PORTRAITS

OF

Illustrious Personages

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM

AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY

EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F.S.A.

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OB. 1643.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF CLARENDON

WILLIAM VILLIERS,

VISCOUNT GRANDISON.

Sir George Villiers, of Brokesby in Leicestershire, of whose second marriage was born the great Duke of Buckingham, had issue by his first wife, Audrey, daughter of William Saunders of Harrington, in the county of Northampton, two sons, of whom the second was Sir Edward Villiers, a man not more distinguished by his eminent public actions in Ireland than by an admirable private character. This gentleman married Barbara, eldest daughter of Sir John St. John, of Lediard Tregoze, in Wilts; and, among the multiplicity of dignities showered on the family of the favourite, either immediately or in reversion, that of Viscount Grandison, in that kingdom, was given, soon after their nuptials, to Sir Oliver St. John, the celebrated Lord Deputy of Ireland, to whom the bride was niece and heir, with remainder to the issue of their marriage, of which William, the subject of this memoir, was the eldest son.

He was born in 1613; succeeded to the title on the death of his great-uncle, in 1630; and, soon after he came of age, took his seat in the House of Peers, with equal inclination and capacity to fill a conspicuous part in the conduct of public affairs. Having seen somewhat of a military life in the wars of the Netherlands, he intended to have passed his days chiefly in Ireland, where his father had justly gained a mighty popularity, and to have sat down, calmly though not inactively, in the enjoyment of those affections of which the inheritance had

been in a manner bequeathed to him; but the time was fast approaching which unhappily demanded other duties of the vigour of youth. Lord Grandison, full of martial spirit, and of gratitude for the prodigious favours which his family owed to Charles, was among the first who rushed forward in that Prince's cause, even in the dawn of the rebellion. He fixed his three brothers, the youngest of whom had scarcely passed childhood, in the military service, and himself commanded a regiment in the army raised in 1640 against the Scots, at the head of which he signalised himself with the greatest gallantry on many occasions. In the following year he passed into Ireland, and served in the county of Armagh, at the head of a body of horse, which having been surprised, and almost destroyed, by the Irish, on their first rising, he returned to the King, who had now set up his standard, and was immediately appointed to command a regiment of cavalry, under the eye of his Majesty, who was then present with the army. Here too, and indeed always, he was not less ill-fated than brave. "This success," says Lord Clarendon (having spoken of the surrender of Marlborough to the Royalists in December, 1642), "was a little shadowed by the unfortunate loss of a very good regiment of horse within a very few days after; for the Lord Grandison, by the miscarriage of orders, was exposed at too great a distance from the army with his single regiment of horse consisting of three hundred, and a regiment of two hundred dragoons, to the unequal encounter of a party of the enemy of five thousand horse and dragoons; and so was himself, after a retreat made to Winchester, there taken, with all his party, which was the first loss of that kind the King sustained; but without the smallest fault of the commander; and the misfortune was much lessened, by his making an escape himself, with two or three of his principal officers, who were very welcome to Oxford."

The recovery of his liberty was marked by some peculiar circumstances which history has omitted to record; for Lloyd, in his memoirs of those who suffered in the grand rebellion, tells us that "Lord Grandison's escape from Winchester was admirably

contrived, not only for his safety, but the converting of many to his Majesty's side, and sowing of dissension among the enemies." Other events too of his life are almost buried in oblivion. We discover from some strangely obscure passages in the same book, and I meet with it in no other, that after his mischance at Winchester, Lord Grandison marched northward, with a force of horse, and raised the siege of Newark; and then, to use the words of Lloyd, "brought, in his dextrous way of marching horse, several supplies, through the thickest of his enemies, to Oxford, where his counsels and advice were as pertinent as his actions were noble."

His gallant career was too soon terminated. He commanded, according to Lord Clarendon, the infantry, with the title of Colonel-General, in the army with which Prince Rupert, in July, 1643, besieged Bristol; but Lloyd, still our only authority for particulars, and still in the same strain of imperfect communication, tells us that "he had laid a design, prevented by a ridiculous mistake, to entrap Fiennes" (the Governor) "with his gallant brigade of horse, that never charged till they touched the enemies' horses' head." How far these two accounts may be reconcileable, it is needless here to inquire; thus much however is certain: that on the twenty-fifth of that month, the day before the dearly bought capitulation of the town (for he was one of many heroes who fell there), in leading on his men with the most determined bravery, after having had two horses killed under him and four wounded, he was disabled by a musket-shot, and carried to Oxford, where he languished for some weeks, and expired.

The noble historian, however superficially he may have detailed the particulars of Lord Grandison's services, has thus immortalised the memory of that excellent person by one of those exquisite portraits which were, and ever will be, peculiar to his pen:— "He was a young man of so virtuous a habit of mind that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him: so great a lover of justice and integrity, that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of this war, could make him swerve from the most

precise rules of it: and of that rare piety and devotion, that the court or camp could not shew a more faultless person, or to whose example young men might more reasonably conform themselves. His personal valour, and courage of all kinds (for he had sometimes indulged so much to the corrupt opinion of honour as to venture himself in duels), was very eminent, insomuch as he was accused of being too prodigal of his person. His affection, zeal, and obedience to the King was such as became a branch of that family; and he was wont to say that if he had not understanding enough to know the uprightness of the cause, nor loyalty to inform him of the duty of a subject, yet the very obligations of gratitude to the King, on the behalf of his house, were such, as that his life was but a due sacrifice; and, therefore, he no sooner saw the war unavoidable, than he engaged all his brethren as well as himself in the service, and there were then three more of them in command in the army, where he was so unfortunately cut off." When the King was informed of his death, he exclaimed that "he had lost an honest-resolved man;" and added, with that quaintness which was then frequently used, even in the most serious speeches, that "Lord Grandison was as free from spleen as if he had always lived by the medicinal waters of St. Vincent's rock, where he received his fatal wound."

He married Mary, third daughter of Paul, Viscount Bayning; who, after his death became the wife, first of his cousin Charles Villiers, second and last Earl of Anglesey of his name; and, secondly, of Arthur Gorges. By her he had one daughter, his sole heir, Barbara, who was married to Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemain in Ireland, and who, through a connection with that Prince to which in those days little discredit attached, was created, by Charles the Second, Duchess of Cleveland. A splendid monument was erected by that lady over the remains of her father, who was buried in the Cathedral of Christ Church in Oxford, with the following inscription:—

"H. S. I. Gulielmus Villiers, Vice-Comes Grandison de Limerico, martis et gratiarum certamen; qui oris venustissimi decus factis

pulcherrimis magis honestavit. Post res maximas, in Belgio, Hibernia, demum Anglia, gestas, cum a partibus Regis adversus rebelles in obsessam Bristoliam legiones duceret, primas admotis scalis vallum superavit, ducisque non uno nomine functus officio, militis ita seu virtutem, seu pudorem accendit ut propugnaculis potiretur, glande interim femur trajectus, cupressum lauro intexuit; receptæ urbis grande nimis pretium Oxoniam delatus obiit, sub finem mensis Aug. Ann. MDCXLIII. ætatis suæ XXX. M. H. optimo parenti Barbara, Clevelandiæ Ducissa, pietatis ergo P."

The ingenious and worthy editor of the republication of Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors has included this nobleman in his large and valuable additions to that work; ascribing to him a translation from the Greek, with the following title—"Saint Chrysostome his Parænesis, or Admonition, wherein he recalls Theodorus the fallen: or generally, an exhortation for desperate sinners; translated by the Lord Viscount Grandison, prisoner in the Tower." Mr. Parke supposes that after his mishap at Winchester he was committed to the Tower, and that his *escape* (the term used by Lord Clarendon) was from thence, and not from his military captors. This, as will appear in the foregoing statement, is expressly contradicted by Lloyd; but the employment of the three years which comprised William Lord Grandison's public life, described in the present little sketch, seems to have left no room even for a very short confinement; which, had it happened to such a man, could indeed scarcely have passed wholly unnoticed in history. His next brother, John, who succeeded to him in the title, and lived long after 1654, the year in which the translation was published, and of whom we know only that he was actively engaged against the rebels, might very likely therefore have been so imprisoned after the ruin of the King's cause; as were probably many others of no other eminence than for their rank in society, of whose confinement we have no historical notice; and he, most probably, was the translator of the work in question.

Engraved by [illegible]

WILLIAM FIELDING, EARL OF DENBIGH.

OB. 1674.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

WILLIAM FIELDING,

FIRST EARL OF DENBIGH.

The subject of this memoir was more distinguished by his death than by his life; more by his domestic virtues than his public character. He was the heir male of a private family, the main importance of which seems to have been founded on its station in the first class of English gentry; on extensive territorial possessions; and, on an alledged descent from the ancient Counts of Hapsburg, whose House has given so many Sovereigns to Europe. An alliance with the family of one whom the unreasonable favour of two Monarchs, and the excess of his own ambition, afterwards rendered for a time the most powerful subject in England, drew this gentleman from his respectable retirement, and placed him in employments which he executed at least with perfect fidelity, and in the possession of dignities which at least he never disgraced.

He was the eldest of the three sons of Basil Fielding, of Newnham Paddox in the county of Warwick, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter Aston, of Tixall, in Staffordshire, and married, at an early age, Mary, daughter, by a second marriage, of Sir George Villiers, of Brokesby, in Leicestershire, a neighbouring country gentleman, the prospects and expectations of whose family were then not more extensive than those of his own. George, however, the fourth of her five brothers, at that time a child, was destined to an almost unparalleled splendor of exaltation. He became, several years after, the mighty Duke of Buckingham, and nearly the sole dispenser of royal favours, which, with the most prodigal hand, he lavished on all his kindred and alliances. His brother in law, Fielding, of whom we know

nothing previously to that period but that he had been knighted at Belvoir Castle by James, when that Prince was on his way from Scotland to mount the English throne, and soon after appointed Custos Rotulorum of Warwickshire, was, on the thirteenth of December, 1620, created Viscount Fielding of Newnham Paddox; in the following year appointed Master of the Great Wardrobe; and on the fourteenth of September, 1622, was advanced to the Earldom of Denbigh. His Patent for that dignity records a curious proof of Buckingham's overweening haughtiness, for his marriage with the favourite's sister is specifically assigned as one of the reasons for conferring it on him, and indeed the others are little more than customary matters of form. The terms in question are "Ob generis claritatem, et nuptias admodum honorandas, sed præcipue ob eximiam virtutem, et erga nos et coronam nostram fidem."

He was admitted into the very small party which attended Prince Charles on his sudden and secret journey into Spain in 1623, and was soon after his return invested with a considerable naval command by Buckingham, who, among his splendid appointments, held that of High Admiral of England. On this part of Denbigh's story little satisfactory information is to be obtained, and it may be clearly inferred that his services were at the best unimportant. Dugdale, in his History of Warwickshire, simply informs us that "he was Admiral at sea in several expeditions;" and Whitelocke, in his "Memorials" for the year 1626, has this curious passage—"about this time the Earl of Denbigh had one hundred sail of ships under his command in our seas, but his Excellency, having no command to fight, suffered divers English vessels to be taken away by our enemies in his view, without rescue by their countrymen:" and again, under the year 1628, "the fleet under command of the Earl of Denbigh sailed to Rochelle, and, finding there some French ships, would not assault them, though fewer and weaker than themselves by many degrees; but, after shewing themselves only,

they returned, and left Rochelle unrelieved. The Council here being informed thereof, and some parliament men, letters were sent from the Council to the Duke, to order the Earl of Denbigh to go again, and to relieve Rochelle."

Bishop Kennet, in his invaluable "Complete History of England," goes more largely into the particulars of this latter expedition. He tells us that "a fleet of about fifty ships was early fitted out, under the command of the Earl of Denbigh, who, for want of mariners, or for the service of a descent, took in two thousand two hundred able land-men, and, setting sail from Plymouth on the seventeenth of April, came to anchor in the road of Rochelle on the first of May. He found twenty sail of the King of France's ships riding before the harbour, and, being much superior in numbers and strength, he sent advice into the town that he would sink the French ships as soon as the wind came west, and made a higher flood. About the eighth of May the wind and tide served accordingly, and the Rochellers expected and solicited for that season of deliverance; but the Earl, without attempting the opportunity, weighed anchor, and sailed away, suffering four of the French ships to pursue, as it were the English Fleet, that arrived at Plymouth on the twenty-sixth of May. This other inglorious expedition was a greater discouragement to the poor Rochellers, and increased the fears and jealousies of a popish interest at home. Many concluded the whole design was but a feint, and meant rather by the Court party to reduce Rochelle than relieve it. Some clamoured against the Earl of Denbigh, and said nothing better could be expected from his conduct who was brother in law to the Duke of Buckingham. Others charged it as a plot in one Clark, a Bedchamber man, who had been a chief commissioner in both the expeditions, and, being a reputed Papist, was supposed to be employed for an instrument of miscarriage. One le Brun, a Frenchman, captain in the English Fleet, gave a deposition before the Mayor of Plymouth, on the sixteenth of May, which argued treachery, or

apparent cowardice, in the management of this late expedition. This account was certified by the Mayor of Plymouth to the Burgesses of that town in parliament, by whom it was communicated to the Council Table, from whence a letter was directed to the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral, dated the thirteenth of May, 1628, to signify his Majesty's pleasure that the Earl of Denbigh should return back to relieve the town of Rochelle with the fleet under his charge, with other ships, prepared at Portsmouth and Plymouth. But, for all this order in Council, no such return was made, nor any enquiry into the obstruction of it."

This narrative affords an ample illustration of the short passage quoted from Whitelocke, and recites, candidly enough, the main facts of these ill conceived, and worse performed enterprizes. Buckingham, who had forced his master into a war with France that he might gratify his vanity by assuming the conduct of it, found himself wholly unequal to the task; and Denbigh, the creature of his power and of his kindness, was no further blameable than in retaining a station which bound him to the execution of the wild and capricious orders of his patron. The murther of Buckingham, within few weeks after, when he was preparing to retrieve his reputation by commanding in person a new expedition to Rochelle, probably saved the favourite from impeachment; but the subsequent forbearance, at such an over-heated period, from enquiry into the conduct of Denbigh leaves no doubt of the public opinion of his innocence.

He was indeed allowed to exercise his command in a third attempt two months after the death of the Duke. Père Daniel, in his Journal Historique de Louis XIII, under the date of the thirtieth of September, 1628, says " Une troisième flotte d'Angleterre, commandée par le Generale Dambi, paroit à la vûe de la Rochelle." Denbigh, left now to use his own discretion, seems to have made some spirited, though fruitless efforts; for the same author adds that the third and fourth of October were passed, to use his own words, in " tentatives inutiles des Anglois pour

forcer la Digue qui fermoit le port de la Rochelle." That town finally surrendered to Louis on the thirtieth of the latter month, and Daniel closes his notes relative to this last unlucky attempt by informing us that, on the tenth of November, "la flotte d'Angleterre est battue, et fort maltraitté par la tempête en retournant." That Denbigh however had incurred considerable unpopularity may be reasonably inferred from his being soon after sent into an honourable exile, under the character of Ambassador to the Sophi, a fact which we learn from the inscription on a very rare engraving of him by Voerst, which states also that he was at the Court of that monarch in 1631. This circumstance of his life sufficiently explains the remarkable accompaniments to the portrait prefixed to this very imperfect memoir. Those who shew to strangers the fine collection in which the original remains account for the singularities in question by asserting, with the usual simplicity and perseverance of such exhibiters, that he was Governor of Jamaica, but, unfortunately for the tradition, that island was not possessed by the English till several years after his death.

In the treasure which has been amassed and preserved of the correspondence of eminent Englishmen, I find only a single letter of this Nobleman; an undated original, addressed to the Duke of Buckingham, and of some curiosity, inasmuch as it discloses an historical fact hitherto wholly unnoticed—that Ley, Earl of Marlborough, and Lord Treasurer, who is commonly said to have been removed from that office for being too scrupulous as to the means of advancing the King's revenue, had, on the other hand, become an object of parliamentary jealousy, probably on a score directly contrary. It is clear, from an examination of dates, that the Earl of Marlborough was the "Treasurer" alluded to, and that the letter was written previously to July, 1628, for on the fifteenth of that month he was dismissed, and on the twenty-third of the next Buckingham was assassinated. The letter is in the Harleian Collection—

My Lo.

This morning the Treasurer ca˜e to the House, and, after wee had satt some halfe an hower, my Lo. of Essex moved that, whereas there was a greate Lorde that had spoken some speeches which concerned the honour of both Houses, which was that there was a conspiracy and a combination against him; he thought it fitting that it should bee cleared, and their names knowne, to the which purpose many more rose and spoke: but the Treasurer desired a longer time, by reason that he had not all his witnesses ready, and in his speech said these wordes, as neare as I can remembcr—' I am as honest a man, and as faithfull to the King and kingdom as any subject the King hath. I desier but justice in both Houses, and I defie the worlde, for I will prove myself as honest, and an honester, man as those that sett the business on foote; those that plotted it; or those that countenanced it'—This he hath spoken, and much more, which my memory will not give me leave to relate.

Ever your's,

WILL. DENBIGH.

The Earl seems to have retired into privacy soon after his return from Persia, and remained unemployed till the commencement of the rebellion, when he placed himself, to use the words of Lord Clarendon, " as a volunteer in the King's guard of Horse." In the spring of 1643 Prince Rupert, their commander, marched from the banks of the Severn, where he had been for several weeks quartered, towards the northern coast, to meet the Queen, who had lately landed there from Holland, and, on his way, seized the virulently disaffected town of Birmingham. There, says Clarendon, " in the entrance of the town, and in the too eager pursuit of that loose troop of Horse that was in it, the Earl of Denbigh, who from the beginning of the war, with unwearied pains, and exact submission to discipline and order, had been a volunteer in Prince Rupert's troop, and been engaged with

singular courage in all his enterprizes of danger, was unfortunately wounded with many hurts on the head and body, with swords and poll-axes, of which within two or three days he died." The day of his death was the third of April, 1643, and his remains were interred at Monk's Kirby, in Leicestershire.

This nobleman's consort, of whom Sir Henry Wotton, in his sketch of the life of her brother, the Duke of Buckingham, says that "she was a very accomplished lady, adorned with every virtue ornamental to her sex," has already been mentioned. Their issue was Basil, second Earl of Denbigh, a man of considerable talents, whom some perverseness of character or of circumstances had induced to an obstinate adherence to the rebel cause, and more than once to face his father in the field; George, who was created Earl of Desmond, &c. in Ireland, and whose eldest son, William, succeeded to the titles of his uncle, Basil, and was ancestor to the present Earl of Denbigh; and Philip, who died in 1627, without issue. They had also four daughters; Mary, married to James, first Duke of Hamilton; Anne, to Baptist Noel, eldest son and successor to Edward, first Viscount Campden; Elizabeth, wife of Lewis Boyle, Viscount Kynelmeaky, in Ireland, second son of Richard, first Earl of Cork, and created by Charles the second, in 1660, Countess of Guildford for her life; and Henrietta Maria, who died in childhood.

Engraved by H Robinson

HENRY SPENCER, FIRST EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

OB 1643.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF WALKER IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL SPENCER.

HENRY SPENCER,

FIRST EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

This admirable young man, perhaps the brightest ornament to the pedigree of the noble persons who are lineally descended from him, was the first-born son of William, second Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton, by Penelope, eldest daughter of Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and was born at Althorpe, in Northamptonshire, and baptized there on the twenty-third of November 1620. His early studies were conducted under the eye of his father, and his education was completed at Magdalen College, in Oxford, where he became a student before the age of sixteen, for we find that on the thirty-first of August, 1636, during a royal visit to that university, he was admitted, on the King's nomination, to the degree of Master of Arts. A singular writer who lived in his time tells us that "he had a tutor, crooked with age, who straitened the manners of his youth, arming him against those customs that are not knocked, but screwed into the soul; inuring him to good discourse and company; habituating him to temperance and good order, whence he had the advantage of others, not only in health, but in time and business; and diverting him with safe, cheap, but manly and generous recreations; the result of which education was a knowing and a staid nature, that made him a lamb when pleased, a lion when angry." But the truth is that his whole nature was excellent; and that it is difficult to say which deserved most to be admired, the exactness of his own moral conduct, or his charitable judgment of that of

others; the sobriety or the acuteness of his understanding; his bravery or his gentleness; the simplicity of his heart, or the refinement of his manners.

His father died in 1636, leaving him an immense estate, and placing him under the guardianship of his uncle, Thomas, Earl of Southampton, a nobleman of equal worth and wisdom. Three years after, on the twentieth of July, 1639, he was married at Penshurst, in Kent, the seat of her father, to Lady Dorothy Sidney, the Saccharissa of Waller, and daughter of Robert, Earl of Leicester, the charms of whose person and character are elsewhere celebrated in this work. The Earl, her father, was then ambassador to the Court of France, and the young couple, almost immediately after their nuptials, joined him at Paris, and remained there till October, 1641, when his mission ended, and the family returned to England, and Lord Spencer, within a few days after, took his seat in the House of Peers. His eminent and indeed universal merit was presently discovered, and the two great parties are said to have contended with earnestness for the support of a youth who had scarcely passed the age of twenty-one. He espoused at first the popular side, in which his conduct was equally distinguished by prudence, moderation, and candour. The Parliament, which was then beginning to assume the executive power, endeavoured to bind him effectually to the rebel cause by nominating him to the office of Lord Lieutenant of his native county, which he accepted, evidently with the hope of fortifying that medium between the King and the Parliament in which many virtuous men then placed themselves, as at a point from which they might at favourable opportunities propose terms of reconciliation suited to the honest interests of both. The vanity, however, of these excellent views presently became too evident, and he was among the first to express to the Peers his honest abhorrence of their alternate excesses and submissions. Lloyd, in his Memoirs of the Loyalists, has preserved some slight fragments of his speeches. He advised those who complained that the King had withdrawn himself "to lure him home by their

loving behaviour, and not to do as those troublesome women who, by their hideous outcries, drive their wandering husbands further off." He told them that he "pitied not them that bemoaned his Majesty's distance; and, whereas they expected to be commended for their patience under so great a punishment, he condemned them for deserving it; often urging that of Seneca, Epist. 80, "Nihil Rex male parentibus, majus minari potest, quam ut abeat de regno." At length, according to Lloyd, he took leave for ever of the Parliament with a solemn admonition, concluding with these expressions: "We had been satisfied long ere this, if we did not ask things that deny themselves; and if some men had not shuffled demands into our propositions on purpose that we may have no satisfaction."

He now followed the King to York, with his gallant kinsman, and, as it unhappily proved, fellow martyr, Spencer Compton, Earl of Northampton, whom he had persuaded to accompany him, and was one of that superb band which assembled to support the royal standard, when it was set up at Nottingham, on the twenty-second of August, 1642. He found the King's service already distracted by private interests and selfish pretensions, and his piercing judgment formed an unfavourable apprehension of the issue of the great contest. In one of the very few of his letters which have fortunately been preserved in Collins's collection, written to his lady, from Shrewsbury, on the twenty-first of the following September, he glances at the posture of the King's affairs at that moment with a warmth and freedom of mind and expression truly remarkable. Such a letter, from such a man, is worth volumes of cold historical compilation on the circumstances of a particular epoch. It was mostly written in cipher, and some few names have been unluckily suffered to remain unexplained.

"My dearest Hart,

"The King's condition is much improved of late. His force increaseth daily, which increaseth the insolencie of the

papists. How much I am unsatisfied with the proceedings here I have at large expressed in several letters; neither is there wanting daylie handsome occasion to retire, were it not for gaining honor: for, let occasion be never so handsome, unless a man resolve to fight on the Parlement side, which, for my part, I had rather be hanged, it will be said a man is afraid to fight. If there could be an expedient found to salve the punctilio of honour, I would not continue here an hower. The discontent that I, and many other honest men, receive dayly is beyond expression. People are much devided. The King is of late much averse to peace, by the persuasions of 202 and 211. It is likewise conceived that the King has taken a resolution not to do any thing in that way before the Queen comes; for people advising the King to agree with the Parliament was the occasion of the Queen's return. Till that tyme no advice will be received. Nevertheless the honest men will take all occasions to procure an accommodation, which the King when he sent the late messages did hartily desier, and would still make offers, but for 202, and 211, and the expectation of the Queen, and fear of the papists, who threaten people of 342. I fear the papists' threats have a much greater influence on the King than upon 343. What the King's intentions are to those that I converse with are altogether unknown. Some say he will hasard a battell very quicklie: others say he thinks of wintering; which, as it is suspected, so, if it were generally beleeved, I, and many others, would make no scruple to retier; for I think it is far from gallant, either to starve with the King, or to do worse, as to avoid fighting. It is said the King goes on Fryday towards Chester, for a day or two, leaving his forces here, which are six thousand foot, fifteen hundred dragoons, and above two thousand horse. There are four thousand foot more raised, they saie: two thousand by my Lord Strange; one thousand by Sir Thomas Salisburie; and twelve hundred by Sir Edward Stradling; all which will be here within a few days. This is a lightninge before death.

