was envious, and jealous of the reputation of other men of eminence, appears abundantly clear from his behaviour to Dryden, which could
 proceed.

proceed from no other principle; as his malice towards him had never discovered itself till the tragedies of that great poet met with such general applause, and his poems were universally esteemed.

Such was the inveteracy he shewed to Mr. Dryden, that he set up John Crown, an obscure man, in opposition to him, and recommended him to the king to compose a masque for the court, which was really the business of the poet-laureat; but, when Crown's *Conquest of Jerusalem* met with as extravagant success as Dryden's *Almanzor's*, his lordship then withdrew his favour from Crown, as if he would be still in contradiction to the public.

His malice to Dryden is said to have still further discovered itself in hiring ruffians to cudgel him for a satire he was supposed to be the author of; which was at once, malicious, cowardly, and cruel.

Mr. Wolfey, in his preface to *Valentinian*, a tragedy, altered by lord Rochester from Fletcher, has given a character of his lordship and his writings, by no means consistent with that idea which other writers, and common tradition dispose us to form of him.

“He was a wonderful man,” says he, “whether we consider the constant good sense, and agreeable mirth, of his ordinary conversation, or the vast reach and compass of his inventions, and the amazing depth of his

retired thoughts; the uncommon graces of his fashion, or the inimitable turns of his wit, the becoming gentleness, the bewitching softness of his civility, or the force and fitness of his satire; for, as he was both the delight, the love, and the dotage of the women, so was he a continued curb to impertinence, and the public censure of folly: never did man stay in his company unentertained, or leave it uninstructed; never was his understanding biased, or his pleasantness forced; never did he laugh in the wrong place, or prostitute his sense to serve his luxury; never did he stab into the wounds of fallen virtue, with a base and a cowardly insult, or smooth the face of prosperous villainy with the paint and washes of a mercenary wit; never did he spare a fop for being rich, or flatter a knave for being great.

“ He had a wit that was accompanied with an unaffected greatness of mind, and a natural love to justice and truth; a wit that was in perpetual war with knavery, and ever attacking those kind of vices most whose malignity was like to be the most diffusive, such as tended more immediately to the prejudice of public bodies, and were a common nuisance to the happiness of human kind.

“ Never was his pen drawn but on the side of good sense, and usually employed like the arms of the ancient heroes, to stop the progress of arbitrary oppression, and beat down the brutishness

brutishness of head-strong will to do his king; and country justice upon such public state thieves as would beggar a kingdom to enrich themselves: these were the vermin whom, to his eternal honour, his pen was continually pricking and goading: a pen, if not so happy in the success, yet as generous in the aim, as either the sword of Theseus, or the club of Hercules; nor was it less sharp than that, or less weighty than this.

“ If he did not take so much care of himself as he ought, he had the humanity, however, to wish well to others; and I think I may truly affirm, he did the world as much good by a right application of satire, as he hurt himself by a wrong pursuit of pleasure.”

In this amiable light has Mr. Wolfely drawn our author; and nothing is more certain than that it is a portraiture of the imagination, warmed with gratitude, or friendship, and bears but little or no resemblance to that of Rochester. Can he whose satire is always levelled at particular persons, be said to be the terror of knaves, and the public foe of vice; when he himself has acknowledged that he satirized only to gratify his resentment; for it was his opinion, that writing satires without being in a rage, was like killing in cold blood? Was his conversation instructive whose mouth was full of obscenity? and was he a friend to his country, who diffused a dangerous venom through his works to cor-

rupt its members ; in which, it is to be feared he has been but too successful ? Did he ever smooth the face of prosperous villainy, as Mr. Wolfely expresses it, the scope of whose life was to promote and encourage the most licentious debauchery, and to unhinge all the principles of honour ?

Either Mr. Wolfely must be strangely mistaken, or all other writers who have given us accounts of Rochester must be so ; and, as his single assertions are not equal to the united authorities of so many, we may reasonably reject his testimony as a deviation from truth.

We have now seen those scenes of my lord Rochester's life, in which he appears to little advantage. It is with infinite pleasure we can take a view of the brighter side of his character ; to do which we must attend him to his death-bed. Had he been the amiable man Mr. Wolfely represents him, he needed not have suffered so many pangs of remorse, nor felt the horrors of conscience, nor been driven almost to despair by his reflections on a mis-spent life.

Rochester lived a profligate, but he died a penitent. He lived in defiance of all principles ; but, when he felt the cold hand of death upon him, he reflected on his folly, and saw, that the portion of iniquity is, at last, sure to be only pain and anguish.

Dr. Burnet,

Dr. Burnet, the excellent bishop of Sarum (however he may be reviled by a party) with many other obligations conferred upon the world, has added some account of lord Rochester in his dying moments. No state-policy, in this case, can be well supposed to have biassed him; and when there are no motives to falshood, it is somewhat cruel to discredit assertions. The doctor could not be influenced by views of interest to give this, or any other, account of his lordship; and could certainly have no other incentive but that of serving his country, by shewing the instability of vice, and, by drawing into light an illustrious penitent, adding one wreath more to the banners of virtue.

Burnet begins with telling us, that an accident fell out in the early part of the earl's life which in its consequences confirmed him in the pursuit of vicious courses.

“ When he went to sea, in the year 1665, there happened to be, in the same ship with him, Mr. Montague, and another gentleman of quality; these two, the former especially, seemed persuaded that they should never return into England. Mr. Montague said, he was sure of it; the other was not so positive: The earl of Rochester, and the last of these, entered into a formal engagement, not without ceremonies of religion, that, if either of them died, he should appear and give the
other

other notice of the future state, if there was any; but Mr. Montague would not enter into the bond.

“ When the day came that they thought to have taken the Dutch fleet in the port of Bergen, Mr. Montague, though he had such a strong presage in his mind of his approaching death, yet he bravely stayed all the while in the place of the greatest danger. The other gentleman signalized his courage in the most undaunted manner till near the end of the action, when he fell, on a sudden, into such a trembling that he could scarce stand; and Mr. Montague going to him to hold him up, as they were in each other's arms, a cannon-ball carried away Mr. Montague's belly, so that he expired in an hour after.”

The earl of Rochester told Dr. Burnet, that these presages they had in their minds, made some impression on him that there were separate beings; and, that the soul, either by a natural sagacity, or some secret notice communicated to it, had a sort of divination. But this gentleman's never appearing was a snare to him during the rest of his life: though when he mentioned this, he could not but acknowledge, it was an unreasonable thing for him to think that beings in another state were not under such laws and limits that they could not command their motion but as the Supreme Power should order them; and, that one who
had

had so corrupted the natural principles of truth as he had, had no reason to expect that miracles should be wrought for his conviction.

He told Dr. Burnet another odd presage of approaching death, in lady Ware, his mother-in-law's family.—The chaplain had dreamed that such a day he should die; but being by all the family laughed out of the belief of it, he had almost forgot it till the evening before at supper; there being thirteen at table, according to an old conceit that one of the family must soon die, one of the young ladies pointed to him, that he was the person. Upon this the chaplain, recalling to mind his dream, fell into some disorder, and the lady Ware reproving him for his superstition, he said, he was confident he was to die before morning; but he being in perfect health it was not much minded. It was Saturday night, and he was to preach next day. He went to his chamber, and sat up late, as appeared by the burning of his candle; and he had been preparing his notes for his sermon, but was found dead in his bed next morning.

These things, his lordship said, made him incline to believe that the soul was of a substance distinct from matter; but that which convinced him of it was, that, in his last sickness, which brought him so near his death, when his spirits were so spent that he could
not

not move or stir. and did not hope to live an hour, he said his reason and judgment were so clear and strong, that, from thence, he was fully persuaded, that death was not the dissolution of the soul, but only the separation of it from matter.

He had, in that sickness, great remorse for his past life; but he afterwards said, they were rather general and dark horrors than any conviction of transgression against his maker; he was sorry he had lived so as to waste his strength so soon, or that he had brought such an ill name upon himself; and had an agony in his mind about it, which he knew not well how to express; but believed that these impunctions of conscience rather proceeded from the horror of his condition, than any true contrition for the errors of his life.

During the time Dr. Burnet was at lord Rochester's house, they entered frequently into conversation upon the topics of natural and revealed religion; which the doctor endeavoured to enlarge upon and explain in a manner suitable to the condition of a dying penitent. His lordship expressed much contrition for his having so often violated the laws of the one, against his better knowledge, and having spurned the authority of the other in the pride of wanton sophistry.

He declared, that he was satisfied of the truth of the Christian religion, that he thought it the institution of Heaven, and afforded the
most

most natural idea of the Supreme Being, as well as the most forcible motives to virtue of any faith professed amongst men.

“ He was not only satisfied,” says Dr. Burnet, “ of the truth of our holy religion, merely as a matter of speculation, but was persuaded, likewise, of the power of inward grace ; of which he gave me this strange account :

“ He said, Mr. Parsons, in order to his conviction, read to him the fifty third chapter of the prophecies of Isaiah, and compared that with the history of our Saviour’s passion ; that he might there see a prophecy concerning it, written many ages before it was done ; which the Jews that blasphemed Jesus Christ still kept in their hands as a book divinely inspired.

“ He said, as he heard it read, he felt an inward force upon him, which did so enlighten his mind and convince him, that he could resist it no longer ; for the words had an authority which did shoot like rays or beams into his mind ; so that he was not only convinced by the reasonings he had about it, which satisfied his understanding ; but, by a power, which did so effectually constrain him, that he ever after firmly believed in his Saviour, as if he had seen Him in the clouds.”

We are not quite certain whether there is not a tincture of enthusiasm in this account given by his lordship, as it is too natural to fly from one extreme to another, from the excesses of debauchery to the gloom of methodism; but, even if we suppose this to have been the case, he was certainly in the safest extreme; and there is more comfort in hearing that a man whose life had been so remarkably profligate as his, should die under such impressions, than quit the world without one pang for past offences.

The bishop gives an instance of the great alteration of his lordship's temper and dispositions, from what they were formerly, in his sickness.

“Whenever he happened to be out of order, either by pain or sickness, his temper became quite ungovernable, and his passions so fierce that his servants were afraid to approach him; but, in his last sickness, he was all humility, patience, and resignation. Once he was a little offended with the delay of a servant, who he thought made not haste enough with somewhat he called for, and said, in a little heat, ‘That damn'd fellow.’

“Soon after,” says the doctor, “I told him that I was glad to find his stile so reformed, and that he had so entirely overcome that ill habit of swearing, only that word of calling

calling any damned, which had returned upon him, was not decent; his answer was, 'Oh! that language of fiends, which was so familiar to me, hangs yet about me; sure none has deserved more to be damned than I have done!' And, after he had humbly asked God pardon for it, he desired me to call the person to him that he might ask him forgiveness; but I told him that was needless, for he had said it of one who did not hear it, and so could not be offended by it.

"In this disposition of mind," continues the bishop, "he remained all the while I was with him, four days together. He was then brought so low, that all hope of recovery was gone; much purulent matter came from him with his urine, which he passed always with pain, but one day with inexpressible torment; yet he bore it decently, without breaking out into repinings, or impatient complaints. Nature being at last quite exhausted, and all the floods of life gone, he died, without a groan, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1680, in the thirty-third year of his age.

"A day or two before his death he lay much silent, and seemed extremely devout in his contemplations. He was frequently observed to raise his eyes to Heaven, and send forth ejaculations to the Searcher of hearts, who saw his penitence, and who, he hoped, would forgive him."

Thus

Thus died lord Rochester, an amazing instance of the goodness of God, who permitted him to enjoy time, and inclined his heart to penitence. As by his life he was suffered to set an example of the most abandoned dissoluteness to the world; so, by his death, he was a very lively demonstration of the fruitlessness of vicious courses, and may be proposed, as an example, to all those who are captivated with the charms of guilty pleasure.

Let all his failings now sleep with him in the grave, and let us only think of his closing moments, his penitence and reformation. Had he been permitted to have recovered his illness, it is reasonable to presume he would have been as lively an example of virtue, as he had ever been of vice, and have born his testimony in favour of our religion.

He left behind him a son named Charles, who dying on the twelfth of November, was buried by his father on the seventh of December following. He also left behind him three daughters. The male line ceasing, Charles II. conferred the title of earl of Rochester on Lawrence viscount Killingworth, a younger son of Edward earl of Clarendon.

We might now enumerate his lordship's writings, of which we have already given some character; but unhappily for the world they are too generally diffused, and we think ourselves

ourselves under no obligations to particularize those works which have been so fruitful of mischief to society, by promoting a general corruption of morals ; and which he himself, in his last moments, wished he could recal, or, rather, that he never had composed.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.





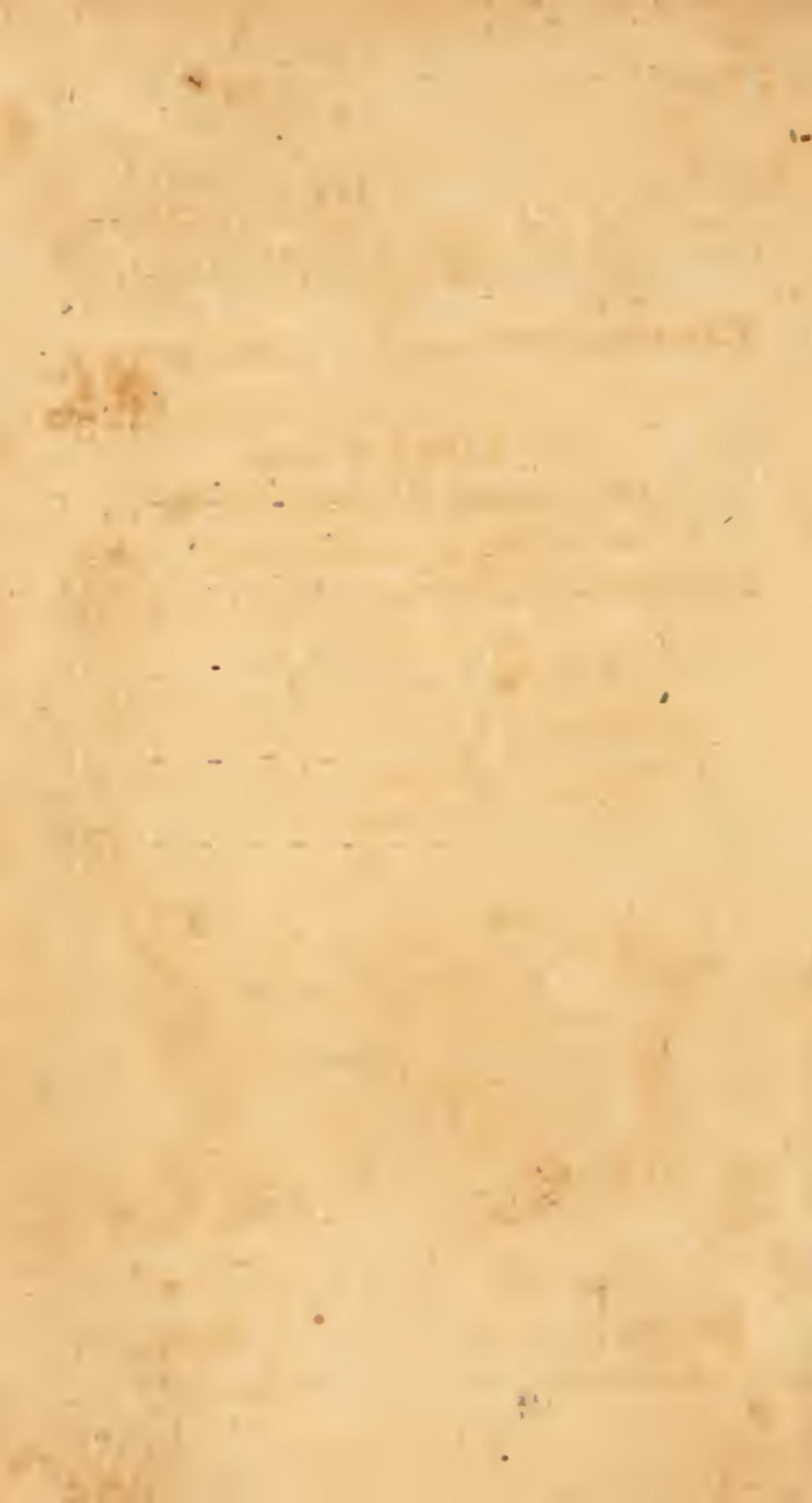
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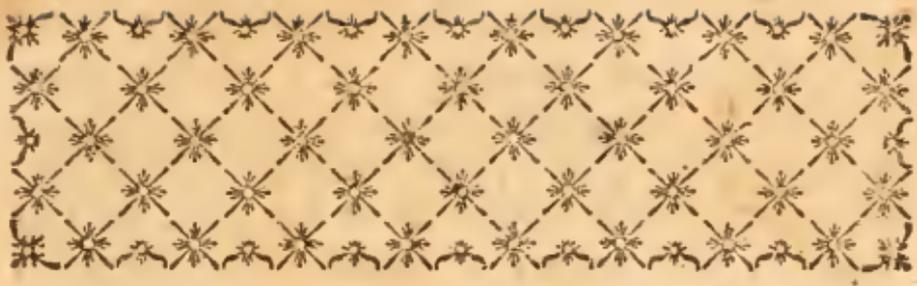


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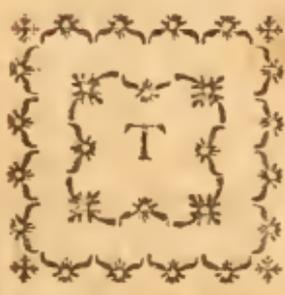
T H E

BRITISH PLUTARCH.



THE LIFE OF

JOHN DRYDEN.



HIS illustrious poet was son of Erasmus Dryden, of Ticker-
mish, in Northamptonshire ;
and born at Aidwincle, near
Oundle, in 1631*.. He had
his education in grammar-learn-
ing at Westminster-school, under the famous
Dr. Busby ; and was from thence elected, in
1650, a scholar of Trinity-college in Cam-
bridge.

* Athen. Oxon.

We have no account of any extraordinary indications of genius given by this great poet while in his earlier days; and he is one instance how little regard is to be paid to the figure a boy makes at school. Mr. Dryden was turned of thirty before he introduced any play upon the stage; and his first, called *The Wild Gallants*, met with a very indifferent reception; so that, if he had not been impelled, by the force of genius and propension, he had never again attempted the stage.—A circumstance which the lovers of dramatic poetry must ever have regretted, as they would, in this case, have been deprived of one of the greatest ornaments that ever adorned the profession.

The year before he left the university, he wrote a poem on the death of lord Hastings: “A performance,” say some of his critics, “very unworthy of himself, and of the astonishing genius he afterwards discovered.”

That Mr. Dryden had, at this time, no fixed principles, either in religion or politics, is abundantly evident from his heroic stanzas on Oliver Cromwell, written after his funeral in 1658; and immediately upon the restoration he published *Astræa Redux*, a poem on the happy restoration of Charles the Second; and the same year, his *Panegyric to the king on his coronation*. In the former of these pieces, a remarkable distich has exposed our poet to the ridicule of the wits.

An horrid stillness first invades the ear,
And in that silence we the tempest hear.

Which, it must be owned, is downright nonsense, and a contradiction in terms.— Amongst others, captain Radcliff has ridiculed this blunder in the following lines of his *News from Hell*.

Laureat, who was both learn'd and florid,
Was damn'd long since for silence horrid;
Nor had there been such clutter made,
But that his silence did invade.
Invade, and so it might, that's clear;
But what did it invade? An ear!

In 1662, he addressed a poem to the lord-chancellor Hyde, presented on New Year's Day; and, the same year, published a satire on the Dutch. His next piece was his *Annus Mirabilis*, or, *The Year of Wonders*, 1663; an historical poem, which celebrated the duke of York's victory over the Dutch. In the same year, Mr. Dryden succeeded Sir William Davenant as poet-laureat, and was also made historiographer to his majesty; and that year published his *Essay on Dramatic Poetry*, addressed to Charles earl of Dorset and Middlesex.

Mr. Dryden tells his patron, that the writing this essay served as an amusement to him in the country, when he was driven from town by

the violence of the plague, which then raged in London; and he diverted himself with thinking on the theatres, as lovers do by ruminating on their absent mistresses. He there justifies the method of writing plays in verse, but confesses that he had quitted the practice, because he found it troublesome and slow*.

In the preface we are informed, that the drift of this discourse was to vindicate the honour of the English writers from the censure of those who unjustly prefer the French to them. Langbaine has injuriously treated Mr. Dryden on account of his dramatic performances, and charges him as a licentious plagiarist. The truth is, our author, as a dramatist, is less eminent than in any other sphere of poetry; but, with all his faults, he is, even in that respect, the most eminent of his time.

The critics have remarked, that, as to tragedy, he seldom touches the passions, but deals rather in pompous language, poetical flights, and descriptions; and too frequently makes his characters speak better than they have occasion, or ought to do, when their sphere in the drama is considered. "And it is peculiar to Dryden," says Mr. Addison, "to make his personages, as wise, witty, elegant, and polite as himself."

That he could not so intimately affect the passions, is certain; for we find no play of his in which we are much disposed to weep;

* He might have added, 'twas unnatural,

and we are so enchanted with beautiful descriptions, and noble flights of fancy, that we forget the business of the play, and are only attentive to the poet, while the characters sleep. Mr. Gildon observes, in his laws of poetry, That, when it was recommended to Mr. Dryden to turn his thoughts to a translation of Euripides, rather than of Homer, he confessed that he had no relish for that poet, who was a great master of tragic simplicity. Mr. Gildon further observes, as a confirmation that Dryden's taste for tragedy was not of the genuine sort, that he constantly expressed great contempt for Otway, who is universally allowed to have succeeded very happily in affecting the tender passions. Yet Mr. Dryden, in his preface to the translation of M. Du Fresnoy, speaks more favourably of Otway; and, after mentioning these instances, Gildon ascribes this taste in Dryden to his having read many French romances.

The truth is, if a poet would affect the heart, he must not exceed nature too much, nor colour too high; distressful circumstances, short speeches, and pathetic observations, never fail to move infinitely beyond the highest rant, or long declamations, in tragedy. The simplicity of the drama was Otway's peculiar excellence. A living poet observes, that, from Otway to our own times,

From bard to bard, the frigid caution crept,
And declamation roar'd while passion slept.

Mr. Dryden seems to be sensible that he was not born to write comedy: "For," says he, "I want that gaiety of humour which is required in it; my conversation is slow and dull, my humour saturnine and reserved. In short, I am none of those who endeavour to break jests in company, and make repartees; so that those who decry my comedies do me no injury, except it be in point of profit & reputation in them is the last thing to which I shall pretend *."

This ingenuous confession of inability, one would imagine were sufficient to silence the clamour of the critics against Mr. Dryden in that particular; but, however true it may be, that Dryden did not succeed to any degree in comedy, I shall endeavour to support my assertion, that, in tragedy, with all his faults, he is still the most excellent of his time. The end of tragedy is to instruct the mind, as well as move the passions; and, where there are no shining sentiments, the mind may be affected, but not improved; and, however prevalent the passion of grief may be over the heart of man, it is certain that he may feel

* Defence, or the Essay on Dramatic Poetry.

distress in the acutest manner, and not be much the wiser for it.

The tragedies of Otway, Lee, and Southern, are irresistibly moving; but yet they convey not such grand sentiments, and their language is far from being so poetical, as Dryden's. Now, if one dramatic poet writes to move, and another to enchant and instruct, as instruction is of greater consequence than being agitated, it follows naturally, that the latter is the most excellent writer, and possesses the greatest genius.

But perhaps our poet would have wrote better in both kinds of the drama, had not the necessity of his circumstances obliged him to comply with the popular taste. He himself, in his dedication to the Spanish Fryar, insinuates as much.

“ I remember,” says he, “ some verses of my own Maximin and Almanzor, which cry vengeance upon me for their extravagance. All that I can say for those passages, which are, I hope, not many, is, that I knew they were bad when I wrote them. But I repent of them amongst my sins, and, if any of their fellows intrude by chance, into my present writings, I draw a veil over all these Dalilahs of the theatre; and am resolved, I will settle myself no reputation upon the applause of fools. 'Tis not that I am mortified to all ambition, but I scorn as much to take it from half-witted

judges, as I should to raise an estate by cheating of bubbles.

“Neither do I discommend the lofty stile in tragedy, which is naturally pompous and magnificent; but nothing is truly sublime that is not just and proper.”——He says, in another place, That his Spanish Fryar was given to the people, and that he never wrote any thing in the dramatic way, to please himself, but his *All for Love*.

In 1671, Mr. Dryden was publicly ridiculed on the stage, in the duke of Buckingham's comedy, called the *Rehearsal*, under the character of Bays. This character, we are informed, in the *Key to the Rehearsal*, was originally intended for Sir Robert Howard, under the name of Bilboa; but the representation being put a stop to, by the breaking out of the plague, in 1665, it was laid by for several years, and not exhibited on the stage till 1671; in which interval, Mr. Dryden being advanced to the laurel, the noble author changed the name of his poet from Bilboa to Bays; and made great alterations in his play, in order to ridicule several dramatic performances, that appeared since the first writing it.

Those of Mr. Dryden which fell under his grace's lash, were, the *Wild Gallant*, *Tyrannic Love*, the *Conquest of Granada*, *Marriage A-la-Mode*, and *Love in a Nunnery*.

Whatever

Whatever was extravagant, or too warmly expressed, or any way unnatural, the author has ridiculed by parody.

Mr. Dryden affected to despise the satire levelled at him in the *Rehearsal*, as appears from his dedication of the translation of Juvenal and Persius; where, speaking of the many lampoons and libels that had been written against him, he says,

“ I answered not to the *Rehearsal*, because I knew the author sat to himself when he drew the picture, and was the very Bays of his own farce; because I also knew my betters were more concerned than I was in that satire; and, lastly, because Mr. Smith and Mr. Johnson, the main pillars of it, were two such languishing gentlemen in their conversation, that I could liken them to nothing but their own relations, those noble characters of men of wit and pleasure about town.”

In 1679, came out an *Essay on Satire*, said to be written jointly by Mr. Dryden and the earl of Mulgrave. This piece, which was handed about in manuscript, containing reflections on the duchess of Portsmouth and the earl of Rochester; who suspecting, as Wood says, Mr. Dryden to be the author, hired three ruffians to cudgel him in Wills's coffee-house, at eight o'clock at night. This short anecdote, I think, cannot be told without indignation. It proved Rochester was a malicious

coward, and, like other cowards, cruel and insolent; his soul was incapable of any thing that approached towards generosity; and, when his resentment was heated, he pursued revenge, and retained the most lasting hatred: he had always entertained a prejudice against Dryden from no other motive than envy; Dryden's plays met with success, and this was enough to fire the resentment of Rochester, who was naturally envious.

In order to hurt the character, and shake the interest of this noble poet, he recommended Crown, an obscure man, to write a Masque for the court, which was Dryden's province, as poet-laureat, to perform. Crown in this succeeded; but, soon after, when his play, called the Conquest of Jerusalem, met with such extraordinary applause, Rochester, jealous of his new favourite, not only abandoned him, but commenced, from that moment, his enemy.