"I am your's,

SPENCER."

The little that we have of the story of his short life, is mostly to be found in those letters, which have been already, but very incorrectly, printed: and I regret that the scope of this work prevents me from inserting the whole of them in their original state. In one from Birmingham, of the fourteenth of the next month, he again deprecates the endeavours of the Roman Catholics to prevent any accommodation with the Parliament; expresses his determination, should a treaty be offered by that assembly, to give it his strenuous support; and tells his lady that he had lately above an hour's discourse with the King on that subject. A few days after, he marched with Charles into Northamptonshire, and, on the twenty-third, when the King's guards, in the battle of Edgehill, besought his Majesty to permit them to quit his person, and to charge in the front of the army, threw himself into that gallant body, and was particularly distinguished in the memorable overthrow which they that day gave to the rebel horse. He returned with the King to Oxford, and, on the eighth of June 1643, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Sunderland. He was at that time assisting Prince Rupert in the reduction of Bristol, which he left in the beginning of August, to join the King before Gloucester, on the siege of which city the King had suddenly and unexpectedly determined. Writing to Lady Sunderland, on the ninth of that month, he expresses himself unfavourably of that resolution. "The King's going to Gloucester," says he, "is, in the opinion of most, very unadvised: the Queene unsatisfyed with it: so is all the people of quality." But I cannot forego the satisfaction of giving entire a letter, which he wrote to the Countess from thence not many days after, and another, which closed their correspondence for ever: both exquisitely illustrative of the character of his talents, his affections, his accomplishments, and his temper.

"My dearest Hart,

"Just as I was going out of the trenches on Wednesday I received your letter of the 20th of this instant, which gave me

so much satisfaction that it put all the inconveniences of this siege out of my thoughts. At that instant, if I had followed my own inclinations, I had returned an answer to your's, writing to you, and hearing from you, being the most pleasant entertainment I am capable of receiving in any place, but especially here, where, but when I am in the trenches (which place is seldom without my company) I am more solitarie than ever I was in my life; this countrie being very full of private cottages, in one of which I am quartered, where my Lord Falkland did me the honour to sup. Mr. Chillingworth is here with me, at Sir Nicholas Selwin's, who has been this week at Oxford. Our little engineer (Chillingworth) comes not hither so much out of kindness to me as for his own conveniency, my quarters being three or four miles nearer the leaguer than my Lord Devonshire's, with whom he staid till he was commanded to make ready his engines with all possible speed. It is not to be imagined with what diligence and satisfaction (I mean to himself) he executes his command: for my part, I think it not unwisely done of him to change his profession; and I think you would have been of my mind, if you had heard him dispute last night with my Lord Falkland in favour of Socinianism: wherein he was by his Lordship so often confounded, that really it appears he has much more reason for his engines than for his opinions. I put of my writing till last night, out of hopes that somewhat here would have happened worthie of your knowledge, and you see what good companie made me defer it last night, at which time I was newly come from our leaguer, whither I thought to have gone this morning, but I have got such a kinde of small boile, in such a place that I cannot ride without pain, so I cannot with modesty make a more particular discription. I find that we had only an alarum, which they gave to hinder our working, not daring to sally any more, being so well beaten the last time. Our gallery will be finished within this day or two, and then we shall soon dispatch our mine, and them with it. Many of the soldiers are confident that we shall have the towne within this four days, which I extremely long

for; not that I am weary of this siege, for really, though we suffer many inconveniences, yet I am not ill pleased with this variety, so directly opposite as the being in the trenches, with so much good company, together with the noise and tintamarre of guns and drums, with the horrid spectacles and hideous cries of dead and hurt men, is to the solitariness of my quarter, together with all the markes of peace, which often brings into my thoughts, notwithstanding your mother's opinion of me, how infinitely more happy I should esteem myself quietly to enjoy your company at Althorp than to be troubled with the noises and engaged in the factions of the Court, which I shall ever endeavour to avoid." (Here follow many undeciphered lines) "When we were at Bristol Sir William was there, but I heare he is now gone to Hereford, for which I envie him, and all others that can go to their owne houses; but I hope ere long you will let me have your companie and Popet's, the thought of which is to me most pleasant, and passionately desired by your's,

SUNDERLAND.

"*Aug. 25th, before Gloucester.*"

In the first week of September, Charles abandoned the siege of Gloucester, and passed over the Severn towards Bristol. Lord Sunderland, whose military service was distinguished by two peculiar resolutions; the one, always to be present when the King commanded in person; the other, never to accept a commission; attended his royal master thither, and, after a visit of a few days to Oxford, again joined the army, when it was on the point of engaging the rebels in the first battle of Newbury. Immediately before he left Oxford, he wrote thus to his lady.

"MY DEAREST HART,

"Since I wrote to you last from Sulbey we had some hope of fighting with my Lord of Essex's army, having certain intelligence of his being in a field convenient enough,

called Ripple Field, towards which we advanced with all possible speed; upon which he retired with his army to Tewxbury, where, by the advantage of the bridge, he was able to make good his quarter, with five hundred men against twenty thousand; so that, though we were so near as to have been with him in two hours, his quarter being so strong, it was resolved on Thursday, as he would not fight with us, we should endeavour to force him to it by cutting off his provisions, for which purpose the best way was for the bodie of our army to go back to Evesholme, and for our horse to distress him. Upon which I, and others, resolved to come for a few days to Oxford, where we arrived late on Thursday night, there being no probability of fighting very suddenlie. As soon as I came, I went to your father's, where I found Alibone, with whose face I was better pleased then with any of the ladyes' here. This expression is so much a bolder thing then charging Lord Essex that, should this letter miscarry, and come to the knowledge of our dames, I should, by having my eies scracht out, be cleared from coming away from the army from feare, where if I had stayed it's odds if I had lost more then one. Last night very good news came to the Court, that we yesterday morning fell upon a horse quarter of the enemie's and cut off a regement; and my Lord of Newcastell hath killed and taken prisoners two whole regements of horse and foot, that issued out of Hull, which place he hath hopes to take. By the same messenger, last night, the King sent the Queene word he would come hether upon Monday or Tewsday; upon one of which daies, if he alters his resolucions, I shall not fail to return to the army. I am afraid our setting down before Gloucester has hindered us from making an end of the war this yere, which nothing could keepe us from doing if we had a moneth's more time which we lost there, for we never were in a more prosperous condition; and yet the divisions do not at all deminishe, especiallie between 142 and 143, by whiche we receve prejudice. I never sawe the King use anie bodie with more neglect than the Earl of Holland; and we saie he is not used much better by the Queene. Mrs. Jermin met my

Lord Jermin, who, notwithstandinge your intelligens, is but a Baron, with whom I came to Woodstocke, who told me she would write to you, which I hope she hath don; for since I came here I have seen no creature but your father, and my unkell; so that I am altogether ignorant of the intreigues of this place. Before I go hence I shall have a letter for you. I take the best care I can about my œconomicall affaires. I am afraid I shall not be abell to get you a better house, every bodie thinking me mad for speaking about it. Pray bless Popet for me, and tell her I would have writt to her, but that, upon mature deliberac̃on, I found it uncivil to return an answer to a lady in another character then her owne, which I am not yet learned enough to do. I cannot, by walkinge about my chambre, call anythinge more to mynde to sett downe here; and really I have made you no small complement in writinge thus muche, for I have so great a colde that I do nothinge but sneeze, and my eies do nothinge but water, all the while I am in the posture of holdinge downe my head. I beseche you present his servis to my ladie who is most passionatelie and perfectlie your's,

SUNDERLAND."

"*Oxford, Sept.* 16, 1643."

They never met again. The battle was fought on the twentieth, the fourth day after the date of this letter. The King's Horse, in which Sunderland served, "charged," says Lord Clarendon, "with a kind of contempt of the enemy, and with wonderful boldness, upon all grounds of inequality; and were so far too hard for the troops of the other side, that they routed them in most places:" and here, adds the noble author, fell "the Earl of Sunderland, a Lord of great fortune; tender years, being not above three-and-twenty years of age; and an early judgment; who, having no command in the army, attended upon the King's person, under the obligation of honour; and, putting himself that day in the King's troop a volunteer, was taken away by a cannon bullet." He lived for some short time after having received the shot. "His

holy thoughts," says Lloyd, "went, as harbingers of his soul, to heaven, whereof he had a glimpse before he died, through the chinks of a wounded body." "He was," adds that writer, "a good patriot upon all other occasions, as one of them at Westminster observed; promoting the trade, manufactures, and privileges of this country; and now standing by his Majesty, as he evidently saw him stand for his kingdom; saying, by a foresight and prospect that he had of things suitable to the eminence of his place, that 'one seven years would shew that the King was the true Commonwealth's-man:' A true nobleman, that was virtuous because it became him, as well as because it was enjoined him; being above all vice, as well as without it; looking upon it as his shame and dishonour, as well as sin and offence: A good neighbour; the country about him, when he had occasion to make use of it, being his friends that loved him, rather than slaves that feared him: A discreet landlord, finding ways to improve his land rather than rack his tenants: A noble housekeeper, to whom that ingenuity that he was master of himself was welcome in others: An honest patron, seldom furnishing a church with an incumbent till he had consulted the college he had been of, and the Bishop he lived under: An exemplary master of a family; observing exactly the excellent rules he so strictly enjoined; consecrating his house as a temple, where he ordered his followers to wrestle with God in prayer, while he wrestled with the enemy in fight."

The remains of this matchless young nobleman were interred at Brington, in Northamptonshire. He left one son, Robert, his successor, lineal ancestor to the Dukes of Marlborough, and Earls Spencer; and one daughter, Dorothy, married to Sir George Savile, Baronet, afterwards created Marquis of Halifax. His Countess, at his untimely death, was pregnant, and was soon after delivered of a daughter, who was baptized Penelope, and died an infant.

LUCIUS CAREY, VISCOUNT FALKLAND.

OB. 1643.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE LORD ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR.

LUCIUS CAREY,

SECOND VISCOUNT FALKLAND.

Lord Clarendon has left us two views of the character of this admirable person. The one, in the memoirs of his own life, with a graceful carelessness of style suited to the subject, shews him as a private man, and discovers to us his person, his temper, his accomplishments, his social habits, and his domestic affairs. From that source such matter as may wear the garb of original composition in this memoir will be chiefly drawn. The other, in the great history of the rebellion, exhibits him in the state, the senate, and the field, and is well known to constitute the brightest ornament to English biography. Authenticated by the closest intimacy, and the most unreserved confidence; glowing with the sacred warmth of a friendship strictly impartial, because it was founded on the contemplation of every excellence of heart and mind; and poured forth in a stream of beautiful and splendid expression, it stands alone, an example of positive perfection. The sanctity of such a monument must not be invaded. The symmetry of such a model must not be distorted. I shall prefix to that great masterpiece a short chronological narrative of some common-place facts to which it may be found occasionally to allude, and of others on which it may be wholly silent; but, for itself, not a word shall be suppressed, nor a word intruded on its text; nor shall I venture to disturb even the form of its original arrangement.

Lucius Carey was born about the year 1610, the eldest son of

Henry Carey, of Berkhamsted and Aldenham, in Herts, by Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of Sir Laurence Tanfield, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. His father, who in 1620 had been created Viscount Falkland, in Scotland, was appointed two years after Lord Deputy of Ireland, and having removed his family to that country, Lucius commenced his education in Trinity College, Dublin. On his return he became a student of St. John's, in Oxford, and is said to have been remarked there not only for the variety and rapidity of his acquirements, but for certain lively irregularities of conduct which afforded little expectation of the seriousness that distinguished his maturity. On account, as it should seem, of some such sally he was soon after confined for a time in the Fleet prison, for a petition is extant from his father to the King, praying for his release, and it is from that document only that we have any knowledge of his restraint. Whatsoever might have been the nature of these levities, he discarded them under circumstances peculiarly tempting to youthful extravagance, for before he had reached the age of twenty-one he inherited from his maternal grandfather the uncontrouled possession of a very large fortune, and assumed at that very period the regularity and moral decorum for which he was ever after remarkable. It might be convenient to a mere eulogist to ascribe this sudden turn to rigidly virtuous and philosophic resolution, but it were more modest to consider it as the result of one of those rare dispositions which, by the passive influence of their own native benignity, can extract good from the conflict of passions and sentiments, and produce even felicity from contingencies which often involve us in the wildest ruin. The truth is, that immediately after he became possessed of his estates, he married a young lady whom he passionately loved. Her portion was small, and his father conceived therefore that vehement indignation, which so frequently disgraces parents on such occasions. Sir Lucius, for he was then a knight, besought his pardon with the most sincere humility, and at length laid before him deeds, ready for execution, by which he proposed to convey to him the whole of

his own property, and begged to be allowed to subsist on his bounty. Lord Falkland rejected all terms of reconciliation, and his excellent son passed over into the Netherlands, with the view of purchasing there some military command, in which, having failed, he returned, after a year's absence, and, sitting down tranquilly in his mansion of Great Tew, in Oxfordshire, devoted himself to universal study, solacing his hours of leisure in the purest domestic happiness, and in the society of those who were then esteemed the chief ornaments of the neighbouring University.

His accession to the title and paternal estate, on the death of his father in 1633, drew him not from the serenity of his retirement. At length, in 1639, he accompanied the Earl of Holland, General of the Horse, in the expedition of that year against the Scots. The reputation for talents, genius, and general literature, by which he was then distinguished, may be well inferred from several addresses made to him on that occasion, particularly by Waller and Cowley, neither of whom would have dared to satirize a man of his character by vain adulation and false praise. Cowley's poem commences with these lines—

> "Great is thy charge, O North. Be wise and just:
> England commits her Falkland to thy trust.
> Return him safe: learning would rather chuse
> Her Bodley or her Vatican to lose.
> All things that are but writ or printed there
> In his unbounded breast engraven are.
> There all the sciences together meet,
> And every art does all her kindred greet."

And in Waller's we find these passages—

> "Brave Holland leads, and with him Falkland goes.
> Who hears this told, and does not strait suppose
> We send the Graces and the Muses forth,
> To civilize and to instruct the North?"

And afterwards—

> "Ah, noble friend, with what impatience all
> That know thy worth, and know how prodigal
> Of thy great soul thou art, longing to twist
> Bays with that ivy which so early kist

Thy youthful temples; with what horror we
Think on the blind events of war, and thee,
To fate exposing that all knowing breast
Among the throng as cheaply as the rest."

He represented the borough of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, in the two Parliaments which met in the year 1640, and the disgust which he conceived at the unhappy dissolution of the first added perhaps somewhat of passion to the sound and honest judgment which led him for a time to espouse the popular party in the second: the motives however which influenced his adoption and rejection of that party, and indeed the whole of his political conduct, will be presently fully stated in the words of the great historian. In the spring of 1642 he was prevailed on to accept a seat in the Privy Council, and the office of a Secretary of State, in which the King, though he felt to the utmost the wisdom and fidelity of his more important services, disliked his pen. Charles, for whom elegancy of composition had no charms, told Sir Philip Warwick that "he had two Secretaries; one a dull man in comparison of the other, and yet the first best pleased him; for," said he, "my Lord Carleton ever brought me my own sense in my own words; but my Lord Falkland most commonly brought me my instructions in so fine a dress that I did not always own them." Warwick informs us that he possessed the King's unbounded confidence, and adds a few concise remarks on his character, which, since a solitary sceptic has ventured to charge Lord Clarendon's nobler picture with partiality, acquire an increased value as the corroborative testimony of an honest and judicious contemporary, to whom he could not but have been perfectly well known. "The Lord Falkland," says Warwick, "had prodigious natural parts; a memory, and a fancy which retained all it read or heard, and then as rhetorically set it forth; and his notions were useful, and not common. He loved his book, and so was a great master of books, but in temper somewhat hypochondriac, and therefore men of business often found that in him which they practised not themselves, nor

perchance would not, if they could, have imitated him. That which crowned all was that he was a person of great probity and sincerity." The fantastic censures to which I have alluded, fell, it is much to be lamented, from the delightful pen of the late Lord Orford, the hasty escapes of a love of singularity and controversy, and the bitter fruit of inveterate prejudices, imbibed in a school of perverse politics. They have been overthrown by Sir Egerton Brydges, in the third volume of his Biographical Peerage, with a force, and candour, and closeness of argument, before which all doubt on the subject must vanish.

Little remains to be said by me of this excellent man. The noble historian informs us that "his stature was low, and smaller than most men; his motion not graceful; and his aspect so far from inviting that it had somewhat in it of simplicity; and his voice the worst of the three, and so untuned, that, instead of reconciling, it offended the ear, so that nobody could have expected music from that tongue; and sure no man was less beholden to nature for its recommendation into the world." The lady who had been captivated by the incomparable spirit which inhabited this unpolished exterior, herself an example of all female worth, was Lettice, daughter of Sir Richard Morison, of Tooley Park, in Leicestershire; by whom he had two sons; Lucius, who died at Paris in 1646; and Henry, who inherited the title and estates. Grainger speaks of a third, of whom I find no mention elsewhere.

Lord Falkland fell in the field at Newbury, on the twentieth of September, 1643. "In this unhappy battle," says Lord Clarendon, "was slain the Lord Viscount Falkland, a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge; of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation; of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind; and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life; that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity.

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

"Before this Parliament his condition of life was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be twenty years of age he was master of a noble fortune, which descended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without passing through his father or mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented to find themselves passed by in the descent. His education for some years had been in Ireland, where his father was Lord Deputy, so that when he returned into England to the possession of his fortune he was unentangled with any acquaintance or friends which usually grow up by the custom of conversation, and therefore was to make a pure election of his company, which he chose by other rules than were prescribed to the young nobility of that time: and it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his friendship for the agreeableness of their natures, and their undoubted affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship for the most part was with men of the most eminent and sublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity, and such men had a title to his bosom.

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

"In this time, his house being within little more than ten miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendship with

the most polite and accurate men of that University, who found such an immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgment in him; so infinite a fancy, bound in by a most logical ratiocination; such a vast knowledge that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing; that they frequently resorted and dwelt with him as in a College, situated in a purer air; so that his house was a University in a less volume, whither they came not so much for repose as study, and to examine and refine those grosser propositions which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation.

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

jewels in the concealment of them, and that they are not published to the world.

"He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men, and that made him too much a contemner of those arts which must be indulged in the transactions of human affairs. In the last short Parliament he was a Burgess in the House of Commons, and from the debates, which were there managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to Parliaments that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the kingdom, or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them: and from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that convention he harboured, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice to the Court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined, his father having wasted a full fortune there in those offices and employments by which other men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this Parliament to serve in the same place, and in the beginning of it declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitances, which had been most grievous to the State, for he was so rigid an observer of established laws and rules that he could not endure the least breach or deviation from them, and thought no mischief so intolerable as the presumption of ministers of state to break positive rules for reasons of state, or Judges to transgress known laws upon the title of conveniency or necessity, which made him so severe against the Earl of Strafford, and the Lord Finch, contrary to his natural gentleness and temper; insomuch as they who did not know his composition to be as free from revenge as it was from pride thought that the sharpness to the former might proceed from the memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of injustice, from him towards his father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and in both cases was only misled by the authority of those who he believed understood

the laws perfectly, of which himself was utterly ignorant; and if the assumption, which was then scarce controverted, had been true, that an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the kingdom was treason, a strict understanding might make reasonable conclusions to satisfy his own judgment from the exorbitant parts of their several charges.

"The great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active, especially of Mr. Hampden, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom; and though he differed from them commonly in conclusions, he believed long their purposes were honest. When he grew better informed what was law, and discerned in them a desire to controul that law by a vote of one or both Houses, no man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse party more trouble by reason and argumentation, insomuch as he was by degrees looked upon as an advocate for the Court, to which he contributed so little that he declined those addresses, and even those invitations, which he was obliged almost by civility to entertain; and he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to preferment, that he affected even a moroseness to the Court and to the courtiers, and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the King's or Queen's favour towards him but the deserving it; for when the King sent for him once or twice, to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in those councils, which his Majesty graciously termed doing him service, his answers were more negligent, and less satisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only that his actions should be just, not that they should be acceptable; and that his Majesty should think that they proceeded only from the impulsion of conscience, without any sympathy in his affections, which from a stoical and sullen nature might not have been misinterpreted, yet from a person of so perfect a habit of generous and obsequious compliance with all good men might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordinary averseness to his service;

so that he took more pains, and more forced his nature to actions unagreeable and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court, than most men have done to procure an office there; and if any thing but not doing his duty could have kept him from receiving a testimony of the King's grace and trust at that time, he had not been called to his Council; not that he was in truth averse from receiving public employment, for he had a great devotion to the King's person, and had before used some small endeavour to be recommended to him for a foreign negotiation, and had once a desire to be sent Ambassador into France, but he abhorred an imagination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any man that in the discharge of his trust and duty in Parliament he had any bias to the Court, or that the King himself should apprehend that he looked for a reward for being honest.

"For this reason, when he heard it first whispered that the King had a purpose to make him a Privy Councillor, for which there was in the beginning no other ground but because he was known sufficient (haud semper errat fama, aliquando & eligit) he resolved to decline it, and at last suffered himself only to be overruled by the advice and persuasions of his friends to submit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the King intended to make him Secretary of State, he was positive to refuse it, declaring to his friends that he was most unfit for it; and that he must either do that which would be great disquiet to his own nature, or leave that undone which was most necessary to be done by one that was honoured with that place; for the most just and honest men did every day that which he could not give himself leave to do; and indeed he was so exact and strict an observer of justice and truth that he believed those necessary condescensions and applications to the weakness of other men, and those arts and insinuations which are necessary for discoveries and prevention of ill, would be in him a declension from his own rules of life, though he acknowledged them fit and absolutely necessary to be practised in those employments. He was in truth

so precise in the practic principles he prescribed himself (to all others he was as indulgent) as if he had lived 'in republica Platonis, non in fæce Romuli.'

"Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the Seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them: the first, the consideration that his refusal might bring some blemish upon the King's affairs, and that men would have believed that he had refused so great an honour and trust because he must have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable; and this he made matter of conscience, since he knew the King made choice of him before other men especially because he thought him more honest than other men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the House of Commons, who were sore troubled at the displacing Sir Harry Vane, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them those offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other; for as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients; and he so much the more consented to and approved the justice upon Sir Harry Vane in his own private judgment, by how much he surpassed most men in the religious observation of a trust, the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for.

"For these reasons he submitted to the King's command, and became his Secretary with as humble and devoted acknowledgement of the greatness of the obligation as could be expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart: yet two things he could never bring himself to whilst he continued in that office, that was to his death, for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omissions in a most necessary part of his place; the one, employing of spies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them. I do not mean such emissaries as with danger would venture to view the enemy's camp, and bring intelligence of their number, or quartering, or any particulars that such an observation can comprehend; but those who, by communication

of guilt, or dissimulation of manners, wind themselves into such trusts and secrets as enable them to make discoveries. The other, the liberty of opening letters, upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say such instruments must be void of all ingenuity and common honesty before they could be of use, and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited: and that no single preservation could be worth so general a wound and corruption of human society as the cherishing such persons would carry with it. The last he thought such a violation of the law of nature that no qualification by office could justify him in the trespass: and, though he was convinced by the necessity and iniquity of the time that those advantages of information were not to be declined, and were necessarily to be practised, he found means to put it off from himself, whilst he confessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission; so unwilling was he to resign any part of good nature to an obligation in his office.

"In all other particulars he filled his place with great sufficiency, being well versed in languages, to understand any that are used in business, and to make himself again understood. To speak of his integrity, and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to look towards corruption, 'in tanto viro, injuria virtutem fuerit.' Some sharp expressions he used against the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his concurring in the first bill to take away the votes of Bishops in the House of Peers gave occasion to some to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude and publish, that 'he was no friend to the church, and the established government of it,' and troubled his friends much, who were more confident of the contrary than prepared to answer the allegation. The truth is, he had unhappily contracted some prejudice to the Archbishop; and, having observed his passion when, it may be, multiplicity of business, or rather indisposition, had possessed him, did wish him less entangled and engaged in the business of the Court or State: though, I speak it knowingly, he had a singular estimation and reverence of his

great learning, and confessed integrity; and really thought his own letting himself loose to those expressions which implied a disesteem of the Archbishop, or at least an acknowledgement of his infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw raised for his destruction, which he abominated with his soul.

"The giving his consent to the first bill for the displacing the Bishops did proceed from two grounds: the first, his not understanding then the original of their right and suffrage there; the other, an opinion that the combination against the whole government of the church by Bishops was so violent and furious that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermeddling in secular affairs would not preserve the order; and he was persuaded to this by the profession of many persons of honour, who declared they did desire the one, and would not then press the other, which in that particular misled many men: but when his observation and experience made him discern more of their intentions than he before suspected, with great frankness he opposed the second bill that was preferred for that purpose, and had without scruple the order itself in perfect reverence, and thought too great encouragement could not possibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men. He was never in the least degree moved or swayed by the objections which were made against that government in the church (holding them most ridiculous), or affected to the other, which those men fancied to themselves.

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

Edge Hill, when the enemy was routed, he was like to have incurred great peril by interposing to save those who had thrown away their arms, and against whom it may be others were more fierce for their having thrown them away; so that a man might think he came into the field chiefly out of curiosity to see the face of danger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a soldier, and shortly after he came to his fortune, before he was of age, he went into the Low Countries, with a resolution of procuring command, and to give himself up to it, from which he was diverted by the complete inactivity of that summer; so he returned into England, and shortly after entered upon that vehement course of study we mentioned before, till the first alarm from the North: then again he made ready for the field, and though he received some repulse in the command of a troop of horse of which he had a promise, he went a volunteer with the Earl of Essex.

"From the entrance into this unnatural war his natural chearfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to; yet, being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions of the victor (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of most men, and prevented the looking after many advantages that might then have been laid hold of) he resisted those indispositions, 'et in luctu, bellum inter remidia erat.' But after the King's return from Brentford, and the furious resolution of the two Houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions which had before touched him grew into a perfect habit of unchearfulness, and he who had been so exactly easy and affable to all men that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness and less pleasantness of the visage a kind of rudeness or incivility, became on a sudden less communicable, and thence,

very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had minded before always with more neatness, and industry, and expense, than is usual to so great a soul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick, and sharp, and severe, that there wanted not some men, strangers to his nature and disposition, who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free.

"It is true that as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even submission, to good, and worthy, and entire men, so he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his place, which subjected him to another conversation and intermixture than his own election would have done) adversus malos injucundus, and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to ill men that it was not possible for such not to discern it. There was once in the House of Commons such a declared acceptation of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and, as they said to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, that the Speaker might, in the name of the whole House, give him thanks; and then that every member might as a testimony of his particular acknowledgement, stir, or move his hat towards him; the which, though not ordered, when very many did, the Lord Falkland, who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous person could not have stooped to it for any recompence, instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head, that all men might see how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the person, though at that time most popular.

"When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and, sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence, and frequent sighs, would

with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word peace, peace, and would passionately profess that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart. This made some think, or pretend to think, that he was so much enamoured on peace that he would have been glad the King should have bought it at any price, which was a most unreasonable calumny; as if a man that was himself the most punctual and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon conscience or honour could have wished the King to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his spirit; for at the leaguer before Gloucester, when his friends passionately reprehended him for exposing his person unnecessarily to danger (for he delighted to visit the trenches and nearest approaches, and to discover what the enemy did) as being so much beside the duty of his place that it might be understood rather to be against it, he would say merrily that his office could not take away the privilege of his age, and that a Secretary in war might be present at the greatest scene of danger; but withal alledged seriously that it concerned him to be more active in enterprises of hazard than other men, that all might see that his impatiency for peace proceeded not from pusillanimity, or fear to adventure his own person.

"In the morning, before the battle, as always upon action, he was very chearful, and put himself in the first rank of the Lord Byron's regiment, then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musqueteers, from whence he was shot with a musket in the lower part of the belly, and, in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning, till when there was some hopes he might have been a prisoner, though his nearest friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, having so much dispatched the true business of life that the

eldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocency. Whosoever leads such a life needs be the less anxious upon how short warning it is taken from him."

Lord Falkland left "A Discourse of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome," "A Discourse concerning Episcopacy," and some other pieces of controversial divinity, which were published, singly, soon after his death. Many of his speeches too remain in print, and some scattered poems, the most considerable of which is one on the death of Ben Jonson.

Engraved by W. J. Bate

HENRY DANVERS, EARL OF DANBY.

OB. 1643.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

HENRY DANVERS,

EARL OF DANBY,

The first and last of his family who held that dignity, seems to have owed his elevation as much to its great wealth, and to the splendour of his descent, both on the side of his father and mother, as to any distinguished personal merits. He was the second son of Sir John Danvers, of Dantsey, in Wilts, maternally of very noble blood, by Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of John, ninth and last Lord Latimer of the Nevilles, and was born on the twenty-eighth of June, 1573.

Our notices of the story of his life are few and desultory. We are told that he was early engaged in military service in the Netherlands as a volunteer under Prince Maurice, who appointed him, at the age of eighteen, to the command of a company of infantry; and that he was, three years after, with higher rank, in the armies of France, in which he served with such gallantry that he was honoured with knighthood in the field by the hand of Henry the fourth. How long he remained abroad is uncertain, but we find him in 1597 commanding "a large ship" in the expedition of that year to the coast of Spain, under the Admiral Earl of Nottingham, who is said to have reputed him "one of the best captains in his fleet." In this voyage he acquired, probably through a medium of interest which will presently be mentioned, the patronage of Essex, who commanded the troops, and who, soon after his return, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, where Danvers was immediately placed by him in the stations of

Lieutenant General of the Horse, and Sergeant Major of the whole army in that island. Between his elder brother, Sir Charles Danvers, and Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, the bosom friend of Essex, and his companion in the military service just now spoken of, the most cordial attachment subsisted, and was in the end fatal to Sir Charles, for it drew him into Essex's wild insurrection in 1601. He suffered on the scaffold soon after the execution of that nobleman, having vainly offered ten thousand pounds, and submission to perpetual imprisonment, as the price for his life, and the subject of this memoir succeeded to the doubtful prospect of an inheritance sullied by crime and blood, and held by no better tenure than the precarious forbearance of claim to the penalties of an attainder.

He was however soon relieved from this melancholy suspense. His father had lately died, and James, on the twenty-first of July, 1603, four months after his accession, advanced him to the dignity of a Baron, by the title of Lord Danvers of Dantsey, and in 1606 he was restored in blood by act of Parliament. We meet with him frequently as a partaker in the ceremonies and festivals of the Court in this reign, and occasionally in its quarrels. Mr. Chamberlaine, in a letter of news to Sir Dudley Carleton, of the ninth of September, 1613, having spoken of some other discords there, adds—"but there is more danger 'twixt the Earl of Rutland and the Lord Danvers, though I heard yesterday it was already, or upon the point of, compounding;" and other such instances occur, not worth particularising. James, probably soon after he succeeded to the crown, conferred on him the office of Lord President of the province of Munster; and in 1621 appointed him, by patent, Governor of the island of Guernsey for life.

Charles, in the first year of his reign, called him to the Privy Council; on the fifth of February, created him Earl of Danby; and presently after gave him the Garter. We almost entirely lose sight of him from this period. His health decayed, and he suffered severely from some of the many wounds which he had received in early life. He retired to his seat of Cornbury park in Oxfordshire,

in improving and decorating which he passed several of the latter years of his life; but he is most honourably and lastingly commemorated by a munificent public foundation in its neighbourhood, the Physic Garden in Oxford; which, says Dugdale, in his Baronage, "he encompassed with a strong wall of perfect ashler stone, and a beautiful gate, the charge whereof amounted to little less than five thousand pounds, and caused this inscription to be placed above the entrance thereinto—Gloriæ Dei Opt. Max. Honori Caroli Regis. In usum Acad. et Reipub. Henricus Comes Danby, d. d. MDCXXXII°." He died at Cornbury, on the twentieth of January, 1643, and was buried with his ancestors in the chancel of the church at Dantsey, under a superb monument of white marble, with a long inscription, to which are subjoined these lines, from a pen capable of far better things, in which an obscure conceit is conveyed in language yet more obscure—

"Sacred Marble, safely keep
His dust, who under thee must sleep,
Until the years again restore
Their dead, and time shall be no more.
Meanwhile, if He which all things wears
Does ruin thee; or if thy tears
Are shed for him dissolve thy frame,
Thou art requited, for his fame,
His virtue, and his worth, shall be
Another monument for thee.

G. HERBERT."

To a story so barren of circumstance, I will make little apology for adding two original letters written by this nobleman, the one in his youth, the other when an old man. From such documents, however insignificant the subjects, we seldom fail to obtain some traits of the character of the writer. The first, from the Cotton MSS. is attached to a narrative, to which it refers, of an action in Ireland between the English army and that of the Earl of Tyrone, in which Danvers appears to have fought gallantly. The letter

is addressed "to the right wor. my very lovinge cosen, Mr. Ate esquier," and the whole is endorsed "Touching the Fight at Kinsale."

"S^R.

"Now in hast, and never no good pen man, I have sent you my boolt," (arrow) "w^ch you must piece and fether. The unfitt, or improbable, you must blott out or reconcile, as I have omitted many circumstances oposite to other relations. The Englishe you must amend in all. And then, if of on line you can make use, I shall thinke my laboure well bestowed; though I will rather referr you to the cross in the margent, correspondent w^t the cross in the line, then wright it out this night againe for a million; having bine, till w^tin this hower, ever in companye, as Sir Oliver St. John can wittnes, who will be w^t you to morrow morninge. You have practised many ill handes, and, whether you can or can not reade it y^r selfe, I praye lett no bodye els. Commend me to my cosen, and beleeve I doe desire to be esteemed

"Y^r very assured lovinge cosen and frend,

"*Somersett House,* "H. DANVERS.
this Sounday night, late."

The second letter, from the Sidney Papers, is to Dorothy Percy, Countess of Leicester, and relates to her daughter, married soon after to Henry Spencer Earl of Sunderland.

"MADAM,

"If my Lord and you be not otherwayse ingaged for the marriadge of my Lady Dorathye, I have commission to tender the mach of my Lord Loveles, now newly out of his mother's wardship, and presently possessed of land and welth innough, even in the primest partes of this kingdom; whereunto may be well added his own affection exprest to the person and fame of that fayre lady, your daughter, meretinge, in my opinion, boeth regard and valew; for, although peradventure his breedinge hath

not bine precisely of the best since his father's discease, yett, beinge well inclined, without all doubt my Lord of Lecester's great wisdome, and the good example of your sonn, will soun sett him into thoes courses that are fittest for his qualetye. Whearfore I presume to wishe that my Lorde's absence in France may not protract soum present resolution in this busines, because thear is myghtie meanes used to drawe this youth an other waye, and muche more monye offred in portion then is meet for you to geve. But, to conclude, whatsoever your Ladyship will be pleased to direct hearin shall be carefully indeavoured by,

" Madam,

"Your Ladyship's most affectionate cosen, &c.

" *Cornbury Parke this*
27 *of March*, 1637." " DANBY.

Lord Danby having never married, his titles became extinct by his death. His family was very unfortunate in his generation, and in that which immediately succeeded. Lloyd, in his " State worthies," tell us that, " by his will, made in 1639, he settled his large estate on his hopeful nephew, Henry Danvers, snatched away before fully of age, to the great grief of all good men." The sad fate of the Earl's elder brother has been already mentioned in this sketch ; and that of the third, and youngest, Sir John, was yet more deplorable ; for, instead of having suffered death, as he deserved, he was doomed to the misery of passing some years of old age in utter infamy, scorn, and abhorrence. He was one of the miscreants who sat in judgment on their Sovereign, in whose household he had been a servant, and signed the warrant for his murder.

WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OB. 1645.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

WILLIAM LAUD,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

The life of this prelate can be here but slightly sketched, for it comprised with the history of the Church of England, most of the political history also of his time. The mutual dependance on each other of the ecclesiastical establishment and the state has never been at any other epoch so clearly proved; and the proof is self-evident in the awful ruin of both which immediately followed their disjunction. Laud saw the danger, and endeavoured to avert it, but he was not master of the means. With great simplicity of mind, and equal warmth of temper; an admirable scholar; an acute logician; sincerely pious and honest, and eminently loyal; he was qualified neither for the primacy nor the cabinet. He possessed great talents, but scarcely any of the faculties necessary to form what is usually called a great man, except firmness, which, in the absence of the rest, was worse than useless. He fondly sought to cool the rage of faction by fair and sound argument; and to correct the obstinacy of schism by pastoral exhortation, and just, but imprudent discipline. The only faults in his moral character were passion and haughtiness; and the great error of his life was his belief that innocence of heart, to use the words of Lord Clarendon, and integrity of manners, was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through the world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what ways soever he was to pass: "and sure," adds the great historian, "never any man was better supplied with that provision."

His birth was decent. He was the son of William Laud, a clothier, of Reading, in Berkshire, and a man of property, by

Lucy, sister of William Webb, a citizen of London, who became afterwards an alderman and knight, and served the office of Lord Mayor in 1591. He was born on the seventh of October, 1573, and bred in the free school at Reading, from whence he removed to St. John's college in Oxford, where he was entered a fellow commoner at the age of sixteen. From his tutor, John Buckeridge, then a fellow of that house, and who died Bishop of Ely, a zealous opponent equally of popery and puritanism, he imbibed that earnest attachment to the church, to which he owed his exaltation and his fall. He remained several years in the University; became a fellow of his college; took the degrees of bachelor, and master of arts, and bachelor of divinity; and served the office of proctor. The boldness and perseverance with which he denied the doctrines of Calvin, had already procured him much fame, and many enemies, among whom Dr. Abbot, then Vice-chancellor, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who was strangely inclined to that wayward profession, was the most formidable; and a circumstance of his private ministry, which occurred during the heat of his academical disputes, contributed to cloud his prospects. Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, a gallant soldier, and a man of careless morals, who in 1603 had appointed Laud his domestic chaplain, had been warmly attached to Penelope, one of the daughters of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and wife to the Lord Rich, before her marriage to that nobleman; and an adulterous intercourse having been afterwards discovered between them, she was repudiated with the due forms of law. The Earl, on his return from the wars of Ireland, resolved to marry her, and Laud, at his request, in 1605, performed the nuptial service. This act, though strictly legal, gave much offence. The life of the lady had been peculiarly scandalous; and it was deemed a profanation of the sacred rite to lend it to her benefit. His enemies magnified his fault to the utmost of their power; and it was represented in the worst light to the King, who knew, and had been before inclined to favour him; and James resented it so

warmly, that for several years he would not suffer Laud's name to be mentioned in his presence. Laud, on his part, felt so keenly the sense of his misconduct and his misfortune in this affair that he ever after made the twenty-sixth of December, on which the marriage took place, a day of fasting and humiliation; and a long penitential prayer is extant, which he composed for the occasion.

He possessed no benefice till 1607, when he was inducted into the vicarage of Stanford, in Northamptonshire; and in the following year he obtained the rectory of North Kilworth, in Leicestershire; proceeded Doctor in Divinity; and was appointed by Neile, Bishop of Rochester, his domestic chaplain. He now exchanged his Leicestershire living for the rectory of West Tilbury, in Essex, to which Neile, who became his warm patron, soon after added that of Cuckstone, in Kent. That Prelate, having been in 1610 translated to the See of Lichfield and Coventry, was succeeded at Rochester by Laud's first and firmest friend, Dr. Buckeridge, who, through that promotion, vacated the presidency of St. John's college, and these Bishops exerted their best influence to procure his election to that office. Abbot, now Primate, as earnestly opposed it, and prevailed on the Chancellor Ellesmere to mention Laud unfavourably to the King; telling the Chancellor, according to Heylin's account, that he was "at least a Papist in his heart, and that if he were suffered to have any place of government in the University, it would undoubtedly turn to the great detriment of religion." Neile however interfered; and, some irregular practices having been used at the election to Laud's disadvantage, prevailed on James, to whom such offices were always agreeable, to determine it by his authority. The King employed three hours in the examination of the case; was convinced that Laud had been treated unjustly; and not only decided the question in his favour, but soon after appointed him one of his chaplains. Four years however elapsed without any further sign of royal grace. In the mean time Neile

who was now translated to the See of Lincoln, and had appointed him a Prebendary of that church, and Archdeacon of Huntingdon, endeavoured earnestly to recommend him, and was opposed by Abbot, with at least equal vigilance. Neile at length succeeded; and, in November 1614, the King bestowed on Laud the Deanery of Gloucester, a dignity more important to him as an earnest of future favour than for the value of its revenues.

But he received soon after a stronger mark of James's good opinion, as well of his ministry as of his talents, in being appointed one of the clerical attendants on that Prince in his journey into Scotland in the spring of 1617; the arduous object of which was to bring that Church to an uniformity with the Church of England. The pains taken by him in that unsuccessful design highly gratified the King; yet he rose very gradually. He received no profitable mark of favour till January, $16\frac{20}{21}$, when he was appointed to a Prebend of Westminster; and on the twenty-ninth of the following June was nominated Bishop of St. David's. He had however acquired about this time the good will of the Marquis of Buckingham, then the chief fountain of promotion, both in church and state, and his elevation became certain. His conference with Fisher, in which he became engaged immediately after he was raised to the Prelacy, was instituted at the Marquis's request, for the especial purpose of guarding his mother against the arguments of that acute Jesuit, employed by the Romanists, who knew her influence over her son, to endeavour to reconcile her to their faith; and that celebrated disputation, which is indeed a masterpiece of argument, as well as of Christian erudition, bound the favourite to him in the strictest friendship. When Buckingham made his memorable journey to Spain, it soon became evident that he had left to Laud the superintendance of his affairs at court. In this situation the most mild and cautious could scarcely have escaped jealousy: it is not strange then that Laud should have provoked it to the utmost. The Lord Keeper Williams, not less choleric, resented openly this

diversion of Buckingham's good graces from himself; and their quarrel was extended nearly to personal violence. In the mean time his old enemy Abbot, and others, revived to his disadvantage the matter of the Earl of Devonshire's marriage, which had slept for twenty years; and he found it prudent to defend himself, by making a full exposition of his conduct in it to the King. While these feuds were raging, Williams fell into disgrace; Abbot was sequestered, in consequence of an accidental homicide; King James died; and Laud, who seemed thus to have become suddenly a favourite of fortune, rose presently to a degree of consideration which, while it placed him for a time above the reach of his enemies, served in the end but to enhance the weight of his fall.

In 1626, soon after the accession of Charles, he was appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal, sworn of the Privy Council, and translated to the See of Bath and Wells; and in 1628 to that of London. In the same year the first parliamentary attack was made on him by the puritan faction in the House of Commons. There was too much decency yet remaining in the majority of that body to allow it to countenance the accusation of Popery, which had been so long levelled at him without doors; but he was charged with Arminianism, in the remonstrance which was voted not long before the dissolution of that Parliament. It is probable that this blow was rather intended to aggravate the weight of the vengeance then meditated against his great friend Buckingham, than to injure the Bishop himself. Be this as it might, the Duke, within very few weeks after, was taken off by assassination, and Charles, with more good-meaning than judgment, instantly bestowed on Laud the same degree of confidence and power which that extraordinary man had so long held; and by that grace placed him in the same peril from which his patron had been just before removed. This partiality of the King's towards him was visible only in its effect on public affairs, for Laud acquired then no temporal appointment; so that he

was considered rather as a favourite than a minister, which increased his unpopularity. In the mean time he governed in ecclesiastical matters with a strictness that bordered on severity; and yet those who can examine his conduct dispassionately will find that he never uttered nor countenanced a judicial sentence that was not strictly just. Such even were those of the Star-chamber (where, by the way, though he incurred all the odium, he sat but as an ordinary member), under the authority of which, frightful corporal punishments, and great fines, were inflicted on the flagitious libellers, Leighton, Burton, Bastwick, and Prynne. The prudence of those measures may indeed be reasonably doubted; but this is no place for lengthened disquisition. On the twelfth of April, 1630, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and in the spring of 1633 waited on the King at his coronation in Scotland. He renewed there with earnestness his favourite plan of accomplishing an union of the two Churches; and the partial success of his endeavours produced afterwards the worst consequences. On the fourth of August in that year, within very few days after his return from Scotland, he succeeded Abbot in the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

It is the intention of this small memoir to give chiefly such circumstances of the life of Laud as have been slightly, or not at all, mentioned in history, and to touch in a more general way on those which have been already largely recorded. To pursue that course, therefore, for the events of his Primacy are well known, I will observe, that his activity, which had gradually increased with his power, arose now to its utmost height, and that the obstinacy of his adversaries at least kept pace with it. Their refractory spirit did but increase his vigour, for his courage was equal to his zeal. Among his regulations for the restoration of the genuine usages of the Church of England, no one was more resisted by the sectaries than his order to replace the altar in its ancient situation: and they affected to regard with the utmost horror the revival of what was called the Book of Sports, the true

and original intention of which was to prevent the profanation of Sunday by immoral recreations. In his eagerness for uniformity of worship he prohibited the use of their own liturgies to Protestant foreigners resident in England, who quitted it therefore in great numbers; and, as almost all those persons were merchants or manufacturers, he rendered himself odious by this measure to the whole commercial body of his own country, to whom it occasioned considerable loss and inconvenience. The same disposition led him, though less openly, to exert his authority, or at least his endeavours, to restrict the freedom of the Romish worship in the Queen's family; and thus he lost the good will of the Catholics, even while the puritans were insisting that he was in his heart a Papist. But his measures in Scotland produced results equally miserable to his country and himself. In his late visit to that kingdom he had prevailed on the Bishops there to enjoin the use of a liturgy approved, in fact composed, by himself, and his brother Prelates in England, together with certain canons for the government of the Scottish Church; and the promulgation of these, which had been long delayed, produced instantly the most frantic tumults, and caused in the end the formation of that vile and fatal code of fanaticism and rebellion, which its authors dignified with the title of the solemn league and covenant.

Such were his proceedings with regard to the Church; nor was his political conduct more temperate. It was not till 1634 that he was first named to temporal offices. He was then appointed a member of the Committee for trade, and the King's revenues; and, within a few weeks after, when the Treasury was put into commission on the death of Weston, Earl of Portland, was chosen one of the Commissioners, and also placed on what was then called the Foreign Committee. In these several situations the King's partiality, and the character of his own temper, naturally led him to assume a dictatorial authority, and feuds arose, injurious to the public service, between himself and his

colleagues, particularly in the Treasury, which at the end of a year determined him to quit it. He prevailed however on Charles not only to dissolve that commission, which was certainly composed of wise and experienced persons, but to nominate for Lord Treasurer his friend, Bishop Juxon, an incomparable ornament in all respects to his sacred profession, and perhaps therefore wholly unfit to sit at the helm of public affairs. Here, as in all the rest, Laud erred from good motives. He had discovered that great frauds and peculations were practised in the department of the Treasury, and that many former Treasurers had connived at them, in order the more effectually to secure to themselves the largest share of the spoil; and, charmed by his conviction of Juxon's perfect integrity, he overlooked his various disqualifications. Of this appointment, unfortunately made at a moment when the conciliation of parties was most essential to the King's interests, Lord Clarendon says that " the eyes of all men were at gaze who should have this great office, and the greatest of the Nobility, who were in the chiefest employments, looked upon it as the prize of one of them; when on a sudden the staff was put into the hands of the Bishop of London, a man so unknown that his name was scarce heard of in the kingdom. This inflamed more than were angry before, and no doubt did not only sharpen the edge of envy and malice against the Archbishop, who was the known architect of this new fabric, but most unjustly indisposed many towards the Church itself, which they looked upon as the gulph ready to swallow all the great offices." Not less unpopular, however necessary, were the ordinations by which, in 1637, he vainly endeavoured to curb that gigantic creature of careless forbearance which has since obtained the name of the liberty of the press. On the eleventh of July in that year he procured a decree in the Starchamber to regulate the trade of printing, by which the printers were restricted to a precise number, and the publication of any book which had not been licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of

London, or by one of their chaplains, or by the Chancellor, or Vice-chancellor, of one of the Universities, strictly prohibited.

The public character of Laud, which was in fact balanced between good intentions and bad management, has perhaps never yet been fairly estimated, even by the most impartial; and it has been truly observed that of no other man has so much good, and so much evil, been reported. This however is certain, that he fell a sacrifice, not to justice, but to the inordinate rage of a faction. He was one of the first objects of the vengeance of the Long Parliament. On the eighteenth of December, 1640, not many weeks after the meeting of that fatal assembly, an impeachment of high treason against him was carried up by Denzil Holles to the Peers, and received by them with equal satisfaction; but his enemies, in the extravagancy of their hatred, had forgotten to provide themselves with specific charges. At length, at the end of ten weeks, during which he was confined in the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod, Sir Henry Vane presented to the Lords fourteen articles, most of which were notoriously false, and not one of them approaching to treason. He was now removed to the Tower, where he remained a close prisoner for three years, in which interval he was gradually stripped, under the illegal authority of various votes, sometimes of one House of Parliament, sometimes of the other, not only of all the functions and revenues of his Archbishopric, but nearly of the whole of his private property. At last, on the twelfth of March, 1643-4, he was brought to trial on the fourteen charges first preferred against him, to which the Commons had lately added ten others, and had adopted also a large and confused body of accusation supplied by the Scottish commissioners then in London. Twenty days were passed in the proceeding, which was equally distinguished by the ingenuity and the malignity with which it was conducted, and yet in the end his prosecutors durst not call either on the House of Peers, or on a jury, to decide on the evidence. The Commons, however, had determined to shed the blood of this champion of

the Church and the Monarchy, and, even in the hour of their most tender solicitude for the liberties of the subject, and the just administration of the laws, had recourse therefore to an engine of tyranny so monstrous and hateful that it had been rarely used, even in the most despotic times. On the sixteenth of November following his trial they passed a bill for his attainder, which they immediately sent up to the Lords. In that assembly, deprived as it then was of the flower of its order, and bitterly inimical to the accused, some remnant of justice, as well as of dignity, yet resided. The bill remained with them, scarcely noticed, till the beginning of the succeeding January, on the fourth of which month it was passed, in a very thin house, awed by the threats of a savage mob, at that moment besieging its doors with outcries for justice. Prynne, the most bitter of his enemies, but for whose hatred the infirmity of nature may be fairly pleaded in apology, and whom the House of Commons had most scandalously invested with a formal agency in his prosecution, tells us that "he made on his trial as full, as gallant, and as pithy a defence, and spake as much for himself, as was possible for the wit of man to invent; and with as much art, vivacity, oratory, audacity, and confidence:" and Ludlow, one of the most honest, though one of the sternest, of the Puritan regicides, frankly owns that "he was beheaded for the encouragement of the Scots." He suffered death on Tower Hill, with the same courage and piety which had distinguished his whole life, on the tenth of January, 1644-5.