The other person against whom this satire was levelled, was not superior in virtue to the former; and, all the nation over, two better subjects for satire could not have been found, than lord Rochester and the duchess of Portsmouth. As for Rochester, he had not genius enough to enter the lists with Dryden, so he fell upon another method of revenge, and meanly hired bravoës to assault him.

In 1680, came out a translation of Ovid's Epistles in English verse, by several hands; two of which were translated by Mr. Dryden, who

who also wrote the preface. In the year following, our author published *Abfalom and Achitophel*. It was first printed without his name, and is a severe satire against the contrivers and abettors of the opposition against king Charles II.

In the same year that *Abfalom and Achitophel* was published, the *Medal*, a satire, was likewise given to the public. This piece is aimed against sedition, and was occasioned by the striking of a medal on account of the indictment against the earl of Shaftsbury for high-treason, being found *ignoramus* by the grand-jury, at the Old-Bailey: for which the whig party made great rejoicings by ringing of bells, bonfires, &c. in all parts of London. The poem is introduced in a very satirical epistle to the whigs, in which the author says,

“ I have one favour to desire of you at parting, that, when you think of answering this poem, you would employ the same pens against it, who have combated with so much success against *Abfalom and Achitophel*; for then you may assure yourselves of a clear victory without the least reply. Rail at me abundantly, and not break a custom to do it with wit. By this method you will gain a considerable point; which is, wholly to wave the answer of my arguments. If God has not blessed you with the talent of rhiming, make use of my poor stock and welcome; let your verses run upon my feet; and, for the utmost

refuge of notorious blockheads, reduced to the last extremity of sense, turn my own lines against me; and, in utter despair of my own satire, make me satirize myself."

The whole poem is a severe invective against the earl of Shaftsbury, who was uncle to that earl who wrote the *Characteristicks*. Mr. Elkanah Settle wrote an answer to this poem, entitled the *Medal Reversed*. However contemptible Settle was as a poet, yet such was the prevalence of parties at that time, that, for some years, he was Dryden's rival on the stage.

In 1682, came out his *Religio Laici*, or a *Layman's Faith*. This piece is intended as a defence of revealed religion, and the excellency and authority of the scriptures, as the only rule of faith and manners, against Deists, Papists, and Presbyterians. He acquaints us, in the preface, that it was written for an ingenious young gentleman, his friend, upon his translation of Father Simons's *Critical History of the Old Testament*, and that the style of it was epistolary.

In 1684, he published a translation of M. Maimbourg's *History of the League*, in which he was employed by the command of king Charles II. on account of the plain parallel between the troubles of France and those of Great Britain. Upon the death of Charles II. he wrote his *Threnodia Augustalis*, a poem, sacred to the happy memory of that prince. Soon after the accession of James II. our au-

thor turned Roman Catholic, and, by this extraordinary step, drew upon himself abundance of ridicule from wits of the opposite faction; and, in 1689, he wrote a Defence of the Papers, written by the late king, of blessed memory, found in his strong box.

Mr. Dryden, in the above-mentioned piece, takes occasion to vindicate the authority of the catholic church, in decreeing matters of faith, upon this principle, that the church is more visible than the scriptures, because the scriptures are seen by the church, and to abuse the reformation in England; which he affirms was erected on the foundation of lust, sacrilege, and usurpation. Dr. Stillingfleet hereupon answered Mr. Dryden, and treated him with some severity.

Another author affirms, That Mr. Dryden's tract is very light, in some places ridiculous; and observes, that his talent lay towards controversy no more in prose, than, by the Hind and Panther it appeared to do in verse. This poem of the Hind and Panther is a direct defence of the Romish church, in a dialogue between a Hind, which represents the church of Rome; and a Panther, which supports the character of the church of England. The first part of this poem consists most in general characters and narration; "which," says he, "I have endeavoured to raise, and give it the majestic turn of heroic poetry. The second being matter of dispute, and chiefly concern-

ing

ing church authority, I was obliged to make as plain and perspicuous as possibly I could, yet not wholly neglecting the numbers, though I had not frequent occasion for the magnificence of verse. The third, which has more of the nature of domestic conversation, is, or ought to be, more free and familiar than the two former. There are in it two episodes, or fables, which are interwoven with the main design; so that they are properly parts of it, though they are also distinct stories of themselves. In both of these I have made use of the common places of satire, whether true or false, which are urged by the members of one church against the other."

Mr. Dryden speaks of his own conversion in the following terms:

But, gracious God, how well dost thou provide,

For erring judgments an unerring guide;
Thy throne is darkness, in th' abyss of light;
A blaze of glory that forbids the sight.

Oh! teach me to believe thee thus concealed,
And search no further than thyself revealed;

But her alone for my director take
Whom thou hast promis'd never to forsake!
My thoughtless youth was wing'd with vain
desires;

My manhood, long misled by wand'ring
fires,

Follow'd.

Follow'd false lights; and when their glimpse
 was gone,
 My pride struck out new sparkles of her own.
 Such was I, such by nature still I am,
 Be thine the glory, and be mine the shame;
 Good life be now my task, my doubts are
 done*.

This poem was attacked by Mr. Charles Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax, and Mr. Matthew Prior, who joined in writing the *Hind and Panther*, transferred to the *Country Mouse*, and *City Mouse*, Lond. 1678, 4to. In the preface to which, the author observes, That Mr. Dryden's poem naturally falls into ridicule; and, that, in this burlesque, nothing is represented monstrous and unnatural, that is not equally so in the original. They afterwards remark, That they have this comfort under the severity of Mr. Dryden's satire, to see his abilities equally lessened with his opinion of them; and that he could not be a fit champion against the Panther till he had laid aside his judgment.

Mr. Dryden is supposed to have been engaged in translating M. Varillas's *History of Heresies*, but to have dropped that design. This we learn from a passage in Burnet's reflections on the ninth book of the first volume of M. Varillas's *History*, being a reply to his answer.

* Original Poems.

I shall here give the picture the doctor has drawn of this noble poet; which is, like a great many of the doctor's other characters, rather exhibited to please himself, than according to the true resemblance. The doctor says,

“ I have been informed from England, that a gentleman, who is famous both for poetry and several other things, has spent three months in translating M. Varillas's History; but, as soon as my reflections appeared, he discontinued his labours, finding the credit of his author being gone. Now, if he thinks it is recovered by his answer, he will, perhaps, go on with his translation; but this may be, for ought I know, as good an entertainment for him, as the conversation he has set on foot between the Hinds and Panthers, and all the rest of the animals, for whom M. Varillas may serve well enough as an author; and this history, and that poem, are such extraordinary things of their kind, that it will be but suitable to see the author of the worst poem become the translator of the worst history that the age has produced. If his grace and his wit improve so proportionably, we shall hardly find, that he has gained much by the change he has made, from having no religion, to chuse one of the worst. It is true he had somewhat to sink from in matter of wit; but, as for his morals, it is scarce possible for him to grow a worse man than he was. He has lately

lately wreaked his malice on me for spoiling his three months labour; but in it he has done me all the honour a man can receive from him; which is, to be railed at by him. If I had ill-nature enough to prompt me to wish a very bad wish for him, it should be, that he would go and finish his translation. By that it will appear whether the English nation, which is the most competent judge of this matter, has, upon seeing this debate, pronounced in M. Varillas's favour or me. It is true, Mr. Dryden will suffer a little by it; but, at least, it will serve to keep him in from other extravagancies; and, if he gains little honour by this work, yet he cannot lose so much by it as he has done by his last employment."

When the revolution was compleated. Mr. Dryden having turned papist, became disqualified for holding his place, and was accordingly dispossessed of it; and it was conferred on a man to whom he had a confirmed aversion. In consequence whereof he wrote a satire against him, called Mac Flecknoe; which is one of the severest and best written satires in our language.

Mr. Richard Flecknoe, the new laureat, with whose name it is inscribed, was a very indifferent poet of those times; or, rather, as Mr. Dryden expresses it,

In prose and verse was own'd, without dispute,
Thro' all the realms of nonsense, absolute.

This poem furnished the hint to Mr. Pope to write his *Dunciad*; and it must be owned the latter has been more happy in the execution of his design, as having more leisure for the performance; but, in Dryden's *MacFlecknoe* there are some lines so extremely pungent, that I am not quite certain if Pope has any where exceeded them.

In the year wherein he was deprived of the laurel, he published the life of St. Francis Xavier, translated from the French of father Dominic Bouchorus. In 1693, came out a translation of Juvenal and Persius; in which the first, third, sixth, tenth, and sixteenth, satires of Juvenal, and Persius entire, were done by Mr. Dryden, who prefixed a long and ingenious discourse, by way of dedication, to the earl of Dorset. In this address, our author takes occasion a while to drop his reflexions on Juvenal, and to lay before his lordship a plan for an epic poem. He observes that his genius never much inclined him to the stage; and that he wrote for it rather from necessity than inclination. He complains, that his circumstances are such as not to suffer him to pursue the bent of his own genius, and then lays down the plan on which an epic poem might be written: "to which," says he, "I am more inclined."

Whether the plan proposed is faulty or no, we are not, at present, to consider; one thing is certain, a man of Mr. Dryden's genius
would.

would have covered, by the rapidity of the action, the art of the design and the beauty of the poetry, whatever might have been defective in the plan; and produced a work which would have been the boast of the nation.

We cannot help regretting on this occasion, that Dryden's fortune was not easy enough to enable him, with convenience and leisure, to pursue a work that might have proved an honour to himself, and reflected a portion thereof on all who should have appeared his encouragers on this occasion.

In 1695, Mr. Dryden published a translation in prose of Du Fresnoy's Art of Painting, with a preface containing a parallel between painting and poetry. Mr. Pope has addressed a copy of verses to Mr. Jervas in praise of Dryden's translation.

In 1697, his translation of Virgil's works came out. This translation has passed through many editions; and, of all the attempts which have been made to render Virgil into English, the critics, I think, have allowed that Dryden best succeeded*; notwithstanding, as he himself says, when he began it, he was past the grand climacteric!—So little influence, it seems, age had over him, that he retained his judgment and fire in full force to

* This was written before Mr. Doddsley's edition of Virgil in English appeared.

the last. Mr. Pope, in his preface to Homer, says, If Dryden had lived to finish what he began of Homer, he (Mr. Pope) would not have attempted it after him, "No more," says he, "than I would his Virgil; his version of whom, notwithstanding some human errors, is the most noble and spirited translation I know in any language."

Dr. Trap charges Mr. Dryden with grossly mistaking his author's sense in many places; with adding or retrenching, as his turn is best served with either; and with being least a translator where he shines most as a poet; whereas it is a just rule, laid down by lord Roscommon, that a translator, in regard to his author, should

Fall as he falls, and as he rises rise.

Mr. Dryden, he tells us, frequently acts the very reverse of this precept, of which he produces some instances; and remarks, in general, that the first six books of the *Æneis*, which are the best and most perfect in the original, are the least so in the translation. Dr. Trap's remarks may possibly be true; but, in this, he is an instance, how easy it is to discover faults in other men's works, and how difficult to avoid them in our own.

Dr. Trap's translation is close, and conveys the author's meaning literally; so, consequently, may be fitter for a school-boy; but

but men of riper judgment, and superior taste, will hardly approve it: if Dryden's is the most spirited of any translation, Trap's is the dullest that ever was written; which proves, that none but a good poet is fit to translate the works of a good poet.

Besides the original pieces and translations hitherto mentioned, Mr. Dryden wrote many others, published in six volumes of Miscellanies, and in other collections. They consist of translations from the Greek and Latin poets; epistles to several persons; prologues and epilogues to several plays; elegies, epitaphs, and songs. His last work was his Fables, Ancient and Modern, translated into verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, and Chaucer. To this work, which is, perhaps, one of his most imperfect, is prefixed, by way of preface, a critical account of the authors from whom the fables are translated.

Among the original pieces, the Ode to St. Cecilia's day is justly esteemed one of the most elevated in any language. It is impossible for a poet to read this without being filled with that sort of enthusiasm which is peculiar to the inspired tribe, and which Dryden largely felt when he composed it. The turn of the verse is noble; the transitions surprising; the language and sentiments just, natural, and heightened. We cannot be too lavish in praise of this ode; had Dryden never wrote any thing besides, his name had been immortal. Mr.
Pope

Pope has the following beautiful lines in its praise*.

Hear how Timotheus' varied lays surprize,
 And bid alternate passions fall and rise!
 While, at each change, the son of Lybian
 Jove
 Now burns with glory, and then melts with
 love:
 Now his fierce eyes with sparkling fury glow;
 Now sighs steal out, and tears begin to flow;
 Persians and Greeks like turns of nature found,
 And the world's victor stood subdued by sound:
 The power of music all our hearts allow;
 And what Timotheus was, is Dryden now.

As to our author's performances in prose, besides his dedications and prefaces, and controversial writings, they consist of the Lives of Plutarch and Lucian, prefixed to the translation of those authors, by several hands; the Life of Polybius, before the translation of that historian by Sir Henry Sheers; and the preface to the Dialogue concerning Women, by William Walsh, esquire.

Before we give an account of the dramatic works of Dryden, it will be proper here to insert a story concerning him, from the life of Congreve, by Charles Wilson, esquire, which that gentleman received from the lady whom

* Essay on Criticism.

Mr. Dryden celebrates by the name of Corinna; of whom it appears he was very fond, and who had the relation from lady Chudleigh.

Dryden, with all his understanding, was weak enough to be fond of judicial astrology, and used to calculate the nativity of his children. When his lady was in labour with his son Charles, he being told it was decent to withdraw, laid his watch on the table, begging one of the ladies then present, in a most solemn manner, to take exact notice of the very minute the child was born; which she did, and acquainted him with it.

About a week after, when his lady was pretty well recovered, Mr. Dryden took occasion to tell her, that he had been calculating the child's nativity; and observed, with grief, that he was born in an evil hour, for Jupiter, Venus, and the Sun, were all under the earth, and the lord of his ascendant afflicted with a hateful square of Mars and Saturn. "If he lives to arrive at his eighth year," says he, "he will go near to die a violent death on his very birth day; but, if he should escape, as I see but small hopes, he will, in the twenty-third year, be under the same evil direction; and, if he should escape that also, the thirty-third or thirty-fourth year, is, I fear,"—Here he was interrupted by the immoderate grief of his lady, who could no longer hear calamity prophecied to befall her son.

The

The time at last came, and August was the inauspicious month in which young Dryden was to enter into the eighth year of his age. The court being in progress, and Mr. Dryden at leisure, he was invited to the country-seat of the earl of Berkshire, his brother-in-law, to keep the long vacation with him in Charlton, in Wilts; his lady was invited to her uncle Mordaunt's, to pass the remainder of the summer. When they came to divide the children, lady Elizabeth would have him take John, and suffer her to take Charles; but Mr. Dryden was too absolute, and they parted in anger: he took Charles with him, and she was obliged to be content with John.

When the fatal day came, the anxiety of the lady's spirits occasioned such an effervescence of blood, as threw her into so violent a fever that her life was despaired of, till a letter came from Mr. Dryden, reproving her for her womanish credulity, and assuring her that her child was well; which recovered her spirits, and, in six weeks after, she received an eclairecissement of the whole affair.

Mr. Dryden, either through fear of being reckoned superstitious, or thinking it a science beneath his study, was extremely cautious of letting any one know that he was a dealer in astrology; therefore could not excuse his absence, on his son's anniversary, from a general hunting-match lord Berkshire had made, to which all the adjacent gentlemen were invited. When he went out, he took
care

care to set the boy a double exercise in the Latin tongue, which he taught his children himself, with a strict charge not to stir out of the room till his return; well knowing the task he had set him would take him up longer time.

Charles was performing his duty, in obedience to his father; but, as ill fate would have it, the stag made towards the house, and the noise, alarming the servants, they hastened out to see the sport. One of them took young Dryden by the hand, and led him out to see it also; when, just as they came to the gate, the stag being at bay with the dogs, made a bold push and leaped over the court wall, which was very low and very old; and the dogs following, threw down a part of the wall, ten yards in length, under which Charles Dryden lay buried. He was immediately dug out, and, after six weeks languishing in a dangerous way, he recovered.—So far Dryden's prediction was fulfilled.

In the twenty-third year of his age, Charles fell from the top of an old tower belonging to the Vatican at Rome, occasioned by a swimming in his head, with which he was seized, the heat of the day being excessive. He again recovered, but was ever after in a languishing, sickly state.

In the thirty-third year of his age, being returned to England, he was unhappily drowned at Windsor. He had, with another gentleman, swam twice over the Thames; but returning a third time, it was supposed he was

taken with the cramp, because he called out for help, though too late.—Thus the father's calculation proved but too prophetic.

Mr. Dryden died on the first of May, 1701, and was interred in Westminster-abbey. On the nineteenth of April he had been very bad with the gout and erisipelas in one leg; but he was then somewhat recovered, and designed to go abroad. On the Friday following he eat a partridge for his supper; and going to take a turn in the little garden behind his house in Gerard-street, he was seized with a violent pain under the ball of the great toe of his right foot; that, unable to stand, he cried out for help, and was carried in by his servants; when, upon sending for surgeons, they found a small black spot in the place affected. He submitted to their present applications; and, when gone, called his son Charles to him, using these words: “I know this black spot is a mortification; I know also, that it will seize my head, and that they will attempt to cut off my leg; but I command you, my son, by your filial duty, that you do not suffer me to be dismembered.” As he foretold, the event proved; and his son was too dutiful to disobey his father's commands.

On the Wednesday morning following, he breathed his last, under the most excruciating pains, in the sixty ninth year of his age; and left behind him the lady Elizabeth, his wife, and three sons. Lady Elizabeth survived him eight years, four of which she was a lunatic, being

being deprived of her senses by a nervous fever in 1704.

John, another of his sons, died of a fever at Rome; and Charles, as has been observed, was drowned in the Thames. There is no account when, or at what place, Harry, his third son, died.

Charles Dryden, who was some time usher to pope Clement II. was a young gentleman of a very promising genius; and, in the affair of his father's funeral, which I am about to relate, shewed himself a man of spirit and resolution*.

The day after Mr. Dryden's death, the dean of Westminster sent word to Mr. Dryden's widow, that he would make a present of the ground, and all other abbey fees for the funeral. The lord Halifax likewise sent to the lady Elizabeth, and to Mr. Charles Dryden, offering to defray the expences of the poet's funeral, and afterwards to bestow five hundred pounds on a monument in the abbey: which generous offer was accepted.

Accordingly, on Sunday following, the company being assembled, the corpse was put into a velvet hearse, attended by eighteen mourning coaches. When they were just ready to move, lord Jefferys, son of lord-chancellor Jefferys, a name dedicated to infamy, with some of his rakish companions

* Life of Congreve,

riding by, asked whose funeral it was; and being told it was Mr. Dryden's, he protested he should not be buried in that private manner; that he would himself, with the lady Elizabeth's leave, have the honour of the interment, and would bestow a thousand pounds on a monument in the abbey for him.

This put a stop to the procession; and the lord Jefferys, with several of the gentlemen, who had alighted from their coaches, went up stairs to the lady, who was sick in bed. His lordship repeated the purport of what he had said below; but the lady Elizabeth refusing her consent, he fell on his knees, vowing never to rise till his request was granted. The lady, under a sudden surprize, fainted away; and lord Jefferys, pretending to have obtained her consent, ordered the body to be carried to Mr. Ruffel's, an undertaker in Cheapside, and to be left there till further orders. In the mean time, the abbey was lighted up, the ground opened, the choir attending, and bishop waiting some hours to no purpose for the corpse.

The next day, Mr. Charles Dryden waited on my lord Halifax and the bishop, and endeavoured to excuse his mother by relating the truth.

Three days after, the undertaker having received no orders, waited on the lord Jefferys, who pretended it was a drunken frolic, that he remembered nothing of the matter, and he
might

might do what he pleased with the body. Upon this, the undertaker waited on the lady Elizabeth, who desired a day's respite, which was granted. Mr. Charles Dryden immediately wrote to the lord Jefferys, who returned for answer, that he knew nothing of the matter, and would be troubled no more about it. Mr. Dryden hereupon applied again to the lord Halifax, and the bishop of Rochester, who absolutely refused to do any thing in the affair.

In this distress, Dr. Garth, who had been Mr. Dryden's intimate friend, sent for the corpse to the college of physicians, and proposed a subscription; which succeeding, about three weeks after Mr. Dryden's decease, Dr. Garth pronounced a fine Latin oration over the body, which was conveyed from the college, attended by a numerous train of coaches to Westminster-abbey, but in very great disorder. At last the corpse arrived at the abbey, which was all unlighted. No organ played, no anthem sung; only two of the boys preceded the corpse, who sung an ode of Horace, with each a small candle in his hand.

When the funeral was over, Mr. Charles Dryden sent a challenge to lord Jefferys, who refusing to answer it, he sent several others, and went often himself; but could neither get a letter delivered, nor admittance to speak to him; which so incensed him, that, finding his lordship refused to answer him like a gentleman,

tleman, he resolved to watch an opportunity, and brave him to fight, though with all the rules of honour; which his lordship hearing, quitted the town, and Mr. Charles never had an opportunity to meet him, though he sought it to his death with the utmost application.

Mr. Dryden had no monument erected to him for several years; to which Mr. Pope alludes in his epitaph intended for Mr. Rowe, in this line,

Beneath a rude and nameless stone he lies.

In a note upon which we are informed, that the tomb of Mr. Dryden was erected upon this hint, by Sheffield, duke of Buckingham; to which was originally intended this epitaph,

This Sheffield raised.—The sacred dust below
Was Dryden's once.—The rest who does not know.

Which was since changed into the plain inscription now upon it: viz.

J. D R Y D E N.

Natus Aug. 9, 1631:

Mortus Maii 1, 1701.

Johannes Sheffield, dux Buckinghamiensis fecit.

The

The character of Mr. Dryden has been drawn by various hands; some have done it in a favourable, others in an opposite manner. The bishop of Sarum, in the history of his own times, says, that the stage was deluded beyond all example; "Dryden, the great master of dramatic poetry, being a monster of immodesty and impurities of all sorts." † The late lord Lansdown took upon himself to vindicate Mr. Dryden's character from this severe imputation; which was again answered, and apologies made for it, by Mr. Burnet, the bishop's son. But, not to dwell on these controversies about his character, let us hear what Mr. Congreve says, in the dedication of Dryden's works to the duke of Newcastle. Congreve knew him intimately; and, as he could have no motive to deceive the world in that particular; and being a man of untainted morals, none can suspect his authority; and, by his account, we shall see, that Dryden was, indeed, as amiable in private life, as a man; as he was illustrious, in the eye of the public, as a poet.

"Mr. Dryden," says Congreve, "had personal qualities to challenge love and esteem."

† In Millar's edition of the bishop's works, we have the following note upon this passage. "This," says the editor, "must be understood of his performances for the stage; for, as to his personal character, there was nothing remarkably vicious in it: but his plays are, some of them, the fullest of obscenity of any now extant."

from all who were truly acquainted with him. He was of a nature exceeding humane and compassionate, easily forgiving injuries, and capable of a prompt and sincere reconciliation with those who had offended him. His friendship, where he professed it, went much beyond his professions. As his reading had been very extensive, so was he very happy in a memory tenacious of every thing he had read. He was not more possessed of knowledge than he was communicative of it; but then his communication of it was by no means pedantic, or imposed upon the conversation, but just such, and went so far, as, by the natural turns of the discourse in which he was engaged, it was necessarily prompted or required. He was extremely ready and gentle in the correction of the errors of any writer who thought fit to consult him, and full as ready and patient to admit of the reprehensions of others in respect of his own oversight or mistakes. He was of a very easy, I may say of a very pleasing, access; but something slow, and, as it were diffident, in his advances to others. He had something in his nature that abhorred intrusion in any society whatsoever; and, indeed, it is to be regretted that he was rather blameable on the other extreme. He was, of all men I ever knew, the most modest, and the most easy to be discountenanced in his approaches, either to his superiors or to his equals.

“ As to his writings, I may venture to say, in general terms, that no man hath written, in our language, so much, and so various matter; and, in so various manners, so well. Another thing, I may say, was very peculiar to him; which is, that his parts did not decline with his years; but that he was an improving writer to the last, even to near seventy years of age; improving even in fire and imagination as well as in judgment; witness his Ode on St. Cecilia’s Day; and his Fables; his latest performances. He was equally excellent in verse and prose: his prose had all the clearness imaginable, without deviating to the language or diction of poetry; and I have heard him frequently own with pleasure, that, if he had any talent for writing prose, it was owing to his frequently having read the writings of the great archbishop Tillotson. In his poems, his diction is, wherever his subject requires it, so sublime, and so truly poetical, that its essence, like that of pure gold, cannot be destroyed. Take his verses, and divest them of their rhimes, disjoint them of their numbers, transpose their expressions, make what arrangement or disposition you please in his words; yet shall there eternally be poetry, and something which will be found incapable of being reduced to absolute prose. What he has done in any one species, or distinct kind of writing, would have been sufficient to have acquired him a very great name. If he had written nothing but his prefaces, or nothing

but his songs, or his prologues, each of them would have entitled him to the preference and distinction of excelling in its kind."

Besides Mr. Dryden's numerous other performances, we find him the author of twenty-seven dramatic pieces, of which the following is an account.

1. *The Wild Gallant*, a comedy, acted at the theatre royal, and printed in 4to, Lond. 1699.

2. *The Indian Emperor; or the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards*; acted with great applause, and written in verse.

3. *An Evening's Love, or the Mock-Astrologer*: a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1671.—It is, for the most part, taken from Corneille's *Feint Astrologue*, Moliere's *Depit Amoureux*, and *Precieux Ridicules*.

4. *Marriage A-la-mode*, a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to, 1673, dedicated to the earl of Rochester.

5. *Amboyna*, a tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1673. It is dedicated to the lord Clifford, of Chudleigh. The plot of this play is chiefly founded in history, giving an account of the cruelty of the Dutch towards our countrymen at Amboyna, A. D. 1618.

6. *The Mistaken Husband*, a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1675.

Mr.

Mr. Langbaine tells us, Mr. Dryden was not the author of this play, though it was adopted by him as an orphan, which might well deserve the charity of a scene he bestowed on it. It is in the nature of low comedy, or farce, and written on the model of Plautus's *Menæchmi*.

7. *Aurence-zebe, or the Great Mogul*, a tragedy, dedicated to the earl of Mulgrave, and acted in 1676. The story is related at large in Taverner's *Voyages to the Indies*, vol. i. part 2. This play is written in heroic verse.

8. *The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island*; a comedy, acted at the duke of York's theatre, and printed in 4to. 1676. This is only an alteration of Shakespear's *Tempest*, by Sir William Davenant and Dryden. The new characters in it were chiefly the invention and writing of Sir William, as acknowledged by Mr. Dryden in his preface.

9. *Feigned Innocence, or Sir Martin Mar-all*, a comedy, acted at the duke of York's theatre, and printed in 4to. 1678. The foundation of this is originally French, the greatest part of the plot, and some of the language, being taken from Moliere's *Eteurdi*.

10. *The Affignation, or Love in a Nunnery*, a comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1678, addressed to Sir Charles Sedley. This play, Mr. Langbaine tells us, was damned on the stage; or, as the author expresses it in the epistle dedicatory,

succeeded ill in the representation ; but, whether the fault was in the play itself, or in the lameness of the action, or in the numbers of its enemies, who came resolved to damn it for the title, he will not pretend any more than the author to determine.