The moral character of Laud was of such perfect purity that his most rancorous enemies never durst attempt to impeach it, unless we could give credit to their vulgar cry of his inclination to Popery, and charge him therefore with hypocrisy. It may be worth while to observe on that head that the Romanists themselves, not only in England but also on the continent, considered him as the most formidable enemy to their Church. Salmonet, an ingenious Frenchman, who wrote a history of the troubles of Great Britain, makes the following acute remark on his revival of

those decent and dignified forms and ceremonies which the fanatics considered, or rather affected to consider, as infallible proofs of his affection to that Church: "Il pensoit si peu à y restablir la communion Catholique, qu'au contraire il esperoit par cette face exterieure qu'il donnoit à toutes choses, et qui ressembloit fort à celle des premiers temps de l'église, d'attirer les Catholiques de ce royaume là à la communion Anglicane, et de rompre ce lien d'unité qui les tient attachez à la chaire de St. Pierre." Lord Clarendon, who argues, perhaps with unnecessary earnestness to clear him from that imputation, tells us that "he was always maligned and persecuted by those who were of the Calvinian faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their usual maxim and practice, call every man they do not love Papist."—"The Archbishop," says Lord Clarendon, in another place, speaking of the contest between the followers of Arminius and the Calvinists, "had all his life opposed Calvin's doctrines in those controversies, before the name of Arminius was taken notice of, or his opinions heard of; and, thereupon, for want of another name, they had called him a Papist, which nobody believed him to be; and he had more manifested the contrary in his disputations and writings than most men had done; and it may be the other found the more severe and rigorous usage from him for their propagating that calumny against him."

For the rest, the noble historian informs us that "he was a man of great parts, alloyed and discredited by some unpopular natural infirmities, and of great courage and resolution; and, being most assured within himself that he proposed no end in all his actions and designs but what was pious and just, as sure no man ever had a heart more entire to the King, the Church, or his country, he never studied the easiest ways to those ends: he thought, it may be, that any art or industry that way would discredit, at least make the integrity of the end suspected, let the cause be what it will. He did court persons too little, nor cared to make

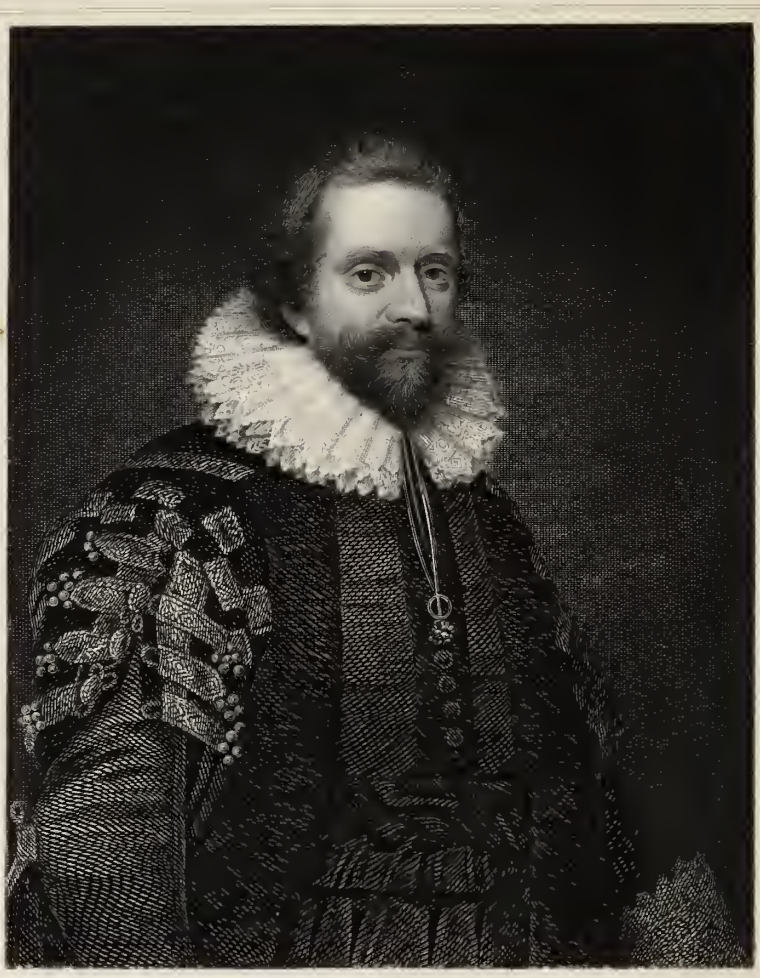
his designs and purposes appear as candid as they were, by shewing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty, though perhaps in too rough a manner; and did not consider enough what men said, or were like to say, of him. If the faults and vices were fit to be looked into and discovered, let the persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance of favour from him. He intended the discipline of the Church should be felt as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressions, as well as to the punishment of smaller offences and meaner offenders; and thereupon called for, or cherished, the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men, or their power, or will, to chastise. Persons of honour and quality, of the Court and of the country, were every day cited into the High Commission Court, upon the fame of their incontinence, or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted, to their shame and punishment." But it is said that Laud wanted prudence—Had he possessed what the world usually calls prudence, Lord Clarendon must have sought for other materials wherewith to embalm his memory.

Laud's disinterestedness and munificence were in every way remarkable. His private charities were unbounded. It was his constant practice to allot a certain number of poor to each of his church preferments, in proportion to the amount of their revenues respectively, whom he maintained, and he commenced that practice on his induction into the first benefice ever held by him. His public foundations, especially in Oxford, were princely. He built almost the whole of the inner quadrangle of St. John's College; augmented its library with many manuscripts; and bestowed on it a gift of five hundred pounds in money. He erected an extensive building at the west end of the Divinity school, and the Bodleian library, the lower part of which was appropriated to the Convocations, and other public meetings of

the University, and the upper part, opening into the public library, to the reception of books, in which is deposited his own splendid collection; for he had given, at different times, to the University thirteen hundred manuscripts, collected by himself at immense expense. He founded there also an Arabic lecture, and obtained for St. John's College the advowson of St. Laurence, at Reading, in Berkshire, in which town he built a hospital, and endowed it with an annual revenue of two hundred pounds. When the persecution against him was instituted, he was deeply engaged in perfecting some of the noblest plans for the advancement of piety and learning that had ever been devised by a subject.

His published works are fewer, and less important, than might have been expected from such a man. They consist of seven sermons, preached on public occasions, between the years 1620 and 1629, which were first printed singly, and reprinted together in 1651: his conference with Fisher, which has been spoken of above: an answer to the remonstrance of the House of Commons in 1628: a speech delivered in the Starchamber, on the censure of Prynne, and the rest. These were printed by himself. The following did not appear till after his death: a Diary of his life, exquisitely illustrative of his true character, which was published with "an History of his Troubles and Tryal," by the learned Henry Wharton: "Annotations, or Memorables, of King James the First," which may be found in Rushworth's Collections: a Letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, aud many others: an historical Account of the Affairs of the University of Oxford during his Chancellorship; "Officium Quotidianum;" and another Manual of private Devotions.

Archbishop Laud died unmarried. His body was buried in the church of Allhallows Barking, in London, but was removed, after the Restoration, to the chapel of his favourite house, St. John's College, in Oxford.



LIONEL CRANFIELD, EARL OF MIDDLESEX.

OB. 1645

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MYTENS IN THE [illegible]

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF DORSET

[illegible] Dec[r] 1836 [illegible] Vepara till Matt[w]

LIONEL CRANFIELD,

FIRST EARL OF MIDDLESEX.

To those, if such are still to be found, who would maintain that James the first either felt the dignity, or understood the interests, of royalty; or possessed the wisdom, or even the cunning, of a politician; it will be sufficient to answer that he advanced this person to the first post in his government, and nearly to the highest rank of the peerage, at the precise moment when the public respect to the aristocracy began evidently to fail, and when the aid of that body was more than ever necessary to the support of the throne. Lionel Cranfield was a man of such ordinary birth that even the names and stations of his parents have never yet been accurately published. Fuller, quoting too, in some very strange mistake, the register of the parish of St. Michael Basinghall, states him to have been the "son of Randal Cranfield, citizen, and Martha his wife, daughter to the Lady Denny, of Gloucestershire." Lloyd asserts, without the smallest foundation, that "his family was ancient in that county." And Dugdale, who, had he taken the trouble to consult the records of his own college, would have instantly discovered the truth, tells us no more than that his father was Thomas Cranfield, of London; to whose name however he wantonly adds the style of Esquire, a distinction which, so lately as in Dugdale's time, was very rarely abused by any. Even Lord Clarendon believed him to be well descended. The fact is, that he was the youngest of the two sons of Thomas Cranfield, a mercer of London, whose ancestors are utterly

unknown, by Martha, daughter of Vincent Randall, who seems also to have been a tradesman of that city, though really of a gentleman's family. Armorial ensigns were granted by Camden in 1613, to Lionel, and his elder brother, Randall.

Of his education we know nothing. The quaint Lloyd says that "he was his own tutor, and his own university;" and adds, in which Arthur Wilson and others agree, that he was bred in the Custom House, which he left for the mercantile profession; and a merchant he remained till he had nearly reached the fortieth year of his age. But he was a merchant of rare character; for, while he practised with industry the vulgar conduct of trade, he studied it as a science, and became master, if a noble term may be so applied without profanation, of the philosophy of commerce. Thus recommended, at a time when commercial revenue was in its infancy, and the necessities of the state and of the court at their utmost height, he was, by means till now unknown, brought to the notice of James the first, as a person likely to devise eligible projects to raise money. His introduction to that prince has been erroneously ascribed, owing probably to the hasty construction of a passage in Lord Clarendon's account of him, to Villiers, afterward Duke of Buckingham; but Cranfield was in some degree of favour before Villiers was even known to the King. Mr. John Chamberlaine, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated "London, July 8, 1613," says, "Sir Thomas Waller, Lieutenant of Dover Castle, is lately dead of a burning fever, and his place, they say, is bestowed upon one Sir Lionel Cranfield, a merchant of this town, of Ingram's profession, who is grown in great favour with the Lord Privy Seal, and rides ordinarily in his coach with him, and by his means, was knighted on Sunday last." Howard, Earl of Northampton then, who at that time held the privy seal, and who was himself a projector, and a commercial theorist, was evidently Cranfield's first patron, and procured, or rather conferred on him, this his first appointment; for Northampton, as Warden of the Cinque Ports, was Governor of Dover Castle.

The commencement of Villiers's influence may be fixed with

certainty to the spring of 1615, in the course of which year he leaped from the place of a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the superb office of Master of the Horse, and within very few months after obtained the Garter and the Peerage. On the twentieth of November, 1616, Cranfield was appointed a Master of the Requests; soon after, Master of the King's great wardrobe; and on the fifteenth of January, 1618, Master of the Court of Wards. These important promotions he owed, in all probability, to Villiers; for, at some time within the period just now referred to, he had married a first cousin of that favourite, who was now Marquis of Buckingham. But Buckingham had other motives for befriending Cranfield. The pursuit of selfish views, like all other things, is subject to the fashion of the time, and opposite means, in politics as well as in morals, may produce the same effect. Ministers then sold favours, instead of purchasing them; and public employments, instead of being conferred as bribes, were obtained by bribery. In the Harleian MSS. No. 1581, is the following original letter to the Marquis, unluckily without date of the year, but doubtless soliciting some one, most probably the latter, of the appointments just mentioned.

My most honnored Lord,

I know yo^{r} power, and nothinge doubte yo^{r} ho^{ble} favour towardes me, but ther are so manye and so greate competitors for that I desire, and ther wilbe so greate meanes and greate offers made unto yow for it, that it wilbe a myracle in this fallce adge yf yow shalbe pleased to continewe constant to me, the first mover, and to whom yowr L^{p} was pleased with a noble frecnés, to engadge yo^{r} ho^{ble} worde, upon w^{ch} I do wholly relye. It is the place I onlye affecte, and in w^{ch} I desire to doe his Ma^{tie} service, w^{ch} shalbe with that faithfulnes and paynes executed, yf by yo^{r} ho^{ble} favor I may have it, as no man shall do better.

I have done the King many proffitable services, wth hazard of my estate and lyfe, and no man hath beene more willinge to do yo^{r} Lo^{p} service then my selfe, for both w^{ch} I suffer, and have lose all other frends. Now, if ever, is the tyme for yo^{r} Lo^{p} to settle

me, in despight of all my enemies, by letting me fynde the fruites of yo^{r} ho^{ble} favor in this pertieuler, for w^{ch} you shall ever com̃aund my estate and lyfe to do yow service. Besides, for the present, I will bringe to yo^{r} L^{p}, to be disposed of at yo^{r} pleasure, fower thowsand pounds in golde, and yet will aeknowledge yo^{r} favor to be such as I shall never be able to deserve. I am now upon the stadge for it, allthowghe I observed yo^{r} com̃aund most strictlye, so that I feare the contents of my former letter were discovered. To prevent the lieke in this, I praye yo^{r} Lo^{p} after yow have reade it to burne it, and to wrighte me yo^{r} pleasure but in 3 lynes wth yo^{r} own hande; for, as I have made no meanes but to yo^{r} ho^{ble} selfe im̃ediately, so I humblye desire no creature lyvinge may be aequainted wth what passeth, for I will wth all willingnes subscribe to any conditions shalbe propounded, my humble suite now beinge no more but that by yo^{r} ho^{ble} favour I may be preferred before any other.

It is my misfortune to be stayed here upon the King's waightie buysines at this tyme when it were most fitt I should waight upon yo^{r} L^{p} to solicit yo^{r} favor about that w^{ch} above all thinges I desire; but within few dayes I shall waight upon yo^{r} L^{p} to give such an accompte of that imployment as I hope shalbe welcom to yo^{r} Honnor, and most aeceptable to the Kinge; and therfore conclude my letter wth this humble request; that yo^{r} L^{p} wilbe pleased to keepe the Kinge free of promis abowt it, and that yo^{r} L^{p} will stand no otherwise ingaged but for me, untill I come to the courte, w^{ch} shalbe within 3 or 4 dayes, at w^{ch} tyme I hope to give yo^{r} Honnor such content as yow shall thinck this ho^{ble} favor well bestowed. And so I humblye tacke leave, ever resting yo^{r} L$^{p's}$ humble and faithfullest servant,

LIONEL CRANFIELD.

London, the 28 *Januarye.*

He now rose with uncommon rapidity. On the fifth of January, 1620, he was sworn of the Privy Council; on the ninth of July in the succeeding year, advanced to the Peerage, by the title of Baron Cranfield, of Cranfield, in Bedfordshire; on the thirteenth

of the following October received the staff of Lord Treasurer; and on the sixteenth of September, 1622, was created Earl of Middlesex. He fell suddenly. James, whom he really seems to have served faithfully as well as wisely, had become weary of the thraldom in which he was held by the imperious Buckingham, and sought relief in the boldness of Middlesex, who undertook to protect him. The favourite presently began to consider him as a rival; but we find nothing of treachery in the conduct of the Treasurer towards him, nor indeed much of ingratitude, for indeed he had probably purchased most of his favours with money. Their quarrel began during Buckingham's absence with the Prince in Spain. The expenses of that romantic expedition were enormous; the Exchequer was drained; and the Treasurer, honestly enough, it should seem, had counselled frugality. In an original letter from him to Buckingham, No. 1581, in the Harleian papers, and in an extract from another, we find hints to that effect, as well as of their incipient division.

My most honnored Lord,

I wrott unto yow some 10 days synce wth an intendment to have sent it by my Lord of Leppington, but, he being wynde bound, I send it by this bearer. Synce the wrighting whereof the certeyne news of The Prynce's salffe aryvall, and yo^{r} Lo$^{p's}$, at the court of Spayne wth yo^{r} royall entretaynement, and the content the Prynce tacketh in his Prynces, hath overjoyed the Kinge, and all honest well affected subjectes; for the ladye givinge his Highnes contentment is of more consequens, and more to be respected, than ten times her portion; for his Highnes beinge pleased in her, all compforts and blessings will followe them both, w^{ch} God in m^{r}cye grant, and send a happy and speedy conclusion.

The shippes wilbe all redy to sett sale by the last of Aprill next, for the monye to sett them forth is allredy paid. I was never put to such a plunge for monye, the som beinge so greate, and to be all disbursed so suddeynlye. I hope the Prynce, wth his

ladye, wilbe as forward, w^ch^ I beseech yo^r^ L^p^ by all meanes hasten, for it is not fytt, nor wilbe salffe, that the Prynce, and the strengthe of the kingdome, w^ch^ are the shippes, should be longe owt of the kingdome together, espetially considering so manye of his Ma^tie's^ subjectes are ill affected to the buyssines. I hope yo^r^ L^p^ will not forgett the monye. I knowe not whether the necessetyc or the expectation of it are greater. I beseeche y^r^ L^p^ tacken care of it, as a thinge of mayne importance.

The clowdes w^ch^ begane to gather upon the Prync's dep̃ture, and yo^r^ L^p's^, are, upon this last news of yo^r^ salffe aryvall, and royall intretaynement at the court of Spayne, much dispersed; but of those passag̃s heraftr, when I shalbe so happy to see yow; in the meane tyme, blesse God for having a most constant and gracious maister.

There is now an excesse of kyndnesse between the Lady my wyffe and myselffe, and hopc it shall not bee in the power of the Dyvell himselffe ever to macke it otherwyse heraftr; and yett I assure yo^r^ L^p^ those evill spiritts that weare very active at Christmas to devyde yo^r^ L^p^ and mee are not yet quiett, but have been more buyssye than ever synce yo^r^ dep̃ture: but I laughe, and skorne the basenesse and poorenes of their plotts, and so will yo^r^ L^p^ when I shall acquaint yow w^th^ them; and therfore I beseech yo^r^ L^p^ to rest confident that my love and thanckfullnes to yow, althowghe they bee worth nothinge more than yow shalbe pleased to vallewe them, are so rooted as they cannot be shacken; no, not by that damned feinde jelosye, w^ch^ hathe so often undermyned thc p̃fectest love, and intirest friendship. And so, w^th^ my humble and hartie love and service, I rest yo^r^ L^p's^ faithfullest freind and servant, and loving kynsman,

MIDDELSEX.

Chelsey, this 30^th^ March, 1623.

And in another letter, dated from Chelsea, on the third of May following, he says, "The fleet is ready to tacke the first wynde: God grant yow may be as redy there. I praye yo^r^ L^p^ to be as

sparinge in the matter of chardges as the honnor of the service will permitt, for never man was so putt to it to provyde mony as myself am at this instant. And I beseeche yo^{r} L^{p} to take espetiall care to bringe as much of the portion in mony wth the fleete as is possible. I dare not wrighte how much it will concerne the King."

Lord Clarendon, having stated the circumstances of his elevation, speaks thus of his fall. "He had gained so much credit with the King, being in truth a man of great parts, and notable dexterity, that, during the Duke's absence in Spain, he was not only negligent in the issuing out such sums of money as were necessary for the defraying those unlimited expenses, and to correspond with him with that deference he had used to do, but had the courage to dispute his commands, and to appeal to the King, whose ear was always inclined to him, and in whom he began to believe himself so far fastened that he should not stand in need of the future support of the favourite. And of all this the Duke could not be without ample information, as well from his own creatures, who were near enough to observe, as from others, who, caring for neither of them, were more scandalized at so precipitate a promotion of a person of such an education, and whom they had long known for so much their inferior, though it could not be denied that he filled the places he held with great abilities."

"The Duke no sooner found the Parliament disposed to a good opinion of him, and being well assured of the Prince's fast kindness, than he projected the ruin of this bold rival of his, of whom he saw clearly enough that the King had so good an opinion that it would not be in his sole power to crush him, as he had done others in the same, and in as high a station: and so he easily procured some leading men in the House of Commons to cause an impeachment, for several corruptions and misdemeanors, to be sent up to the House of Peers against that great minister, whom they had so lately known their equal in that house; which, besides their natural inclination to that sort of correction, disposed them with great alacrity to this prosecution. When it

was first entered upon, and that the King clearly discerned it was contrived by the Duke, and that he had likewise prevailed with the prince to be well pleased with it, his majesty sent for them, and with much warmth and passion dissuaded them from appearing farther in it, and conjured them to use all their interest and authority to restrain it, as such a wound to the Crown that would not be easily healed. And when he found the Duke unmoved by all the considerations, and arguments, and commands he had offered, he said, in great choler, 'By God, Stenny, you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly, and will find that in this fit of popularity you are making a rod with which you will be scourged yourself:' and turning, in some anger, to the prince, told him he would live to have his belly full of parliament impeachments: and 'When I shall be dead, you will have too much cause to remember how much you have contributed to the weakening of the Crown by the two precedents you are now so fond of;' intending as well the engaging the parliament in the war, as the prosecution of the Earl of Middlesex. But the Duke's power, supported by the Prince's countenance, was grown so great in the two houses, that it was in vain for the King to interpose; and so, notwithstanding so good a defence made by the Earl that he was absolved from any notorious crime by the impartial opinion of many of those who heard all the evidence, he was at last condemned to a great fine, to a long and strict imprisonment, and never to sit in parliament during his life; a clause of such a nature as was never before found in any judgment of parliament, and, in truth not to be inflicted on any peer but by attainder."

This severe sentence was passed on him in the winter of 1624. His fine, twenty thousand pounds, was paid, in great part, by transfer of estates to the crown; and it has been said that Buckingham descended to accept the Earl's house and grounds at Chelsea, which was his favourite residence, as a gift from the King; but Wilson, who is too often a slanderer, and from whom other writers have derived the tale, merely says that it was so

reported; and Welden, who delighted in vilifying the Duke, does not mention it. Middlesex, after his enlargement, retired to his fine seat of Copt-Hall, in Essex, where, says Fuller, "he enjoyed himself contentedly, entertained his friends bountifully, his neighbours hospitably, and the poor charitably." There is good reason indeed to believe that no public man of his time was more beloved. He seems to have been blessed with a frankness and generosity of temper which neither mercantile selfishness nor ministerial caution could chill; and a liveliness of humour, not to say wit, adorned his conversation. One of his table jests has escaped oblivion. A question having arisen on the best means of prolonging human life, he said, "Let a man get himself appointed Lord Treasurer, for no one ever died in that office." He amused himself in the earlier part of his life with poetical composition, of which too a single specimen remains, which, at the worst, entitles him to the reputation of a smooth versifier. "The following mock-commendatory verses, by this nobleman," says the ingenious editor of Lord Orford's Noble Authors, "were prefixed in 1611 to the Travels, or Crudities, of Tom Coryat, 'the whetstone of all the wits;' who must have been stimulated by a preposterous species of vanity to publish so many ludicrous lampoons upon himself, before his book."

"Great laude deserves the author of this worke,
Who saw the Freneh, Dutch, Lombard, Jew, and Turke,
But speakes not any of their tongues as yet,
For who in five months can attaine to it?
Short was his time, although his booke be long,
Which shewes much wit, and memory more strong—
An yron memory—for who but he
Could glue together such a rhapsodie
Of pretious things, as towers, steeples, rocks,
Tombes, theaters, the gallowes, bels, and stocks,
Mules, asses, arsenals, ehurches, gates, and townes,
The Alpine mountaines, eortezans, and Dutch clownes?
What man before hath writ so punetually,
To his eternall fame, his journey's story?

And as he is the first that I can finde,
So will he be the last of this rare kinde.
Me thinks, when on his booke I cast my eies,
I see a shop replete with merchandize;
And how the owner, jelous of his fame,
With pretious matter garnisheth the same.
Many good parts he hath; no man too much
Can them commend; some few I'll only touch.
He Greeke and Latin speakes with greater ease
Than hogs eate akornes, or tame pigeons pease.
His ferret eies doe plod so on his booke,
As makes his lookes worse then a testie cooke.
His tongue and feete are swifter then a flight,
Yet both are glad when day resignes to night.
He is not proude; his nature softe and milde;
His complements are long; his lookes are wilde:
Patient enough, but, oh! his action
Of great effect to move and stirre up passion.
Odcombe, be proud of thy odde Coryate,
Borne to be great, and gracious with the state.
How much I him well wish let this suffice.
His booke best shewes that he is deeply wise.

"Explicit Lionel Cranfield."

He was twice married: first to Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Shepherd, a merchant of London, who brought him three daughters; Martha, wife of Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth; Elizabeth, of Edmund Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave; and Mary, who died unmarried. His second lady was Anne, daughter of James Bret, of Howby, in Leicester, by Anne his wife, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, and sister to Mary, wife of Sir George Villiers, the father and mother of the great George, Duke of Buckingham. By her he had two sons, and one daughter. James, his successor, who, by his wife Anne, daughter and coheir of Edward Bourchier, Earl of Bath, left an only daughter, who was married to John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater. Lionel, who succeeded to his brother James, and in whom, dying without issue, the titles became extinct. And Frances, who became therefore heir to his estates, and who married Richard Sackvile, fifth

Earl of Dorset, in whose eldest son and successor, Charles, the titles of Baron Cranfield and Earl of Middlesex were revived in 1675, during the life of his father. As little is known of extinct peerages, I have given the genealogical account of this family rather more at large than usual.

The Earl of Middlesex survived his disgrace, if the suffering a punishment of enormous severity for misdemeanors so trivial that history has forborne to particularise them may be so called, for more than twenty years. He died on the sixth of August, 1645, and was buried in St. Michael's chapel, in Westminster Abbey, under a superb tomb of black and white marble, with a long inscription in Latin (of which very erroneous transcripts have been given in Dugdale's Baronage, and by Dart, in his history of the Abbey), alluding to his prosecution, and asserting his innocence.

Engraved by H Robinson

HENRY SOMERSET, FIRST MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

OB. 1646.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JANSEN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT.

HENRY SOMERSET,

FIRST MARQUIS OF WORCESTER,

Was the second born of the eight sons of that not less honourable than accomplished statesman and courtier Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester, by Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon. He was born in or about the year 1562, and, his family having never deserted the ancient faith, was sent for education to the College of St. Omer; nor is it altogether improbable, considering the uncommonly abundant issue of his father, that he might have been at that time designed for the ecclesiastical profession. His elder brother however, William Lord Herbert, having died unmarried, he became heir-apparent to the dignities and great estates of his superb House.

He was already an old man when he succeeded to the inheritance of them, for his father survived till the year 1627. During the whole of this long season of expectancy, not a single fact of his life has been recorded, except that he had lived long in Spain and in Italy, and that he was summoned by anticipation to the House of Peers in the first Parliament of James. Collins, indeed, in his Peerage informs us, but without citing his authority, that "he was a nobleman of great parts, piety, and wisdom, and of a free and generous disposition"—a combination of qualities peculiarly calculated, ambition and vanity being absent, to lead to a preference of the serenity of private life. He might too have had prudential motives for retirement yet more cogent, for he had married early, and had, as well as his father, a very numerous

progeny. Thirteen of his younger brothers and sisters, and thirteen children of his own, seem to have been living at the same time; and, as the nobility had not yet stooped to mix their blood with that of the sons and daughters of commerce, alliances could be sought only in the country, where they were matured and perfected in the calmness of social intercourse.

On the King's appearing however in arms, he flew from his privacy with all the ardour of youth, and embarked in the royal cause with enthusiastic sincerity. He had indeed before made a clear manifestation of the loyalty which to the last distinguished him, by defraying almost the whole of the expense of transporting Charles and his train to York, when that Prince was compelled to quit London in the spring of 1642; and this was the commencement of a series of munificence from subject to Sovereign perhaps wholly unparalleled. He had the honour of raising and equipping the first regiment of Horse which appeared for the King, and in the course of that and the following year actually levied two little armies in Wales, at the charge of upwards of forty thousand pounds. These, successively commanded by his eldest son the Lord Herbert, better known by the title of Earl of Glamorgan, to whom a memoir will hereafter be especially appropriated, had the ill fortune to be almost uniformly unsuccessful, and were at length totally dispersed by the rebels; the King despatched Lord Herbert to Ireland, with a commission, the intention of which has since unnecessarily excited much historical disquisition; and, on the second of November, 1642, advanced the Earl to the title of Marquis of Worcester. He now retired to his noble seat of Ragland Castle in Monmouthshire, which at length he fortified at enormous expense, and garrisoned with eight hundred men, and here, in the summer of 1645, and soon after the battle of Naseby, the unhappy Charles, whose fate was now fast waning, became for some weeks the guest of his splendid hospitality, and received from him a great supply of money.

A change of quarters, which a very few months after brought the King again into that part of the country, and his increasing

necessities, produced a second visit to Ragland, in which a very remarkable circumstance is asserted to have occurred. The Marquis was not only a Roman Catholic, but he was a zealot. He had formed a design for the conversion of Charles to that faith, and took this opportunity of formally inviting him to a debate on the comparative claims to credence of the two Churches. The King's gratitude to so devoted a servant would not permit him to decline the challenge, nor would it have been prudent to disgust one whose friendship was so important to his affairs. Their disputation is narrated in a small volume, of considerable rarity, printed in 1649, and entitled "Certamen Religiosum, or a conference between Charles, late King of England, and Henry, late Marquis of Worcester, concerning Religion, at his Majesty's being at Ragland Castle, 1646," (a mis-print for 1645) "wherein the main differences now in controversy between the Papists and the Protestants are no less briefly than accurately discussed and bandied; now published for the world's satisfaction of his Majesty's constant affection to the Protestant Religion, by Tho. Baylie, Doctor in Divinity, and Sub-dean of Wells. Mutare vel timere sperno." The author, or rather editor, was a younger son of an estimable Prelate, Dr. Lewis Baylie, Bishop of Bangor: he appears to have been domesticated in the Marquis's family, and well known to the King; was a man of lively talents; of a disposition somewhat eccentric; and who at length embraced the Catholic faith. This latter circumstance, together with a strong suspicion of his having published as his own a Life of Bishop Fisher which had been written by another, have contributed to cast a doubt generally on his veracity, and consequently on the authenticity of his report of the "Conference" in question. His prolix introduction to it however exhibits such strong internal evidence of truth; so many little natural circumstances and coincidences which could scarcely have suggested themselves even to the most lively and artful invention; that we cannot well forbear to give an extended degree of credit to the whole. But let him speak for himself in some necessarily long extracts from it.

"It is not to be imagined otherwise," says he, "but that every man who pretends unto religion makes the same religion which he professeth either his Jacob's ladder, or his fiery chariot, to ascend to heaven. Neither is it to be supposed but that the same man, if he thought any religion better than his own, or his own not the only way to heaven, would forsake that religion which he had formerly embraced, and matriculate himself a member of that Church whose purer hands were likeliest to give him the truest blessing: Wherefore burning zeal is not to be blamed, though the fire be misplaced, if it operate according to its own nature, which is to congregate homogeneous beings, and to make them love to sit by the same fire. Thus affected was that noble, and indeed, in his way, heavenly disposed, Henry, late Marquis of Worcester, to play the greatest prize that ever was played between any two that ever entered within those lists. Three Diadems were to encounter with the Triple Crown, and the Triple Crown with three sceptres. Opportunity, that lucky gamester that hardly loses a game in twenty, was on the Marquis's side: time and place directed him how to take points in his own tables; the King at this time being in the Marquis's own house at Ragland, and necessitated to borrow money to buy bread after so great a loss at Naseby. The King, being thus put to play the after-game with the old Marquis, was a little mistrustful that he had not played the fore-game with him so well as that he had not thereby prejudiced the latter. There were some things which happened as having relation to this family which were not altogether pleasing; however, though his Majesty came thither ushered by necessity, yet he came neither unwelcomed nor uninvited, and entertained as if he had been more King by reason of some late achievements rather than otherwise: and, though money came from him like drops of blood, yet he was contented that every drop within his body should be let out at his command, so that he might perform so meritorious a piece of work as he thought the being an instrument of bringing the father of his country to be the son of his Church would be unto

his soul's health. The Marquis, having these resolutions within himself, thought to give them breath at the same time that his Majesty should make his motion for a further supply of money, which he daily and hourly expected, but was deceived in his expectations, for the relation having already reached the King's ear how an accident had made me no less fortunate to his Lordship than in being the means of preserving his Lordship's person, and no inconsiderable fortune, then in the same venture with him; and how that I preserved both the one and the other in concealing both, for the space that the moon useth to be twice in riding of her circuit (the particulars whereof here to insert would tend rather to much arrogance than any purpose, wherefore I further forbear) untill such time as the trust that Providence had reposed in me was crowned by the same hand with such success as brought the Marquis safe to his own house in peace, which I had no sooner brought to pass but the Marquis drew from me a solemn engagement never to leave him so long as we both should live, which I was so careful for to observe that I neither left him in life nor death, fair weather nor foul, untill such time as he led me, and I laid him under the ground in Windsor Castle, in the sepulchre of his ancestors."

The event in the Marquis's life to which Baylie alludes towards the conclusion of the foregoing paragraph is, and must remain, utterly unknown. He goes on to state at great length, that he had received a commission from the King to solicit a further pecuniary aid from that nobleman, and then informs us thus of the result, and, first, of his communication to the Marquis of Charles's request—

"'My Lord, the thing that I feared is now fallen upon me. I am made the unwelcome messenger of bad news. The King wants money.' At which word the Marquis interrupted me, saying 'hold Sir, that's no news—go on with your business.' 'My Lord,' said I, 'there is one comfort yet; that, as the King is brought low so are his demands; and, like his army, are come down from thousands to hundreds; and from paying the soldiers

of his army to buying bread for himself and his followers. My Lord, it is the King's own expression, and his desire is but three hundred pounds.' Whereupon my Lord made a long pause before he gave me one word of answer; I knowing by experience that in such cases it was best leaving him to himself, and to let that nature that was so good work itself into an act of the highest charity, like the diamond, which is only polished with its own dust. At last he called me nearer to him, and asked me if the King himself had spoken unto me concerning any such business, to which I answered that the King himself had not, but that others did in the King's hearing; whereupon he said, 'might I but speak unto him (but I was never thought worthy to be consulted with, though in matters merely concerning the affairs of my own country) I would supply his wants, were they never so great, or whatsoever they were; whereupon I told his Lordship that if the King knew as much he might quickly speak with him: then, said the Marquis, 'the way to have him know so much is to have somebody to tell him of it.' I asked his Lordship if he would give me leave to be the informer, and he told me he spake it to the same purpose. I hastened from him with as much fear of being called back again as I did towards the King with a longing desire of giving his Majesty so good an account of my so much doubted embassy.

"I told his Majesty, apart, that I had moved his Lordship in matter of money, but found him a little discouraged, in regard that his Majesty having been twice at Ragland, a month at a time, and that at neither of those times he ever vouchsafed his Lordship so much honour as once to call him to Council, though it was in his own house, and must needs be acknowledged to be one who knew the country, and the constitution of the inhabitants, better than any other man that was about his Majesty had reason to understand; wherefore, I told the King, I thought his Lordship lent my motion a deafer ear than he would have done if his Lordship had not been thought so useless a creature; and that I perceived his Lordship had a desire to have some conference

with his Majesty, which being obtained, I believed his Majesty's request would be easily granted, and his expectations answered in a higher measure than it may be his Majesty believed. The King said 'with all my heart; and as to the other business which so much troubles my Lord, in troth I have thought it a neglect in us heretofore; but the true reason why I did forbear to do so was because I thought my Lord of Worcester did not desire it, by reason of his retiredness, unwieldiness of body, and unwillingness of mind to stir abroad, and therefore I thought it a contentment to him to be let alone, and,' said the King, 'I pray tell my Lord of Worcester, that I did not forbear that respect unto him out of any disestimation I had either of his wisdom or loyalty, but out of some reasons I had to myself, which indeed reflected as much upon my Lord as they did on me; for, had he used to come to the Council board, it would have been said that I took no other council but what was conveyed unto me by jesuits by his Lordship's means, and I pray tell him that was the true cause.' I intimated to his Majesty that I knew the Marquis had an earnest desire to have some private conference with his Majesty this night, which, if granted, it might conduce very much to his Majesty's behoof. The King said, 'how can that be?' I told his Majesty that my Lord had contrived it before his coming to the castle, and told his Majesty of the privacy of the conveyance, and that therefore his Lordship had appointed that for his bedchamber, and not in the great tower, which was the room he most esteemed of all in the castle. Hereat his Majesty smiled, and said 'I know my Lord's drift well enough—either he means to chide me, or else to convert me to his religion.' Whereupon I told his Majesty I doubted not but that his Majesty was temptation-proof, as well as he was correction-free, and that he might return the same man he went, having made a profitable exchange of gold and silver for words and sleep; at which the King suddenly replied, 'I never received any of the Marquis' gold but it was all weight, and I would have my words to be so with him, which cannot be, because I have no time to weigh the

matter, much less the words that I shall speak concerning it. I must expect to find my Lord very well prepared, and all the force that is in argument against me. Had I been aware of it, or could stay, I would have taken some days' labour to have been as hard for my Lord as I could, and not to have given him so extemporary a meeting as both of us must be fain to steal from sleep.' 'Sir,' said I, 'I am employed by you both, and I must do your Majesty's service as I may. This way I can: otherwise I know not. I do not think his Lordship expects disputation, but audience. What he hath to say I know not; neither did I know that he had any such intention untill the time that I moved his Lordship in your Majesty's behalf.' 'Well,' said the King, 'my Lord's desires are granted; and, if he have any such intention, I hope to let him know that I will not be of a religion that I am not able to defend against any man, and let me hear from you concerning the time and place.' So I departed his presence, giving this pleasing account unto the Marquis, who, transported with joy, commanded me to haste unto the King and tell him that at eleven of the clock that night he would not fail to attend his Majesty, in such a place, whither he had given me direction to light his Majesty, which place of meeting was known by the name of my Lord Privy Seal's Chamber, who was father to this Marquis, and died in it, wherefore this Marquis would never suffer any man to lie in it afterwards, or scarce any body so much as to come into it, which was the reason why this chamber at this time was so conveniently empty, when all the rooms in the castle were more than full."

The whole of Baylie's narrative is so interesting, that it is to be regretted that its length should prohibit the insertion of every word.—In the Marquis's anxiety that the meeting should be wholly secret, he directs Baylie to go to the yeoman of his wine cellar, and ask him for his keys, "and then," says the Marquis, "all that you find in your way, invite them down into the cellar, and shew them the keys, and I warrant you you shall sweep the rooms of them if there were an hundred, and when you have done,

leave them there." The Marquis then retired "to take a nap," and when the time came for the King's arrival, and Baylie, by his order, called him, he awakened horror-struck at the boldness of his undertaking, and said "God bless us all—what if we should be discovered? what construction would they make of our doings? what advantage would they be ready to take of such constructions? what if this harmless and innocent design of mine should be thought a conspiracy, such a one as Gowry's? Then they will take an occasion to plunder me of all that I have. I protest I never thought of this. I wish I never had attempted any such thing." Baylie answered him—"My Lord, you know your own heart best. If there be nothing in your intentions but what is good and justifiable you need not fear: if otherwise, it is never too late to repent." The Marquis, hurt at this, replied, "Ah, Doctor, I thought I had been sure of one friend, and that you would never have harboured the least suspicion of me. God knows my heart, I have no other intention towards his Majesty than to make him a glorious man here, and a glorified saint hereafter." "Then," said Baylie, "my Lord, shake off these fears with the drowsiness that begat them—Honi soit qui mal y pense." "O," rejoined the Marquis, "I am not of that order, but I thank God I wear that motto about my heart, to as much purpose as they do about their arms; and now began," says Baylie, "to be a little pleasant, and took a pipe of tobacco, and a little aqua mirabilis, and said 'come now—let us go, in the name of God,' crossing himself; but I had no sooner brought my Lord to the door of the meeting chamber than the clock struck eleven, when I presently left my Lord in the portal, and went to the place where I was to expect the King. I had not been long there when he came, saying softly—'I have escaped one danger—none within my chamber knows of my coming abroad this night.'" He added—"Misprisions, evil constructions, and false judgements, are dangers worth escaping at any time; and therefore where I run a hazard I always escape a danger. They who carry only their own eyes in their head, and have no other upon them, may

go which way they please, but he that hath all the people's eyes upon him must look which way he goes; neither is it sufficient for him to lead their's according to the perspicuity and quickness of his own, but he must allow them the abatements which either the distance of the object, the indisposition of the organ, or the mis-disposition of some bad mediums, may require in vulgar spirits, by reason of their incapacity of looking further than appearance."

The conference, which is given in the shape of regular dialogue, presently follows, and it must be confessed that the Marquis had the superiority in argument. Baylie indeed premises in his "Epistle to the Reader"—"For the Marquis of Worcester's learning, he that knew him well knew him to be more than ordinarily versed in controversy, especially for a man who was no professed scholar, and a nobleman." He also furnishes us, as we have lately seen, with the sufficient apology, previously made by Charles, for any probable deficiency on his part. A vein of good temper and cheerfulness, with no small mixture of a dry and jocular humour, runs through the whole of the good old nobleman's discourse, even in the disputation itself, as well as in Baylie's report of the circumstances which led to it. His reputation indeed as a sayer, to use a familiar modern phrase, of good things, is on record. An extremely scarce little volume, printed in 1658, is extant, entitled "Witty Apophthegms, delivered at several times, and upon several occasions, by King James, King Charles, the Marquis of Worcester, Francis Lord Bacon, and Sir Thomas More." The memory however of his genius would derive little honour in our day from the republication of those which it attributes to him.

The King left Ragland in the second week of September, 1645, and the Parliament, about the same time, proceeded to the confiscation of the estates of the Marquis and his family; for Whitelocke informs us that, on the twentieth of the next month, on a petition from two persons, "for payment for provisions sent by them to Ireland, it was ordered that the profits of the estates of

the Earl of Worcester, Lord Herbert, and Sir John Somerset (his sons), should be paid to them in part of satisfaction." Early in the succeeding spring, Ragland Castle was besieged by a part of Fairfax's army, under the command of a person of the name of Morgan, and at length of Fairfax himself. "On the ninth of June, 1646," says Whitelocke again, "letters and papers were read of transactions between the Marquis of Worcester and the Commissioners of Monmouth, and Lieut. General Morgan and his Lordship, for the surrender of Ragland Castle, which Morgan, by command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, summoned, and the Marquis desired liberty to send to the King, to know his pleasure, which Morgan denied, alledging that the King was in the army of the Scots, our friends, who had proclaimed that none formerly in arms against the Parliament should be admitted to any conference with him. The Marquis resolved to stand it out to the utmost." And so he did, with a bravery and perseverance to which the whole of that unhappy war scarcely produced a parallel instance. Dispirited however by the hopelessness into which the royal cause had fallen; exhausted of provisions and ammunition; and deprived of the means of procuring supplies of either; he was at length compelled to listen to offers of treaty. Fairfax was a gentleman, and his terms were liberal, except with respect to the Marquis himself, as to whom it appears that he was not allowed to exercise his own discretion. On this head Whitelocke has left us also the following memorandum—"August the seventeenth, 1646, letters from the leaguer before Ragland certify that the M. of Worcester wrote with much respect to Sir Thomas Fairfax, that he honoured his family, and was more willing to agree to his proposals than if they had come from any other; that he was intimately acquainted with Sir Thomas Fairfax, his grandfather; and other compliments; and concluded to agree to a treaty: in which all propositions were consented to but concerning the person of the Marquis, whom they would only admit to the mercy of the Parliament, and that the Marquis thought hard; and, being eighty-four years of age, was thought

the more capable of favour and pity." He experienced indeed little of either, for he was sent a prisoner to London, where he was committed to the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod, and afterwards to a more severe confinement, from which, within three months he was released by death, for we find that on the nineteenth of December following his surrender the Parliament voted a thousand pounds for the expenses of his funeral. His great estates were dispersed by grants to various persons, and by sale. A considerable share of them was given to that sour and crafty old republican the Lord Say; and on the seventh of March, 1647-8, to quote the words of Whitelocke once more, "an ordinance was sent up to the Lords, for settling lands of the Marquis of Worcester, of two thousand five hundred pounds yearly value, on Lieutenant General Cromwell, and his heirs, in recompence of his great services." The whole of the sacrifices made by this nobleman and his sons to their loyalty, in gifts heartily bestowed, in loans never repaid, and in the entire loss at last of his splendid patrimony, extended nearly to the enormous sum of a million sterling.

Henry, Earl of Worcester, married Anne, only surviving child of John Lord Russell, who died in the lifetime of his father, Francis, second Earl of Bedford of that family. He had by that lady nine sons, and four daughters, of whom the eldest, Edward, Lord Herbert, succeeded to his dignities; Sir John, the second, married, and left issue; William, and Henry, died unmarried, as did also probably Thomas, the fifth son, who was living in Rome towards the end of the seventeenth century; Charles, a canon of the Church of Cambray in Flanders; Frederic, Francis, and James; died minors. Of the daughters, Elizabeth, Anne, who was a nun, and Mary, were unmarried, and another Elizabeth, the youngest, was the wife of Francis Browne, third Viscount Montagu.

THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY.

OB. 1646.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF RUBENS IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF WARWICK.

THOMAS HOWARD,

EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY.

This celebrated nobleman was the only son of Philip, first Earl of Arundel of his family, by Anne, sister and coheir of Thomas, the last Lord Dacre, of Gillesland. It has been stated that he was born on the seventh of July, 1592: an unaccountable error, in which most who have written of him concur, while they at the same time tell us that he was tilting in 1606; married, and had children, in 1609; and was in that year sworn a Privy Counsellor. The precise date of his birth is not known; but Sir Edward Walker, who could not possibly have been mistaken, expressly tells us in his "Historical discourses," that the Earl was seventeen years old when Queen Elizabeth died, which fixes it to 1586. He received his education at home, under the eye of his discreet and virtuous mother, with whom he lived during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, in a privacy better suited to the adverse circumstances of his family than to his rank, or, more properly, to his hopes, for he inherited no dignity: of four succeeding descents of his immediate predecessors two had suffered death on the scaffold; one was strongly suspected to have been poisoned in the mysterious recess of his prison; and all were attainted. He had however in that time, by courtesy, the title of Lord Maltravers, a Barony derived from his great ancestors the Fitzalans.

In 1603, soon after James's accession, he was restored in blood by act of Parliament, and to such honours as he had lost by his father's attainder, as well as to the Earldom of Surrey, and to most of the Baronies which had been forfeited by the attainder

of his grandfather, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk. It was matter of surprise that the dukedom was with-held from him, especially considering the favour in which his uncle, and great uncle, the Earls of Suffolk and Northampton, the former Lord Treasurer, and the latter Privy Seal, were held by the King: It is probable, however, that Suffolk himself might have prevented that grace with the hope of obtaining a revival of it in his own line in the event of the young Earl's death without issue. Soon after he came of age, he married Alathea, third daughter and coheir of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; a match of great advantage, for her two elder sisters, the Countesses of Pembroke and Kent, dying childless, the most part of her father's noble revenues in the end devolved on her.

He was sworn of the Privy Council in 1607, and on the seventeenth of June in that year the King was godfather, in person, to his first-born son. He soon after travelled into France and Italy, a journey which his untoward family circumstances had hitherto prevented, and during his stay in those countries imbibed that enthusiastic affection for the fine arts by which he was afterwards so eminently distinguished. He remained abroad till 1611, and on his return was chosen a Knight of the Garter. The marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine happened soon after, and he was appointed to escort them to their dominions. Finding himself once more on the continent, he could not resist the temptation of re-visiting the favourite objects of his taste: he went again into Italy, and at that time began to form his celebrated collection. When he returned to his own country, in 1614, he embraced the communion of the Church of England, for he had been bred a Roman Catholic, in the strictest austerities of that persuasion.

He experienced little favour in this reign. The familiar coarseness of James's manners; the immoralities of that Prince's favourites; and the general corruption of the Court; were equally abhorrent to his nature and his habits. We find him

therefore for several years no otherwise publicly employed than in the reception of Ambassadors, and other dignified ceremonies which suited his disposition, as well as his rank, for no man better understood the exactness of propriety in such matters. Two circumstances relative to him in the performance of duties of this sort are recorded: the one, that he had nearly lost his life by the falling of a temporary wooden platform, in conducting Gondomar, the Spanish Minister, to his first public audience, in 1619; the other, that being appointed in the following year to visit the Marquis de Cadenet, the French Ambassador, at Gravesend, the Frenchman, on the Earl's arrival and departure, advanced no further than the head of the staircase; the Earl therefore, who was to conduct him the next morning to London, would then meet him only in the street; and, on their arrival at Somerset House, would go no further than the foot of the stairs, telling the Ambassador that his gentlemen would shew him to his lodgings. The King, who, though without dignity, was not wanting in pride, approved of the Earl's conduct, and the Ambassador apologized.