11. *The State of Innocence, or the Fall of Man*, an opera, written in heroic verse, and printed in 4to. 1678. It is dedicated to her royal highness the duchess of York, on whom the author passes the following extravagant compliment.

“ Your person is so admirable, that it can scarce receive any addition when it shall be glorified ; and your soul, which shines through it, finds it of a substance so near her own, that she will be pleased to pass an age within it, and to be confined to such a palace.”

To this piece is prefixed an apology for heroic poetry and poetic licence. The subject is taken from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, of which, it must be acknowledged, it is a poor imitation.

12. *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*, in two parts, two tragi-comediés, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 1678. — These two plays are dedicated to the duke of York, and were received on the stage with great applause. The story is to be found in Mariana's *History of Spain*, B. xxv. chap. 18.

These plays are written in rhyme. To the first is prefixed an *Essay on Heroic Plays*, and

to the second an Essay on the Dramatic Poetry of the Last Age.

13. All for Love, or the World Well Lost, a tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1678. It is dedicated to the the earl of Danby.

This is the only play of Mr. Dryden's which, he says, ever pleased himself; and he tells us, that he prefers the scene between Anthony and Ventidius, in the first act, to any thing he had written of this kind. It is full of fine sentiments, and the most poetical and beautiful descriptions of any of his plays: the description of Cleopatra in her barge exceeds any thing in poetry, except Shakespear's and his own St. Cecilia.

14. Tyrannic Love, or the Royal Martyr, a tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal in 1679. It is written in rhyme, and dedicated to the duke of Monmouth.

15. Troilus and Cressida, or Truth found too late, a tragedy, acted at the duke's theatre, and printed in 4to. 1679. It is dedicated to the earl of Sunderland, and has a preface prefixed concerning grounds of criticism in tragedy.—This play was originally Shakespear's, and revised and altered by Dryden, who added several new scenes. The plot is taken from Chaucer's Troilus and Cressida, which that poet translated from the original story, written in Latin verse by Lollius, a Lombard.

16. Secret

16. *Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen*, a tragi-comedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. in 1697. The serious part of the plot is founded on the history of Cleobuline, queen of Corinth.

17. *The Rival Ladies*, a tragi-comedy, acted at the theatre-royal in 1679. It is dedicated to the earl of Orrery. The dedication is in the nature of a preface, in defence of English verse or rhyme.

18. *The Kind Keeper, or Mr. Limberham*, a comedy, acted at the duke's theatre, printed in 4to. in 1680. It is dedicated to John lord Vaughan.—Mr. Langbaine says, "It so much exposed the keepers about town, that all the old lechers were up in arms against it, and damned it the third night.

19. *The Spanish Fryar, or the Double Discovery*, a tragi-comedy, acted at the duke's theatre, and printed in 1681. It is dedicated to John lord Haughton.—This is one of Mr. Dryden's best plays, and still keeps possession of the stage. It is said that he was afterwards so much concerned for having ridiculed the character of the Fryar, that it impaired his health. What effect bigotry, or the influence of priests, might have on him, on this occasion, we leave others to determine.

20. *Duke of Guise*, a tragedy, acted in 1688. It was written by Dryden and Lee, and dedicated to Hyde, earl of Rochester.—This play gave great offence to the Whigs,
and

and engaged several writers for and against it.

21. Albion and Albanus, an opera, performed at the queen's theatre in Dorset gardens, and printed in folio, 1685. The subject of it is wholly allegorical, and intended to expose my lord Shaftsbury and his party.

22. Don Sebastian king of Portugal, a tragedy, acted in 1690, dedicated to the earl of Leicester.

23. King Arthur, or the British Worthy, a tragedy, acted in 1691, dedicated to the marquis of Halifax.

24. Amphytrion, or the Two Socias, a comedy, acted in 1691, dedicated to Sir Leveson Gower, taken from Plautus and Moliere.

25. Cleomenes, the Spartan Hero, a tragedy, acted at the theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. in 1692, dedicated to the earl of Rochester. There is prefixed to it the Life of Cleomenes, translated from Plutarch by Mr. Creech.—This play was prohibited by the lord chamberlain; but, upon examination, being found innocent of any design to satirize the government, it was suffered to be represented, and had great success. In the preface, the author tells us, that a foolish objection had been raised against him by the sparks for Cleomenes not accepting the favours of Cassandra. “They,” says he, “would not have refused a fair lady. I grant they would not: but let them grant me, that they are no heroes.”

26. Love

26. Love Triumphant, or Nature will prevail, a tragi comedy, acted in 1694. It is dedicated to the earl of Shaftsbury, and is the last Mr. Dryden wrote, or intended, for the theatre. It met but with indifferent success, though, in many parts, the genius of that great man breaks out, especially in the discovery of Alphonso's successful love, and in the catastrophe, which is extremely affecting.



THE LIFE OF

WILLIAM TEMPLE.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, baronet, was descended from a younger branch of the family of the Temples, at Temple-hall, in Leicestershire. He was grandson of Sir William Temple, secretary to the unfortunate Robert earl of Essex, and afterwards provost of Dublin college; and son of Sir John Temple, master of the rolls in Ireland, by Mary, sister of the learned Dr. Henry Hammond; being born at London in the year of our Lord 1628.

From his youth he discovered a curious and penetrating genius, and a remarkable thirst after knowledge; which his father happily took care to cultivate by a genteel and liberal education. At eight years old he was sent to school at Penshurst, in Kent, under the care of his uncle Dr. Hammond, then minister of the parish. From thence, at ten, he went to Mr. Leigh, school-master of Bishop-Stortford; and, at seventeen, he was placed at Emanuel college, in Cambridge, under Dr. Ralph Cudworth, author of the Intellectual System.

In this university he distinguished himself by the improvements he had acquired in every
part

part of human learning; and, besides the academic tongues, he made himself perfect master of the two most useful modern languages, the French and the Spanish. So that, when he removed from thence, he had, by his parts and his industry, rendered himself capable of any public employment.

At nineteen, he began his travels into France; and, passing through the Isle of Wight, where king Charles I. was then prisoner in Carisbrook-castle, he met there with Mrs. Dorothy Osborn, daughter of Sir Peter Osborn, then governor of Guernsey for the king, who was going with her brother to their father at St. Malo's.

He made that journey with them; and there began an amour with that young lady, which lasted seven years, and then ended in a happy marriage. He passed two years in France, learned a perfect acquaintance with their manners, and soon after made a tour into Holland, Flanders, and Germany; in which he further polished and improved his natural abilities.

After his return in 1654, he married Mrs. Osborn; and, during the usurpation, passed his time privately with his father, his two brothers, and a sister, in Ireland. The five years he lived there, were spent chiefly in his closet in improving himself in history and philosophy; and he refused all solicitations of entering into any public employment till the restoration, when he was chosen member of the convention in Ireland, as he was likewise
of

of the subsequent parliament for the county of Carlow; and, in 1662, was appointed one of the commissioners to be sent from the parliament to the king, into whose favour he was introduced by the lord-chancellor Clarendon and the earl of Arlington.

From this time, during the twenty succeeding years, (that is to say, from the thirty-second to the fifty-second year of his age) he continued to act as a counsellor of state, with particular honour and success; which period he took to be the part of a man's life most fit to be dedicated to the services of his prince and country; the rest being, as he observed, too much taken up with his pleasures or his ease.

To give a particular account of his negotiations at home and abroad, would be, to lay open a great part of the history of that reign; yet some account ought to be given of his management in several treaties, which have helped to immortalize his name; some, as a temporary advantage; others, as a lasting blessing to these kingdoms.

In 1665, he was sent by his majesty to the bishop of Munster, in order to conclude a treaty, by which that bishop obliged himself, upon receiving a certain sum of money, to enter immediately with the king into the war with Holland; and, soon after, he received a commission to be resident at Bruffels, with a patent for the dignity of a baronet. But, as this affair is set in the clearest light by his own

inimitable

inimitable pen, we shall here present the reader with a letter written by Sir William Temple to his father, Sir John, then in Ireland, dated at Brussels, on the sixth of September, 1665.

S I R,

THOUGH I was forced, by the king's command, not only to leave you and my family at very short warning, and in a very melancholy season, but without so much as telling you whither I was sent, yet I would not fail making you this amends, by giving you an account of my journey and negotiations thus far, so soon as I thought it might be fit for me to do it.

When my lord Arlington sent for me to Sheen, it was to let me know, that the king had received an overture from the bishop of Munster, to enter into an alliance with his majesty against the Dutch, from whom he pretended many injuries; to bring an army into the field, and fall upon them by land, while his majesty continued the war by sea: but, at the same time, to demand certain sums of money, that would be necessary to bring him into the field, and to continue the war: and, that, if his majesty would either treat with the baron of Wreden, (who was the minister he sent over in the greatest privacy that could be) or send a minister of his own to treat with him; he doubted not an easy agreement upon
this

this matter, but desired it might be with all the secrecy imaginable.

My lord Arlington told me, the main articles were already agreed on here, and the money adjusted; but, that it was necessary for the king to send over some person privately to finish the treaty at Munster, and to see the payments made at Antwerp, where the bishop seemed to desire them. That I must go, if I undertook it, without train or character, and pass for a Frenchman or a Spaniard in my journey; and made me the compliment to say, he had been perplexed, three or four days together, to think of a person that was not only capable of the affair and of the secret, but that was to be trusted with such a sum of money; but, that when he had thought of me, and proposed me to the king and to my lord chancellor, they had both approved it, and I must suddenly resolve upon my answer to the proposal he made me: but, whether I accepted it or no, I must keep it secret from my nearest friends.

I told him upon the place, I would serve his majesty the best I could in it; though, being a new man, I could not promise much for myself; that there was only one point I could by no means digest, which was the business of the money; having ever been averse from charging myself with any body's but my own. This made, at first, some difficulty between us; but, at last, his lordship was content to endeavour

endeavour the engaging alderman Backwel, who furnished it, to go over himself with it into Flanders; and there, by my order, to make the payment to the bishop's agent; and said, he believed, at such a time of infection in London, the alderman might easily take an occasion of such a journey.

After my instructions were dispatched, I came away in haste, and with the secrecy you saw; and, without more than one day's stop at Brussels, went straight with the baron of Wreden to Coesvelt, where the bishop then was. I stay'd there but three days, was brought to him only by night, agreed all points with him, perfected and signed the treaty, and returned to Antwerp, where the alderman performed his part, in making the first and great payment to the bishop's resident there. All this has been performed on all sides with so great secrecy, that the bishop has not only received his money, but raised his troops to about eighteen thousand men, without the least umbrage given, that I can hear of, to the Dutch; and, by all the assurances I receive from him, I conclude, that, before this letter comes to your hands, he will be in the field; tho' some unexpected disappointments about a general officer he reckoned upon has a little discomposed the measures he had taken; and may, I doubt, not a little maim the progress of them: but that will be governed by time and accidents; my business was to bring him
into

into the field, and I have had the good fortune to do it sooner than either they expected at court, or the bishop had promised upon our signing of the treaty.

He is a man of wit and, which is more, of sense; of great ambition, and properly, *Un Esprit remuant*: but the vigour of his body does not exceed that of his mind, being, as I guess, about six or seven and fifty years old, and pursued by the gout, which he is not like to cure by his manner of life. He was a soldier in his youth, and seems, in his naturals, rather made for the Sword than the Cross. He has a mortal hatred to the Dutch for their supporting his city of Munster against him; and is bridling those citizens by a very strong citadel he is building there. He seems bold and resolute, and like to go through with what he has undertaken, or break his head in the attempt; and says he will perform all he has engaged, *Fide sincerâ & Germanicâ*, which is a word he affects. He speaks the only good Latin that I have yet met with in Germany, and more like a man of court and business than a scholar. He says, if he fails in his enterprize, and should lose his country, he shall esteem his condition not at all the worse; for, in that case, he will go into Italy, and has money enough in the bank of Venice to buy a cardinal's cap, which may become him better than his general's staff, though he has a mind to try this first, and make some noise in the world before he retires.

This

This is the best character I can give of the bishop; and, for myself, I can say nothing but what you know; finding no change at all by this fall into a new scene of life and business as well as climate; my health, I thank God, is the same; my kindness so too, to my friends and to home, only my concernment for them in this miserable time among them, much greater while I am here than when I was with them; which makes me very impatient after every post that comes in, and yet very apprehensive of every letter I open.—The length of this, I doubt, is too much for once; and therefore shall end with the assurances of being,

S I R,

Your most obedient son!

and humble servant,

W. Temple.

But one of the most famous circumstances in Sir William Temple's life, was his skilful and dexterous bringing about the triple-league between England, Holland, and Sweden, in the latter end of the year 1667, so much to the peace of Europe and to the diminution of the threatening power of France. This was managed with so much secrecy and uncommon industry, together with so much unexpected success, that the great statesman De Wit, too much leaning to the French party, could not help

help complimenting him, with having the honour which never any other minister had before him, of drawing the states to a resolution and conclusion in five days, upon a matter of the greatest importance, and an assistance of the greatest expence they had ever been engaged in; and all directly against the nature of their constitution; which enjoined them to have recourse to their provinces: adding, That now it was done, it looked like a miracle.

Upon the conclusion, two letters were writ; one from De Witt to the earl of Arlington, and the second from the states-general to the king of Great-Britain; of which some notice ought to be taken.

The former says, "As it was impossible to send a minister of greater capacity, or more proper for the temper or genius of this nation than Sir William Temple; so, I believe, no other person, either will, or can, more equitably judge of the disposition wherein he has found the states, to answer the good intentions of the king of Great-Britain."

In the states letter, they tell the king, "As it is a thing without example, that, in so few days, three such important treaties have been concluded, so, we can say, That the address, the vigilance, and the sincerity, of Sir William Temple, are also without example. If your majesty continues to make use of such ministers, the knot will grow too fast ever to be untyed." And yet Sir William Temple,

with no less wit than modesty, gave another turn to it in a letter to Monsieur Gourville, saying, "They will needs have me pass here for one of great abilities, for having finished and signed, in five days, a treaty of such importance to Christendom: but I will tell you the secret of it; To draw things out-of their centre, requires labour and address to put them in motion; but to make them return thither, nature helps so far, that there needs no more than just to set them a going."

But, as this memorable treaty is well known to have been the master-stroke of policy of that reign, the influence of which has been felt in Europe from that time to this, we think it will not be disagreeable to our readers if we present them with another letter of Sir William Temple's, written to lord Arlington, then secretary of state upon that occasion. It is dated from the Hague, on the twenty-fourth of January, N. S. 1668; and, as it shews Sir William's excellent talent at literary compositions, so it gives an entertaining and satisfactory account of the progress and completion of the famous triple alliance.

My Lord,

UPON last Friday, at night, I gave your lordship the account of what advance I had then made in my negotiation, and of the point where it was then arrested, with desires of his majesty's pleasure; whereupon having spent
that

that whole day in debates, I had little time left for that letter, but intended to make some amends for the haste of it, within two days, by a dispatch with the yacht; and, though delayed a little longer, will not, I hope, be more unwelcome by bringing your lordship a fuller and final account, which may be allowed to surprize you a little there, since it is looked upon as a miracle here, not only by those that hear it, but even by the commissioners themselves, who have had the whole transaction of it; which I shall now acquaint your lordship with.

Upon my two first conferences with Monsieur de Witt, which were the Tuesday and Wednesday, I found him much satisfied with his majesty's resolution concerning our neighbours; but of the opinion, that the condition of forcing Spain was necessary to our common end, and to clear the means towards it from all accidents that might arise. For the defensive league he was of his former opinion, that it should be negotiated between us; but upon the project offered his majesty at Schevelin, by which all matter of commerce might be so adjusted, as to leave no seeds of any new quarrels between the nations.

After two very long conferences upon these points, we ended with some difference upon the necessity of concluding both parts of my projects at the same time; but, for the rest, with great confidence and satisfaction, in one

another's sincere and frank way of treating since the first overtures between us.

The first time I saw him, he told me, I came upon a day he should always esteem very happy, both in respect of his majesty's resolutions, which I brought, and of those the states had taken, about the disposal of the chief commands in their army, by making prince Maurice and Monsieur Wurtz camp-masters-general, and the prince of Tarante and Rhingrave generals of the horse, each to command in the absence of the other. He told me all the detail of that disposition, but the rest I remember not well. I laid hold on this occasion, as indeed I thought was necessary, to say what his majesty gave me order concerning the prince of Orange; which he took very well, and said, was very obliging to the states; that, for his own part, he never failed to see the prince once or twice a week, and grew to have a particular affection for him; and would tell me plainly, that the states designed the captain-generalship of all the forces for him, so soon as by his age he grew capable of it.

The next day was my audience, which passed with all the respect that could be given his majesty's character; and the next morning began my conference with the eight commissioners of secret affairs. I exposed my powers, and saw theirs; in pursuit whereof I offered them the project of the defensive league

as that which was to be the foundation of all farther negotiations, and without which, perhaps, neither of us should be very forward to speak our minds with confidence and freedom, in what concerned our neighbours, being likely therein to shock so many great powers abroad. I told them, for the rest, his majesty having resolved, as far as he could in honour, to comply with the sense of the states, in the offices of mediation between the two crowns; I was first to expect from them the knowledge of the states resolution, in case they were already agreed.

I took this course in my first proposals, because I found here that the provinces were not yet resolved upon theirs, five of them only having fallen upon that of Monsieur de Witt; but Zealand being of opinion to agree with France for dividing Flanders; and Utrecht for suffering France only to retain the last year's conquest, by way of compromise, till their pretensions were adjudged before competent arbiters, to be agreed by the two crowns, or by the joint mediators: and I was in hopes, that, knowing his majesty's resolutions to join with them, before they were agreed among themselves, it might produce some counsels among them a little more favourable to Flanders, and consequently more honourable to his majesty.

After my proposals, Monsieur de Witt was, by the rest or the commissioners, desired to
 speak.

Speak for them all in the conduct of our conferences; who, after a preamble of the usual forms and compliments, upon his majesty's happy dispositions to enter into a nearer alliance with the states upon the mentioned points, declared the same resolution in the states, and allowing our confidence by a defensive league, for the basis of the rest, said, The states were very willing, *de faire insérer les clauses pour la souretè commune dans les articles de la mediation*; and was large upon this argument, That the last being of very pressing haste, as well as necessity, and they having already order from their provinces to proceed upon it, they could not have the same powers upon the defensive, being a new matter, under six weeks or two months time; but, as soon as they received them, would proceed to give their ambassador in England powers to fall upon that treaty; which must, for a basis, have, at the same time, an adjustment of matters of commerce for his forementioned reasons.

I thought fit to cut this matter short, and told them directly, I had no orders to proceed upon any other points, but in consequence or conjunction of the defensive league! in which I thought his majesty had all the reason that could be, both because he would not venture a war's ending in Flanders to begin upon England; and, on the other side, knew the states, whose danger was nearer, would never be capable of taking any vigorous resolutions in
their

their neighbours affairs, till they were secure at home by his majesty's defence.

That his majesty thought the most generous and friendly advance that could be, was made on his side by his proposition, being himself so much more out of danger than they were, and so much courted to a conjunction with France to their prejudice, as well as that of Flanders; that they had not made a difficulty of such alliances with princes, who had lately *desmelees* with them as well as his majesty; and that, God be thanked, his majesty was not in condition to have such an offer refused by any prince or state of Christendom.

These were the sum of our discourses, tho' very long, and such as occasioned the commissioners to withdraw thrice and consult together, though nothing was resolved, but that Monsieur de Witt and Monsieur Isbrant should spend the afternoon with me at my lodging, to endeavour the adjusting of circumstances between us, since we seemed to agree in substance.

That conference ended, as I gave your lordship notice that evening, upon the point, that, instead of the province Schevelin, or any new adjustment concerning marine affairs; the states would proceed upon his majesty's project of a defensive league, provided the provisional articles in the Breda treaty might be inserted and perpetuated in this; and thereupon we should expect his majesty's answer to what I should write that night.

The next being Saturday morning, I desired another conference with my two commissioners, but could not have it till the afternoon, they being to report that morning to the states what had passed the evening before. At our meeting after noon, they told me their communication of all to the states, and their lordships resolutions upon them, that it was necessary the articles provisional should be inserted in the treaty, so as I began to doubt a stop of all till his majesty's answer, which subjected all to uncertainties: I knew the French ambassador was grown into very ill humour upon my arrival, and fallen into complaints and expostulation with several of the states; and the more because he could not see Monsieur de Witt from my coming over till that time, though he had often pressed it, and had an hour given him the next day, Monsieur de Witt having promised to see him as he went to church after noon.

Upon this I knew likewise he had dispatched a courier to Paris, which I thought would make no delay, and therefore resolved to fall upon all the instances and expedients I could to draw up a sudden conclusion. I told them I desired it extremely, before I could hear again out of England, because I had left Monsieur Ruvigny very busy at my coming away, and not unbefriended; that I feared the same artifices of France to disturb us here; and perhaps Monsieur d'Estrades might, at his next meeting, endeavour to infuse some jealousies

lousies into them, by the relation of what had passed between your lordship and Monsieur Ruvigny, three or four days after the date of my first instructions ; upon which I told them frankly (as his majesty gave me leave, what had passed in that affair.

Monfieur de Witt asked me whether I could shew him the paper drawn up between you ; and knowing I had it not, desiring earnestly I would procure it him, assuring me no use should be made of it but by joint consent ; but saying, nothing would serve so far to justify them, in case of a breach growing necessary between them and France, I promised to write to your lordship about it ; which I desire you will please to take notice of.

I told Monsieur de Witt what confidence I had given his majesty of his sincere proceedings, and how I had been supported by your lordship in those suggestions, against the opinion of some other great men : what advantage these would take, if they saw our whole negotiation was stopped upon a thing that looked like a chicanery ; since articles provisional till new agreements, were, in effect as strong as perpetual, which might itself be changed by new agreements ; that this would be esteemed an artifice of his, especially since he had declared, upon my asking him, that it was his own opinion, (and that he also would tell the states so if they demanded it) not to conclude without insertion of those articles, which yet he could not deny to be of

present force; for that they allowed; but seemed to doubt, that, referring in the treaty of Breda to a new treaty, they would be invalidated if a new treaty should pass without their confirmation.

I found Monsieur Isbrant was content with my reasons, and said he would undertake his province should be so; but Monsieur de Witt said, Holland and Zealand would not. I told them, at last, that I was sure the states would not think fit to lose the effect of the league proposed upon such a point as this; and that they intended only to have the advantage of seeing his majesty's resolution, in answer to my letter before they concluded, with resolutions, however, that this should not hinder at last, that I foresaw many things might arise in ten day's time, to break all our good intentions; and some more than I had told them, or could at present; that, if they knew me, and how far I was to be trusted where I gave my word, I would propose an expedient to them; but being so new among them, I thought it was to no purpose:—there I paused. They desired I would propose however, and so I did; which was, that we should proceed to draw up the whole project, and sign as soon as was possible; and that, in case I afterwards received his majesty's leave, in answer of my Friday's letter, to insert those provisional articles, I would freely declare it to them, and insert them in a separate article, to be a part of the defensive league. They both looked a
while

while one upon another, and, after a pause, Monsieur de Witt gave me his hand; and, after a compliment upon the confidence he had taken in my face, and in the rest of my dealing since our first commerce, told me, that, if I would promise them what I had said, en homme de bien, they would ask no farther assurance of me; and, provided the treaty of Breda might be confirmed in the preamble of this, to take away all scruples of those articles being of less force than they were before; for his part, though he could promise nothing what the states would resolve, yet he would promise that he and Monsieur Isbrant would use their utmost endeavours, to induce them to proceed upon my proposition; and so we fell immediately to digest our project of the whole treaty; for I made no difficulty of the confirmation proposed, knowing that new treaties use to begin by confirmation of the old.

I am the larger in this relation, that his majesty may know upon what reasons I engaged my word to them in this point; and thereupon may give me leave, without more circumstances, to be true to it, in case his majesty's pleasure in the point be dispatched away to me, upon the receipt of my former letter.

After this difficulty was well evaded, we found none but in this expression, "In case our persuasions to Spain should not prevail, and we should come à la force & à la contrainte," which I moderated at first by the

words, "aux moyens plus efficaces," for we drew it up in French. The other additions, or enlargements, I dare presume, his majesty will not be displeas'd with, no more than that article about Portugal, though I had no instruction in it. If I have fail'd in enlarging upon very short and hasty instructions, I most humbly beg his majesty's pardon, because I am sure I kept myself as close as was possible to what I apprehended to be his majesty's sense upon the whole and every part.

That evening, being Saturday, or rather that night and Sunday morning, we agreed upon the project in French, and gave order for the translating of it into Latin; which was done, and perus'd by me, and agreed to between twelve and one that night, and engross'd by eleven next morning, being Monday; and, at a meeting with the commissioners, it jointly was sign'd and seal'd, and mutually deliver'd between two and three that afternoon. After that our time was spent in comparing the instruments, and adjusting the sums computed as the value of the several aids.

After sealing, we all embraced with much kindness and applause of my saying upon that occasion, *A Breda comme amis, icy comme freres*; and Monsieur de Witt made me a most obliging compliment, of having the honour which never any other minister had before me, of drawing the states to a resolution and conclusion within five days, upon a matter of
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the greatest importance, and a Secours of the greatest expence they had ever engaged in; and all directly against the nature of their constitutions, which enjoined them recourse to their provinces upon all such occasions, and used to draw out all common deliberations to months delays; and added upon it, That now it was done, it looked like a miracle.

I must add three words to do him right in return of his compliment, that I found him as plain, as direct, and square in the course of this business, as any man could be; though often stiff in points where he thought any advantage could accrue to his country; and have all the reason in the world to be satisfied with him; and for his industry, no man had ever more. I am sure, for these five days at least, neither of us spent many idle hours, either day or night.

After the conclusion, I received yesterday the visits of all the public ministers in town, except the ambassadors, between whom and envoys extraordinary some difficulties were arisen (they say, here first begun by Sir George Downing) which have in a manner spoiled all commerce.

None of the other failed to rejoice with me upon the conclusion of my business, and to express their adoring his majesty's resolutions, which, in this conjuncture, they say, have given new life to all the courts of Christendom, whose councils were before in the greatest perplexities and disorders that could be.—

They

They say his majesty will have the sole honour of giving either peace to Christendom or a balance to the wars ; and has shewn, that all must follow what he gives a head to. Much more of this kind I hear from all hands, and have no reason to doubt their meaning what they say.

Thus far I have given your lordship the smooth side only of this conclusion, and now you must receive the rough ; for having concerted with the commissioners, that Monsieur de Witt and I should give part of our treaty (all but the separate articles) to the French and Spanish ambassadors. The first we performed this afternoon, the last we intend tomorrow morning.

The French ambassador had been much surprized with our conclusion ; for, upon our first conference with the commissioners, he had said, “ *Tout cela s'en ira en fumée, & que le roy son maitre s'eur mocqueroit.*” The day before our signing, being told we advanced very fast, he replied, “ *Et bien, d'icy à six semaines nous en parlerons ;*” relying upon the forms of the state to run the circuit of their towns.