James, though he could not love the Earl, respected him. It was remarked that he was the only enemy of the Duke of Buckingham who ever had any degree of countenance from the King. That favourite had for a time courted him, but, finding him too high-spirited to be bought by any practicable means of temptation, and too honest and cool-headed to become a regular partizan, had neglected him. The mode of the Duke's endeavours to gain his political friendship, rather than the slights which were subsequently put upon him, provoked his lasting resentment towards Buckingham; yet the King, on the removal of Bacon, in 1621, nominated him a Commissioner for holding the Great Seal, and, on the twenty-ninth of August, in the same year, appointed, or rather restored, him to the place of Earl Marshal of England. His endeavours in that exalted office to maintain the just and wholesome weight of the aristocracy were

generally wise and moderate: "had all men in power," says Sir Edward Walker, "had but the same inclinations, the great and fatal period these times have brought on all of them possibly had not been." Walker, however, was Garter King of Arms, and perhaps somewhat prejudiced by his official habits; and it must be confessed that the Earl's foible was a too vehement affection to the ancient nobility. The amiable and high-spirited Lord Spencer, a new Peer, but the heir of a long line of wealthy and irreproachable progenitors, who had lived quietly on their great estates, happening in a debate in the House of Lords to use some allusions to the conduct of noblemen in former times, the Earl of Arundel said, "my Lord, when those things were doing your ancestors were keeping sheep." Spencer, with a happy quickness of reply, but very unjustly, answered "when my ancestors, as you say, were keeping sheep, your's were plotting treason." This matter was taken up by the Peers with great warmth, and the Earl was committed to the Tower, from whence he was soon after released, on James's personal intercession with the House.

No concessions however could induce him to any cordiality with the Court while Buckingham remained at its head. We find him therefore the steady, but dignified and moderate opponent to it at the commencement of the succeeding reign. Charles continued him in his office of Earl Marshal, and appointed him one of the supporters to himself at the funeral of the deceased King; a Commissioner for determining claims at his coronation, and for making such Knights of the Bath as were chosen for that occasion; and immediately after, by one of those intemperate acts which too frequently occurred in that unfortunate reign, disgusted him perhaps irreparably. The Earl's eldest surviving son, Henry Frederic, Lord Maltravers, had wedded the Lady Elizabeth Stuart, sister of the Duke of Lenox, and related to Charles, who had designed to marry her to the Lord Lorne, heir to the Earl of Argyll, and so to reconcile the ancient

feuds between those two powerful Scottish Houses. The match had been made by the Duchess of Lennox and the Countess of Arundel, and the Earl, on being angrily taxed with it by the King, utterly denied any previous knowledge of it: he was however, together with his lady, confined to his house of Horsely, in Surrey, and soon after committed to the Tower, solely by the authority of a royal warrant, in which the nature of his offence was not stated. This happened while the Parliament was sitting, and the Peers presently complained of it in repeated petitions, as a serious invasion of their privileges, to which they received for answer that " the Earl of Arundel was restrained for a misdemeanor personal to the King, which lay in his proper knowledge, and had no relation to matters of Parliament." The Lords, however continued firm, and re-iterated their claims in a bold remonstrance, and Charles, after a contest which lasted nearly three months, set the Earl at liberty on the eighth of June, 1626.

After the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham he came again to the Court, and soon acquired a considerable share of favour and confidence. In 1631 he was appointed a Commissioner to examine into the extravagant fees exacted in Courts of Justice, and public offices, and in 1633 attended the King at his coronation in Scotland: in the same year he was deputed Ambassador extraordinary to the States General, and was made Chief Justice of the forests north of Trent. But his most important public service about that period was in an embassy in 1636 to the Emperor Ferdinand the second, and the Imperial Diet, on the subject of the restoration of the Palatinate to the Elector, Charles's nephew, a measure which the King had so entirely at heart that he could not have given a stronger proof of his confidence in the Earl's wisdom, as well as in his fidelity, than by entrusting it to his management. The mission however proved unsuccessful; and the Earl having passed nine months in Germany, during which he expended not less than forty thousand pounds from his own private fortune in augmenting his already

splendid library and cabinet, returned to London, and was received by the King with peculiar marks of grace and approbation. A journal of the occurrences which took place in this voyage was published in the succeeding year by William Crowne, gent. a book now of extreme rarity.

In 1637 the memorable opposition to the liturgy and the hierarchy broke out in Scotland, and Charles, after many fruitless endeavours to negotiate, determined to have recourse to arms. He appointed the Earl of Arundel Commander in Chief of the forces raised for that purpose, but his military services were superseded by a new treaty, in which he was the first Commissioner. He was soon after placed in the office of Steward of the Royal Household; and in 1640, during Charles's absence at York, was nominated General in Chief of the country south of Trent, where it was the King's intention to have raised a powerful army. The violence, however, which marked the meeting of the Long Parliament gave a sudden turn to all public affairs, and prevented the effect both of his civil and military commissions. One of its first measures was the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, at whose trial Arundel presided as Lord High Steward, with a judgement and impartiality which was admired by all parties. It fell also to his lot to be deputed to give the royal assent to those two fatal bills which cost Charles his crown, and his life, and deluged the country in blood; the bill of attainder against Strafford, and that by which it was enacted that the Parliament should not be dissolved but by its own consent.

Soon after, that is to say in June 1641, he presented a petition, supported by another from several Peers of great worth and power, beseeching the King to restore him to the dukedom; but Charles, for some unknown reasons, would favour him no further than by the grant of a patent creating him Earl of Norfolk. Disgusted by this half measure, and foreseeing the dreadful storm which was then gathering, he determined to quit his country, and the King favoured his design by appointing him to escort the

Queen's mother, Mary de Medicis, Queen Dowager of France, to end there her sorrowful days in security. His family accompanied him, and he returned alone early in the following winter, and remained in England till February, when the King gave him another opportunity of leaving it, by deputing him to attend to Holland Henrietta Maria, and her daughter the Princess Mary, who had been married in the preceding summer to William Prince of Orange. He returned no more. After a short stay in the United Provinces, he went to Antwerp; and from thence, leaving there his Countess, whom he never met again, to Spa. He wandered slowly over most parts of France and Italy, and at last settled at Padua. He was attended in this long and various journeying by two of his grandsons, who, from having been his prime comforts, became now the causes of his greatest misery: Thomas, the elder, by being suddenly seized by an incurable insanity; and Philip, the third, by an obstinate determination not only to embrace the Roman Catholic communion, but to become a member of its priesthood. The Earl died at Padua, on the fourth of October, 1646, and was buried at Arundel.

The character of this magnificent nobleman has been in some respects very differently represented: on the higher parts of it however, little doubt can be entertained. The main spring of his whole conduct appears to have been, in the strictest meaning of the phrase, a true sense of honour, which manifested itself in every instance of his demeanor towards all sorts of persons, in all sorts of dealings. His loyalty was pure, though without personal regard to the Sovereign; his religious faith (and here his memory has been most unjustly traduced) sincere and steady, but without ostentation; his friendships, though not warm, were unalterable; and his enmities, though violent, were never disgraced by the common intemperate illiberalities of resentment. His affection to his own offspring, which was remarkably constant, is said to have been without the usual signs of fondness and endearment. He seems to have been left at leisure, uninterrupted by the extra-

vagance of any passion, sentiment, or appetite, to mark out, and pursue an undeviating line of irreproachable conduct, and such a character will always be misunderstood. He had many enemies, for he was the proudest man in the world among his equals, though the most affable towards his inferiors. He has been largely described by a writer of each of those classes; the great Earl of Clarendon, and Sir Edward Walker. The former, though evidently anxious to censure, has been at a loss to discover vulnerable parts in his character: the latter, though bound by many motives to praise him, honestly allows him some faults. Let them speak for themselves.

"The Earl of Arundel," says Lord Clarendon, "was generally thought to be a proud man, who lived always within himself, and to himself, conversing little with any who were in common conversation; so that he seemed to live as it were in another nation, his house being a place to which all people resorted who resorted to no other place; strangers, or such who affected to look like strangers, and dressed themselves accordingly. He resorted sometimes to the Court, because there was only a greater man than himself; and went thither the seldomer, because there was a greater man than himself. He lived towards all favourites and great officers without any kind of condescension, and rather suffered himself to be ill treated by their power and authority (for he was often in disgrace and once or twice prisoner in the Tower) than to descend in making any application to them. And upon these occasions he spent a great interval of his time in several journeys into foreign parts, and, with his wife and family, had lived some years in Italy, the humour and manners of which nation he seemed most to like and approve, and affected to imitate. He had a good fortune by descent, and a much greater from his wife, who was the sole daughter, upon the matter, for neither of the two sisters left any issue, of the great house of Shrewsbury, but his expences were without any measure, and always exceeded very much his revenue. He was willing to be

thought a scholar, and to understand the most mysterious parts of antiquity, because he made a wonderful and costly purchase of excellent statues whilst he was in Italy and in Rome (some whereof he could never obtain permission to remove from Rome though he had paid for them) and had a rare collection of the most curious medals. As to all parts of learning he was most illiterate, and thought no other part of history so considerable as what related to his own family, in which no doubt there had been some very memorable persons. It cannot be denied that he had in his person, in his aspect, and countenance, the appearance of a great man, which he preserved in his gait and motion. He wore and affected a habit very different from that of the time, such as men had only beheld in the pictures of the most considerable men, all which drew the eyes of most, and the reverence of many, towards him, as the image and representative of the primitive nobility, and native gravity of the nobles, when they had been most venerable; but this was only his outside, his nature and true humour being much disposed to levity, and delights which indeed were very despicable and childish. He was rather thought not to be much concerned for religion than to incline to this or that party of any, and had little other affection for the nation, or the kingdom, than as he had a great share in it, in which, like the great leviathan, he might sport himself, from which he withdrew as soon as he discerned the repose thereof was like to be disturbed, and died in Italy, under the same doubtful character of religion in which he lived."

Sir Edward Walker speaks of him thus—"He was tall of stature, and of shape and proportion rather goodly than neat. His countenance was majestical and grave; his visage long; his eyes large, black, and piercing: he had a hooked nose, and some warts or moles on his cheeks: his countenance was brown; his hair thin, both on his head and beard: he was of a stately presence and gait, so that any man that saw him, though in never so ordinary a habit, could not but conclude him to be a great

person, his garb and fashion drawing more observation than did the rich apparel of others; so that it was a common saying of the late Earl of Carlisle, 'Here comes the Earl of Arundel, in his plain stuff, and trunk hose, and his beard in his teeth, that looks more like a nobleman than any of us.'—He was more learned in men and manners than in books, yet understood the Latin tongue very well, and was master of the Italian; besides, he was a great favourer of learned men, such as Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Spelman, Mr. Camden, Mr. Selden, and the like. He was a great master of order and ceremony, and knew, and kept greater distance towards his sovereign than any person I ever observed, and expected no less from his inferiors, often complaining that the too great affability of the King, and the French garb of the Court, would bring Majesty into contempt. In council he was grave and succinct, rather discharging his conscience and honour than complying with particular interests, and so was never at the head of business, or principal in favour, contenting himself to be, as it were, the supporter of ancient nobility and gentry, and to interpose in their behalfs; witness the care he had in the education of the now Earl of Oxford, and the young Lord Stafford, in his own house, together with his grandchildren: yet wanted he not a share of the royal favours, as may appear by the many employments he had under King James, and the late King, the first of which I believe loved him more, and the last had him in greater veneration and regard, though not in intimacy of favour, he being a person by years, quality, and parts, of an austere disposition, and not so complaisant as other persons that had more of ends. He was the greatest favourer of arts, especially painting, sculpture, designs, carving, building, and the like, that this age hath produced; his collections of designs being more than of any person living and his statues equal in number, value, and antiquity, to those in the houses of most princes; to gain which he had persons many years employed, both in Italy, Greece, and so generally in any part of Europe where rarities

were to be had. His paintings likewise were numerous, and of the most excellent masters, having more of that exquisite painter Hans Holbein than are in the world besides; and he had the honour to be the first person of quality that set a value on them in our nation; and so the first person that brought in uniformity in building, and was chief commissioner to see it performed in London, which since that time has added exceedingly to the beauty of that city. He was likewise sumptuous in his plate, and household stuff,' and full of state and magnificence in his entertainments, especially of strangers, and at his table very free and pleasant. He was a person of great and universal civility, but yet with that restriction as that it forbad any to be bold or saucy with him, though with those whom he affected, which were lovers of State, nobility, and curious arts, he was very free and conversible, but they being but few, the stream of the times being otherwise, he had not many confidents or dependants, neither did he much affect to have them, they being unto great persons both burthensome and dangerous. He was not popular at all, nor cared for it, as loving better by a just hand than flattery to let the common people to know their distance, and due observance: neither was he of any faction in Court or Council, especially not of the French or puritan. He was free from covetousness, and so much above a bribe or gratuity for favours done, as no person ever durst tempt him with one. He was in religion no bigot or puritan, and professed more to affect moral virtues than nice questions and controversies. He was most faithful and affectionate to his lady, indulgent to his children, and more to his grand-children. His recreations were conversation with them, and care of their education; overlooking his rare collections, and, when not diverted by business, pleasing himself in retirement to the country. If he were defective in any thing it was that he could not bring his mind to his fortune, which, though great, was far too little for the vastness of his noble designs; but it is pardonable, they being only for the glory

and ornament of his country. To conclude, he would have appeared far more eminent had the times he lived in been more consonant to his disposition: however, as they were, he must by all wise and noble persons be looked upon as the greatest assertor of the splendour and greatness of the Crown, and the ancient honour of the nobility and gentry, that lived in his time, and as the last great and excellent person that our age of peace hath bred."

As a cultivator of the fine arts, a patron of their professors, and a collector of their finest monuments, the Earl of Arundel stands beyond all praise. His unwearied pains, and unbounded expence, in amassing the largest and choicest treasure of Greek and Roman antiquities that was ever possessed by an English subject have perhaps procured him credit for more learning than he really had. Indeed it is little probable that such a man, in such an age, should have been a minute scholar; but, whatever were the degree of his literature, his sagacity and his taste directed it to the noblest means of national improvement. He had almost the sole merit of first diverting the occupation of learned men from the wretched and unprofitable cavils of the schools to the classical elegancies of antiquity. He encouraged them by his example; supported them with his purse; placed full in their view the most splendid memorials of that ancient perfection which he wished them to emulate; and founded a new æra in the studies of his countrymen. It is somewhat strange that he should not have taken all possible precautions to fix his unparalleled collection always in the possession of his male heirs; and indeed his apparent carelessness on that head might lead us to suppose that he rather wished it to be dispersed, as in fact it was within a few years after his decease. He divided his personal estate between his eldest and second surviving sons, Henry Frederic Lord Maltravers, and William, afterwards Viscount Stafford. Henry, second son of the former, and sixth Duke of Norfolk, about the year 1668, gave a part of his moiety, the celebrated Parian

Chronicles as they are called, to the University of Oxford, and the remainder descended to his son, Henry, the seventh Duke, and were afterwards mostly possessed, we know not by what means, by his divorced lady. She sold the statues to the Earl of Pomfret (whose widow gave them also to that University) and left the gems to her second husband, Sir John Germaine, whose second wife, Lady Elizabeth (Berkeley) owned them, in her widowhood, not many years since. Lord Stafford's portion remained with his heirs till 1720, and was in that year sold by auction, at his house, called Tart Hall, just without Buckingham Gate, which was then pulled down. Some curious relics of the collection fell into the hands of the Hon. Charles Howard, ancestor to the present Duke of Norfolk, as residuary legatee to his grandmother, the Dowager Countess Alathea, and were by him carried to his mansion of Greystock Castle, where they still remain.

Thomas Earl of Arundel married, as has been before said Alathea, one of the coheirs of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. He had issue by that lady six sons; James, Lord Mowbray and Maltravers, who died a minor, and unmarried, at Ghent, in Flanders, while abroad with his mother; Henry Frederic, who succeeded to the Earldom, and was progenitor of all the noble persons who have since his time enjoyed the Dukedom of Norfolk; William, from whom descended the extinct Earls of Stafford; Thomas, Gilbert, and Charles, who died unmarried in the lifetime of their father.

Engraved by Tho.s Wright

ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.

OB. 1646.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF WALKER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD.

Published August 1.1829, by Harding and Lepard, Pall Mall East

ROBERT DEVEREUX,

EARL OF ESSEX.

That admirable, imprudent, and ill-fated nobleman of the same names, almost the only royal favourite on whose memory that appellation throws no discredit, left, by his Countess, Frances, daughter and heir to Sir Francis Walsingham, and widow of Sir Philip Sidney, an only son, the subject of this memoir, and the third and last Earl of Essex of his ancient Norman House.

He was born in 1592, and was restored in the twelfth year of his age by James the First to the dignities, as he was afterwards to the estates, which had been forfeited by his father's attainder, soon after which period he was removed from Eton school to Merton College, where in 1605 he took the degree of Master of Arts. He is said to have been at that time a favourite companion to Prince Henry, and a story, perhaps not very well authenticated, is extant of the Prince having received a heavy blow from him in a quarrel at tennis, a circumstance into which the King inquired with becoming seriousness, and decided on it with good sense and moderation. In this season of mere boyhood he was unhappily chosen as an instrument for the reconciliation of jarring interests, and the furtherance of ambitious views. The enmity between his father and the family of Cecil is well known to all readers of English history. Robert, Earl of Salisbury, now Prime Minister, at once anxious to close this breach, and to attach more firmly the House of Howard to his party, proposed to the Earl of Suffolk, a nobleman hourly rising in the royal

favour, and to whose eldest daughter his own heir was already married, the young Essex as a husband to the second, the Lady Frances Howard, who had then barely reached the age of thirteen. The negotiation was speedily concluded; the marriage was solemnized on the fifth of January, 1606, O. S.; and in consideration of the extreme youth of the parties, Essex was despatched on foreign travel, having been permitted scarcely to see his bride after the celebration of their nuptials.

The young Countess remained domesticated with her mother, a thorough Courtier, and one to whom the world gave little credit for principle of any sort. She became eminently beautiful and profligate; was addressed, and perhaps successfully, by the Prince of Wales; but at length, with a steadiness unusual to females of her unhappy disposition, devoted herself to the embraces of the favourite, Car, Viscount Rochester, afterwards Earl of Somerset. Essex, on returning to England in 1610, was received by her with coldness and disgust; and it was with much difficulty, though aided by the stern authority of her father, that he could induce her even to the decency of residing in the same house with him. Her aversion soon increased to the deepest hatred. For the double purpose of managing her intercourse with Rochester, and of persecuting her husband even to death itself, she connected herself with a notorious procuress, and with a base pretender to supernatural arts. Essex, though sinking at once under incessant distress of mind, and the diabolical practices secretly contrived by these confederates for the gradual destruction of his bodily health, resolved rather to submit in silence than to make a public exposure of his misery; and thus more than two years passed, in expectation on the part of the lady that she might be released either by his death or his resentment, from the tie which she had thus dishonoured, till at length, in the madness of disappointed appetite, she instituted a suit against him in the summer of 1613, founded on charges which none but a woman who had parted with the last spark of delicacy could have been capable of preferring.

To detail the judicial proceedings in this odious affair, and the frightful consequences which resulted from it, would extend this memoir beyond any reasonable length, as well as impose a painful task on the author. Most of our historians, especially Wilson, in his life of James, have analysed it and argued on it with a particularity very offensive, and even unnecessary; for had not the King, in shameful submission to the will of his minion, made himself a party, it could scarcely have been deemed proper matter of public history. To his interference may be traced much of the infamy, and all the injustice, which marked this singular case, in which the purity of the religion and law of the land was notoriously outraged by the timid and courtly truckling of the judges and prelates, to whom the question had been referred by commission under the Great Seal. At length, after a tedious inquiry, the most inoffensive character of the evidence received in which was its gross indecency, Essex was induced to make an indistinct allowance of the truth of the Countess's allegations, and a sentence of nullity of marriage was pronounced on the twenty-fifth of September: he was compelled to restore her portion, which he accomplished with great difficulty; and on the twenty-sixth of the following December she was wedded to her paramour, with much pomp, in the King's chapel.

Mortified, indignant and helpless, he retired to his ancient castle of Chartley in Staffordshire, where he remained for seven years, exercising in a confined circle the hospitality suited to his rank, when at length he was prevailed on by his friend Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford, to join him in raising troops to serve in the Palatinate, whither they went on an unsuccessful expedition in the spring of 1620, and in the following year served there as volunteers under Prince Maurice of Nassau. On the close of that campaign he returned, and appeared in Parliament in opposition to the measures of the Court, and excited James's displeasure by signing, with several others of the nobility, a petition against the interception of the precedence of the ancient Barons of England by a practice, into which the King had lately fallen

of bestowing the titles of Earl and Viscount in Scotland and Ireland on English gentlemen. James is said to have expressed himself to him, in a personal conversation on this occasion, with great asperity, insomuch that the Earl thought it prudent again to return to military service in Germany ; and when the States of the United Provinces were permitted, in 1625, to levy four English regiments, he was nominated to command one of them, as he did, with small success, but without loss of honour. He revisited England on the accession of Charles the First, who presently after appointed him General in Chief in an expedition against Spain, which proved even more unfortunate than the rest of his services ; yet, so enamoured was he of a military life, or rather so eager to dissipate his cares in the activity which it requires, that, having allowed himself barely time to explain personally to the King the causes of his failure, he again embarked for the Low Countries, and resumed the command of his regiment, which having been soon after much reduced by sickness, was incorporated with the remains of others, and he seems to have returned home merely because he found himself unemployed.

A long interval of private life again ensued, during which he once more ventured to form a matrimonial connexion, and was once more unfortunate. The lady was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Powlett, of Edington in Wilts, a natural son of the Marquis of Winchester. She disgraced herself by an intrigue with a Mr. Uvedale, and was divorced within two years after her marriage, having had a son of doubtful paternity, whom the Earl however owned, and who died at the age of five years. This new calamity perhaps increased his desire for active occupation, for we find him soon after commanding, with the title of Vice Admiral, a squadron appointed for the defence of the coast on some expectation of a war with France and the United Provinces. His taste, if the expression may be allowed, for warlike service, joined perhaps to a politic inclination in the King to atone for past injuries, and to secure the attachment of a nobleman whose undoubted honesty had placed him high in popular esteem,

induced Charles to give him the commission of Lieutenant General, under the Earl of Arundel, of the army sent in 1639 against the Scottish Covenanters. He was directed to advance with a powerful body of troops against Berwick, and was met on his way thither by several of the nobility, who, with many hypocritical professions of loyalty, assured him that the insurrection was confined solely to the maintenance of their religious faith, and exhorted him to avoid, by retracing his steps, the certainty of falling into the hands of an overwhelming force. Essex heard them with a dignified civility; replied by expediting his march; and, having entered Berwick without opposition, presently discovered that the rebels were in fact without an army. In the mean time the insidious negotiators whom he had thus disappointed applied themselves with better success to the General, and to the Earl of Holland who commanded the Horse, and, through the unpardonable representations of those noblemen, aided by the advice of some great presbyterian leaders about his person, Charles was induced to enter on that wretched treaty with the Scots which was the forerunner of so many misfortunes, at a moment when "the fighting English-hearted Essex" (as Sir Philip Warwick, in speaking of this affair, calls him) could have reduced them to submission merely with his own division of the forces which had been equipped for that purpose.

The chagrin excited in his mind by this unexpected determination was heightened by personal offence. "The Earl of Essex," says Lord Clarendon, "who had merited very well throughout the whole affair, and had never made a false step in action or counsel, was discharged in the crowd without ordinary ceremony; and an accident happening at the same time, or very soon after, by the death of the Lord Aston, whereby the command of the forest of Needwood fell into the King's disposal, which lay at the very door of that Earl's estate, and would infinitely have gratified him, was denied to him, and bestowed upon another; all which wrought very much upon his high nature, and made him susceptible of some impressions afterwards, which otherwise

would not have found such easy admission." Essex, who, with an honest heart and a weak head, cherished the most exalted notions of the dignity of his birth and station, presently betrayed the vexation which he felt from these slights, but it was not till the discontented had evidently in some measure availed themselves of it, that Charles endeavoured by several courtesies to repair the error which had been committed. A sort of contest for the possession of him now arose between the two parties. The King named him one of the Commissioners for the treaty with the Scots at Ripon; called him to the Privy Council; and in May, 1641, appointed him Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and soon after Lieutenant General south of Trent; while the Parliament pressed for his being placed in the chief command of the army; the Lords elected him chairman of what they called their standing committee, to which in fact they delegated their functions during adjournments; and the Commons, when they petitioned the King for a guard, under the pretence of ensuring their safety amidst the popular tumults which they themselves had raised, made it a part of their request that it might be placed under his orders. The factious party prevailed. When the King, on quitting his capital in January 1642, to avoid the outrageous disturbances which followed his visit to the House of Commons to demand the five members, required as usual the attendance of his household, Essex refused, alleging the necessity of attending his duty in Parliament. He was dismissed therefore from his office of Lord Chamberlain, and from that moment publicly threw himself wholly into the hands of the rebels, who in the following July appointed him General in Chief of their army, then raising; the Parliament adding to their vote to that effect the singular declaration that they would "live and die with him."