Upon our giving him part of the whole business, he replied coldly, that he doubted we had not taken a right way to our end ; that the fourth article of the second instrument was not in terms very proper to be digested by a king of twenty-nine years old, and at the head of eighty thousand men :
that

that, if we had joined both to desire his master to prolong the offer he had made of a cessation of arms till we propose; and, withal, not to move his arms further in Flanders, tho' Spain should refuse, we might hope to succeed: but, if we thought to prescribe him laws, and force him to compliance, by leagues between ourselves, or with Spain, though Sweden and the German princes should join with us, he knew his master *Ne flecheroit pas*, and that it would come to a war of forty years. From this he fell warmly on the proceedings of the states; saying, they knew his master's resolutions upon those two points, neither to prolong the cessation proposed beyond the end of March, nor to desist the pursuit of his conquests with his own arms, in case Spain consented not to his demands within that term. He said, his majesty, not being their ally, might treat and conclude what he pleased, without their offence; but for the states, who were their nearest ally, to conclude so much to his master's disrespect at least, and without communicating with him, the ambassador, at all during the whole treaty, he must leave it to his master to interpret as he thought fit.— Monsieur de Witt defended their cause, and our intentions, with great phlegm, but great steadiness; and told me, after he was gone, that this was the least we could expect at first from a Frenchman; and that I should do well, however, to give his majesty an account of it by the first, that we put ourselves early in posture

sture to make good what we have said; and, that, as to the time and degree of our arming, he would consult with the states; and let me know their thoughts, to be communicated to his majesty upon this occasion.

I was in hopes to dispatch this away to-morrow morning, but I shall be hindered till night, by the delay of signing of a separate article with the count de Dona, whereby place is reserved for Sweden to enter as a principal into this treaty; for I have gone along in the whole business since my coming over, with perfect confidence and concert with the count de Dona, upon his assuring me, his orders were to conform himself to his majesty's resolution in what concerns the two crowns, tho' before he absolutely engages, he expects from the Spaniards, by our intercession, some supplies for payment of his troops, and some other adjustments with the emperor, which will be treated between the several ministers at London under his majesty's influence.

In what I shall sign upon this occasion, together with the states, I confess to your lordship to go beyond my instructions; but apprehending it to be wholly agreeable to his majesty's intentions, and extremely advantageous to the common ends and affairs, I venture upon this excess, and humbly beg his majesty's pardon if I fail.

Your lordship will be troubled with some postscript to-morrow before I dispatch an express

press with the copies to be ratified by his majesty within a month, though I hope a less time will be taken, those of Holland having undertaken theirs on fifteen days.

I am, &c.

After this, in the succeeding summer, in the year 1668, Sir William Temple returned to Bruffels, with a view to prevail with the Spaniards to consent to a peace with France, which was afterwards treated at Aix la Chapelle, whither he was sent ambassador extraordinary and mediator; and with his colleague Sir Leoline Jenkins, after many difficulties and delays, at last brought it to a happy conclusion.

Soon after, he was sent ambassador-extraordinary to the states-general, with instructions to confirm the triple-alliance, and solicit the emperor and German princes, by their ministers, to enter into it: but the measures of the English court being changed, in September, 1669, he received orders to hasten over into England, where he met at first with a very cool reception, and was pressed to return to the Hague, and make way for a war with Holland; with which, less than two years before, he had been so much applauded for having made so strict an alliance: but he excused himself from having any share in it, and retired to his house at Shene, near Richmond, in Surry: and, in this interval of his leisure
and.

and retreat, wrote his Observations on the United Provinces, and one part of his Miscellanies.

About the end of the summer 1673, the king, growing weary of the second Dutch war, resolved to send Sir William Temple to Holland to conclude a peace; but powers having been sent at this time from thence to the marquis de Fresne, the Spanish ambassador at London, Sir William Temple was ordered to treat with him, and in three days concluded the whole affair.

As a reward for this service, he was offered the embassy into Spain; which, for want of his father's consent, who was then old and infirm, he refused; as he did soon after the place of secretary of state, for want of six thousand pounds, which he was to lay down for it, and could not spare.

In June, 1674, he was again sent ambassador to the Hague, and was afterwards one of the ambassadors and mediators in the treaty of Nimeguen. It was during his residence in Holland at this time, that he was the great instrument in securing the religion and liberty of his country, by bringing about a marriage between the prince of Orange, afterwards William III. of glorious memory, and the lady Mary, daughter to James duke of York, and niece to his majesty king Charles II.

This grand affair was concerted by Sir William Temple and the friends of the protestant religion, and was brought to maturity chiefly
by

WILLIAM TEMPLE.

by his dexterity in the year 1677, contrary to the will of her royal highness's father, and not very much to the inclination of the king her uncle. In the latter part of this transaction indeed he made use of the assistance of the lord-treasurer Danby; since the duke of Leeds, who thought the affair of that happiness and importance to the public, that, afterwards, in print, he declared, That he would not suffer that part of his service to be buried in oblivion: yet, that Sir William Temple was, as we have already said, the chief agent in this momentous occurrence, the following letters will evince; which, as matter containing something curious in itself, we shall present to the reader without any further preface or apology.

To the King.

Hague, April 23. S.N. 1676.

May it please your Majesty,

THE day before the prince of Orange left this place, I attended him at Hounslerrydyke, upon his own appointment; and telling me several times, That he had something to say to me before he went into the field, and desired it might be there, and at some liesure. When we were alone in the garden, he was pleased

pleased to tell me, I would easily believe the instances of the states, and of his friends, as well as the condition of his family, must needs have put him often upon the thoughts of marrying; but he had been still in hopes, that the conclusion of a peace would have made way for it sooner than he now thought it was like to do; for, at present, he did not see when or how that could be brought about, unless your majesty would resolve upon such conditions as you should think fit to have it upon; and so propose them to the parties, who were otherwise too distant in their pretensions to agree easily themselves. That, upon this prospect, he began to think, his marriage could not longer attend upon the motions of the peace, which might be very slow and uncertain; and therefore he would tell me, freely, That he was resolved, in case he returned from this campaign, to neglect no time, or paces, that could be made in the pursuit of it. That, for the person, I might be sure his inclinations would lead him into England, though he did not know what dispositions he should meet with there; and, while the war lasted, it might, on this side, admit of much reflection both from this state and their allies. That, however, he would not go into the field without writing to your majesty and to the duke of what he had so much at heart; and begging the permission, that, immediately after the campaign ended, he might go over
into.

into England. That he thought this would be necessary, both that he might make his own pursuit himself, in an affair that so nearly concerned him; and that, by asking leave so early, no time might be lost upon that occasion when the campaign was over. That he had reason to desire this affair might, at present, be managed with all the secrecy that could be; and therefore was resolved to put the letters concerning it into my hands; and desired my wife might deliver them both to your majesty and his royal highness, and said that he would take care to send them to me before he went.

This was the sum of his highness's discourse to me when I took leave of him; and his letters both for your majesty and the duke being some days after come to my hands, I thought it my duty to send them, according to the directions I received from the prince; and shall leave your majesty to know the rest from his own hand, though I think I have not mistaken any thing of what he said to me upon this occasion. I shall not farther encrease your majesty's present trouble, than by the humble professions of that perfect devotion wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majesty's, &c.

To

To the Duke of York.

Hague, April 23. S. N. 1676.

May it please your Highness,

WHEN I took leave of the prince of Orange, at his going to the army, he was pleased to tell me the resolutions he had taken of writing to your highness, upon an occasion he had so much at heart; and that he would do it before he went into the field. He said, He was resolved to apply himself directly to your highness in all that concerned it; and to beg your intercession with his majesty, that he might have leave to go over into England immediately after the campaign ended. That he would write to his majesty at the same time to beg his permission. And, because he had reason to desire, that whatever paces he made at present, in this point, might be secret, he was resolved to put his letters into my hands; and desired that my wife, upon her going over, might herself deliver them both to his majesty and your royal highness; I thought it my duty to observe these directions: and having, by the same hand, given his majesty an account of the manner, and circumstance, with which the prince was pleased to enter into these discourses, I shall not presume to trouble
your

your highness with the bare repetition of them, nor with any thing more, at present, than the humble professions of the devotion and truth wherewith I am always,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

London, November—, 1677.

S I R,

THO' I do not trouble you often with public news or business, yet I am sensible of having too much neglected it of late, considering what has passed; which I know you will be more pleased with than any you have been entertained with a great while: for I remember how often, and how much, you have desired to see the prince of Orange married here; not only from your good wishes to him, but from your apprehensions of some greater matches that might befall us, and with consequences ill enough to posterity as well as to the present age. I am in a good deal of haste at this present time, and therefore shall sum up a great deal in a little room.

The prince of Orange came to the king at Newmarket, where he was mighty well received both of king and duke. I made the acquaintance there between the prince and my
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lord-treasurer; and in such a manner as, though they were not at all known before to one another, yet they fell very soon into confidence.

The prince said not a word to any of them of any thoughts of a wife while they stayed at Newmarket; and told me, No considerations should move him in that affair till he had seen the lady. The day after he saw her here he moved it to the king and duke; and, though he did it with so good a grace that it was very well received, yet, in four or five days treaty, it proved to be intangled in such difficulties, that the prince sent for me one night, and uttering his whole heart, told me, He was resolved to give it over, repenting him from the heart of his journey, and would be gone within two days, and trust God Almighty with what would follow; and so went to bed the most melancholy that ever I saw him in my life. Yet, before eleven o'clock the next morning, the king sent me to him, to let him know, He was resolved on the match, and that it should be done immediately, and in the prince's own way.

Thus far what had passed went no farther than the king, the duke, the prince, the lord-treasurer, and me; but that afternoon it was declared at the foreign committee, and next day at council; you will easily imagine with what general joy. I cannot but tell you, That no man seems to lay it to heart so much as my lord Arlington, having had no part in
it;

it; which he could not but take notice of to the prince; who told me, His compliment to him upon it was, That some things, though they were good in themselves, yet were spoiled by the manner of doing them; but this was in itself so good, that the manner of doing it could not spoil it.—I am told, he lays it upon me, and will never forgive me; which I must bear as well as I can: but yet, because you know how we have formerly lived, I will tell you, That it was not only impossible my lord-treasurer and he should concur in one thing, but he had likewise lost all the prince's confidence and opinion, since his last journey into Holland. Besides, for my own part, I found, these two years past, he could not bear my being so well neither with the prince or with the treasurer; but endeavoured, by Sir Gabriel Sylvius, to break the first, by steps which the prince acquainted me with; nor could he hold reproaching me with the last whenever I went to him; though he himself had first advised me to apply myself to my lord-treasurer all I could, upon my last embassy into Holland; and though I had ever since told them both, I would live well with them both, let them live as ill as they would one with another; and my lord-treasurer had been so reasonable as to be contented with it.

Since the marriage, the king and the prince have fallen into the business abroad, and agreed upon the terms of a peace, which the king

will offer to France, and such as they both conclude will secure Flanders. They both agree, that I must of necessity go to Paris immediately upon this errand, and bring a positive answer from that court within a time prefixed. I never undertook any journey more unwillingly, knowing in what opinion I stand already at that court; how deeply they resent the prince's match without their communication, or the least word to their ambassador here; and with how little reason I can hope to be the welcomer for this errand. But the king will absolutely have it; and so I have made all my small preparations, and think to be gone within two days; which is all at present, but to ask your blessing, and assure you of my being,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the Prince of Orange.

London, December 8. 1677.

May it please your Highness,

I SHOULD, by last post, have rejoiced with your highness upon the news of your happy arrival, and upon the resolutions that have been taken here since you went, in those affairs wherein your highness is so deeply concerned; but that my lord-treasurer's letter to you upon
this

this subject, was so long and so particular, that nothing could be added to it for your highness's information or satisfaction: and therefore I resolved not to trouble you with the same thing by that post, and from so much a worse hand. I suppose my lord-ambassador Hyde will have shewed your highness his instructions, and Mr. secretary's letter upon that occasion; which agreeing so fully with what my lord-treasurer writ, must have left you in no doubt of those resolutions being taken here: and yet I thought your highness would not be displeased to know from me, that I am of opinion they are so; and, which is more, that the duke will go up to as great a height in them as any man, in case France gives them the occasion, by their answer to what Mr. Mountague goes away with to day; and that his highness will absolutely conclude from thence, what their good intentions are or have been to the king.

Though I have this second time excused myself from attending upon your highness, and thereby devolved his majesty's commands upon Mr. Hyde once more, yet, I hope, your highness will pardon me, since I have only reserved myself for the next occasion, which, I expect, will be of more moment, and within a very little time. For the present, I only desire your highness will please to give your answer to what Mr. Hyde carries you, in such manner as may be fully to his majesty's satisfaction; and if you should scruple the doing it to any

other hand, that you would, at least, do it in a private letter to his majesty's own, which may not go farther than to those hands by which all your highness's concerns have been hitherto transacted.

I hope your highness will think to write particularly to the duke, as well as the king, in acknowledgment and applause of these late resolutions; and my lord-treasurer will deserve it too by the great part he has had in them.

I ask your highness's pardon for the length and confidence of this letter, and your justice in believing me ever what I shall ever be, with a perfect devotion,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

After having performed all these services to the crown and kingdom, in the year 1679, Sir William Temple was again solicited to enter upon the office of secretary of state, but he declined it upon account of the uncertain situation of affairs; at the same time advising the king to form a new council, of which he was appointed one; though afterwards, upon the change of measures at court, and the freedom with which he delivered his opinion, his name was struck out of the council-book.

This

This gave him occasion to send the king word, That he would live the rest of his life as good a subject as any in his kingdoms, but never meddle again with public affairs: — A resolution which he inviolably maintained, spending the remainder of his days at Moor-Park, near Farnham, in Surry, without having the least previous knowledge of the prince of Orange's expedition to England in 1688; and refusing the earnest solicitations of that prince, when he was advanced to the throne, to engage him in his service, and to be secretary of state, though he was often consulted by him in his most secret and important affairs. Indeed it is a common thing for men, who live in the splendor and hurry of courts, sometimes to wish for a retreat, where they may relieve themselves after the fatigue of state and business; yet they seldom do retire but when they know not how to stay any longer: so that the contempt of a court is, in many men, but a contrivance of self-love to alleviate the mortification of being excluded by undervaluing greatness and those that are in power. On the other hand, nothing is more difficult, to the generality of men, who have enjoyed the pomp and pleasures of a court, than to finish the remainder of their lives in privacy and retirement; for few persons have so rich a fund in themselves, as to supply and fill up the great chasms which the want of public business and diversion leaves on their minds: but Sir Wil-

William Temple had the happiness to escape both these inconveniencies; and, as his retiring from business was in all appearance voluntary, so his contempt of greatness and splendor was the result of a thorough knowledge of the emptiness and vanity of those glaring objects. He was sensible, that there was little in a court but a perpetual exchange of false friendship, pretended honesty, seeming confidence, and designing gratitude: so that those, who, as Sir William, acted upon a sincere bottom, and gave realities instead of shews, professed themselves as great bubbles as such as gave good money when counterfeit coin passed for current payment.

He had, by long experience, made the estimate of the advantages of a private life above those of a public; and was thoroughly convinced, That the blessings of innocence, security, meditation, good air, health, and sound sleep, were clearly preferable to the splendor of courts; considering the slavish attendance, the invidious competitions, servile flattery, and the mortal disappointments that usually attend them. He set the frowns of princes, the envy of those that judge by hearsay, and the innumerable temptations, vices, and excesses of a life of pomp and pleasure, in ballance against the smiles of bounteous nature, the diversion of healthful exercises for the body, and the solid and lasting entertainments of the mind; and concluded, That he
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that is a slave in the town, is a kind of petty-prince in the country.

To be very particular in analyzing his works, would be foreign to our purpose; yet we must not omit mentioning his Memoirs, which have not been equalled by any that have writ since him. They are the more useful because they take in the principal parts of the reign of Charles II. and without them we should have but an imperfect account of many particulars in that unequal administration. The second part slipped first into the world, without the knowledge, as it was said, though most believe without the connivance, of the author. They consist not only of many domestic affairs relating to the court of England, but of the principal foreign negotiations began in 1673, and ended in 1678, in the treaty of Nimeguen, and with the general peace of Europe; all laid open with firmness and impartiality, as well as clearness and simplicity.

The first part was never published at all, but is very well supplied by a great number of letters and public papers; which sufficiently shews what a vigorous actor Sir William Temple was, how great a statesman he proved, and how much a master of business and politics.

The third part appeared some years after his death; which, though complained of as being published without consent of relations, was never charged with being the least spurious. This, though shortest in compass, both

80 BRITISH PLUTARCH.

as to time and matters, yet, keeping close to English administration at home, and discovering greater depths of those affairs, we take it to be the most useful and enlightning of the three.

Here are laid open, not only the secret springs of many actions which were generally unknown before, but all the subtle arts and projections of ministers of state, with those various windings and turnings with which strangers are so often perplexed and confounded in court. Here the dispositions and aims of some great men, as the lord Shaftsbury, Essex, &c. are so effectually, as well as handsomely exposed, that many of one party are willing to have the credit of it called in question: but, as it has long stood, so no doubt but it will continue to stand, the test against all opponents.

We shall say nothing further of his writings, but only observe, that, when the reader comes to peruse the whole, he will readily form to himself the general character of an accomplished gentleman, a penetrating politician, a wise patriot, and a learned man: and, if this great idea should be really shaded by some touches of vanity and the spleen, he may easily consider that the greatest and wisest men have not always been exempt from those very failings and imperfections; and that the former might arise from some peculiar excellencies in his character; and the latter from some uncommon provocations of those who differed from

from him either in politicks or in learning; and in both, perhaps, without his being the aggressor.

In the latter case, we think he was too hardly, if not too designedly, attacked, first by Mr. Wotton, and then by Dr. Bentley; and, that he was treated after a too rigid manner, and too scholastical and critical a way, for a gentleman of his refined genius and superior education, and one who was so ready to oblige the public in an easy, free, and beautiful way of delivering his thoughts and sentiments.

This a little raised his indignation, and forced him to say, in his answer, That the critics are a race of scholars I am very little acquainted with; having always esteemed them but like brokers, who, having no stock of their own, set up and trade with that of other men; buying here, and selling there, and commonly abusing all sides, to make out a little paltry gain, either of money or credit, for themselves, and care not at whose cost.

Then, after acknowledging the usefulness of such persons at the first restoration of learning, and the copies after the antients, he could but look upon the latter sort as a degenerate race; and was provoked to declare,

“ There is, I think, no sort of talent so despicable as that of such common critics who can, at best, pretend to value themselves by discovering the defaults of other men, rather than any worth or merit of their own: a sort

of levellers, that will needs equal the best and richest of the country, not by improving their own estates, but reducing those of their neighbours, and making them appear as mean and wretched as themselves."

In 1694, he had the misfortune to lose his lady, who was eminent for the highest accomplishments, and particularly esteemed by queen Mary, with whom she had the honour to keep a constant correspondence by letters, in which she had an admirable turn of wit, and a peculiar elegance and beauty of expression.

Sir William survived her four years, and died in January, 1698, in his seventieth year, at Moor-Park; where, according to the plain directions in his will, his heart was deposited in a silver box, and buried under the sun-dial in his garden, opposite to the window from whence he used to contemplate and admire the glorious works of nature, with his beloved sister, the ingenious lady Giffard; a lady who, as she had shared and relieved the fatigues of his voyages and travels during his public negotiations, so she was the principal delight and comfort of his last retirement and old age.

His character is given by Dr. Burch as follows:

"He had an extraordinary vivacity, with so agreeable a vein of wit and fancy in his conversation, that no body was welcomer in all sorts of company; but his humour was greatly affected by the spleen in sudden changes

of weather, and especially from the crosses and disappointments which he so often met with in his endeavours to contribute to the honour and service of his country.

He was an exact observer of truth, thinking none, who had failed once, ought ever to be trusted again; of great humanity and good nature; his passions naturally warm and quick, but tempered by reason.

“ He never seemed busy in his greatest employments, was devoted to his liberty, and therefore averse to the servitude of courts. He had been a passionate lover, was a kind husband, an indulgent father, a good master, an excellent friend, and, knowing himself to be so, was impatient of the least suspicion or jealousy from those he loved.

“ He was not without strong aversions, so as to be uneasy at the first sight of some whom he disliked, and impatient of their conversation; apt to be warm in disputes and expostulations, which made him hate the one and avoid the other; being used to say, That they might sometimes do well between lovers, but never between friends.

“ He had a very familiar way of conversing with all sorts of people, from the greatest princes, to the meanest servants, and even children, whose imperfect language, and natural innocent talk, he was fond of, and made entertainment of every thing that could afford it.

“He was born to a moderate estate, and did not much encrease it during his employments.

“His religion was that of the church of England, in which he was born and educated; and, how loose soever bishop Burnet, who was not acquainted with him, in the History of his own Time, represents his principles to have been; yet there is no ground for such a reflection given in his writings; among which his excellent letter to the countess of Essex is a convincing proof both of his piety and eloquence.

He was rather tall in stature; his shape, when young, very exact; his hair dark brown, and curled naturally; and, whilst that was esteemed a beauty, no body had it in greater perfection: his eyes grey, but lively; and his body lean, but extremely active; so that none acquitted themselves better at all exercises.







Hon.^{ble} Robert Boyle.

THE LIFE OF

ROBERT BOYLE.

ROBERT BOYLE was a man superior to titles, and almost to praise; illustrious by birth, by learning, and by virtue; but most so as the author and encourager of the New Philosophy; by which he has not only rendered his memory immortal, but has also derived honour to his country; which, perhaps, is the greatest felicity that human abilities can ever attain.

He was the seventh son, and the fourteenth child, of Richard, earl of Cork. He was born at Lismore, in the county of Cork, and province of Munster, in the kingdom of Ireland, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1626-7; and, though he was the only one of his father's sons who attained to manhood without being honoured with a title, and also the only one who did not distinguish himself in public business; yet his life deserves to be written with the utmost accuracy; and no pains can be too great to fix all the dates therein as exactly as it is possible.

His father, who was very justly styled the Great, and might, with equal propriety, have been called the Wise, earl of Cork, com-
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mitted him to the care of a country nurse, with instructions to bring him up as hardy as if he had been her own son; which she pursued, and thereby gave him a strong and vigorous constitution, that he afterwards lost by being treated with too great tenderneſs.

When he was about three years old, he had the misfortune to loſe his mother; for which he ſhews great regret, in ſome memoirs that he has left us of the more early part of his life, eſteeming it a ſingular unhappineſs never to have ſeen one of his parents ſo as to remember her; and the more ſo, from the character he heard of her in her own family, and from all who knew her.

Another accident happened to him while at nurse, which gave him no ſmall trouble as long as he lived, and that was, his learning to ſtutter, by mocking ſome children of his own age, and of which, tho' no endeavours were ſpared, he could never be perfectly cured.

His father ſent for him home when he was towards ſeven years old; and, not long after, in a journey to Dublin, he ran a very great riſk of loſing his life, if one of his father's gentlemen had not taken him out of a coach, that, in paſſing a brook, raiſed by ſome ſudden ſhowers, was carried away by the ſtream and beat to pieces.

While at home, he was taught to write a very fair hand, and to ſpeak French and Latin, by one of the earl's chaplains, and a Frenchman that he kept in the houſe.

In the year 1635, when he was turned of eight years old, his father thought fit to send him to England, in order to his education at Eaton, under Sir Henry Wotton, the earl of Cork's old acquaintance and friend. With this view, in company with Mr. Francis Boyle, his elder brother, afterwards lord Shannon, he set out for Youghall, and from thence, notwithstanding great danger of being taken by some of the Turkish pirates that then infested the Irish coast, he crossed the seas to England, and landed happily at Bristol.

On his arrival at Eaton, he was put under the care of Mr. Harrison, then master of the school; of whose attention for, and kindness towards, him, he makes very honourable mention in his Memoirs; and observes, That it was chiefly by the prudent methods he pursued, that he came to have that taste and relish for learning, for which, even in the earlier part of his life, he grew so remarkable. While he remained at Eaton, there were several extraordinary accidents that befel him, of which he has given us an account, and which one would scarce think it possible he should have remembered so distinctly, considering they happened before he was nine years old, if the letters that he wrote about that time were not still preserved; which sufficiently demonstrates how capable he was of collecting and preserving what ever appeared to him worthy of notice, even in the time of his childhood, so
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that we may well believe what he relates of his own care in this respect, from the testimonies that still remain of his having a wit so much superior to his years.

He remained at Eaton, in the whole, between three and four years; and then his father carried him to his own seat, at Stalbridge in Dorsetshire; where he remained, for some time, under the care of Mr. William Douch, then parson of the place, and one of the earl of Cork's chaplains.

In the autumn of the year 1638 he attended his father to London, and remained with him, at the Savoy, till his brother, Mr. Francis Boyle, espoused Mrs. Elizabeth Killigrew; and then, towards the end of the month of October, within four days after the marriage was celebrated, the two brothers, Francis and Robert, were sent abroad upon their travels, under the care of Mr. Marcombes, who had formerly been governor to the lords Kinealmeaky and Broghill.

They embarked at Rye, in Suffex, and from thence proceeded to Dieppe, in Normandy; from whence they travelled by land to Rouen, so to Paris, and from thence to Lyons; from which city they continued their journey to Geneva, where his governor had a family; and there the two young gentlemen pursued their studies quietly and without interruption. Mr. Boyle, during his stay here, resumed his acquaintance with the mathematics, or, at least, with

with the elements of that science, of which he had first obtained some knowledge at Eaton.

He was now drawing towards fourteen, and his temper being naturally very grave and serious, his thoughts were often turned on religious subjects, but, however, not without some mixture of doubts and difficulties, as himself acknowledges, about the certainty of the Christian revelation. This, instead of having any bad effects, was productive of very good consequences; he examined coolly and circumstantially the evidence in favour of the Gospel, and concluded, by dint of reasoning, that this was the only certain and sure way to salvation.

We might possibly suspect the truth of this, considering his youth, and the little care that persons at such years take, or indeed are capable of taking, in matters of so great importance; but it so falls out, that we have an original letter of his, written at this time to his father; which plainly proves that his capacity was, even at that early season, very capable of such arduous enquiries.

While he remained at Geneva, he made some excursions to visit the adjacent country of Savoy; and even proceeded so far as to Grenoble, in Dauphine, and took a view also of those wild mountains, where Bruno, the first author of the Carthusian monks lived in solitude, at the time he erected that order.

In September, 1641, he quitted Geneva, and, passing through Switzerland and the country of the Grisons, entered Lombardy, and, taking his rout through Bergamo, Brescia, and Verona, arrived at Venice, and, having made a short stay there, returned to the Continent, and spent the winter at Florence; and, during his stay in that city, the famous Galileo died at a village not far from thence.

While he resided in this fair city, he had an opportunity of acquiring the Italian language, which he understood perfectly, though he never spoke it so fluently as the French, of which he became so great a master, that, as occasion required, he passed for a native of the country in more places than one during his travels.

About the end of March, he began his journey from Florence to Rome, which took up but five days; and, after having surveyed that famous city, the heats disagreeing with his brother, he returned to Florence, from thence to Leghorn, and so by sea to Genoa. He made but a short stay there, and then passing through the county of Nice, crossed the sea to Antibes, from whence he went to Marseilles by land.

He was in that city in the month of May, 1642, when he received his father's letters, with a dreadful account of the rebellion just then broke out in Ireland; and advice, likewise, that, with great difficulty, his lordship had procured two hundred and fifty pounds, which

which he remitted his sons to enable them to return home; but of this money they never saw a farthing; for, being put into the hands of one Mr. Perkins, a considerable trader in the city of London, he proved unfaithful to his trust; which drove these two noble youths to the utmost distress, till, with much ado, their governor, Mr. Marcombes, supplied them with as much as brought them to Geneva, where they continued with him for some time; and, having neither supplies nor advices from England, he was obliged, in order to enable them to go home, to take up some jewels on his own credit, which they disposed of with as little loss as might be, and, with the money thus produced, continued their journey for England, where they arrived in the year 1644.

On his arrival there he found his father dead; and, though he had made an ample provision for him, as well by leaving him his manor of Stalbridge, in England, as other considerable estates in Ireland, yet it was some time before he could receive any money.

During this space he lodged with his sister, the lady Ranelagh; and, by her interest, and that of his brother lord Broghill, he procured protections for his estates in England and Ireland from those who had the power then in their hands. He also obtained their leave to go over, for a short space, into France; probably that he might have an opportunity of
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fattling his accounts with his good old governor and constant friend Mr. Marcombes ; but he did not stay long abroad, since we find him, the December following, at Cambridge.

In the month of March, 1646, he retired to his own seat at Stalbridge ; from whence he made various excursions, sometimes to London, sometimes to Oxford, applying himself as assiduously to his studies as his own circumstances, or those of the times, would permit ; and indeed it is very amazing to find, what a prodigious progress he made, not only in many branches of literature, but in some that have been always held the most difficult and abstruse. He omitted no opportunity of obtaining the acquaintance of persons distinguished for parts and learning ; to whom he was, in every respect, a ready, useful, and generous assistant ; and with whom he maintained a constant correspondence. He was also one of the first members of that small but learned body, which held its first meetings at London, then removed to Oxford, stiled by him, the Invisible, by themselves, the Philosophical College ; and which, after the restoration, were incorporated and distinguished, as they well deserved, by the title of the Royal Society.

It is no small honour to this worthy person, that, when he was so young a man, his merit and knowledge gained him admittance amongst persons, the most distinguished for the

acuteness of their understandings, and the singularity, as well as extent, of their science. The great diligence and application of Mr. Boyle, was so much the more to be esteemed and commended, as, at this time, his health was very much disordered by frequent fits of the stone, a disease to which he was extremely subject, and to which his sedentary life and close application to his studies, might possibly contribute. But, notwithstanding this, and the frequent occasions he had to remove from place to place, sometimes on the score of business, at others to visit his many noble relations; yet he never suffered his thoughts to be disordered, or the designs he had formed to be broken or interrupted by any of these accidents, as appears by his having compleated three regular and excellent pieces before he had reached the age of twenty: viz. his Seraphic Love; his Essay on Mistaken Modesty; and the Swearer silenced; to which he afterwards gave the title that it now bears, of *A Free Discourse against customary Swearing.* Besides these, it plainly appears, as well from the writings he has published, as from many of his private letters, that he had made large collections upon other subjects, from some of which he afterwards drew distinct treatises.

The retired course of life, which, for the sake of his health, from the bent of his temper, and from the nature of his designs, he took a pleasure to lead, could not hinder his reputation from rising to such a height as made him

him taken notice of by some of the most eminent members of the republic of letters ; so that, in 1651, we find Dr. Nathaniel Highmore, a very eminent physician, dedicating to him his History of Generation ; in which dedication he stiles him both his patron and his friend.

In 1652, he went over to Ireland, in order to visit and settle his estates in that kingdom ; and there, if I am not mistaken, he met with a fall from his horse in a watery place, which gave him a very grievous fit of sickness. He returned from Ireland to England in August, 1653, but was soon after obliged to return again into that kingdom, where he spent his time but very unpleasantly ; and it would have been still more so, if it had not been for the acquaintance of Dr. Petty, afterwards Sir William Petty, who was his intimate friend, and one of the greatest men of that or indeed of any other age.

In the summer of 1654, he returned to England, and put in execution a design he had formed when he was last in this kingdom, of settling at Oxford, as well for the sake of several of his ingenious friends, who resided there, as for the many and extraordinary conveniences which the place afforded, for the prosecution of his beloved studies in peace. He chose to live there, in the house of Mr. Crosse, an apothecary, rather than in a college, for the sake of his health, and because he had more room for making experiments.

It was now that he found himself surrounded by a number of learned friends, who resorted thither chiefly for the same reasons that he had done, the Invisible College, as he called it, or Philosophical Society, being now transferred from London to Oxford. It was during his residence here, that he invented the air-pump, which was perfected for him, by the ingenious Mr. Hooke, in the year 1658 or 1659; by the help of which he made such experiments as enabled him to discover and demonstrate several qualities of the air, by which he laid the foundations for a complete theory.

He was not, however, satisfied with this, but laboured incessantly in collecting and digesting, chiefly from his own experiments, the materials requisite for this purpose. He declared against the philosophy of Aristotle, as having in it more of words than things, promising much and performing little; in short, giving the inventions of men for indubitable proofs, instead of the result of such enquiries as draw the knowledge of the works of nature from nature herself.

He was so careful in, and so zealous for, the true method of learning by experiment, that, though the Cartesian philosophy made then a great noise in the world, yet he would never be persuaded to read the works of Des Cartes, for fear he should be amused and led away with a fair pretence of reasoning, and
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plausible accounts of things grounded purely on conjecture.

But philosophy and enquiries into nature, though they engaged his attention deeply, did not occupy it entirely, since we find that he still continued to pursue his critical studies, in which he had the assistance of some as great men as have ever flourished in this kingdom, particularly Dr. Edward Pöcöcke, Mr. Thomas Hyde, and Mr. Samuel Clark. He had also a strict intimacy with Dr. Thomas Barlow, at that time head keeper of the Bodleian Library, and afterwards bishop of Lincoln, a man of various and extensive learning. He was likewise the patron of the very learned Dr. John Pell, an eminent mathematician; and the famous Dr. John Wallis, who distinguished himself in that and other branches of learning, did him the honour to dedicate to him his excellent treatise on the Cycloid.

In 1659, being acquainted with the circumstances of the learned Dr. Robert Sanderson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, he bestowed on him a stipend of fifty pounds a year; and that great man thankfully acknowledged the obligations he was under to so generous a patron, in a dedication of his Lectures, which were printed at Oxford the same year.

After the restoration, he was treated with great civility and respect by the king, and with much affection and esteem by his two great ministers, the lord-treasurer Southampton, and the lord-chancellor Clarendon, by whom

whom he was pressed to enter into holy orders, of which he had very serious thoughts, but at last thought fit to decline it, upon very just and disinterested motives. The same year he published two of his first pieces, one of which was printed at Oxford, and the other at London; the former was his *New Experiments touching the spring of the air*, which he addressed to his nephew the lord Dungarvan, and this drew him into a controversy with Franciscus Linus, and the famous Mr. Thomas Hobbes, whose objections he refuted with equal candour, clearness, and civility. The second was his discourse on *Seraphic Love*, and both pieces were received with universal applause. The fame of his great learning and abilities extended itself, even at this time, beyond the bounds of our island, so that the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a prince distinguished for learning, desired Mr. Southwell, then Resident at Florence, to acquaint Mr. Boyle with his desire of holding a correspondence with him.

In 1661, he published his *Physiological Essays*, and other tracts, which added greatly to the esteem, that all true lovers of learning had for his knowledge in things of this nature. Some time after he sent abroad another curious and excellent work, intitled, *The Sceptical Chymist*, which was printed at Oxford; but several treatises that are mentioned in this and the former work, as being in great forwardness, and which the world very im-

patiently expected, were afterwards lost in the hurry of removing his effects at the time of the great fire.

In 1662, a grant of the forfeited impropriations in the kingdom of Ireland, was obtained from the king in Mr. Boyle's name, tho' without his knowledge, which did not hinder his interesting himself very warmly, for procuring the application of these impropriations, to the promoting true religion and learning. He interposed likewise in favour of the corporation for propagating the gospel in New England, and was very instrumental in obtaining a decree in the court of Chancery, for restoring to that corporation an estate, which had been injuriously repossessed by one colonel Bedingfield, a papist, who had sold it to them for a valuable consideration. His activity in matters of this nature was so much the more honourable, as he was naturally inclined to, and, generally speaking, followed that inclination in leading a private and retired life. But whenever the cause of virtue, learning, or religion required it, his interest and endeavours were never wanting, and, by the peculiar blessing of providence, were seldom employed but with success.

In 1663 the Royal Society being incorporated by king Charles II. by letters patent dated the twenty-second of April, Mr. Boyle was appointed one of the council, and as he might be justly reckoned among the founders of that learned body, so he continued one of
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its most useful and industrious members, during the whole course of his life. In the month of June 1663, he published his Considerations on the Usefulness of Experimental Natural Philosophy, which consisted of several essays on useful and curious subjects, in which they are handled with great freedom, from a just zeal for truth, and for the common benefit of mankind, the points which he had always in view when he took his pen in hand. These pieces, thus published, were, as himself tells us, written on several occasions, to several persons, and at different times; but as, notwithstanding this, they had a mutual relation to each other, which made them fall very aptly under one common title, he took this method of sending them abroad, that the world in general might receive that satisfaction, which particular friends had testified on the perusal of them in writing. These were followed by Experiments and Considerations upon Colours, to which was added, a letter, containing Observations upon a diamond that shines in the dark, a treatise full of curious and useful remarks, on the hitherto unexplained doctrine of light and colours; in which he shews great judgment, accuracy, and penetration, and may be said to have led the way to that mighty genius, who has since set that important point in the clearest and most convincing light possible.

He likewise published this year his Considerations on the Style of the Holy Scriptures,

which was extracted from a much larger work, intitled, *An Essay on Scripture*, that was afterwards published by P. P. A. G. F. I. that is, Peter Pett, Attorney-General for Ireland, afterwards Sir Peter Pett, a man of great reading, a voluminous writer, but of an unsettled judgment, for whom, on account of his well-meaning and upright intention, Mr. Boyle had a great regard.

In 1664 Mr. Boyle was elected into the company of Royal Mines, and was all this year taken up in the prosecution of various good designs, and more especially in promoting the affairs of the corporation for propagating the gospel in New England, which, in all probability, was the reason that he did not send abroad this year any treatises, either of religion or philosophy.

In 1665 came abroad his *Occasional Reflections upon several Subjects*, to which is prefixed, *A Discourse concerning the Nature and Use of such Kind of Writings*. This piece, tho' now published, had been written many years before, when the author was a young man, at times, and under circumstances, when few would have written any thing, and none could have written better. The attack made upon it, therefore, by a ludicrous writer, may be truly affirmed to be as cruel and unjust, as it is trivial and indecent. A short time after he published *Experiments and Observations relative to an Experimental History of Cold*, with several pieces thereunto

annexed. This work of his, as it was justly admired then, so it has been always in great esteem since, and may be truly said to have been the first work published, that gave inquisitive men any real light into the subjects which are therein examined.

His majesty king Charles II. had now an opportunity of shewing his own great judgment in men, from his esteem and affection towards Mr. Boyle, for Dr. John Meredith, Provost of Eaton, dying in August 1665, the king, unasked and unfollicated, appointed Mr. Boyle for his successor. This was certainly, all circumstances considered, the fittest employment for him in the kingdom; yet, after mature deliberation, tho' contrary to the advice of his friends, he absolutely declined it, because he thought the duties of the employment might interfere with his studies; he was unwilling to quit that course of life, which, by experience, he found so suitable to his temper and constitution; and, above all, he was unwilling to enter into holy orders, which he was persuaded was necessary to qualify himself for it.

In this year, and in the next, he was pretty much exercised in looking into an affair that made a very great noise in the world, and the decision of which, from the high reputation he had gained, was in a manner universally expected from Mr. Boyle. The case was this, one Mr. Valentine Greatraks, an Irish gentleman, persuaded himself that he had a

peculiar gift of curing diseases by stroking, in which, tho' he certainly succeeded often, yet he sometimes failed, and this occasioned a great controversy, in which most of the parties concerned addressed themselves to Mr. Boyle, who conducted himself with such wisdom and prudence, as to get out of this affair without any loss of credit, which, all things considered, cannot but be esteemed a very high proof of his wisdom.

In 1666 Dr. John Wallis addressed to Mr. Boyle An Hypothesis about the Flux and Reflux of the Sea. The famous physician, Dr. Thomas Sydenham, dedicated to him, in the same year, his Method of curing Fevers, grounded upon his own Observations, a little piece, written in Latin, and truly worthy of so great a man. Himself likewise published that year, his Hydrostatical Paradoxes, made out by new Experiments, for the most part physical and easy, which he sent abroad at the request of the Royal Society, those experiments having been made at their desire about two years before. He also published that year another celebrated treatise of his, intitled, The Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to the Corpuscular Philosophy, illustrated by Experiments; a treatise which did equal honour to the quickness of his wit, the depth of his judgment, and his indefatigable pains in searching after truth.

We must likewise observe, that both in this, and in the former year, he communi-
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cated to his friend, Mr. Oldenburgh, several curious and excellent short treatises of his, upon a great variety of subjects, and others transmitted to him by his learned friends both at home and abroad, which are printed and preserved in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society.

It is very observable, that in the warm controversy raised in relation to that society, Mr. Boyle escaped all censure, which is more extraordinary, considering that Mr. Stubbe, who was the great antagonist of the learned historian of that society, was one who set no bounds to his rage, and seemed to make it a point, to raise his resentment in proportion, as there wanted grounds for it. Yet even this choleric and furious writer had so high an esteem for Mr. Boyle, that at the very time he fell upon the society in a manner so excusable, he failed not to write frequently to our author, in order to convince him, that how angry soever he might be with that body of men, yet he preserved a just respect for his great learning and abilities, and a true sense of the many favours he had conferred upon him.

About this time our author resolved to settle himself for life in London, and removed for that purpose to the house of his sister, the lady Ranelagh, in Pall-Mall, to the infinite benefit of the learned in general, and particularly to the advantage of the Royal Society, to whom he gave great and continual assistance.

He had likewise his set hours for receiving such as came, either to desire his help, or to communicate to him any new discoveries in science. Besides which, he kept a very extensive correspondence with persons of the greatest figure, and most famous for learning in all parts of Europe.

In 1669 he published his Continuation of new Experiments, touching the Spring and Weight of the air; to which is added, A Discourse of the Atmospheres of Consistent Bodies; and the same year he revised, and made many additions to several of his former tracts, some of which were now translated into Latin, in order to gratify the curious abroad, with whom Mr. Boyle stood in as high reputation, as with all the lovers of learning at home. In the succeeding year he published a book that occasioned much speculation, as it seemed to contain a vast treasure of new knowledge, that had never been communicated to the world before, and this grounded upon actual experiments and arguments justly drawn from them, instead of that notional and conjectural philosophy, which, in the beginning of this century, had been so much in fashion. The title of this treatise was, Of the Cosmical Qualities of Things.

About this time Dr. Peter de Moulin, the son of the famous French divine of the same name, who had travelled with Mr. Boyle's nephews, dedicated to him his Collection of

Latin Poems, But in the midst of his studies, and other useful employments, he was attacked by a severe paralytic distemper, of which, tho' not without great difficulty, he got the better, by adhering strictly to a proper regimen.

In 1671 he published Considerations on the Usefulness of Experimental and Natural Philosophy, the second Part; as also, A Collection of Tracts upon several useful and important Points of Practical Philosophy, both which works were received as new and valuable gifts to the learned world. In 1672 came abroad his Essay about the Origin and Virtue of Gems, in which, according to his usual custom, he treated an old and beaten subject in a very new and useful manner; so that it may be truly said, that he not only threw an additional light upon a very dark and difficult subject, but also pointed out the only certain method of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the nature and virtues (if any such there be) of all kinds of precious stones. He published also, the same year, another Collection of Tracts, touching the Relation between Flame and Air and several other useful and curious subjects, besides furnishing in this, and in the former year, a great number of short Dissertations upon a vast variety of topics, addressed to the Royal Society, and inserted in their Transactions.

In the year 1673 he sent abroad his *Essays on the strange Subtilty, great Efficacy, and determinate Nature of Effluvia*; to which were added, *Variety of Experiments on other Subjects*. The same year Anthony Le Grand dedicated to him his *History of Nature*, which he published in Latin: and in this dedication the author gives a large account of the great reputation which Mr. Boyle had acquired in foreign parts. In 1674 Mr. Boyle published *A Collection of Tracts on the Saltneis of the Sea, the Moisture of the Air, the natural and preternatural State of Bodies*. to which he prefixed, *A Dialogue concerning Cold*.

In the same year he sent abroad a piece that had been written near ten years before, intituled, *The Excellency of Theology compared with the Natural Philosophy, in an Epistolary Discourse to a Friend*. This treatise, in which are contained a multitude of curious and useful, as well as just and natural, observations, was written in the time of the great plague, when the author was forced to go from place to place in the country, and had little or no opportunity of consulting his books. He also communicated to the world, the same year, another *Collection of Tracts*, comprehending some *Suspensions about hidden Qualities of the Air, Animadversions upon Mr. Hobbes's Problem about a Vacuum, A Discourse of the Cause of Attraction by Suction*; in which several pieces, as there are ma-
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ny new discoveries made, so several old errors, and groundless notions, are refuted and exploded.

In 1675 he printed *Some Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion*, by T. E. a Layman; to which was annexed, *A Discourse about the Possibility of the Resurrection*, by Mr. Boyle. The reader will observe, that the former, as well as the latter, was of his writing, only he thought fit to mark that with the final letters of his name, and tho' the first of these discourses promises a second part, that however, was not published. Amongst other pieces that he this year communicated to the Royal Society, there were two papers connected into one discourse, that deserve particular notice; the former was intitled, *An Experimental Discourse of Quicksilver growing hot with Cold*; the other related to the same subject, both of them containing discoveries worthy of so great a man, and facts that only on his credit could be believed.

In 1676 Mr. Boyle published his *Experiments and Notes about the Mechanical Origin of particular Qualities*, by several discourses on a great variety of subjects, and, amongst the rest, he treats very largely, and, according to his wonted method, very accurately, of Electricity. He had been for many years a Director of the East-India company, and very useful in this capacity to that great bo-

dy, more especially in procuring their charter; and the only return he expected for his labour in this respect, was, the engaging the Company to come to some resolution in favour of the propagation of the gospel, by means of their flourishing factories in that part of the world; and, as a proof of his own inclination to contribute, as far as in him lay; for that purpose, he caused five hundred copies of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, in the Malayan tongue, to be printed at Oxford, and sent abroad at his own expence, as appears from the Dedication prefixed by his friend Dr. Thomas Hyde, to that translation, which was published under his direction.

There came abroad, the same year, a Miscellaneous Collection of his Works in Latin, printed at Geneva, but without his knowledge, of which there is a large account given in the Philosophical Transactions. In 1678 he communicated to Mr. Hooke, afterwards Dr. Hooke, the short Memorial of some Observations made upon an artificial Substance that shines without any preceding Illustration, which that gentleman thought fit to make public. He published, in the same year, his Historical Account of a Degradation of Gold, made by an Anti-Elixir. This made a very great noise both at home and abroad, and is looked upon as one of the most remarkable pieces that ever fell from his pen, the facts contained in which would have been esteemed

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incredible, if they had fallen from the pen of any other.

In the year 1680 he sent into the world the following tracts, viz. *The Aerial Noctiluca*, and a *Process of a factitious self-shining Substance*; besides which, he published also some small discourses upon different subjects. It was upon the thirtieth of November, in this year, that the Royal Society, as a proof of their just sense of his great worth, and of the constant and particular services, which, through the course of many years, he had rendered to their Society, made choice of him for their President; but he being extremely, and, as himself says, peculiarly tender in point of oaths, declined the honour done him, by a letter addressed to Mr. Professor Hooke of Gresham college. He was also, within the compass of this year, a considerable benefactor towards the publishing Dr. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, as he very readily was, on the like occasion, to every performance calculated for the general use and benefit of mankind.

In 1681, he published his *Discourse of Things above Reason*; and the same year he was engaged in endeavouring to promote the preaching and promulgation of the Gospel amongst the Indians bordering upon New-England. In 1682, came out his *New Experiments and Observations upon the Icy Noctiluca*; to which is added, *A Chymical Paradox*, making it probable that their Principles

are transmutable, so that out of one of them others may be produced. The same year, he communicated to the public, The Second Part of his Continuation of New Experiments touching the Spring and Weight of the Air, and a large Appendix, containing several other discourses.

He published, in 1683, nothing that I find, except a short letter to the reverend Dr. John Beale, in relation to the making fresh water out of salt, published at the request of the patentees, who were embarked in Mr. Fitzgerald's project for that purpose, the proposals for which were addressed to Mr. Boyle; and the author acknowledges therein the obligations he was under to him for his assistance.

In the succeeding year, 1684, he printed two very considerable works. The first was, his Memoirs for the Natural History of Human Blood; and his second, Experiments and Considerations about the Porosity of Bodies, divided into two parts; the first relating to animals, the second to solid bodies: and his works being now grown to a very considerable bulk, the celebrated Dr. Ralph Cudworth, whose praise alone was sufficient to establish any man's title to fame, wrote to him in very pressing terms, to make an entire collection of his several treatises, and to publish them in a body, and in the Latin tongue, in his own life-time, as well out of regard to his reputation, as to the general interest of mankind,
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and the peculiar satisfaction to the learned world.

In 1635, he obliged the world with his Short Memoirs for the Natural Experimental History of Mineral Waters, with Directions as to the several Methods of trying them, including abundance of new and useful Remarks, as well as several curious Experiments. He gave the world also, in the same year, another excellent work, entitled, An Essay of the great Effects of languid and unheeded Motion; with an Appendix, containing an Experimental Discourse of some hitherto little regarded Causes of the Insalubrity and Salubrity of the Air, and it's Effects; than which none of his treatises were ever received with greater or more general applause. He published, in the same year, A Dissertation on the Reconcilableness of Specific Medicines to the Corpuscular Philosophy; to which is added, A Discourse of the Advantages attending the Use of Simple Medicines. To these Philosophical, he added a most excellent Theological Discourse, Of the high Veneration Man's Intellect owes to God, particularly for his Wisdom and Power; being a part of a much larger work, which he signified to the world, to prevent any exception from being taken at the abrupt manner of its beginning.

At the entrance of the succeeding year, 1686, came abroad his Free Enquiry into the vulgarly received Notion of Nature; one of the most important and useful pieces that ever fell from his pen; and which will be always ad-

admired and esteemed by such as have a true zeal for religion and intelligible philosophy. In the month of June, the same year, his friend Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards lord-bishop of Sarum, transmitted to him from Holland, his account of his travels through France, Switzerland, and Italy; which were afterwards published.

In 1687, a work which he had drawn up in his youth, entitled, *The Martyrdom of Theodora and Dydimia*, came from the press to the hands of the public. In 1688, he obliged the world with a most curious and useful treatise, entitled, *A Disquisition into the final Causes of Natural Things*; and whether, if at all, with what Caution a Naturalist should admit them. To which is added, *An Appendix about vitiated Sight*. In this piece he treats, with great judgment and perspicuity, many of the deepest and most abstracted notions in Philosophy and Religion, so as to give satisfaction to the candid, without running into any offensive notions, in the opinion even of the most critical reader; which is a felicity, that, in cases of this nature, has very rarely attended the writings of any other author than Mr. Boyle; whose care was equal to his quickness, and whose caution hindered him from hazarding any thing that might shock weak minds, or tender consciences. In the month of May, this year, our author, however unwillingly, was

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constrained to make his complaint to the public of some inconveniences under which he had long laboured; which he did by an advertisement addressed to J. W. to be communicated to such of his friends as were virtuosi, to inform them of the loss of many of his writings, and that it might serve as an explanatory preface to some of his mutilated and unfinished pieces.

One cannot well conceive any thing that gives a higher or more expressive notion of the worth and excellency of this great man, than this paper, which, had it come from any other person, would have been either regarded as a common and trivial advertisement, or as a very glaring mark of self-conceit and vanity; but, in reference to Mr. Boyle, it appears so necessary to himself, that it could not be omitted; of such importance to the public, that it cannot be forgot; and so cautiously digested, as to raise our admiration and esteem for its author.

He began now to find that his health, notwithstanding all his care and caution, began sensibly to decline, and his strength to decay; which put him upon devising every method that was possible for husbanding his time, for the future, for the benefit of the learned world. In doing this, he preferred generals to particulars; and the assistance of the whole republic of letters, to that of any branch, by what ties soever he might be connected therewith.

It was from this view, that he no longer communicated particular discourses, or new discoveries, to the royal society, because this could not be done without withdrawing his thoughts from tasks which he thought of still greater importance. It was the more steadily to attend these, that he resigned his post of governor of the corporation for propagating the Gospel in New-England; nay, he went so far as to signify to the world, that he could no longer receive visits as usual; and all this, that he might have leisure to put his papers in order; to supply the blanks he had left in many of his treatises, and to repair the deficiencies in others occasioned by the falling upon them of corrosive liquors; that, as he had been useful to the public during the whole course of his life, so the vast collections he left behind him, of the importance of which he was the best judge, might not prove useless after his decease. This was certainly an instance of learned patriotism, worthy of admiration at least, and, if such a genius should ever arise again, of imitation.

Among the other great works which, by this means, he gained time to finish, there is great reason to believe, that one was A Collection of Elaborate Processes in Chemistry; concerning which he wrote a letter to a friend which is still extant, but the piece itself was never published, nor some other curious tracts relating to the same subject, found amongst his papers; which has been considered as an irrepara-

irreparable loss to such as have a fondness for these kind of studies.

In 1690, he published his *Medecina Hydrostatica*: or, *Hydrostatics applied to the Materia Medica*: shewing how, by the Weight that divers Bodies used in Physic have in Water, one may discover whether they be genuine or adulterate. To which is subjoined, A previous *Hydrostatical Way of estimating Ores*. He informs us, in the postscript of this treatise, that he had prepared materials sufficient for a second volume, which he promised, but it never appeared. He published, however, this year, another most excellent work, which bore the following title: *The Christian Virtuoso*; shewing, that, by being addicted to *Experimental Philosophy*, a man is rather assisted than indisposed to be a good Christian. The first Part. To which are subjoined, I. A Discourse about the distinction that represents some things as above reason, but not contrary to reason. II. The first Chapters of a Discourse, entitled, *Greatness of Mind promoted by Christianity*. In the advertisement prefixed to this work, he mentions *A Second Part of the Christian Virtuoso*; which he had begun, and which is actually published in the last edition of his works; that is to say, imperfect, as he left it, with an Appendix to the first part.

He communicated, about this time, to Mr. De la Crose, a very ingenious gentleman, who published

published a periodical work, entitled, *The History of Learning: An Account of some Observations made in the Congregation of Waters, by lowering Bottles down into the Sea, six hundred feet deep from the Surface.* This experiment was made on the second of January, 1677-8, by a captain of a man of war, a man of very good sense, in the presence of a great many other persons; and was, in the judgment of Mr. Boyle, a thing of too great value to be lost, and therefore he took this method of preserving it.