A minute detail of his military operations and their effects would be in fact a history of the first three years of the deplorable war which succeeded, and would suit neither the intention nor the space of a memoir like this. On the ninth of September, 1642, Essex left London in great state, escorted by the two Houses

of Parliament, to assume his command at Northampton, from whence, at the head of fifteen thousand men, he marched across the country, hanging on the rear of the King's army, which was on its way from Shrewsbury to London. A sharp rencounter, in which a strong detachment of his troops was routed near Worcester by a party under Prince Rupert, encouraged the King to turn on him, and the sanguinary battle of Edgehill ensued, distinguished by much bravery, and many errors, on both sides, and in which it was difficult to name the victor. Essex however retreated to Warwick, and Charles having marched to Oxford, the Earl contrived to pass him, and the King became in his turn the pursuer, yet not so closely as to prevent Essex from entering London, where he received the thanks of both Houses, and a present of five thousand pounds. These greetings were interrupted by the arrival in the neighbourhood of Brentford of the royal army, and the Earl, reinforced by the trained bands, left the city to meet it. The opponents faced each other for a whole day, and the onset was every minute expected, when the King suddenly drew off his forces in good order, and retreated unmolested to Oxford, which became soon after the scene of a treaty with the Parliament, on the abortive termination of which Essex marched towards that city, intending, as was conceived, to besiege it, and attempt to seize the King's person, but he suddenly directed his course to Reading, which, after a short siege, capitulated on the twenty-seventh of April, 1643.

A violent sickness which now raged in his army combined with a deficiency of necessary supplies to detain him in a state of inactivity for several weeks in that town, from whence at length he removed his quarters to Thame, on the edge of Buckinghamshire, where the royalists lay in considerable force. Here his outposts were harassed by Prince Rupert with signal success, particularly in the affair of Chalgrave Field, where Hampden was among the slain. Here too he quarrelled with Waller, the best of his subordinate generals, and from hence he was obliged to retire to Uxbridge by the arrival of the Queen at Oxford, with a strong

reinforcement of troops and artillery. These adverse matters occurred at a period when the expectations of his employers were raised to the highest. He became unpopular; doubtful of the success, and yet more of the justice, of the enterprise in which he had embarked; and perhaps almost repentant. In this temper of mind he addressed to the House of Commons a letter of a most singular character, which may be found in Rushworth's Collections, but has been scarcely noticed by our historians, in which he seriously proposed that the King and the Parliament should mutually bind themselves to rest the decision of their great contest on the issue of a single battle; and that, in order thereto, the whole of the two armies might be drawn out on an appointed spot, in readiness to engage on receiving the word. The rulers however in London, sensible of the importance to their cause not only of his military merit but of his mere name, presently took measures to soothe this splenetic disposition. They recruited his army with all possible expedition, and on the twenty-ninth of August he set out, at the head of twenty thousand men, towards Gloucester, before which town, then so important to the interests of home commerce, Charles had for some time lain with a considerable force. After a march, some peculiar obstructions to which he displayed considerable skill in avoiding, he compelled the King to raise the siege at the moment that the garrison was reduced to the last extremity, and on his return surprised Cirencester, where he captured two regiments of the Royal Horse, with abundance of ammunition and provisions, deposited there for the service of the army which had been employed before Gloucester.

He now marched with renewed spirits towards London, followed closely by Charles, who sought to bring him to a general engagement, and succeeded. This severe action, distinguished as "the first battle of Newbury," confirmed his military reputation. "Without doubt it was performed by him," says Lord Clarendon, "with incomparable conduct and courage, in every part whereof very much was to be imputed to his own personal virtue, and it

may be well reckoned among the most soldierly actions of this unhappy war." Yet it was but a drawn battle, for the King pursued him on the following day; withdrew from the pursuit but to fix a garrison in Reading, an object of great importance to his affairs in that part of the country; and even disappointed many of his own best friends by not pressing forwards to London. The Parliament however affected to esteem it a victory on their part, and ordered a public thanksgiving, and sent the Speaker with their acknowledgments to the Earl, who came to town for a day or two for the purpose of ceremoniously receiving them. New jealousies however presently arose. A committee was elected for recruiting and reforming the army, which weakened his command, and the ruling faction, which secretly aimed at the complete overthrow of the constitution for which he fondly but sincerely thought he was fighting, anxious to place the army in the hands of their own creatures, left no vexatious artifice untried to drive him to a resignation. Thus in the spring of 1644, when by a well-contrived disposition of his forces about Oxford it had become even more than probable that the King's person might fall into his hands, they forbade him by a short and peremptory letter to receive his majesty's surrender without their express orders. Charles however fortunately found means to withdraw himself from the town, and Essex, on commanding Waller to pursue him, had the mortification to be answered by argument instead of obedience. Waller even wrote to the Parliament, remonstrating against the orders of his general, and Essex, in a consequent letter of explanation to them, not deficient however in high spirit, condescended to subscribe himself "your innocent, though suspected, servant."

It was indeed the innocence, the honour, of his intentions that rendered him obnoxious to the faction which was now rapidly mounting into sovereign rule. The part which he had taken in the great contest was wholly uninfluenced by selfish views, and he had never entertained a thought of applying the mighty engine which had been placed in his hands to any other purpose

than the attainment of a clear and honest definition of the regal and ecclesiastical powers. The party, soon after publicly headed by Cromwell, which was already contending for superiority in Parliament with those who thought, or affected to think, with Essex, aimed, on the other hand, at the total overthrow of monarchy, few steps towards which could be taken while he held the command of the army. It would however have been unsafe to break with him at present. He was allowed, therefore, after the King had escaped from Oxford, to march into the west, where he possessed himself of Weymouth; relieved Lyme, which had been for some time besieged by Prince Maurice; and proposed to lay siege to Exeter, but was induced, contrary to his own judgment, to advance into Cornwall. Charles, urged rather by ill fortune in other parts of the country than by any sanguine hope of success in that, followed him, and Essex presently found himself cooped up on a narrow peninsula, with no alternative but to engage at great disadvantage, or to withdraw by sea. Neither, and yet it may be said both, occurred. After several skirmishes, Essex's forces passed, almost miraculously, through the King's quarters in the dead of night; and the Earl himself embarked at Fowey, and sailed to Plymouth, and from thence in a man-of-war to London, where he was received with that exactness of respect which politicians generally shew to those against whom they cherish secret designs.

Here ceased his active services in the cause which he had unhappily pledged himself to support. He was once more seen at the head of the army, when it was assembled to attack the King on his return from the west, and was presently after taken ill, and visited with great ceremony by a committee of the two Houses, to propose, as Whitlocke insinuates, under the mask of affectionate regard to his welfare, that he should in future forbear to expose his person in any military engagement. Be this as it might, it is certain that he was not present in the second battle of Newbury, which speedily followed; as well as that the orders which he thought proper to issue in consequence of that action,

were made the grounds of new complaints against him. It was now systematically resolved to tempt him by unceasing mortifications to resign; till at length, in spite of his natural phlegm, he was roused into resentful opposition, and determined, in concert with several of the original authors of the rebellion, who were now struggling to disengage themselves from the gripe of the monsters whom they had unwittingly created, to impeach Cromwell in Parliament. A conference to that effect was held at Essex House, in which the two celebrated lawyers, Whitlocke and Maynard, were parties. They discouraged the idea, and there is good reason to suspect that they imparted the design to Cromwell. The famous self-denying ordinance followed, which left to Essex only the choice between relinquishing his seat in Parliament, or his command; and he accordingly resigned the latter on the fifth of April, 1645, at a conference between the Lords and Commons, who on the following day complimented him with a personal visit at his house to offer their thanks for his services.

He was spared from the regret of witnessing the consummation of the mischief in the compassing of which he had taken so large a share. In the beginning of September, in the following year, he was suddenly attacked by an illness, which, as its nature was not at all understood, was, according to the frequent fancy of that time, ascribed to poison, and died on the fourteenth of that month. Of his character nothing has been said in the preceding sketch, because we have already a picture so glowing, so simple, so candid, from the hand of the greatest master, that it would be impertinent to presume to add even the slightest tint. Of the Earl of Essex, says Lord Clarendon, "it shall suffice to say that a weak judgement, and some vanity, and much pride, will hurry a man into as unwarrantable and as violent attempts as the greatest and most unlimited and insatiable ambition will do. He had no ambition of title, or office, or preferment, but only to be kindly looked upon, and kindly spoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own fortune; and, without doubt, no man in his nature more abhorred rebellion than he did; nor could he have been led into it by any

open and transparent temptation, but by a thousand disguises and cousenages. His pride supplied his want of ambition, and he was angry to see any other man more respected than himself, because he thought he deserved it more, and did better requite it; for he was in his friendship just and constant, and would not have practised foully against those whom he took to be enemies. No man had credit enough with him to corrupt him in point of loyalty to the King whilst he thought himself wise enough to know what treason was; but the new doctrine and distinction of allegiance, and of the King's power in and out of Parliament, and the new notions of ordinances, were too hard for him, and did really intoxicate his understanding, and made him quit his own to follow theirs who he thought wished as well, and judged better than himself. His vanity disposed him to be 'His Excellency,' and his weakness to believe that he should be 'the General' in the Houses as well as in the Field; and be able to govern their counsels, and restrain their passions, as well as to fight their battles; and that by this means he should become the protector, and not the destroyer, of the King and kingdom. With this ill-grounded confidence he launched out into that sea where he met with nothing but rocks and shelves, and from whence he could never discover any safe port to harbour in."

Engraved by W. Finden.

ARTHUR, LORD CAPEL.

OB. 1648.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JANSEN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF ESSEX.

ARTHUR, LORD CAPEL.

Lord Clarendon has drawn the public character of this admirable person with a knowledge so intimate, and an affection so sincere, and with such strength and exquisite sweetness of expression, that he who might be arrogant enough to add a single touch to so masterly a picture, could not but infringe on its truth and weaken its effect. I shall therefore relate little more than the mere circumstances of his life, and the simple detail will be found to furnish one of the brightest ornaments on the page of English history.

He was the only son of Sir Henry Capel, by his first wife, Theodosia, sister to Henry Montague, Earl of Manchester. His father died, having scarcely reached the prime of life, and he was bred under the care of his grandfather, Sir Arthur Capel, of Hadham, in Hertfordshire, whom at length he succeeded in the inheritance of a vast fortune, which had been gained in trade, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, by his ancestor Sir William Capel, a junior descendant from a respectable gentleman's family in Suffolk. He was at that time completing, at Clare Hall, in Cambridge, an education in which he afterwards proved that no pains had been spared, either by his friends or himself. His first entrance into life displayed, with a mild but incessant brightness, those qualities which, even in the best men, seldom appear during the fever of youth but in irregular and uncertain flashes. He sat down at his superb seat in Hertfordshire in the spirit of a prince and of a philosopher. His hospitality, and his charity to

the poor, though scarcely equalled by those of any other English subject, were supported as much by his prudence as by his wealth and his inclination. He was distinguished by a quiet and unostentatious piety, and the excellent moral dispositions which belonged to his nature were polished to the last degree by that dignified generosity of conduct in which we find the true meaning of the word honour. It is scarcely then necessary to say that he was exemplary in all the domestic relations of life. His mind was powerful, and the clearness and acuteness of his judgment were equalled by the activity of his observation. He had read much, and thought more, and wrote with an elegant and forcible conciseness which bespoke at once the gentleman and the scholar. Such was Arthur Capel when about twenty-five years old, and on the eve of the unhappy war between the King and the Parliament.

Thus qualified and recommended, he was chosen, without opposition, to represent the county of Hertford in the Parliament which met on the thirteenth of April, 1640. He immediately joined the popular party, which then comprised many real patriots, and, on the third day after he had taken his seat, delivered to the House a petition from the freeholders of his county, remonstrating against the abuses of the star chamber and high commission courts, ship-money, and other imposts of doubtful legality, which happened to be the first of the great number about that time presented on the same subjects. That Parliament was dissolved on the fifth of the succeeding month, and he was re-elected by his neighbours, with the same unanimity, to the next, which assembled on the third of November following, in which he heartily supported the measures which were at first proposed for the fair and wholesome circumscription of the power of the crown. In this spirit, like many other honest men at that time, he went one step too far, and unwarily suffered a spirit of vengeance against past errors to grow out of his dissatisfaction with the present. He voted for the attainder of the Earl of Strafford; and the keen sense which in cooler moments arose in his mind of the

injustice of that measure, and of the execution that followed, which he fully acknowledged in the hour of his death, joined to a clear judgment that enough had been before done, or fully prepared, to secure to the nation the enjoyment of the utmost degree of liberty consistent with its peace and welfare, he quitted a party which he beheld already intoxicated with a first taste of blood, and intent only upon new sacrifices and new systems.

The accession to the royal cause of a commoner in every way of so high consideration was peculiarly gratifying to the King, who immediately acknowledged his obligation. On the sixth of August, 1641, Capel was advanced to the dignity of a Baron, by the title of Lord Capel, of Hadham, in Herts. He strove for some months in the House of Peers, with equal spirit and moderation, to stem the torrent; and, finding all his efforts ineffectual, took leave for ever of that assembly, with the solemn assertion that "the King's Majesty had granted so much for the ease and security of the kingdom, that they who asked more intended the disturbance of it." He now joined Charles at York, where, on the fifteenth June, 1642, he signed, with the other nobles and statesmen there, a declaration testifying their firm conviction that the King had no intention to make war on his Parliament, and engaged himself to raise one hundred horse for his Majesty's service and security. Early in the following year, the King sent him to Shrewsbury, with the commission of Lieutenant General of Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales, where he collected a formidable body of horse and foot, and afforded considerable relief to the brave garrison of Chester, by keeping the Parliament forces, under Sir William Brereton, employed at Natnwich. Charles was about that time devising, with much anxiety, some method of disposing of the Prince of Wales, so as to provide at once for the security of his person, and to allay the jealousies which had been entertained of a design to send him privately, to the Queen, in France. To forward these views, he nominated a council for the direction of all matters relating to the Prince, consisting of six of his most trusty servants, of whom Lord Capel

was one and the one most trusted, and this appointment drew him from his military services. Upon his receiving it he raised at his own expense a regiment of horse, and another of foot, for the Prince's standing guard, and had the King's commission to command them ; and the various duties of his new charge left him little room for the performance of any other during the four succeeding years. He was, however, one of the commissioners for the King at the treaty of Uxbridge.

In the summer of 1645, the Prince being then in the west of England, Capel, who, with Lord Colepeper, attended him there, had a considerable share in the direction in the campaign in those parts, where Waller and Cromwell commanded for the rebels ; but the King's affairs in that quarter having taken an unfavourable turn, owing rather to differences among his commanders than either to any signal defeat or to disaffection in the country, the Prince was obliged to retire gradually towards the coast of Cornwall, and at length put to sea. He landed on the isle of Scilly, and, having remained there for six weeks, at the end of which he was joined by Capel, they sailed together to Jersey. The fatal battle of Naseby occurred just at this period, and the miserable King left Oxford privately, and fled towards Scotland. The Queen, who had been long anxious that her son should reside with her in France, now urged it with the most vehement importunity, but was resisted by Capel, whose gallant spirit could not endure the flight of the heir-apparent while a ray of hope remained. At length the Prince himself determined to depart, and Capel remained in Jersey, waiting for orders from the King, of whose situation he was in a great measure ignorant, and who was now in fact a prisoner in the hands of the Scots, and prevented by them from communicating with his servants.

In 1647, while he resided in Jersey, the House of Commons passed a vote for the sale of his estates, to raise money for the service in Ireland, and he went to Paris to ask the Prince's permission to return home on that occasion. He came by the way of Zealand, and having compounded for his lands with the rebel

government, retired to his mansion at Hadham, to meditate at leisure on the few chances which might yet exist of rendering service to the royal cause. The King, who had been lately sold by the Scots to his subjects, and who since that monstrous event had been capriciously hurried from place to place, was soon after brought to Hampton-court, where Cromwell, with some design of policy which has never been understood, permitted to him, for some time, the free access of his friends. Capel was among the first to seize the opportunity: he waited on his Majesty there for the last time, and made that final engagement which he soon after sealed with his blood. "To the Lord Capel," says Clarendon, speaking of his conversation on that day with the King, "his Majesty imparted all his hopes and all his fears; and what great overtures the Scots had again made to him; and that he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations, in which the Scots promised themselves an universal concurrence from all the presbyterians in England, and that, in such a conjuncture, he wished that his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the success of the other; and, therefore, desired Capel to watch such a conjuncture, and draw his friends together, which he promised to do effectually."

Capel entered into these designs with the greatest warmth, and commenced immediately a correspondence with the leaders of the King's party, if it deserved to be so called, in Scotland. He passed the latter part of the winter of 1647, and the following spring, in arranging with them the detail of their proposed invasion of England, and in preparing for a levy of forces in his own county of Hertford. He wrote to Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, whom he had left in Jersey, to apprise him that all was ready for the projected enterprise, and to request him to recall the Prince to that island, in order that his Royal Highness might be in readiness there to pass over into England, on receiving the news of those successes which he had fondly anticipated. In the latter end of May, 1648, he appeared in arms, and marched

into Essex, where he was joined by Goring, Earl of Norwich, who had retreated thither from the superior force of Fairfax, in Kent. They shut themselves up, with many other brave officers, and about four thousand men, in the town of Colchester, under cover of such fortifications as the time allowed them to prepare, and awaited the approach of the Scottish army, or of Fairfax. They were presently attacked, and closely besieged by that general, and defended themselves with the utmost bravery and judgment. In the mean time the Scots, under the command of the Duke of Hamilton, entered England, and were totally defeated in Lancashire; an ill-concerted, and worse executed, rising in Surrey under the Earl of Holland, was presently subdued; and the brave but worn out garrison of Colchester, finding that the King's affairs were thus on a sudden rendered hopeless, after having sustained a close siege from the twelfth of June to the twenty-eighth of August, submitted on that day at discretion, in opposition to the commands and entreaties of Lord Capel. The enormities and the treachery which followed the surrender of Colchester have left a deep stain on the memory of Fairfax, which our historians have generally endeavoured to transfer to that of the bloody Ireton, by whom he had then the misfortune to be accompanied. Two of the bravest gentlemen who had served in the garrison, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, were brought before Fairfax, then presiding at a council of war, immediately after he had taken possession of the town; and having been told that, after so obstinate a resistance, it was necessary, for the example of others, that a summary punishment should be executed, were led into an adjoining yard, and there shot to death. This done, Fairfax and his officers went to the town-hall, where the rest of the prisoners were confined, and addressing himself to the Earl of Norwich and Lord Capel, told them, says Lord Clarendon, "that, having done that which the military justice required, all the lives of the rest were safe, and that they should be well treated, and disposed of as the Parliament should direct:" "But," continues Clarendon, "the Lord Capel had not

so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding as to receive the visit of those who caused it with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him ; but said, that they should do well to finish their work, and execute the same rigour to the rest ; upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton as cost him his life in a few months after."

Capel was sent prisoner to Windsor Castle, where he remained till November. In the mean time, a bill of attainder against him was brought into the House of Commons, to which he pleaded that Fairfax had not only promised that his life should be spared, but had also expressly acknowledged that promise in a letter to the House; upon which Fairfax, being called on by the Commons to explain his meaning in that letter, was base and cowardly enough to reply, that, " his promise did not extend to any other but the military power; and that the prisoners were, notwithstanding, liable to trial and judgment by the civil power." He was now removed to the Tower of London, and, on the tenth of November, the House determined that he should be banished : but, on the first of February, voted that he should be " proceeded against for justice." On the evening of that day he escaped from the Tower, having let himself down from the wall by a rope, and waded, with the greatest difficulty, though aided by an uncommon stature, across the ditch. His friends, who waited for him on the opposite bank, secreted him for a few days in the Temple, and then, for his better security, removed him to a house in Lambeth-marsh ; but, in crossing the Thames thither, late in the evening, the boatman, who had by some means discovered him, gave notice to an officer in the neighbourhood, and he was seized soon after he had landed, and again conveyed to his prison. On the tenth of February, he was brought, with the Earl of Norwich, and others, before what was called the high court of justice, to be tried for high treason, where he behaved with the most undaunted firmness, asserting that, " in the condition of a soldier, and a prisoner of war, the lawyers and the gown-men had nothing to do with him,

and, therefore, he would not answer to any thing which they had said against him." He urged, however, Fairfax's engagement, and concluded by insisting that, " if he had committed any offence worthy of death, he ought to be tried by his peers, which was his right by the law of the land ;" to which the arch regicide Bradshaw, who sat as president, amidst many other expressions of vulgar brutality, answered, that " he was tried before such judges as the Parliament had thought fit to appoint, and who had judged a better man than himself." The court, at length, finally decided, that Fairfax's declaration, " that the Lord Capel was to have fair quarter for his life," should be interpreted to mean a freedom from any execution of the sword, but not any protection from the judicial proceedings of a civil court; and three days after, he was again brought up, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

It was necessary that the sentence should be confirmed by a vote of Parliament, and he had so many friends in the House, that his acquittal there was confidently expected; especially when Cromwell, who had been of his acquaintance, commenced a long speech on the question, " whether the prayer of a petition for his life, presented by his Lady, should be granted?" with praises of his character, and large acknowledgments of kindness and respect for him. But the hypocrite at length concluded, " that his affection to the public so much weighed down his private friendship, that he could not but tell them that the question was now whether they would preserve the most bitter and implacable enemy they had: that he knew the Lord Capel very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England that would forsake the royal interest: that he had great courage, industry, and generosity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and therefore, for the good of the commonwealth, he should give his vote against the petition." These expressions produced the effect which the speaker intended; the question was negatived by a

majority of three or four voices; and on the ninth of March 1648, the ignominious mode of execution at first prescribed having been previously altered, he was beheaded before the great gate of Westminster Hall, having made a speech of considerable length to those around him, in which it is difficult to say whether his piety, his heroism, or his loyalty, was the most to be admired.

Lord Clarendon, to whose character of this true nobleman I have above referred, says of him, "He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his friends could not wish better accomplished; whom Cromwell's own character well described, and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that government. His memory all men loved and reverenced, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a state of great plenty, and general estimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by descent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous issue of both sexes, in which he took great joy and comfort; so that no man was more happy in all his domestic affairs; and he was so much the more happy in that he thought himself most blessed in them. And yet the King's honour was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all those blessings behind him; and, having no other obligations to the Crown than those which his own honour and conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his person and his fortune, from the beginning of the troubles, as many others did, in all actions and enterprises of the greatest hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did; though he had once, by the iniquity of a faction that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have excused him for some remission of his former warmth: but it made no other impression on him than to be quiet and contented, whilst they would let him alone, and with the same cheerfulness to obey the first summons when he was called out, which was quickly after. In a word, he was a man that, whoever

shall after him deserve best of the English nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear that his courage, virtue, and fidelity, is laid in the balance with, and compared to, that of the Lord Capel."

This nobleman, as has been here already hinted, had somewhat applied himself, in the less busy time of his life, to literary composition. His remains were printed in 1654, with the title of "Daily Observations, or Meditations Divine and Moral, written by a Person of Honour;" and republished some years after, with some account of his life. A few extracts from the aphorisms, which chiefly form that little volume, will serve to show that the qualities of his head and of his heart were well matched with his greatness of soul:—"Biting jests, the more truth they carry with them, the broader scarred memory they leave behind them: many times they are like the wounds of chewed bullets, where the ruggedness causeth almost incurable hurts."—"In this tempestuous world no line holds the anchor of contentment so fast as a good conscience: man's favour is but a fine thread, that will scarcely hold one tug of a crafty tale-bearer: honour slips the noose when vulgar breath, wearied with constant virtue, is more affected to novelty: riches are gnawn asunder by the greedy teeth of devouring leviathans; but this cable is so strong and compact, that when force is offered to it, the straining rather strengthens by uniting the parts more close."—"In the heat of argument men are commonly like those that are tied back to back, close joined, and yet they cannot see one another."—"Those that behave themselves with an uneven and captious conversation towards others, are but tell-tales of their own unpeaceable and miserable unsettled minds within themselves."—"The idle man is more perplexed what to do, than the laborious in doing what he ought." I close these quotations with some regret.

Lord Capel married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Charles Moryson of Cashiobury, in Hertfordshire, and had by her four sons; Arthur, his successor, who was created Earl of Essex; Henry, to whom an English Barony was granted by the title of

Lord Capel of Tewkesbury, and who died without issue; Edward and Charles, who died unmarried; and four daughters; Mary, married first to Henry Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, heir apparent to William Earl of Hertford, and secondly to Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, afterwards Duke of Beaufort; Elizabeth, to Charles Dormer, Earl of Caernarvon; Theodosia, to Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury, son and heir to the Earl of Clarendon; and Anne, to John Strangways, of Melbury Sandford, in Dorsetshire.