We are now come to the very last of his works published in his life time, which was in the spring of the year 1691, and bore this title, *Experimenta et Observationes Physicæ*; wherein are briefly treated of several subjects relating to Natural Philosophy, in an experimental Way. To which is added, A small Collection of Strange-Reports. This is called, in the title-page, *The First Part*; and amongst his papers there were found the *Second and Third Parts*; but whether complete or not I cannot say.

About the entrance of the summer of the year last mentioned, he began to feel such an alteration in his health, as induced him to think of settling his affairs; and accordingly, on the eighteenth of July, he signed and sealed his last will, to which he afterwards added several codicils.

In the month of October following, his distempers encreased; which might, perhaps, be owing to his tender concern for the tedious illness of his dear sister the lady Ranelagh, with whom he had lived many years in the greatest harmony and friendship, and whose indisposition brought her to the grave on the twenty-third of December following. She was, in all respects, a most accomplished and most extraordinary woman; so that her brother might very justly esteem it the peculiar felicity of his life that he had such a sister, and, in her, so useful a friend, and so agreeable a companion.

He did not survive her above a week, for, on the last day of the year 1691, or, as most authors account it, on Wednesday, the thirtieth of December, at three quarters past twelve at night, he departed this life, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; and was buried, on the seventh of January following, at the upper end of the south side of the chancel of St. Martin's in the Fields, in Westminster, near the body of his beloved sister Catherine, viscountess Ranelagh.

His funeral was decent, and as much without pomp as it was possible, considering the number of persons of distinction that attended it, besides his own numerous relations. His funeral-sermon was preached by Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Sarum; and there are many who think his performance on that occasion the best he ever published.

As to the person of this great man, we are told that Mr. Boyle was tall but slender, and his countenance pale and emaciated. His constitution was so tender and delicate, that he had divers sorts of cloaks to put on when he went abroad, according to the temperature of the air; and in this he governed himself by the thermometer. He escaped, indeed, the small-pox during his life; but, for almost forty years, he laboured under such a feebleness of body, and such lowness of strength and spirits, that it was astonishing how he could read, meditate, try experiments, and write, as he did. He had likewise a weakness in his eyes, which made him very tender of them, and extremely apprehensive of such distempers as might affect them. He imagined also, that, if sickness should confine him to his bed, it might raise the pains of the stone to a degree which might be above his strength to support, so that he feared lest his last minutes should prove too hard for him. This was the ground of all the caution and apprehension he was observed to live in; but, as to life itself, he had that just indifference to it which became so true a Christian. However, his sight began not to grow dim above four hours before he died; and, when death came upon him, he had not been above three hours in bed before it made an end of him, with so little pain, that it was plain the light went out merely for want of oil to maintain the flame.

The simplicity of his diet was, in all appearance, that which preserved him so long beyond all men's expectation. This he practised so strictly, that, in a course of above thirty years, he neither eat or drank to gratify the varieties of appetite, but merely to support nature; and was so regular in it, that he never once transgressed the rule, measure, and kind, which were prescribed him.

In his first addresses, when he was to speak or answer, he sometimes hesitated a little rather than stammered, or repeated the same word; and this, as it rendered him slow and deliberate, so, after the first effort, he proceeded without the least interruption in his discourse.

He was never married; but Mr. Evelyn was assured, that he courted the beautiful and ingenious daughter of Cary, earl of Monmouth; and that to this passion was owing his Seraphic Love: but it does not appear, from any of his writings, that he had ever entertained thoughts of this kind. To say the truth, he seems to have been persuaded that he was born for nobler purposes than the ordinary lot of men; or, at least, if he was not so persuaded, his actions were such as may so persuade us.

We have, by the help of those industrious and worthy persons who had provided the materials, followed him from his infancy to the grave, with that degree of wonder, reverence, and respect, which his knowledge, virtue,
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and piety, demand. The learned prelate who preached his funeral sermon, and one who seldom wanted words when he meant to describe any character, owns himself at a loss in the performance of this last duty to Mr Boyle. We may, therefore, with greater reason excuse ourselves, as well on account of the great length of this article, as the difficulties that lie in the way of framing a character for one, whose memory, like the paintings of a great master, has been meliorated by time, and is now, not the object barely of admiration, but of veneration also. He was a man, who, in the beginning of his life, raised such hopes as hurt themselves, for those who considered him most attentively, scarce thought it possible that they should be answered, and yet, without fear of flattery, we may affirm, that these, even these, hopes, were exceeded. He attained the vigour of his age in those deplorable times, when the Church and State lay buried in confusion, which gave him so true a notion of the vanity of titles and the danger of power, that he not only never courted either, but was industrious in shunning both. He made philosophy the business of his life, from the two noblest motives man could possibly conceive, the desire of doing good to others, and of manifesting the goodness of that Divine Being who is the parent of all. Yet, full of these serious and sublime intentions, he not only condescended to behave, in all the common offices

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of life, like other men, but even with a peculiar civility, which he shewed especially towards foreigners, by whom he was often visited, and who never went away from him but with full satisfaction.

His temper was naturally hasty; but he corrected this so early in his youth, that, except now and then in his countenance, it was never discerned afterwards. The sweetness of his disposition, and that meekness of mind which discovered itself in all he did, never led him into any of those faults which usually attend the excess even of those amiable qualities. He could be warm when there was a proper occasion for warmth; that is, in the cause of truth, which he always vigorously defended; and we have an instance of his zeal for the essentials of religion, of which it would be an injury done his fame not to take notice.

As great as Mr. Boyle's moderation and charity was, in respect to all the different sects in which Christianity was divided, yet he was a constant member of the church of England, and went to no separate assemblies; but, some time before the restoration, either out of curiosity, or, perhaps, from some more weighty motive, he went to Sir Henry Vane's house in order to hear him, who, at that time, was at the head of a sect who called themselves Seekers: neither was this visit of his attended with any disappointment, for he there heard him preach, in a large thronged

room, a long sermon on the text of Dan. xii. 2. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.

The whole scope of Sir Henry's sermon was to shew, that many doctrines of religion, that had long been dead and buried in the world, should, before the end of it, be awakened into life; and, that many false doctrines, being then likewise revived, should, by the power of truth, be then doomed to shame and everlasting contempt.

When Sir Henry had concluded his discourse, Mr. Boyle spoke to this effect to him before the people: That, being informed, that, in such private meetings, it was not uncustomary for any one of the speakers or hearers, who was unsatisfied about any matters there uttered, to give in his objections against them, and to prevent any mistakes in the speakers or hearers, he thought himself obliged, for the honour of God's truth, to say, That this place in Daniel, being the clearest one in all the Old Testament, for the proof of the resurrection, we ought not to suffer the meaning of it to evaporate into allegory; and the rather, since that inference is made by our Saviour in the New Testament, by way of asserting the resurrection from that place of Daniel in the Old: and, that, if it should be denied that the plain and genuine meaning of those words in the prophet, is to assert

assert the resurrection of dead bodies, he was ready to prove it to be so, both out of the words of the text and context in the original language, and from the best expositors, both Christian and Jewish. But that, if this be not denied, and Sir Henry's discourse of the resurrection of doctrines true and false, was designed by him only in the way of occasional meditations from those words in Daniel, and not to enervate the literal sense as the genuine one, then he had nothing further to say.

Mr. Boyle then sitting down, Sir Henry rose up, and said, that his discourse was only in the way of such occasional meditations, which he thought edifying to the people; and declared, that he agreed that the literal sense of the words was the resurrection of dead bodies. and so that meeting broke up.

Mr. Boyle afterwards speaking of this conference to Sir Peter Pett, observed, that Sir Henry Vane, at that time, being in the height of his authority in the state, and his auditors at that meeting, consisting chiefly of dependants on him, and expectants from him, the fear of losing his favour would, probably, have restrained them from contradicting any of his interpretations of scripture, how ridiculous soever. "But I," said Mr. Boyle, "having no little awe of that kind upon me, thought myself bound to enter the lists with him, as I did, that the sense of the scriptures might not be depraved."

The extensiveness of his knowledge surpassed every thing but his modesty, and his desire of communicating it; which appears equally in all his compositions; for in them we may discern his fear of offending, and his fear of concealing; and this, not from any timid apprehensions of opposition, but from a benevolent inclination to instruct without severity, and to part with wisdom as freely as he had received it.

He had the justest conception of truth that the human mind can frame; so cautious in examining and reporting, as to avoid, in the opinion of all true judges, the least imputation of credulity; and, on the other hand, so well acquainted with the power of nature, that he never presumed to set any limits thereto, or hindered any accession of knowledge, by that sort of incredulity which sometimes attends superior learning. In a word, considered in every light, as a man, as a philosopher, as a Christian, he came as near perfection as the defects of human nature would allow; and, though he never sought it, yet the most universal praise, both at home and abroad, waited on his labours living, and have constantly attended his memory; for it may be truly said, that never any fame was more unquestioned than that of Mr. Boyle's both was and is; and we may, with great safety, add, that, as he is the peculiar honour of his family, and the great glory of this nation, so foreigners, who cannot

cannot contend with us in these points, endeavour to outvie us in their commendations.

In treating this subject, we have, perhaps, gone too far; but whoever considers it attentively, will easily excuse a fault that it was almost impossible not to commit; and for which we can only atone by confessing, that all we have or could say, is so much below his merit, that it serves only to express our sense of it, and our desire of rendering him that justice, which, without abilities equal to his own, can never be performed.



THE LIFE OF

JOHN TILLOTSON.

DOCTOR JOHN TILLOTSON, archbishop of Canterbury, was descended of a family antiently of the name of Tilston, of Tilston, in Cheshire, the ancestor of which was Nicholas de Tilston, lord of the manor of Tilston, from whom descended Nicholas de Tilston, in the ninth year of king Edward III. The doctor's father was Mr. Robert Tillotson, a considerable clothier, of Sowerby, in the parish of Hallifax, in the county of York, where he was born, at a house called Haugh, about the end of September, or beginning of October, 1630; and baptized there on the third of October: his mother being Mary, (the daughter of Thomas Dobson, a gentleman of the same place) a woman of excellent character, but unhappy, for many years of her life, in the loss of her understanding. Both his parents were nonconformists.

After he had, with a quick proficiency, passed through the grammar-schools, and attained a skill in the learned languages, superior to his years, he was sent to Cambridge, in the year 1647, at the age of seventeen, and admitted



Arch-Bishop Tillotson.



admitted pensioner of Clare-hall, on the twenty-third of April that year; and into the matricula of that university on the first of July following, where he commenced bachelor of arts at midsummer, 1650; and master of arts in 1654; having been chosen-fellow of his college about the twenty seventh of November, 1651.

His first education and impressions were among those who were then called Puritans, but of the best sort; and yet, even before his mind was opened to clearer thoughts, he felt somewhat within him that disposed him to larger notions and a better temper. The books which were put into the hands of the youth at that time, being generally heavy, he could scarce bear them, even before he knew better things; but he soon met with the immortal work of Mr. Chillingworth. This admirable book gave his mind the ply that it held ever after, and put him upon a true scent.

He was soon freed from his first prejudices, or, rather, he was never mastered by them; yet he still adhered to that strictness of life to which he was bred, and retained a just value and due tenderness for the men of that persuasion; and by the strength of his reason, together with the clearness of his principles, brought over more serious persons from their scruples to the communion of the church of England, and fixed more in it, than any man, perhaps, of that time.

As he got into a new method of study, so he entered into friendships with some great men, which contributed not a little to the perfecting his own mind. But that which gave him his last finishing, was his close and long friendship with Dr. John Wilkins, afterwards bishop of Chester. He went into all the best things that were in that great man, but so that he perfected every one of them: for, though bishop Wilkins had more general knowledge, yet Dr. Tillotson was the greater divine; and, if the former had more flame, the latter was more correct.

Mr. Tillotson left his college in 1656, or 1657, according to Dr. Hickes, who informs us, that he was invited by Edmund Prideaux, esq. of Ford-abbey, in Devonshire, to instruct his son. This gentleman had been commissioner of the great-seal under the long-parliament, and was then attorney-general to Oliver Cromwell, the protector; but how long Mr. Tillotson lived with Mr. Prideaux, or whether till that gentleman's decease, on the nineteenth of August, 1659, does not appear.

He was in London at the time of the death of the protector Oliver, on the third of September, 1658; and, about a week after, was present at a very remarkable scene at the palace at Whitehall: for happening to be there on a fast-day of the household, he went, out of curiosity, into the presence-chamber, where the solemnity was kept; and saw there, on the one side of a table, the new protector placed

placed with the rest of his family; and on the other six preachers; among whom were Dr. John Owen, dean of Christchurch, in Oxford; Dr. Thomas Goodwin, president of Magdalen-college; Mr. Joseph Caryl, author of the voluminous commentary on Job, and rector of St. Magnus in London; and Mr. Peter Steny. The bold fallies of enthusiasm which Mr. Tillotson heard upon this occasion, - were sufficient to disgust a man less disposed to it than he was both by tempér and principles. God was, in a manner, reproached with the deceased protector's services, and challenged for taking him away so soon. Dr. Goodwin, who had pretended to assure them, in a prayer, a very few minutes before he expired, that he was not to die, had now the assurance to say to God, "Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived." And Mr. Steny, praying for Richard, used these indecent words, next to blasphemy, "Make him the brightness of the father's glory, and the express image of his person."

The time of Mr. Tillotson's entering into holy-orders, and by whom he was ordained, are facts we have not been able to determine; but his first sermon which appeared in print, was preached at the morning exercise at Cripplegate, on Matth. vii. 13. At the time of preaching this sermon he was still among the Presbyterians, whose commissioners he attended, though as an auditor only, at the

Savoy, for the review of the Liturgy, in July, 1661; but he immediately submitted to the act of uniformity, which commenced on St. Bartholomew's day, in the year ensuing.

The first office in the church in which we find him employed after the restoration, was that of curate at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, in the years 1661 and 1662. Here Mr. Tillotson is said, by his mild and gentle behaviour, and persuasive eloquence, to have prevailed with an Oliverian soldier, who preached among the Anabaptists in that town in a red coat, and was much followed, to desist from that, and betake himself to some other employment.

The short distance of Cheshunt from London, allowing him frequent opportunities of visiting his friends in that city, he was frequently invited into the pulpits there. And on the sixteenth of December 1662 he was elected minister of the adjoining parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury, by the parishoners, in whom the right of choice is invested. But Mr. Tillotson declined the acceptance of that living, however he did not continue long without the offer of another benefice, which he accepted, being presented in June 1663 to the rectory of Ketton or Keddington, in the county of Suffolk, worth two hundred pounds a year. But shortly after, being called to London, by the society of Lincoln's-inn, to be their preacher; which invitation was so agreeable

able to Mr. Tillotson, that he determined to settle himself intirely, among them, and tho' in the intervals of the terms he could have given a large part of the year, to his parish in Suffolk; yet so strict was he to the pastoral care in point of residence, that he resigned that living, even when his income in London could scarce support him. The reputation, which his preaching gained him in so conspicuous a station as that of Lincoln's inn, recommended him the year following, to the trustees of the Tuesday lecture, at St. Lawrence Jewry, founded by Elizabeth viscountess Camden. And there he was commonly attended by a numerous audience, brought together from the remotest parts of the metropolis, and by a great concourse of clergy, who came thither to form their minds. The high reputation of Dr. John Wilkins, and the interest of Villiers duke of Buckingham, having at last, notwithstanding the opposition of archbishop Sheldon, and other great men of the church, induced the king to advance him to a bishopric, Dr. Tillotson was desired to preach the sermon on Sunday the fifteenth of November 1668, in the chapel at Ely-house. Dr. Tillotson was now related to bishop Wilkins, by the marriage of his daughter in-law, Elizabeth French, who was neice to Oliver Cromwell, however, his averfness to solicitation, did not prevent his merit from having justice done it, by the interest which it gained him even at court, as well as in the city, for
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upon the promotion of Dr. Peter Gunning to the bishopric of Chichester, in February in 1669-70, in the room of Dr. Henry King, he was collated to the prebend of the second stall in the cathedral of Canterbury, which had been held by the new bishop, and was admitted to it on the fourteenth of March. He kept this prebend till he was advanced to the deanry of that church, in October 1672. Nor was Canterbury the only cathedral, in which Dr. Tillotson was preferred, for on the eighteenth of December 1675, he was presented to the prebend of Ealdland, in that of St. Paul's London, which he resigned for that at Oxgate, and a residentiaryship in the same church, on the fourteenth of February, 1677-8. This last preferment was obtained for him by the interest of his friend Dr. John Sharp, afterwards archbishop of York. The friendship between the dean and Dr. Sharpe was occasioned by an accidental meeting upon this occasion. Mr. Joshua Tillotson the dean's brother, was a wet and dry salter, or oilman, in London, of which trade was the doctor's father, Mr. Thomas Sharp at Bradford in Yorkshire. The Dr. returning from thence, into Sir Heneage Finch's family, with a bill drawn on Mr. Joshua Tilloton, happened to meet at his house Dr. Tillotson who finding Mr. Sharp to be his countryman, and a young clergyman setting out into the world, being above fourteen years younger than himself, with his usual goodness and civility, took particular notice of him, and

after

after some conversation gave Mr. Sharp leave to come freely to his house, whenever he pleased, and to have recourse to him as often as he thought it might be serviceable to him. Mr. Sharp judged this a most fortunate interview, and himself extremely happy in so valuable an acquaintance, and ever after spoke with pleasure of this incident. The dean of Canterbury had now been some years chaplain to king Charles II, though his majesty had no kindness for him, according to the suggestion of bishop Burnet, admitted by Dr. Hickes. But to whomsoever he owed his preferments, which can only be considered as the just rewards of his extraordinary merits, they had no other effect upon him, than to enlarge his capacity of doing good. He neither slackened his labours, nor advanced his fortunes by them, but gave as much of his time and labours to his cathedral, as could agree with his other obligations. And all that he desired afterwards upon the revolution was such a change of his deanry of Canterbury for that of St. Paul's, as considerably lessened his income, by the resignation of his residentiaryship of the latter, but delivered him from the invidious load of having two dignities. The rise of his interest with the prince and princess of Orange, with the consequence of it in his advancement to the see of Canterbury, has been ascribed to an accident, which is supposed to have happened in the year 1677, and is thus represented by one of our historians as
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drawn from a manuscript account taken from archbishop Tillotson's own mouth. That the match between that prince and princess, being made upon political views against the will of the duke of York, and not with the hearty liking of the king, the country party as they were then called, were exceedingly pleased and elevated, and after the lord mayor's feast, a secret design was laid to invite the new married couple into the city, and a public and solemn entertainment to be made for them. To prevent this, the court hurried both the bride and bridegroom, as fast as they could, out of town, so that they departed with such precipitation, that they had scarce time to make any provision for their journey. Their servants and baggage went by the way of Harwich, but the prince and princess by Canterbury road, where they were to lye till the wind was fair, and the yacht ready to sail with them. Being arrived at Canterbury, they repaired to an inn, and no good care being taken in their haste to separate what was needful for their journey, they came very meanly provided, thither. Mons. Bentinck, who attended them, endeavoured to borrow some plate and money of the corporation for their accommodation, but upon grave deliberation, the mayor and body proved to be really afraid to lend them either. Dr. Tillotson dean of Canterbury, at that time in residence there, hearing of this, immediately got together all his own plate, and other that he borrowed,

together

together with a good number of guineas, and all other necessaries for them, and went directly to the inn to Mons. Bentinck, and offered him all that he had got, and withal complained, that they did not come to the deanry, where the royal family used to lodge, and heartily invited them still to go thither, where they might be sure of a better accommodation. This last they declined, but the money, plate, and the rest were highly acceptable to them. Upon this, the dean was carried to wait upon the prince and princess, and his great interest soon brought others to attend upon them. "By this lucky accident, adds the account, he began that acquaintance and the correspondence with the prince and Mons. Bentinck, which yearly encreased to the very revolution, when both Mons. Bentinck had great occasion for him and his friends, on his own account, as well as the prince himself, when he arrived at the crown. And this was the true secret ground, on which the bishop of London, (whose qualities and services seemed to intitle him without a rival, to the archbishopric) was yet set aside, and Dr. Tillotson advanced over his head". But this solemn and circumstantial story, when examined, will be found liable to great exceptions. The sudden death of his second brother, Mr. Joshua Tillotson, by vomiting of blood, on the sixteenth of September 1678, affected him in a very sensible manner, and being unwilling to shock his father, then at his house at Sowerby, with the

abrupt

abrupt communication of it, wrote the same day to his kinsman Mr. Timothy Bentley, desiring him to acquaint him with the loss of his son, and to intreat him, "to bear it with patience, and submission to the will of God, and to comfort himself, as I, says he, desire to do, with the hope of meeting and enjoying him in a better life". The discovery of the popish plot in September 1678, of which the reality, or at least extant has been since treated as one of the greatest problems in history, having given great alarm to the parliament, which met on the twenty first of October, a few days after the murder of Sir Edmunbury Godfrey, the dean was appointed to preach before the House of Commons, on the fifth of November following. His text was Luke ix. 55, 56. and the design of his discourse was to shew, that a revengeful, cruel, and destructive spirit is directly contrary to the design and temper of the gospel, and not to be excused upon any pretence of zeal for God and religion. In the conclusion he makes an application of that doctrine to the occasion of the day, by exposing the principles and practices of the church of Rome, and particularly in the gun-powder treason-plot, avowed by the authors, who expressed a concern for its ill success, as appeared by the original papers and letters of Sir Edward Digby, then in the dean's hands.

He had not long after this an occasion to improve these considerations, concerning the nature and tendancy of popery, to the disen-

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gaging a young nobleman of great parts from the profession of it, in which he had been educated. This was Charles earl of Shrewsbury, created a duke, by king William, to whom he was secretary of state, having had a considerable share in the revolution, and in the latter end of whose reign he retired to Italy for his health, where he continued, till about the year 1710, when he returned to England, and joined the new ministry, notwithstanding which he was again made lord chamberlain to king George I, as he had been to queen Anne, and died on the first of February 1717-18. His lordship was led into an inquiry into his first religion, by the discovery of the popish plot and was soon made sensible of its errors and corruptions, by so thorough a master of that subject as the dean of Canterbury, whom he attended for the first time, at the public worship in Lincoln's-inn chapel, on Sunday the fourth of May 1679.

The discovery of the Rye-house plot, in June the same year 1683, opened a very melancholy scene, in which the dean had a large share of distress on account both of his friendships and his concern for the public. One of the principal objects of his sollicitude and anxiety, was William lord Russel, eldest son of William earl, and after the revolution, duke of Bedford. His lordship having shewn so warm a zeal for the bill of exclusion, which he had moved for in the house of commons, in the beginning of November 1680, had little

tle reason, notwithstanding the integrity of his own personal character, and the dignity and weight of his family and its connections, to expect any favour from the court. He was committed to the tower on the twenty-sixth of June, and brought to his trial at the Old Bailey, on Friday the thirteenth of July, where he was found guilty of high treason. The dean appeared as a witness for his lordship's character, at his trial, declaring, that he had been many years past acquainted with him, and had always judged him a person of great virtue and integrity, and very far from any such wicked design, as he stood charged with. And after lord Ruffel's condemnation, the dean and Dr. Burnet were sent for by his lordship, and they both continued their attendance upon him, till his death; the day before which, the dean delivered to him a letter, in which he endeavoured to persuade him to what he had some days before in vain attempted, a declaration against the lawfulness of resistance. The principles of this letter, were the ground of those expressions, which he used in his prayer with his lordship on the scaffold in Lincoln's-inn-fields, on Saturday the twenty-first of July. "Grant that all we, who survive, by this and other instances of thy providence may learn our duty to God and the king". And this prayer, as well as his letter, were considered by the court as such a sanction to their favourite doctrines and measures, that Mr. Roger L'Estrange was furnished with copies of them, inserted by him,

him in his considerations upon a printed sheet, entituled, The speech of the late lord Russel, to the sheriffs; in which he gives an account of the dean's pious and friendly visits to his lordship, and commends him for discharging himself from first to last in all the parts of a churchman and of a friend.

In November 1687, the dean lost the last surviving of his children, Mary, the wife of James Chadwicke Esq. by whom she left two sons, and a daughter. This loss, as he observed in a letter of the eleventh of that month to Mr, Nelson, then in London, deeply pierced his heart; "but I endeavour, adds he, to do as becomes me, and as I know I ought" This misfortune probably occasioned him to retire to Canterbury, whence he wrote again to that gentleman, on the seventh of December, to return his own and his wife's thanks, to him, and to those honourable persons, who, upon Mr. Nelson's motion, had been so charitable in their contributions, most probably to the french protestants in that city, since he requests him to lay out five pounds in french bibles bound, and to desire Mr, Firmin to send them thither. Not long after this, the dean was seized with a disorder of the apoplectic kind, but escaped the consequences of it, without any return till that fatal one about seven years after. During the debate in parliament concerning the settlement of the crown on king William for life, the dean was advised with upon that point by the princess Anne of Denmark

mark, who had at first refused to give her consent to it, as prejudicial to her own right. Her favourite, the lady Churchill, afterwards dutchess of Marlborough, accordingly took great pains to promote the princess's pretensions. But that lady soon finding, that all endeavours of this kind, would be ineffectual, that all the principal men, except the Jacobites were for the king, and that the settlement would be carried in parliament, whether her royal highness would or not, and being fearful about every thing, which the princess did while she was thought to be advised by her ladyship, she could not satisfy her own mind till she had consulted with several persons of undisputed wisdom and integrity, and particularly with the lady Ruffel, and the dean of Canterbury. She found them all unanimous in the expediency of the settlement proposed, as things were then situated, and therefore carried the dean to the princess, who, upon what he said to her, took care, that no disturbance should be made by her pretended friends the Jacobites, who had pressed her earnestly to form an opposition. The dean was admitted into a high degree of favour and confidence with king William and queen Mary, before the latter of whom he preached at Whitehall, on the eighth of March 1688-9, his sermon concerning the forgiveness of injuries, and against revenge, as he did on the fourteenth of April following, before both their majesties, at Hampton Court, that, on the care of our
souls.

souls, and the one thing needful. And on the twenty seventh of that month, he was promoted to an office, which required his frequent attendance near their majesties persons, being appointed clerk of the closet to the king. The refusal of archbishop Sancroft, to acknowledge the government of their majesties, made it necessary to look out for a successor to him. The king soon fixed upon the dean of Canterbury, for that purpose, whose desires and ambition had extended no farther than the exchange of his deanry for that of St. Paul's, vacant by the promotion of Dr. Stillingfleet to the bishopric of Worcester, upon the death of Dr. Thomas. This was readily granted him in September 1689, and he was installed on the twenty first of November. It was indeed a considerable diminution of his income, as he resigned at the same time, the residentiaryship of St. Pauls. But he chose, as has been already observed, to disburthen himself of the load, and envy of holding two dignities together. Yet however satisfied he was in that situation, his majesty would not let him rest, till he submitted to a much higher post, to which he had an almost unconquerable aversion.

Dr. Tillotson had been in strict attendance at court in his office of clerk of the closet for ten weeks till towards the beginning of September 1689, when he obtained leave to retire for some days, to his house at Edmonton, whence he wrote on the tenth of that month
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to lady Ruffel, giving her an account of the king's having given the bishopric of Chichester to Dr. Patrick, and the deanry of Peterborough to Dr. Kidder. The rectory of St. Paul's Covent-Garden also falling into his majesty's disposal by the promotions of the new bishop of Chichester, dean Tillotson informed her ladyship, that he believed, that the king would not dispose of that living but to one, whom the earl of Bedford, the patron of it, should approve, and therefore asked her whether his lordship and she would be willing that the earl of Nottingham should mention to his majesty on that occasion Dr. John More. This divine was, after his advancement to the episcopal dignity one of the most eminent patrons of learning and learned men, in his time; and his name will be carried down to posterity, not only by his sermons published by Dr. Samuel Clarke, his chaplain, but by the curious and magnificent library collected by him, and purchased after his death, for six thousand guineas by his late majesty, who presented it to the university of Cambridge. He was born at Harborough in Leicestershire, and educated at Clare-hall in that university, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1665, of master in 1669, of doctor of divinity in 1681. He was fellow of that college and chaplain to the chancellor Nottingham, and quitting the rectory of Blaby in Leicestershire, was collated to that of St. Austin in London in December 1687, and in October 1689 was removed to
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that of St. Andrews, which he held till July 1691, when he was consecrated bishop of Norwich, in the room of Dr. William Lloyd, deprived for not taking the oaths, and July 1707, translated to the see of Ely, upon the death of Dr. Patrick. He died on thirty first of July 1714, at the age of sixty eight. In the same letter, the dean takes notice of his having spoken to the king the Sunday before, concerning Mr. Samuel Johnson, and that his majesty seemed well inclined to what he had moved for that divine, but did not positively determine to take that course. This refers to some request, which lady Russel had desired the dean to make to his majesty in favour of Mr. Johnson, for whom she had great zeal out of regard both to the memory of her husband, whose chaplain he had been, and to the merit of his writings and sufferings.

The king had now fixed upon Dr. Tillotson for the successor to the suspended archbishop Sancroft, if the latter should incur, as he seemed determined, a sentence of deprivation: And he communicated the intention to the doctor, when he kissed his majesty's hand for the deanry of St. Pauls. But this fact will be best represented in the dean's own words, in his letter to lady Russel; part of which, we shall insert here. And it is observable, that this letter is an unanswerable confutation of a report, propogated to the disadvantage of bishop Burnet, that he had a view himself to the archbishopric, and that his disappointment

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in that respect was the ground of an incurable resentment against a prince, to whom he had been so much obliged. "But now begins my trouble. After I had kissed the king's hand for the deanry of St. Paul's, I gave his majesty my most humble thanks, and told him, that now he had set me at ease for the remainder of my life. He replied, no such matter, I assure you: and spoke plainly about a great place, which I dread to think of, and said, it was necessary for his service, and he must charge it upon my conscience. Just as he had said this, he was called to supper, and I had only time to say, that when his majesty was at leisure, I did believe I could satisfy him, that it would be most for his service, that I should continue in the station, in which he had now placed me. This hath brought me into a real difficulty. For on the one hand it is hard to decline his majesty's commands, and much harder yet to stand out against so much goodness, as his majesty is pleased to use towards me. On the other, I can neither bring my inclination nor my judgement to it. This I owe to the bishop of Salisbury, one of the worst and best friends I know: Best for his singular good opinion of me: And the worst for directing the king to this method, which I know he did; as if his lordship and I had connected the matter how to finish this foolish piece of dissimulation, in running away from a bishopric to catch an archbishopric. This fine device hath thrown me so far into
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the briars, that, without his majesty's great goodness, I shall never get off without a scratched face.

“ And now I will tell your ladyship the bottom of my heart. I have, of a long time, I thank God for it, devoted myself to the public service, without any regard for myself; and to that end have done the best I could, in the best manner I was able. Of late God hath been pleased, by a very severe way, but in great goodness to me, to wean me perfectly from the love of this world; so that worldly greatness is now not only undesireable, but distasteful to me: and I do verily believe that I shall be able to do as much or more good in my present station than in a higher; and shall not have one jot less interest or influence upon any others to any good purpose; for the people naturally love a man that will take great pains and little preferment: but, on the other hand, if I could force my inclination to take this great place, I foresee that I shall sink under it, and grow melancholy, and good for nothing; and, after a little while, die as a fool dies.”

The see of Canterbury soon after becoming vacant by the deprivation of archbishop Sancroft, on the first of February, 1689-90, the king continued, for several months after, his importunities to the dean for his acceptance of it; which he still endeavoured to avoid. In this situation he wrote a letter to the lady Russel, wherein he tells her,

“ On Sunday last the king commanded me to wait upon him the next morning at Kensington. I did so, and met with what I feared. His majesty renewed his former gracious offer in so pressing a manner, and with so much kindness, that I hardly knew how to resist it. I made the best acknowledgments I could of his undeserved grace and favour to me, and begged of him to consider all the consequences of the matter; being well assured, that all that storm, which was raised in convocation the last year by those who will be the church of England, was upon my account; and that the bishop of L----- was at the bottom of it, out of a jealousy that I might be a hindrance to him in attaining what he desires, and what, I call God to witness, I would not have.

“ And I told his majesty, that I was still afraid, that his kindness to me would be greatly to his prejudice, especially if he carried it so far as he was then pleased to speak. For I plainly saw they could not bear it, and that the effects of envy and ill-will towards me would terminate upon him.

“ To which he replied, That, if the thing were once done, and they saw no remedy, they would give over, and think of making the best of it; and therefore he must desire me to think seriously of it; with other expressions not fit for me to repeat. To all which I answered, That, in obedience to his majesty's commands, I would consider of it again, tho'

I was afraid I had already thought more of it than had done me good, and must break thro' one of the greatest resolutions of my life, and sacrifice, at once, all the ease and contentment of it; which yet I would force myself to do, were I really convinced, that I was, in any measure, capable of doing his majesty and the public that service which he was pleased to think I was. He smiled, and said, 'You talk of trouble; I believe you will have much more ease in it than in the condition in which you now are.' Thinking not fit to say more, I humbly took leave."

To this letter her ladyship returned an answer which contributed not a little to determine him to acquiesce in the king's pleasure, if his majesty should still press him, who now insisted upon a peremptory answer. The result of this affair is mentioned at large in his letter to lady Ruffel.

"I went to Kensington full of fear, but yet determined what was fit for me to do. I met the king coming out of his closet, and asking if his coach was ready. He took me aside, and I told him, That, in obedience to his majesty's command, I had considered of the thing as well as I could, and came to give him my answer. I perceived his majesty was going out, and therefore desired him to appoint me another time, which he did on the Saturday morning after.

"Then I came again, and he took me into his closet; where I told him, that I could not

but have a deep sense of his majesty's great grace and favour to me, not only to offer me the best thing he had to give, but to press it so earnestly upon me. I said, I would not presume to argue the matter any farther, but I hoped he would give me leave to be still his humble and earnest petitioner to spare me in that thing. He answered, he would do so, if he could; but he knew not what to do, if I refused it. Upon that I told him, that I tendered my life to him, and did humbly devote [it] to be disposed of as he thought fit. He was graciously pleased to say, it was the best news had come to him this great while. I did not kneel down to kiss his hand; for, without that, I doubt I am too sure of it; but requested of him, that he would defer the declaration of it, and let it be a secret for some time. He said he thought it might not be amiss to defer it till the parliament was up.

“ I begged farther of him, that he would not make me a wedge to drive out the present archbishop; that, some time before I was nominated, his majesty would be pleased to declare in council, that, since his lenity had not had any better effect, he would wait no more, but would dispose of their places. This, I told him, I humbly desired, that I might not be thought to do any thing harsh, or which might reflect upon me; for, now that his majesty had thought fit to advance me to this station, my reputation was become his interest.

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He said, he was sensible of it, and thought it reasonable to do as I desired.

“ I craved leave of him to mention one thing more, which, in justice to my family, especially my wife, I ought to do, that I should be more than undone by the great and necessary charge of coming into this place, and must therefore be an humble petitioner to his majesty, that, if it should please God to take me out of the world, that I must unavoidably leave my wife a beggar, he would not suffer her to be so; and that he would graciously be pleased to consider, that the widow of an archbishop of Canterbury, which would now be an odd figure in England, could not decently be supported by so little, as would have contented her very well if I had died a dean. To this he gave a very gracious answer, ‘ I promise you to take care of her.’ ”

The king’s nomination of the dean to the archbishopric of Canterbury had been agreed between them to be postponed till after the breaking up of the session of parliament, which was prorogued on the fifth of January, 1690-1; when it was thought proper to defer it still longer, on account of his majesty’s voyage to Holland.

While his majesty staid in England, he was resolved to fill the vacant sees, from which he had been hitherto diverted by the dean’s advice, who was reproached for it by the king at his return from Flanders, and was now obliged himself to consent to his

majesty's nomination of him to the archbishopric in council, on the twenty-third of April, 1691.

Immediately after this public declaration, he went to the deprived archbishop, still at Lambeth; and sent in his name by several servants, and stayed a long time for an answer, but was forced to return without receiving any; an incivility which he had not at all deserved of his predecessor; whose reputation, integrity, and wisdom, when aspersed by others, he had often vindicated to the king.

The conge d'essire being granted on the first of May, he was elected on the sixteenth, confirmed on the twenty-eighth, and, having retired to his house on Saturday the thirtieth, which he spent in fasting and prayer, in the manner represented from his own account in short-hand at the end of his works, was consecrated the day following, being Whitsunday, in the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, by Dr. Peter Mew, bishop of Winchester; Dr. William Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Sarum; Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester; Dr. Gilbert Ironside, bishop of Bristol; and Dr. John Hough, bishop of Oxford; in the presence of Henry, duke of Norfolk; Thomas, marquis of Carmarthen, lord-president of the council; William, earl of Devonshire; Charles, earl of Dorset; Charles, earl of Macclesfield; Thomas, earl of Falconberg; Robert, lord Lucas, and divers other persons of rank; who attended the

the solemnity, to express the great esteem and respect which they had for his grace, and the satisfaction which they had in his promotion.

The consecration sermon was preached, on John xxi. 17, by Mr. Ralph Barker, afterwards his chaplain, whom his grace had desired to perform that office.

Four days after his consecration, on the fourth of June, he was sworn of the privy-council, and, on the eleventh of July, had a restitution of the temporalities of his see. The queen likewise granted him all the profits of it from the Michaelmas preceding, which then amounted to two thousand five hundred pounds. He continued to live at the deanry of St. Paul's till the latter end of the year 1691, and in the mean time built a large apartment at Lambeth house for his wife, repaired the whole, altered the windows and lights of the archbishop's lodgings, also wainscotted many rooms, and made other improvements there; which being finished, he removed thither, as appears from a memorandum in his own handwriting, on the twenty-sixth of November, 1691.

The malice and party-rage, which he had felt the effects of before he was raised to the archbishopric, broke out with full force, upon his advancement, in all the forms of insult: one instance of which, not commonly known, deserves to be mentioned here.

Soon after his promotion, while a gentleman was with him, who came to pay his compli-

ments upon it, a packet was brought in sealed and directed to his grace; upon opening of which there appeared a mask inclosed, but nothing written. The archbishop, without any signs of emotion, threw it carelessly among his papers on the table; and, on the gentleman's expressing great surprize and indignation at the affront, his grace only smiled, and said, That this was a gentle rebuke, if compared with some others, that lay there in black and white, pointing to the papers on the table.

Nor could the series of ill treatment, which he received, ever provoke him to a temper of revenge, being far from indulging himself in any of those liberties, in speaking of others, which were, to so immeasurable a degree, made use of against himself. And, upon a bundle of libels found among his papers after his death, he put no other inscription than this, "These are libels. I pray God forgive them; I do."

The calumnies spread against him, though the falsest which malice could invent, and the confidence with which they were averred, joined with the envy that accompanies a high station, had indeed a greater operation than could have been imagined, considering how long he had lived on so public a scene, and how well he was known. It seemed a new and unusual a thing, that a man, who, in the course of above thirty years, had done so much good, and so many services to so many persons,

sons, without ever once doing an ill office, or a hard thing, to any one, and who had a sweetness and gentleness in him, that seemed rather to lean to an excess, should yet meet with so much unkindness and injustice. But he bore all this with a submission to the will of God; nor had it any effect on him, to change either his temper or his maxims, tho' perhaps it might sink too much into him with relation to his health.

He was so exactly true, in all the representations of things or persons, which he laid before their majesties, that he never raised the character of his friends, nor sunk that of those who deserved not so well of him; but offered every thing to them with that sincerity which so well became him. His truth and candour were perceptible in almost every thing which he said or did; his looks and whole manner seeming to take away all suspicion concerning him; for he thought nothing in this world was worth much art or great management.

He did not long survive his advancement; for, on Sunday, the eighteenth of November, 1694, he was seized with a sudden illness while he was at the chapel in Whitehall: but, though his countenance shewed that he was indisposed, he thought it not decent to interrupt the service. The fit indeed came slowly on, but it seemed to be fatal, and soon turned to a dead palsy. The oppression of his distemper was so great, that it became very un-

easy for him to speak; but it appeared, that his understanding was still clear, tho' others could not have the advantage of it. He continued serene and calm, and, in broken words, said, that, he thanked God, he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do but to wait the will of Heaven.

He was attended, the two last nights of his illness, by his friend Mr. Nelson, in whose arms he expired on the fifth day of it, Thursday, November the twenty-second, at five in the afternoon, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

The sorrow for his death was more universal than was ever known for a subject; and, when his funeral was appointed, there was a numerous train of coaches, filled with persons of rank and condition, who came voluntarily to assist at that solemnity from Lambeth to the church of St. Laurence Jewry, where his body was interred on the thirtieth of that month; and a monument afterwards erected to his memory with the following inscription:

P. M.

Reverendissimi & sanctissimi Præfulis
 JOHANNIS TILLOTSON,
 Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis,
 Concionatoris olim hæc in Ecclesiâ
 per Annos XXX celeberrimi,
 Qui obiit X^o Kal. Dec. MDCLXXXIV,
 Ætatis suæ LXIII.
 Hoc posuit ELIZABETHA
 Conjux illius mætissima,

JOHN TILLOTSON. 155

His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, on 2 Tim. iv. 7; in the course of which he was interrupted by a short flow of sighs and tears, which forced their way, as was visible to the audience, who accompanied it with a general groan.



T H E

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE ROOK.

SIR GEORGE ROOK was born in the county of Kent, of an antient and genteel family; and, having been very well educated in his youth, his father put him, when he grew up and fit to enter upon business, to an honourable profession; but his genius violently inclining him to try his fortune on the watery element, his father at length gave way to it. To sea he went, pretty early in the reign of king Charles II. and made such proficiency in the naval art, that he was, in some time after, preferred to the post of a lieutenant, and, if I mistake not, made a captain, before the death of that prince, which happened in February, 1684: but king Charles having spent several years of the latter part of his reign in peace with his neighbours, we have little to say concerning this our hero till the reign of king James II. who entertained him in his post in the fleet, and seemed to discover a mighty opinion and esteem for him; that prince, to do him justice, taking great delight in the sons of the sea, and having uncommon skill and experience in maritime affairs. But, as captain



Aveline sculp.

S^r George Rooke.



captain Rook did not at all favour the designs concerted by that prince against his country, there was indeed nothing but meer necessity, I mean the want of good officers, that made the king entertain him, and some others, in his service.

Captain Rook, upon the landing of the prince of Orange in England, and the success of his arms, coming into the Downs, under my lord Dartmouth's command, king James, his admiral, there readily concurred to have several officers in the fleet, that were known, or at least suspected, to be Papists, to be dismissed from their employments; and indeed this gentleman in particular, as much affected to the religion and liberty of his country as any in the navy could be, engaged in his station early and heartily in promoting the happy revolution that ensued.

Arthur Herbert, esq. being, on the fourteenth of March, appointed admiral of the fleet by his majesty king William, the admiral thought fit, about the end of April, to send captain Rook with a squadron of ships to the coast of Ireland, to assist the generals of the land forces in the reduction of that kingdom.

His majesty king William finding his presence to be absolutely necessary in Holland, in that great congress to be held at the Hague concerning the operations of the ensuing campaign, in, and concerting proper measures to, bring down the over-grown greatness of France,

no body was thought more proper to be trusted with the guard of his royal person in that voyage than Rook, then rear-admiral; and it is the more remarkable, because this was the first time of his majesty's going over into Holland since he had been king of England.

The admiral sailed out of the Downs on the twenty-sixth of January, with the squadron of men of war under his command towards Margate-road; and his majesty embarking at Gravesend, they put to sea on the seventeenth, and, after having encountered great dangers from the ice on the coast of Holland, he landed safely, a little to the northward of the Maese; and the rear-admiral having honourably and faithfully discharged his great trust, and continued on that coast till he saw the yachts and small frigates harboured, he returned with the squadron, on the twenty-fifth, to Margate-road. I am not positive, but I believe the rear-admiral was, in like manner, the person appointed to convoy his majesty home again. I am sure he sailed to the eastward with a squadron of men of war on the fifteenth of March, but returning on the twenty-first of the same month, in the Charles galley, from the coast of Holland, where his majesty was not ready to embark, the king took the opportunity, about the middle of April, of returning with part of the Dutch squadron for England: however, making no long stay here, rear-admiral Rook had the honour

nour to convoy him over the second time ; and, on the second of May, landed him safely in Holland.

We shall not launch out into all the particulars of the sea-fight near La-Hogue that soon followed, in the year 1692, but confine ourselves to the share admiral Rook had in it; that he fought during the action as bravely as any officer in the fleet, no body ever yet questioned that I know ; but the French line of battle being broke, and the English and Dutch squadrons pursuing about four in the afternoon, of the twenty-second of May, eighteen sail of the French, being got eastward of Cape-Barfleur, hawled in for La-Hogue, where our ships anchored about ten at night, and lay by till about four the next morning; at which time the admiral weighed again, and stood in near the land, but the flood coming on he anchored.

At two in the afternoon he weighed again, and plied close in with La-Hogue, where were thirteen sail of the enemy's ships hawled in very near to the shore.

On Monday, the twenty-third, the admiral sent in vice-admiral Rook, with several men of war, fire-ships, and the boats of the fleet, to destroy those ships ; but they had got them so far in, that none but the small frigates could do any service. However, Mr. Rook himself boldly went in with the boats, and burned six of them that night, and about eight
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the next morning burned the other seven, together with several transport ships, and some vessels with ammunition; wherein not only Mr. Rook, and all the officers, signalized themselves, but the men behaved likewise with the greatest resolution and gallantry.

Surely malice itself can never suggest any thing against an action so signal and gloriously executed. His majesty was so extremely well pleased with Mr. Rook's conduct, bravery and intrepidity throughout the whole of it, that he settled a pension of ten thousand pounds a year upon him.

The ill success of the English fleet in 1693, was injurious to the whole nation; but when his majesty, upon his return from the Netherlands, could not forbear, even in parliament, to take notice of the mismanagement of our naval affairs last summer, he was so far from thinking Sir George had any ways been wanting in his conduct and duty, that he was pleased to appoint him, in the beginning of February, to be vice admiral of the red; and in the month of April, as a further testimony of his favour, he appointed him, together with Edward Ruffel, esq. Sir John Lowther, of Whitehaven, baronet; Henry Priestman, esq. and Sir John Houblon, knight; to be lords-commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of England and Ireland: but this was not all, his majesty would accumulate more promotions upon him,
and

and about the same time advanced him from vice admiral of the red to be admiral of the blue.

King William having dissolved the parliament on the seventh of July, 1698, and a proclamation being issued out on the thirteenth, to call another, Sir George Rook was chosen a member for Portsmouth; in which trust, none durst offer to say, that he did not discharge himself with the utmost application and fidelity.

The year 1699 being a year of peace all Europe over, that of 1700 gave Sir George a fresh opportunity to signalize his conduct in the Baltic: for a strong confederacy having been formed by the czar of Muscovy, the king of Denmark, and the king of Poland, against the young king of Sweden, and his brother-in-law the duke of Holstein; and the Dane having actually invaded that duchy, the king of England and the states-general not only interposed their good offices for mediating an accommodation, but fitted out squadrons of men of war, in order to sail into the Sound, the more effectually to forward the same, his Britannic majesty thought no body so fit for this service of admiral, and a sort of plenipotentiary, as Sir George Rook, of whose abilities and fidelity he had had so long experience.

Sir George, before the end of May, arrived with the squadron under his command before the Maese, and went himself to the Hague to confer with the states deputies
about

about this grand affair. He went aboard again in a few days, and, being joined by the Dutch squadron under the command of lieutenant-admiral Allemond, they were detained, for several days, on the Dutch coasts by contrary winds; however, they made a shift, before the end of June, to arrive at Gottenburg; and, on the eighth of July, entered the Sound without any opposition.

The English admiral saluted the castle of Cronenburg with three guns, and a like number was returned; the Dutch admiral gave nine, and the castle fired three in return.

The whole fleet consisted of thirty men of war, besides* fire-ships, bomb-veffels, and tenders. The Swedish fleet having, in like manner, put to sea, when they came to an anchor near one another, on the fifteenth, near Landskroon, beyond the Isle of Vere (upon which the Danish fleet retired under the guns of the citadel of Copenhagen).

It is very remarkable, that, though the English and Dutch squadrons came to assist and save the Swedes from ruin, that the latter took no notice of them that evening, all the next day, and part of the morning of the seventeenth; when the English admiral, having wisely weighed matters, and pursuing his orders for precedency, commanded a signal to be made by a small Dutch frigate, as if she were a neutral ship, for all flags to come on board; where he represented the case so effectually to the Swedes, who expected to have the

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the chief command, that, upon his return to his ship again, and the signal given, the whole fleet of English, Dutch, and Swedes readily sailed under his command to Copenhagen, which they pretended to bombard a little, without scarce any damage done; though we have been assured, by some intelligent persons present, they could have laid the city in ashes.

But the admiral's instructions and designs tended only to peace; which being soon after happily concluded at Travendall, Sir George returned home, about the middle of September, with the general applause of the people, for the great prudence and conduct he had shewn in so nice and ticklish a conjuncture.

In the spring of the year 1701, his majesty was pleased to constitute Sir George Rook to be admiral and commander in chief; but the war against France not breaking out, on this side of Europe, till next year, there was no naval enterprize yet undertaken by him. In the mean time, king James II. dying at St. Germans, and the French owning his pretended son for king of England, chafed the people of England to a high degree; and his majesty, in this juncture of affairs, thinking fit to call a new parliament, Sir George Rook was again elected for Portsmouth; and the day of meeting, which was the thirtieth of December, being come, the commons were directed to go and chuse their speaker.

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The court were for Sir Thomas Littleton tooth and nail; and the king himself, with all just deference to his memory, interested himself in that election so openly, and to such a degree, that some of his best friends did not think well of it. The opposite party were entirely for Mr. Robert Harley's being speaker.

Now comes on Sir George's grand crime, and it was such a sin, in the eyes of some people, as the scripture declares shall never be forgiven. The brave gentleman having always the good of his country at heart, and, by reason of his long experience in maritime affairs, being the more willing and capable to deliver his mind upon this occasion, gave his opinion against Sir Thomas's being put into the chair; not out of any disrespect to the gentleman, whom he knew to be very capable of the great trust, but upon account of his being treasurer of the navy, which office required the utmost application and attendance in the war that was like to ensue; wherein, in all probability, he himself was to act a main part; as indeed it afterwards came to pass: but king William III. dying on the eighth of March, and queen Anne succeeding to the crown, things took another turn, and the clamours which had been begun to be raised against Sir George, for the present ceased; and her majesty, being most sensible of his great services and true merit, was pleased to confer, besides the command of the fleet, an
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additional honour and trust upon him, by appointing him vice-admiral and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, and lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this kingdom.

Being commander in chief with the duke of Ormond in the expedition against Cadiz, but that expedition failing, on the twenty first of September, the admiral, coming home with the whole fleet, sent the Eagle, the Sterlings-castle, and the Pembroke, with some transports, to water in Lagos-bay, where they arrived on the twenty second. The land-officers on board the Pembroke went immediately on shore, having with them Mr. Beauvoir, a gentleman of Jersey, chaplain of that ship; who there getting certain intelligence that the galleons and their convoy had put into Vigo, he acquainted captain Hardy with it, who, without delay, imparted the news to captain Wisnar, who commanded the Eagle and all the squadron: upon which information, a consultation of captains was immediately held; wherein it was resolved, that this intelligence was of that importance; that a ship should be sent to acquaint Sir George Rook with it; and, as captain Hardy had the best sailer, and was master of the intelligence, captain Wisnar ordered him to sail a head to find out the fleet; which he happily effected on the sixth of October, when he acquainted Sir George Rook with the whole matter.

The admiral imparted the same immediately to the Dutch admiral, declaring it his opinion

nion that they should all set sail directly for Vigo. The Dutch admiral readily concurred with Sir George, who the next day called a council of flag-officers; wherein it was resolved, That, as the attempting and destroying the French and Spanish ships at Vigo would be of great advantage to her majesty, and no less honourable to her and her allies, and tend, in a great measure, to reduce the exorbitant power of France, the fleet should make the best of their way to that port, and fall on immediately with the whole line, if there were room sufficient for it; otherwise to attack the enemy with such detachments as might render the enterprize most effectual and successful.

The French admiral, to do him justice, had taken all human precautions to secure his ships and the Spanish fiota; for he not only had carried them up beyond a very narrow streight, defended by a castle on the one side, and platforms on both sides of the streight, where he had planted his best guns, but had likewise laid athwart it a strong boom, made up of masts, yards, cables, top-chains, and casks, about twelve yards in circumference, and kept steady by anchors cast on both sides of it.

Our brave admiral, not at all discouraged with this, so soon as the confederate fleet came to an anchor, which was on the eleventh of October, before Vigo, as aforesaid, called a council of the sea and land general officers; wherein it was concluded, that, since the
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whole fleet could not attempt the enemy's ships where they lay, without apparent danger of running foul one upon another, a detachment of fifteen English and ten Dutch men of war, with the line of battle, and all the fire-ships, should be sent in, with orders to use their best endeavours to take or destroy the enemy's fleet; that the frigates and bomb-vessels should follow the rear of the detachment, and that the great ships should move after them, and go in, if there should be occasion, that the army should, at the same time, land and attack the fort on the south side of Rodendella, and thence proceed on where they might most effectually annoy the enemy; that, because it was not known what depth of water there might be, the attempt should be made with the smallest ships; and, that, to give the better countenance to the service, all the flag-officers should go in with the squadron.

For the better performance of these resolutions, the admiral, with great zeal and unwearyed vigilance, spent almost the whole night in going from ship to ship, in his own boat, to give the necessary directions, and to encourage both officers and seamen to discharge their duty.

The next day, about ten in the morning, the duke, having landed his men, and marching to attack the enemy by land, and at their platforms and forts, it was impossible the
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brave admiral could remain an idle spectator; and therefore, as soon as the land forces were got on shore, he gave the signal to weigh; which was accordingly done, the line formed, and the squadron was briskly bearing up the boom; but when the van was got within cannon shot of the batteries, it fell calm, so that they were constrained to come to an anchor again.

However, not a long time after, it blowing a fresh gale, vice-admiral Hopson, in the *Torbay*, being next the enemy, cut immediately his cables, clapt on all his sails, and, bearing up directly upon the boom, amidst all the enemy's fire, broke through it at once, and cast anchor between the *Bourbon* and *L'Esperance*, two French men of war, which count Chateaurenaud had placed near the boom, and with unparalleled resolution received several broadsides from them.

The rest of vice admiral Hopson's division, and vice-admiral Vandergoes, with his detachment, having weighed at the same time, sailed a-breast towards the boom, to add the greater weight and force to the shock; but being becalmed they all stuck, and were obliged to hack and cut their way through. A fresh gale blowing again, the Dutch admiral made so good use of it, that, having nicked the passage which the brave Hopson had made, he boldly went in and made himself master of the *Bourbon*.

All this while, vice-admiral Hopson was in extreme danger; for, being clapped on board by a French fire ship, by which his rigging was presently set on fire, he expected every moment to be burned; but it fortunately happened that the French vessel, which was a merchantman laden with snuff, and made up in haste into a fire-ship, being blown up, the snuff partly extinguished the fire, and preserved him; however, he received considerable damage in this memorable action; for, besides the having his fore-top-mast shot by the board, one hundred and fifteen men killed and drowned, and nine wounded, most of his sails were burned and scorched, his fore-yard burned to a coal, and his lar-board and shrouds fore and aft burned at the dead eyes, insomuch that he was forced afterwards to leave his own ship, and hoist his flag on board the Monmouth.

At the same time, captain Bucknam, in the Association, laid his broad side against a battery of seventeen guns on the other side of the harbour; so that, for a considerable time, there was a continual firing of great and small shot on both sides, till the French admiral, seeing the platform and forts in the hands of the victorious English, his fire-ship spent in vain, the Bourbon taken, the boom cut in pieces, and the confederate-fleet pouring in upon him, he set fire to his own ship, and ordered the rest of the captains under his com-

mand to follow his example; yet he could not be so punctually obeyed but that several men of war and galleons were taken by the English and Dutch.

The admiral, on the seventeenth of November, arrived safely in the Downs, and soon after at London, laden with glory and the joyful applause of the people.

Her majesty having, in the mean time, thought fit to call a new parliament, to meet on the twentieth of October, Sir George was, during his absence, chosen again a member for Portsmouth; and having taken his place in the house, Mr. speaker, pursuant to the resolution of the house, in respect to the giving him their thanks for his service, delivered himself to him in this manner:

“ SIR GEORGE ROOK,

“ YOU are now returned to this house, after a most glorious expedition. Her majesty began her reign with a declaration, that her heart was truly English; and Heaven hath made her triumph over the enemies of England: for this, thanks hath been returned in a most solemn manner to Almighty God.

“ There remains yet a debt of gratitude to those who have been the instruments of so wonderful a victory, the duke of Ormond, and yourself, who had the command of the sea and land-forces.

“ In former times, admirals and generals have had success against France and Spain separately; but this action at Vigo hath been a victory over them confederated together: you have not only spoiled the enemy, but enriched your own country: common victories bring terror to the conquered; but you brought destruction upon them, and additional strength to England. France hath endeavoured to support its ambition by the riches of India; your success, Sir, hath only left them the burden of Spain, and stript them of the assistance of it: the wealth of Spain, and ships of France, are, by this victory, brought over to our juster cause. This is an action so glorious in the performance, and so extensive in its consequence, that, as all times will preserve the memory of it, so every day will inform us of the benefit.

“ No doubt, Sir, but in France you are written, in remarkable characters, in the black list of those who have taken French gold; and it is justice done to the duke of Ormond and your merit, that you should stand recorded in the registers of this house, as the sole instrument of this glorious victory. Therefore this house came to the following resolution:

“ Resolved, nemine contradicente, That the thanks of this house be given to the duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rook, for the great and signal service performed by the nation at sea and land, which thanks I now return you.”

To which Sir George Rook answered in the following terms :

“ MR. SPEAKER,

“ I am now under great difficulty how to express myself upon this very occasion. I think myself very happy, that, in zeal and duty to your service, it hath been my good fortune to be the instrument of that which may deserve your notice, and much more the return of your thanks. I am extremely sensible of this great honour, and shall take all the care I can to preserve it to the grave, and to convey it to my posterity without spot and blemish, by a constant affection and zealous perseverance in the queen's and your service. Sir, no man hath the command of fortune, but every man hath virtue at his will ; and, though I may not always be successful in your service, as upon this expedition, yet I may presume to assure you, I shall never be the more faulty.

“ I must repeat my inability to express myself upon this occasion ; but, as I have a due sense of the honour this house hath been pleased to do me, I shall always retain a due and grateful memory of it ; and, though my duty and allegiance are strong obligations upon me to do the best in the service of my country, yet I shall always take this to be a particular tie upon me to do right and justice to your service upon all occasions.”

On

On the thirteenth of November, Sir George was sworn of her majesty's most honourable privy-council. Sir George was very little at sea in 1703; he went out with a Squadron of men of war in the beginning of the summer; and having cruised in the mean time off Belle-isle, he put the country into an unspeakable consternation; and, after having taken many prizes coming home from the West-Indies, returned to St. Helens, that the grand fleet, under the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, might be the sooner ready to sail for the Streights, where they did nothing memorable; so that Sir George was again appointed to command the fleet that was to carry the new king of Spain over to Portugal, then in alliance with us.

They encountered a most terrible storm in the beginning of the year, and were put back into the Channel; however, they sailed again on the twelfth of February, and, by the twenty fifth, gained the rock of Lisbon. The admiral, on board of whom the king of Spain was, in the Royal Catharine, sailed up the river, being saluted by all the forts and castles with a triple discharge of the cannon, striking their flags three several times before the fort. The fleet anchored below Belem, a league short of the king's palace.

All things, by the twenty-seventh, being ready for the king of Spain's reception on shore, his majesty, on board the Royal Ca-

tharine, with the rest of the men of war, came up the river, and anchored over against the royal palace, the castles on both sides the river continually firing. Between four and five in the afternoon, the king of Portugal, accompanied by the two princes, his eldest sons, with several persons of the first quality, embarked on a very noble brigantine, rowed by forty men clad in crimson velvet, laced with silver, attended by the rest of the nobility, in barges and feluccas, and went on board the Royal Catharine.

When his majesty came by the ship's side he struck his flag; and when he came into the ship, Sir George Rook struck his flag, and let fly his streamer, and saluted him with twenty-five guns, which was taken by the whole fleet, and answered from on shore. His catholic majesty received the king of Portugal at the ladder-head, which, upon this occasion, was made very commodious, and waited on him to his cabin, giving him the right hand whilst he was in the ship. After a short stay there, the two kings went into the brigantine.

When they put off, both ships hoisted their flags, which had remained struck while the king of Portugal was on board the admiral, and Sir George gave two salutes of twenty-five guns each, which were followed by the rest of the fleet.

The king of Spain had the right hand on board the brigantine, and both kings landed under a triumphal arch, which was erected at the head of a very magnificent bridge built for this purpose, and adorned with several triumphal arches which, from the palace-gate, run a good way into the river. At their landing, the king of Portugal, giving the king of Spain the right, took him by the hand and led him out of the brigantine upon the stairs, and along the bridge to the palace; the nobility, and the rest of the retinue, marching in a great deal of order; and thus they proceeded to the royal chappel, where *Te Deum* was sung for his catholic majesty's safe arrival. Thence the king conducted him to his bed-chamber, and there took his leave of his catholic majesty; but returned soon after, accompanied by the two princes; and their majesties supped together in public.

But, not to digress too far, Sir George Rook, on the twenty eighth, sent rear-admiral Dilkes on shore to compliment the king of Portugal, to whom he was introduced by Mr. Methuen, her majesty's envoy-extraordinary, and was very kindly received; and, on the first of March, Sir George, and the rest of the officers of the fleet, introduced by the English envoy, waited upon the king of Portugal, who received them with great expressions of kindness.

The next day, vice-admiral Lake, with a squadron of men of war and transports, having on board the remainder of the English and Dutch auxiliaries went up the river of Lisbon; so that all the ships did safely arrive there, not one ship, either of this squadron or the grand fleet having miscarried.

His catholic majesty was so well satisfied with Sir George's excellent conduct and deportment, that he presented him with a sword, the hilt of which was set with diamonds, a buckle for a hat-band, and a hook to cock up a hat, set with diamonds.

On the eleventh of May, the admiral sailed out of the river of Lisbon with the fleet under his command; and the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, with a body of land-troops, on board. They made the best of their way into the Mediterranean, and, on the eighteenth, appeared before Barcelona.

They had very well concerted their measures, nothing but the discovery of a design to give up the place to them a few hours before the landing of the troops, could have hindered them from being masters of that important city; so that the forces, to the number of two thousand five hundred men, returned on board again; to favour which, the admiral threw a few bombs into the place, having otherwise no design to injure it.

The admiral, about the beginning of June, put into the bay of Althea; to whom, on the seventh

seventh of June at night, the country inhabitants, giving an account that there was a report that some horse, and four hundred foot, were ready to fall upon our people and boats at the watering-place, it was immediately ordered to land a compleat number of marine-soldiers to support them.

According'y, on the eighth, in the morning, count Nugent, an officer under the prince of Hesse, brought an account to the admiral, having desired leave of him the night before to go on shore, as a volunteer, with the fore-said marines; and to whom Sir George had given direction, he knowing the language, to take order, with the advice of the country people, for the covering of our men at the watering-place.

His lordship had the opportunity, with the consent of the captain that commanded, to send a serjeant with ten men to fright the governor out of a strong tower standing near the sea-side, whereon was mounted one large brass gun, which there was no coming at without a ladder. The governor was the son of him that commanded the castle of the town; and the lord Nugent thinking, by this means, to render himself master of the fore-said castle by this same stratagem, brought his son before the gates, and urging the father with such threatnings, as are usual on such occasions, to surrender, his lordship's stratagem accordingly succeeded; or otherwise this castle, being very

strong, it would have taken up a great deal more time than the tarrying of one night to take it, and that without guns; so that his gates would not have been so easily opened: therefore, at last, the governor, hoping to save his honour, promised to surrender; but withal desired, that the troops should fire a volley of small shot, and that he would fire his guns, and so march out with his arms, and deliver up the castle; which was agreed to and performed: whereupon Sir George commanded that the castle should be blown up.

On the ninth, the fleet passed Cape Palas, and so coming through the Streights of Lagos Bay, Sir Cloudesly Shovel joined them on the sixteenth with the re-inforcement from England, consisting of thirty-three ships of the line of battle.

On the seventeenth, the admiral called a council of war; and, by what could be understood, Sir George's new orders being to act in every undertaking in conformity with the ministry of the kings of Spain and Portugal, it was resolved to pass up the Streights again, and there expect what resolutions would be taken by the two kings; and to send away immediately an express by Lagos, to give them an account of the determination of the council of war; and how that, without a competent number of troops, to be put on board the fleet, no enterprize could be performed.

formed with success on shore, the marines being part of the ship's complement, and could not be spared in that juncture, when the French fleet were hourly expected on them. However, their appearing again in the Straights would convince the French, that they were mistaken in their opinion of being masters of the seas; and would also encourage all those that were well inclined to the common cause.

The same day they continued to stand off and on from shore, betwixt Lagos and Cape St. Mary's; and, on the eighteenth, two ships were sent to Lagos with that express, with orders to stay there, and bring orders back to Sir George at the appointed rendezvous near Tetuan; and four other ships were ordered to go to the islands of Terceras, to convoy home the Portuguese fleet from Brazil. The Grafton and Kingston were also ordered for Tangier and to join the fleet as they passed by.

The fleet meeting with contrary winds, and having got, at last, by the seventeenth of July, about seven leagues to the eastward of Tetuan, a council of war was held on board the Royal Catharine, wherein it was resolved to make a sudden attempt upon Gibraitar. The fleet got into the Bay by the twenty-first, and the English and Dutch marines, to the number of one thousand eight hundred, were put on shore, with the prince of Hesse at the head of them, on the neck of land to the northward of the town; and the admiral, the next morn-

ing, gave orders, that the ships which he had appointed to cannonade the place, under the command of rear-admiral Byng, and rear-admiral Vanderdusen, as also those which were to batter the south mole-head, commanded by captain Hicks in the Yarmouth, should range themselves accordingly; but the wind blowing contrary, they could not possibly get to their stations till the day was spent.

In the mean while, to amuse the enemy, the admiral sent captain Whitaker in with some boats, who burned a French privateer of twelve guns at the old mole; but the ships being all placed, on the twenty-third, soon after day-break, the admiral gave the signal for the beginning of the cannonade; which was performed with great fury, about fifteen thousand shot being made in five or six hours against the town; insomuch that the enemy were soon beat from their guns, especially at the south mole head; whereupon the admiral, considering that, by gaining that fortification, they should of consequence reduce the town, he ordered captain Whitaker, with all the boats armed, to endeavour to possess himself of it; which he performed with great expedition: but captain Hicks and captain Jumper, who lay next the mole, had pushed on shore with their pinnaces and some other boats before the rest could come up. The enemy thereupon sprung a mine that blew up the fortifications on the mole, killed two lieutenants and about
 forty

forty men, and wounded about sixty: however our brave seamen kept possession of the platform, which they had made themselves masters of; and captain Whitaker landing with the rest of the seamen which the admiral had ordered for this service, they advanced and took a redoubt half way between the mole and the town, and possessed themselves of many of the enemy's cannon.

The admiral hereupon sent a letter to the governor, and at the same time a message to the prince of Hesse, to send him a peremptory summons; upon which the town capitulated and surrendered on the twenty-fourth, and the garrison were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and three pieces of brass cannon. The inhabitants were to have the same priviledges as in the reign of king Charles II. but all the French and subjects of France, were excluded from any part of the capitulation.

It is agreed on all hands, that the town was extremely strong, and had an hundred guns mounted, all facing the sea and the two narrow passages to the land; and was well supplied with ammunition; and no body but our brave sea-men, under the prudent direction of such an admiral, could have mastered it, since fifty men might have defended those works against thousands.

It is to Sir George Rook and his Tritons, that we are beholden for our first footing in
Spain,

Spain, and for laying the foundation of our subsequent advantages in that kingdom, let the malice of invidious and unreasonable men suggest what it will to the contrary.

We will now come to the particulars of the terrible sea-fight that happened about a month after this glorious conquest, between Sir George and the admiral of France, about twelve leagues off of Malaga.

On the ninth of August, the admiral, returning from watering the fleet on the coast of Barbary, to Gibraltar, with little wind easterly, his scouts to the windward made the signals of seeing the enemy's fleet; which, according to the account they gave, consisted of sixty-six sail, and were about ten leagues to the windward of him. A council of flag-officers was called, wherein it was determined to lay to the eastward of Gibraltar to receive and engage them; but perceiving that night, by the report of their signal-guns, that they wrought from him, he followed them in the morning with all the sail he could make.

On the eleventh, he forced one of the enemy's ships a-shore near Fuengorolo. The crew quitted her, set her on fire, and she blew up immediately. He continued still pursuing them; and, on the twelfth, not hearing any of their guns at night, nor seeing any of their scouts in the morning, the admiral had a jealousy they might make a double, and, by the help of their gallies, slip between him and the
shore

shore to the westward; so that he called a council of war; wherein it was resolved, That, in case he did not see the enemy before night, they should make the best of their way to Gibraltar: but standing into the shore about noon, they discovered the enemy's fleet and gallies to the westward, near Cape Malaga, going away large. He immediately made all the sail he could after them, and continued the chace all night.

On Sunday, the thirteenth, in the morning, he was within three leagues of the enemy, who brought to with their heads to the southward, the wind being easterly, formed their line, and lay to receive him. Their line consisted of fifty-two ships, and twenty-four gallies; they were very strong in the centre, and weaker in the van and rear; to supply which, most of their gallies were divided into those quarters. In the centre was Monsieur de Thoulouse with the white squadron; in the van, the white and blue; and in the rear the blue: each admiral had his vice and rear-admiral.

Our line consisted of fifty-three ships, the admirals Byng's and Dilk's being in the centre; Sir Cloudefly Shovel and Sir John Leak led the van, and the Dutch the rear. The admiral ordered the Swallow and Panther, with the Lark and Newport, and two fire ships, to lie to the windward of them, that, in case the enemy's van should push through our lines with
their

their gallies and fire-ships, they might give them some diversion.

They bore down upon the enemy in order of battle, a little after ten o'clock, when, being about half gun-shot from them, they set all their sails at once, and seemed to intend to stretch a-head and weather them; so that the admiral, after firing a chace-gun at the French admiral to stay for him, of which he took no notice, put the signal out, and began the battle, which fell very heavy on the Royal Catharine, the St. George, and the Shrewsbury,

About two in the afternoon, the enemy's van gave way to our's, and the battle ended with the day, when the enemy went away, by the help of their gallies, to the leeward. In the night, the wind shifted to the northward, and in the morning to the westward; which gave the enemy the wind of us. They lay by all day within three leagues of one another, repairing their defects; and at night they filed and stood to the northward.

On the fifteenth, in the morning, the enemy was got four or five leagues to the windward of our fleet; but a little before noon we had a breeze of wind easterly with which the admiral bore down on them till four o'clock in the afternoon; but being too late to engage, they brought to, and lay with their heads to the northward all night.

On the sixteenth, in the morning, the wind being still easterly, hazy weather, and having

no sight of the enemy or their scouts, they filed and bore away to the westward, supposing they would have gone away for Cadiz; but, being advised from Gibraltar, and the coast of Barbary, that they did not pass the Streights, our admiral concluded they had been so severely treated, as to oblige them to return to Thoulon.

The admiral said, he must do the officers the justice to say, That every man in the line did his duty, without the least umbrage for censure or reflection; and that he never observed the true English spirit so apparent and prevalent in our seamen as on this occasion.

This battle was so much the more glorious to her majesty's arms, because the enemy had a superiority of six hundred great guns, and likewise the advantage of cleaner ships, being lately come out of port; not to mention the great use of their gallies in towing on or off their great ships, and in supplying them with fresh men as often as they had any killed or disabled. But all these disadvantages were surmounted by the prudence and good conduct of the admiral, his officers, and the undaunted courage of our sea-men.

Of the English, there were one thousand, six hundred, and thirty-two wounded; and six hundred and eighty-seven slain; besides thirty-one officers wounded, and eight slain; in all, killed and wounded, two thousand, three hundred, and fifty-eight. The chief officers killed were Sir Andrew Lake and captain Cow.

This

This done, and the admiral having left two thousand English marines in Gibraltar, with a sufficient quantity of stores and provisions, and forty-eight guns, besides one hundred that were in the town before, and the season of the year being far advanced, he returned home with the great ships, and was very favourably received by her majesty, and his royal highness the lord-high-admiral; and the queen was congratulated by the house of commons upon the victory obtained by her fleet under the command, and by the courage and conduct, of Sir George Rook.

But, notwithstanding all this, there were found to be some people so wicked, partial, and malevolent, that nothing bad enough could be said by them of the admiral's conduct and enterprizes. Some of those pretend an high esteem and value for Sir Cloudesly Shovel: if therefore they are willing to take his word for Sir George, he says, The engagement was very sharp, and he thought the like between two fleets had never been at any time; that a great many of the ships had suffered much, but none more than Sir George Rook and captain Jennings in the St. George. And as for the Dutch, who were never backward to complain, if they thought any of our admirals tardy in their duty, admiral Calemberg, upon this occasion, wrote to the states, That, in a council of war, called by Sir George the day after the fight, it appeared, that admiral Rook, with the centre, had been engaged.

engaged in a very sharp fight; and that her majesty's ships of the said admiral's division had likewise spent the greatest part of their powder and shot; so that they had not above ten rounds left, which would not serve above an hour's fight.

The reverend Dr. Stanhope, in his thanksgiving-sermon before her majesty at St. Paul's on the twenty-seventh of June, 1706, very justly says of the taking of Gibraltar, and of this sea-fight, 'That we were soon instructed in the mighty concernment of the first, by the seasonable refreshments our fleets found there, after a battle fought, on our side, with great inequality of force, but with what resolution and success, we need no other evidences than the disability of making any formidable figure at sea, which the French have manifestly lain under ever since.

The Whigs, who had now entirely engross'd the management of affairs, were extremely alarmed; and they took so much pains to hinder Sir George from receiving the compliments usual upon such successes, that it became visible he must either give way, or a change very speedily happen in the administration. Therefore, that the affairs of the nation might not receive any obstruction or disturbance upon his account, he resolv'd to retire from public business; and pass'd the remainder of his days as a private gentleman, and for the most part at his seat in Kent. A private seal was offer'd him.

him for passing his accounts; but he refused it, and made them up in the ordinary way, with all the exactness imaginable.

The gout, which had, for many years, greatly afflicted him, brought him at last to his grave. He died, on the twenty-fourth day of January, 1708-9, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

He was thrice married; first, to a daughter of Sir Thomas Howe, of Cold-Berwick, in Wiltshire, baronet; next, to a daughter of colonel Francis Lutterell, of Dunstier castle, in Somersetshire, who died in child-bed of her first child, George Rook, esq. the sole heir of his father's fortune; lastly, to a daughter of Sir — Knatchbull, of Merisham-Hatch, in Kent, baronet.

Sir George's zeal for the church, and his adherence to that sort of men who, in his time, were known by that ever mutable and varying name of Tories, made him the darling of one party, and exposed him no less to the aversion of the other. This is the cause that an historian finds it difficult to obtain his true character from the writings of those who flourished in the same periods of time. The ingenious and impartial Dr. Campbell, in his *Lives of the Admirals*, infinitely the best naval history extant, has drawn so masterly and just a character of him, that we cannot more properly conclude this life than with a transcript of it.

“ He

“ He was certainly an officer of great merit, if either conduct or courage could entitle him to that character. The former appeared in his behaviour on the Irish station, in his wise and prudent management when he preserved so great a part of the Smyrna fleet, and particularly in the taking of Gibraltar, which was a project conceived and executed in less than a week. Of his courage he gave abundant testimonies, especially in burning the French ships at La Hogue, and in the battle of Malaga, where he behaved with all the resolution of a British admiral; and, as he was first in command, was first also in danger. In party-matters he was perhaps too warm and eager; for all men have their failings, even the greatest and best; but in action he was perfectly cool and temperate; gave his orders with the utmost serenity; and, as he was careful in marking the conduct of his officers, so his candour and justice were always conspicuous in the accounts he gave of them to his superiors; he there knew no party, no private considerations, but commended merit when ever it appeared. He had a fortitude of mind that enabled him to behave with dignity upon all occasions, in the day of examination as well as in the day of battle; and, though he was more than once called to the bar of the house of commons, yet he always escaped censure; as he likewise did before the lords; not by shifting the fault upon others, or meanly complying

plying with the temper of the times; but by maintaining steadily what he thought right, and speaking his sentiments with that freedom which becomes an Englishman, whenever his conduct in his country's service is brought in question. In a word, he was equally superior to popular clamour and popular applause; but, above all, he had a noble contempt for foreign interests when incompatible with our own; and knew not what it was to seek the favour of the great but by performing such actions as deserved it. In his private life, he was a good husband and kind master; lived hospitably towards his neighbours, and left behind him a moderate fortune; so moderate, that, when he came to make his will, it surprised those who were present; but Sir George assigned the reason in a few words. 'I do not leave much,' said he, 'but what I leave was honestly gotten; it never cost a sailor a tear, or the nation a farthing.'

END OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME.

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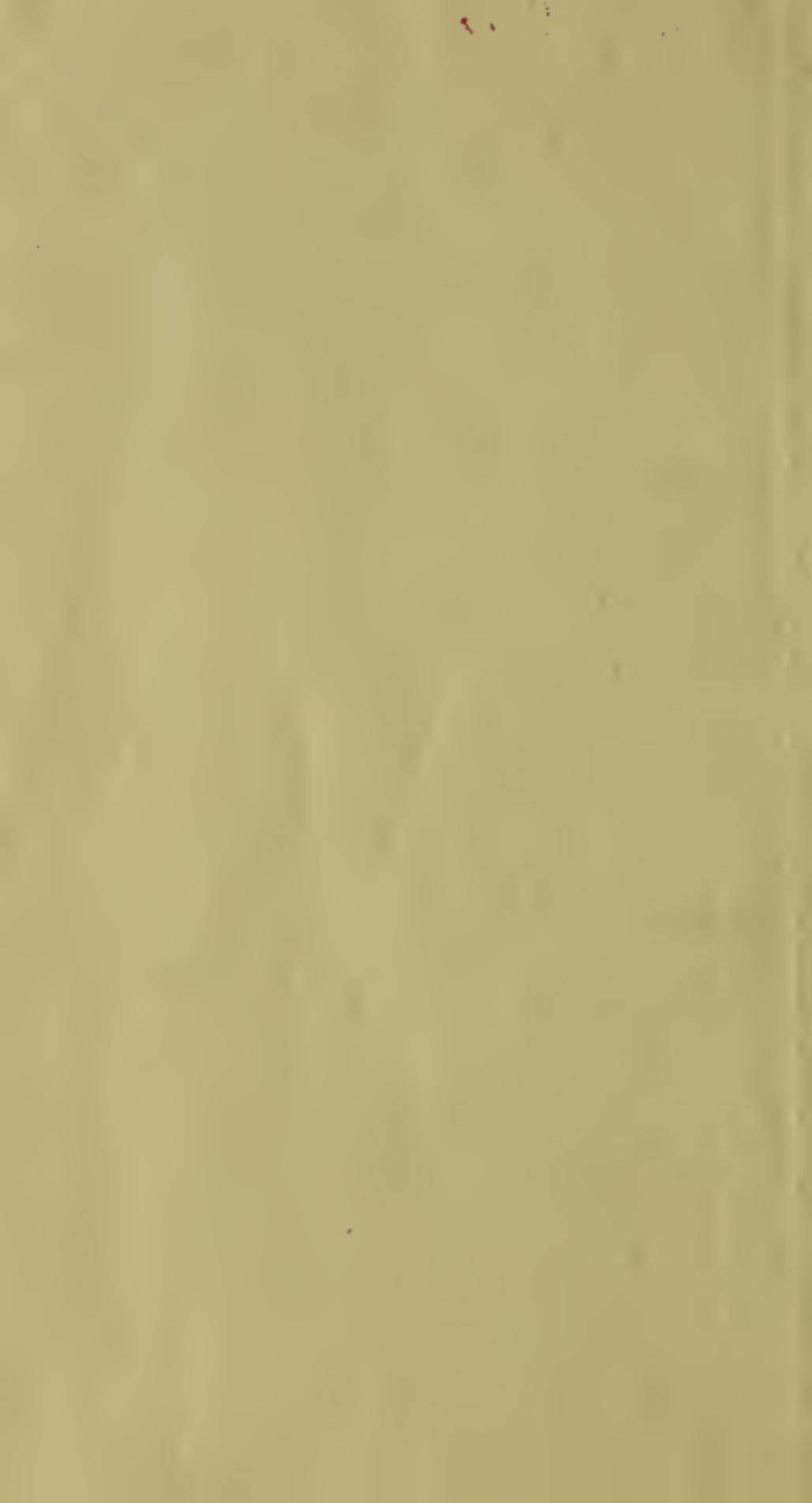
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