Engraved by H. Robinson

KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

OB. 1648.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

It has been long difficult to treat fairly either of the history or the character of this unfortunate Prince without writing a political essay, and yet more to steer a steady and impartial course between the whirlpools of vulgar censure and intemperate vituperation and the dull and lifeless calm of feeble and timid panegyric. His memory has been attacked without justice or mercy and defended without spirit or ingenuousness. He has been accused of trampling on a system of law and government which was scarcely called into existence till nearly half a century after his death, and his few advocates have virtually admitted the truth of the charge by confining their pleadings to encomiums on his exemplary private conduct. All this is exactly to the taste of Englishmen. Memoirs of their Princes of the two last centuries are not to be safely intrusted to their pens. Most even of the treatises which have been dignified by the appellation of histories of our Kings, from the accession of the House of Stuart to the day in which we live, deserve hardly any higher place than in the first class of political pamphlets, abounding in the distorted facts, and unfair arguments, by which those publications are always distinguished, but rendered more mischievous by the increased care bestowed on their composition. These abuses however, amidst a cloud of evil consequences, have had one good effect—They have largely contributed to flatter the vanity, and to soothe the unquiet humours, of the vainest and most restless people on the face of the earth—A tacit permission to libel the Throne and it's counsellors has done more towards persuading us that we are a free people than all the institutions that have been devised for that purpose, and we sacrifice with rapture at the

altar of the phantom liberty the reputations of our rulers, in happy ignorance of the fact that we live under a government possessed of more power than any absolute monarch in the world ever dared to exercise.

Such a work however as the present affords little room for controversy, and must confine itself chiefly to facts—Charles, the second son of King James the first, by Anne, daughter of Frederic the second, King of Denmark, was born at Dunfermling in Scotland on the nineteenth of November, in the year 1600. His early childhood was sickly, and afflicted by so much bodily weakness that his limbs performed their functions with difficulty, and his speech was interrupted by a painful impediment, which, as it almost wholly left him as he gained strength, may be presumed to have arisen from the same cause. His father, on his arrival in England, committed the care of his person to the wife of Sir Robert Carey, the gentleman whose surprising expedition in conveying the news of Queen Elizabeth's death to James in Scotland has been so frequently mentioned, and at the age of six years placed him under the tuition of James Murray, a Scot of extensive erudition, and a moderate Presbyterian. Charles's temper was mild, patient, and serious. His infirmities, as they in great measure prohibited personal activity, were advantageous to his education. He became passionately fond of general study, and even famous for his rapid acquisition of the learned languages. We are told that his elder brother Henry, alluding to this disposition, in a moment of frolic, and perhaps of envy, snatched one day at Court the cap of the Primate Abbot, and placed it on the head of Charles, telling him that he would by and bye make him Archbishop of Canterbury; and this trifling jest the enemies of his memory have wrested to his disadvantage by inferring, with as much absurdity as malice, that Henry meant to convey his opinion that Charles was better qualified for a churchman than for a King; and this when no one entertained the slightest expectation of his ever attaining to that station.

Prince Henry however died in 1612, and on the fourth of November, 1616, Charles was created Prince of Wales. He was now in the full possession of health and strength. Amidst the pains which had been taken to inform his mind, the lighter and more elegant accomplishments had not been neglected, and he excelled in the practice of all of them. We are told, in particular, that " he was thought to be the best marksman, and the most graceful manager of the great horse in the three kingdoms," and it is recorded that he peculiarly distinguished himself in the splendid justs which were held at Whitehall in 1620, on the anniversary of James's accession to the Throne. Thus his years passed, undisturbed by the excess of any passion, and unconnected with any party in the State, till he reached the age of twenty-three, when Buckingham, who, by a most rare chance, was not less the favourite of the son than of the father, persuaded him to that singular visit to Madrid, on the circumstances of which all our historians have so amply enlarged. The object of it may be said to have been at once frustrated and accomplished for, though it finally broke up the negotiation for his marriage to the Infanta, it unexpectedly procured him a consort in another court. On his way through France, he had seen, and not with indifference, the beautiful Henrietta Maria, the younger daughter to Henry the great and Mary de Medicis. A treaty for their union was commenced presently after his return, and was on the point of conclusion, when on the twenty-seventh of March, 1625, his father died, and he succeeded to the Throne.

He found the country in a state of perfect prosperity and happiness, after many years of profound peace, which the brief contest with Spain, arising out of Buckingham's resentment of certain offences that he had conceived during his abode at Madrid, and his hatred of the Earl of Bristol, the English ambassador there, could be scarcely said to have interrupted. That war, and the impeachment of the Lord Treasurer Middlesex, had been the last acts of the favourite's despotic reign over James, in

despite of whose inclination and opinion both were accomplished in Parliament through the influence of the Prince and Buckingham. The two Houses, especially the Commons, were elated beyond measure by the accession of power which they derived from these false steps, gratuitously taken at the very epoch when they were insisting on a degree of independence hitherto unheard of, nor was the King less sensible of the wound which had been inflicted on his Prerogative. We learn from the highest authority that, on hearing of their design, he sent for the Prince and the favourite, and, after long but vain expostulation, said, in the highest anger to Buckingham, " by God, Stenny, you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly; and will find that in this fit of popularity you are making a rod, with which you will be scourged yourself:" and then, turning to Charles, prophetically told him that he would live to have his belly full of parliamentary impeachments; and added, " when I shall be dead, you will have too much cause to remember how much you have contributed to the weakening of the Crown by the two precedents you are now so fond of." The fate of the government was in fact at that time balancing unseen between Monarchy and republicanism, and Charles commenced his political career by throwing himself into the wrong scale.

The Commons had testified the delight with which they received these and other concessions by holding up to the people the Prince and Buckingham as idols, an advantage, if it deserves to be called so, of which Charles no otherwise availed himself on mounting the Throne than by using it as an excuse to the nation and to himself for loading the favourite with new and extravagant bounties, who, on his part, was but encouraged by it to multiply his demands. Wealth and dignities were showered on every branch of his family; he was advanced to a Dukedom; and the government of the whole realm was in a manner committed to one of the most rash and intemperate of mankind. As these imprudences, the errors of kind hearted inexperienced youth, increased,

the dearly purchased complaisance of the Commons faded away in a measure yet more rapid. Charles's first Parliament, which met only three short months after the demise of the late King had suddenly closed the functions of it's predecessor, though composed chiefly of the same persons, was animated by a spirit wholly different. It was indeed a spirit of contradiction. In answer to his demand of a supply for the maintenance of the war which themselves had imposed on the Crown they voted him two subsidies, a sum little exceeding one hundred thousand pounds, and inexorably resisted all his instances for any further grant; consumed their time in tedious discussion of the dangers which they alledged to exist from the encouragement of Popery, and pressed the King to revive against the professors of that faith the persecution which had disgraced the reign of Elizabeth; and, finally, certainly with better colour, broke out into murmurs against their late minion Buckingham, so loud and serious that he found it necessary to defend himself in a long apologetic speech, answering article by article, the several faults with which they had charged him. Two days after, Charles once more reiterated his request for a supply, by a message in the most condescending terms, and received in return a very short declaration, for it was so called, in which amidst some cold professions of loyalty and obedience, he was told that his faithful Commons would, "in convenient time, freely and dutifully do their endeavours to discover and reform the abuses and grievances of the realm and state, and in like sort afford him all necessary supply upon his present, and all other his just occasions and designs." Charles immediately dissolved a Parliament which denied him the means of supporting the dignity of his Crown and the character of his people.

That Buckingham encouraged the King to this measure cannot be doubted. Would that his advice had been always as just and blameless. Charles had now no alternative but to retire from the war, a step not less dangerous than disgraceful, or to obtain the

means of prosecuting it by the simple exercise of an authority to which the uniform submission for ages had given the character of Prerogative. He adopted the latter, and called on the Lords Lieutenants of counties to return the names of such persons within their respective jurisdictions as were best able to contribute to the public necessity, and to those persons addressed letters, under his privy seal, requiring of them loans of such sums as might suit their several abilities, to be repaid within eighteen months. The money procured by this expedient fell far short of the expected amount, but it was sufficient to equip a considerable military and naval force for that illmanaged expedition against the coast of Spain in the autumn of 1625, which utterly failed in the bay of Cadiz. A second Parliament was now called, which met in the succeeding February. Charles had adopted some puerile expedients to prevent a few of his most clamorous opponents from sitting in it, such as rendering some of them ineligible by nominating them to the office of sheriff, and these measures were resented with a warmth which sufficiently indicated the temper that he might expect in the new assembly. It exceeded that of the former in harshness. A larger, but still very insufficient supply was voted, but the Commons annexed a resolution that it should not pass into a law till the end of the session, thus tacitly declaring their determination to with-hold the payment till they should have canvassed and removed the grievances of which they, and their predecessors, had, without making any specification of them, incessantly complained. No sovereign, unless he were a captive in the hands of his subjects, had ever before been insulted by the proposal of so gross a condition. Charles's necessities however induced him to bridle his resentment, and he resolved to wait the appointed period, but it never arrived.

This shew of patience by the King had its natural effect, and increased the adverse vigour of the Parliament. Buckingham was impeached in both Houses, and the coolness of Charles's temper now gave way. He chose that moment to bestow, in the most

public manner, a new mark of favour on the Duke, and, presently after, so completely undefined at that time were both the Royal Prerogative, and the privileges of Parliament, interdicted any further proceedings against him by a special command, delivered by the Lord Keeper ; and in a message to the House of Commons threatened, in terms not to be misunderstood, that unless he found them more compliant, he would devise the means of governing wholly without their assistance. This intimation, monstrous as it may seem to us of later days, had then little remarkable in it beyond the imprudence of asserting a right to do that which all his predecessors had practised in undisturbed silence. The menace was accompanied by some acts of power which seemed to shew the sincerity of his professions. Members of both houses were imprisoned, and soon after released, by his sole authority. While these matters were passing, the prosecution of Buckingham was carried on with tedious industry, and at length failed, for the times were not yet ripe for conviction without clear evidence. The House of Commons consoled itself by perplexing the King with new insults and difficulties, and instead of passing the bill for a supply, prepared a remonstrance, reiterating its complaints of Buckingham, and claiming the controul over the great imposts of tonnage and poundage, the right of the Crown to which had never before been questioned. The Lords, who had hitherto preserved a grave neutrality, began now to shew signs of discontent, and presented an address to the King, tacitly approving the conduct of the other House. The faculties of government became in some measure paralysed by a warfare in which both parties fought with a blind obstinacy, and with new and untried weapons which they knew not how to wield. It was evident that all hope of reconciliation had fled, at least for the time, and on the fifth of June, 1626, this second Parliament was dissolved.

Charles, in the fullness of his honesty and inexperience, explained the causes of these differences to his people by declara-

tions and manifestoes, and the disbanded Commons, on their part, published the remonstrance which the dissolution had prevented them from presenting to him. He now proceeded to seek, by the exertions of his own single authority, the necessary relief which the perverseness of his Parliaments had so long denied to him, and made his experiments with as much imprudence as his enemies could have wished. They consisted in taking fines for extensive grants of Crown lands; in compounding with recusants for their forfeitures incurred by absenting themselves from the established public worship; in soliciting loans and benevolences from wealthy individuals; and in putting on the sea ports and maritime counties the charge of furnishing and maintaining ships of war. All these imposts, though frequently levied by his predecessors, were now more or less resisted, for the tone of the parliament had been effectually communicated to the people. Many defaulters were imprisoned by warrants of the Privy Council, and released on submission, but at length five gentlemen, knights, were bold enough to demand a trial at law of the question whether they had been legally imprisoned? and the matter was solemnly heard in the Court of King's Bench. The judges however contrived to avoid a definitive sentence, and contented themselves by refusing to admit bail, and the offenders were probably soon after released in a private and summary way. Amidst these difficulties and dangers at home, Charles, who had made a peace with Spain immediately after the dissolution of the Parliament, astonished the country by declaring war against France, which had so lately given him a Queen. That Buckingham was the author of this imprudent step there can be no doubt. In the court of Paris, as well as in that of Madrid, his haughty spirit had received some offence which filled him with resentment, and which most historians ascribe to a cause nearly too romantic to be credited. France was attacked by an army and a fleet, and the Duke, incompetent to direct either, took the command of both. His expedition terminated accordingly.

He closed a series of enterprizes, deficient in all military merit except personal courage, by that unfortunate descent on the isle of Rhé which is always coupled with his name, and returned with the shattered remnant of his forces, to sustain new discredit, and aggravated unpopularity.

A large portion of the money which had been with so much difficulty and irregularity collected was presently swallowed up by these and other occasions of the war, and Charles was convinced by painful experience that any attempt to raise further contributions by similar means would be, at least for the present, nearly fruitless. He determined to call another Parliament, and, in the spirit of popular artifice, appointed Buckingham to propose it in the Privy Council. It met on the seventeenth of March, 1628, N. S. and was opened by a speech more remarkable for sincerity than prudence. The Commons commenced business with a calm and decorous gravity which had been little used in the two former Parliaments, and was thought to augur well both for King and people, but it was in truth only the result of that coolness which generally attends the determined adoption of a thoroughly digested plan. They entered immediately on the accustomed topic of grievances, and presently displayed an increased warmth and severity, while the King reiterated his demand of supplies, and enumerated in fourteen articles the public disbursements which were necessary. The Commons, without condescending to read them, came to a vote to grant a considerable sum, but it was a mere general resolution, leaving the amount indefinite, and sent their Speaker to him, who told him that " he was the breath of their nostrils, and the light of their eyes," and then presented a long petition against the billeting of soldiers in private houses. Meanwhile they were preparing a full statement of their claims, under the bold title of " a Petition of Right," which the King in vain endeavoured to avoid, and the Lords to moderate. It was however presented, and the Commons, to convince him that they were resolved to act only conditionally in the matter of supplies,

made simultaneously a single and insignificant step towards their promised grant. Charles answered their petition graciously, and pledged himself to maintain the laws, and the rights and liberties of his subjects, but the terms of his reply were thought too general, and he was rudely urged to declare his compliance separately with each individual requisition. The demand was intolerable, but the King passed it over in silence, and at length so far submitted as to answer to the whole by the ancient parliamentary phrase, " soit droit fait comme il est desiré," to which he added his signature.

So far were the Commons even from affecting to be satisfied for a single week with this concession, that they instantly composed two long remonstrances, the one, chiefly on the pretended imminent danger of the Church, which all men of common sense knew to be wholly groundless; the other on the question as to tonnage and poundage, of all claim to which it was now alledged that the King had deprived himself by the terms of his answer to the petition of right. Charles however avoided the reception of these remonstrances by proroguing the Parliament, which he did while the second was reading in the House of Commons, in a short speech, manfully avowing his right to levy the duties of tonnage and poundage, and indeed uttered merely for the sake of making that avowal. At the same time was presented to him for his assent the long delayed bill for five subsidies, which the Parliament could no longer evade without too clearly exposing it's motives to a people not yet fully prepared to approve them. On it's meeting after the recess, Charles's first care was to explain fully to both Houses on the subject of the imposts just mentioned. He declared explicitly that he did not consider them as " appertaining to his hereditary Prerogative," but that he claimed only that controul over them which his predecessors had for more than two centuries exercised, under the authority of a parliamentary grant for life made to each of them on mounting the Throne, but which had not yet been accorded to himself. A very few days

after, he proved the sincerity of this declaration by condescending to send to the Commons a message requesting them to prepare a bill so to authorise him, and, in consideration of the urgent want of money for the public service, to allow it to take place of all other affairs, and they instantly resolved to proceed, without suffering any interruption, on the interminable discussion of the perils of the reformed church; and, in addition to that perverse insult, voted a general answer to the King that "his messages were inconvenient, and bred debates, and loss of time." Very few days passed before they broke their own order, laid aside for the time their pious fears, and went into a committee on the cases of persons who had been proceeded against for refusing to pay the tonnage and poundage. These were held up as martyrs in the cause of freedom, and those who had paid the duties were branded as betrayers of their country. All the usual business of the government and of parliament was suspended. At length on the second of March, 1629, N. S. the Speaker, having informed the House that the King had commanded him to adjourn it for a week, was seized, while he was rising to quit the chair, by a few of the malcontent members, and held down in it by force, while a furious protestation or remonstrance was hastily prepared, and irregularly voted. The King, having been apprised of these disorders, dispatched messengers to the House, but the doors were locked against them till after the votes had been read, when the Usher of the Black Rod entered, and broke up the sitting by taking the mace from the table. The principal movers in this riot were presently brought before the Council, and charged with sedition, and, on refusing to answer for their conduct in Parliament to any other authority, were for a few days committed to the Tower. In the mean time the King went to the House of Lords, and, after a short speech, complimenting them on their loyalty and good temper, and arraigning with severity the adverse faction in the Commons, dissolved the Parliament, without calling for the attendance of that House.

It will not be thought at all surprising that Charles should have resolved, as perhaps at this period he did, to endeavour to govern in future without Parliaments. He may be now said to have been for a time his own minister. He had no favourite, for the mighty and imprudent Buckingham had been the year before taken off by assassination. His Council was composed of able and honest, rather than of great men, who contented themselves with discharging, each in his proper station, the duties which belonged to it. If he had a private adviser, it was the Queen, to whom he was passionately attached, and the first step which he took on his temporary release from the oppression of the Parliament was ascribed to her influence, a peace with France, which indeed his own necessities demanded. The urgency and altered character of the time put him however on new plans of policy, which eventually threw his affairs into the hands of men of brighter talents and bolder spirits. He sought, and it is needless to say with success, to bribe the ambition or the avarice of several of the popular leaders with considerable appointments in his government. Among these the most remarkable was Sir Thomas Wentworth, who had been from the beginning a formidable opponent in the House of Commons of the Prerogative. This gentleman, better known as Earl of Strafford, a dignity which was soon after conferred on him, had become of late disgusted by the increasing fury of his party, and thought, with many other wise and honest men, that the power of the Crown was now sufficiently circumscribed. He presently became Charles's most confidential counsellor in the affairs of the state, while an almost unbounded authority over those of the Church was committed to Laud, then Bishop of London.

Both these appointments were injudicious. Charles, with an excellent understanding, possessed little penetration into the characters of men, and, from an innate modesty, frequently fell into the error of undervaluing his own judgement. The temper of the times required ministers of consummate artifice, and of

some real, and much affected pliancy, qualities in which these great men were as deficient as they were abundant in honour and fidelity. They seemed to have agreed that the art of government consisted in the exertion of simple and open authority. Strafford was too haughty to endeavour to conciliate any of the friends from whom he had lately withdrawn, and Laud too zealous to permit the puritans, who were in fact now the life and soul of the opposing faction, even to doubt of the intensity of his hatred towards them. They were held out therefore to the people, the one as the obsequious minister of a tyrant, the other, as a favourer of the Church of Rome, an exaggeration founded on his imprudent introduction into the reformed discipline and worship of certain ceremonious novelties, and on the rigour with which he enforced perhaps a more than due respect to the Hierarchy. Strafford on his part encouraged and assisted the King in the various devices that were now instituted to raise those necessary supplies which the pertinacity of Parliament had denied to him, some of which were warranted by express statutes, and the rest, if any weight be allowed to precedent, by the uncontroverted practice of his royal predecessors for ages. If any one of the imposts in question was incapable of being referred to either of those authorities, it was that which was levied in just proportions on the several counties for the maintenance of the navy, and so obtained the name of "ship money;" a tax the entire produce of which was religiously applied to that purpose, and equipped the largest fleet that England had ever possessed. It will be recollected that the notorious Hampden thought fit soon after in a court of law to question its legality, which was then confirmed by a solemn adjudication, more injurious in the event to the royal cause than would have been a contrary decision.

The history of a Monarch reigning over a tranquil and prosperous country must be always in a great measure confined to the incidents in his private life, and for seven years, ending in 1637, no country ever more justly deserved that description than

England. At peace with all foreign powers, and with the great mass of his own subjects, who, in the undisturbed consciousness of the blessings they enjoyed, were gradually losing the apprehensions which had been infused into them by the factious and ambitious few, Charles was left somewhat at leisure to offer to his brother Princes a bright example of the practice of all domestic virtues, and of all the refinements of a highly cultivated taste. A cloud however now arose in the north which presently obscured these views. Scotland, the chief nursery of puritanism in his realms, rejected the liturgy which, less prudently than zealously, had been prescribed for it's form of worship, with a suddenness and fury which strongly indicated the secret influence of a foreign interference. Even before the King could determine what measures to adopt, a new fangled and self appointed legislature started up in that country, and one of it's first institutions was that vile compact which received the title of the "Solemn League and Covenant," and was presently enthusiastically subscribed by the entire population of the capital and it's vicinity, and, before the lapse of many weeks, by that of nearly the whole of the kingdom.

Charles met these acts of disobedience by repeated concessions, which were received with scorn. He offered even to withdraw the liturgy and the canons, and to curtail considerably the powers of the Bishops, but with no better success. He convoked a Parliament, and a general assembly of the Church, and, finding them completely infected with the disease of the time, dissolved them; but they continued to exercise their functions in contempt of his authority, and, by a few sweeping acts, hastily passed, abolished episcopacy; denounced the penalty of excommunication against all who should refuse to take the covenant; discarded every feature of the Church of England; and, as though they had determined that no doubt should remain of their being in actual rebellion, levied an army, and put all the strong holds on the frontiers of Scotland into a state of defence against their

Sovereign. Charles had no alternative but to take up arms against them, or to relinquish one of his kingdoms. He levied with difficulty an army of between twenty and thirty thousand men; marched at the head of them to the borders, while his fleet cast anchor in the harbour of Leith; and detached some regiments into Scotland, which, after having proceeded a very few miles, faced about, panic-struck at the formidable appearance which the Scottish General, Leslie, had by an artful arrangement given to his very inferior force, and shamefully retreated to the royal camp. In the mean time the covenanters dispatched messages to the King in the most submissive terms, and besought that they might be admitted to a treaty, and Charles, whose motives at this juncture have never been clearly comprehended, readily consented. Had he been decisively vanquished in the Field, and without the means of renewing the contest, harder terms could scarcely have been demanded of him than those to which he submitted in this monstrous mock pacification. He agreed to disband his army without delay; confirmed all the obnoxious acts of the late spurious and rebellious parliament and assembly, even including that for the abolition of episcopacy, which of all measures regarding that country he had most earnestly deprecated; and returned to his capital disappointed, mortified, and with no chance of consolation for the ill success of his expedition but in the possible satisfaction and gratitude of those to whom he had made such extravagant sacrifices.

The vanity of such expectations, if Charles entertained them, very soon became evident. The Parliament, and the assembly, which on leaving Scotland he had again summoned, reviewed with bitterness his very favours; set up new claims, with increased turbulence; and negotiated secretly with France, and other states, for supplies of men and arms. Charles determined anew to endeavour to reduce them by force, but so deficient were not only his finances but his credit, that when his armament was compleat, both were exhausted. One source only of relief seemed to be

open, for he could scarcely entertain a doubt that in such circumstances the representatives of his people would, at least for a time, suspend their hostility towards him, and enable him to maintain the dignity of his Crown, and the integrity of his dominions—after a disuse of such assemblies for more than eleven years, he called a Parliament, and it met on the thirteenth of April, 1640. He required their instant aid; informed them that his army was ready to take the field; that the monthly charge of maintaining it would be an hundred thousand pounds; and that he was utterly destitute. Were it not a well established historical fact, it would be absolutely incredible to relate that the Commons passed over in a manner silently the grave and urgent subject of the Scottish rebellion, and entered, with triply increased fury on that of public grievances. Charles pressed them by repeated messages, and sought to conciliate them by new and most important concessions, which were contemptuously disregarded. The Lords demanded a conference, and earnestly urged them to grant the necessary supply, and they voted the interference a high breach of privilege, and pursued their wayward course with redoubled obstinacy. Charles dissolved this Parliament on the twenty-third day after it's meeting, and has been more blamed for it than for any other act of his life; with what justice let the impartial judge.

The wretched circumstances which had disgraced the preceding year with respect to Scotland were now reacted with little variation. By sundry means, among which should not be omitted a subscription of three hundred thousand pounds by the King's private friends, that is to say by his statesmen and courtiers, he was again enabled to march an army northward. The covenanters however had entered England before his arrival on their borders, carrying, at the head of twenty thousand armed men, with all possible professions of loyalty, and earnest prayers for his welfare and glory, an humble petition to lay at his royal feet. At Newburn, near Newcastle on Tyne, they were opposed by a strong

body of the King's troops, of whom they mildly requested permission to pass towards the presence of their beloved Sovereign, and then attacked them furiously, and drove them into Yorkshire. Charles's army, panic-stricken as well as tainted with sedition, never recovered from the shock, and himself, now distressed on all sides; most averse, and with abundant reason, to comply with the numerous petitions for a Parliament which his malcontent subjects had taken advantage of the difficulties of the moment to pour in on him, and which he durst not expressly deny; took a middle course, and summoned a Great Council of the Peers to attend him at York, an ancient expedient in cases of great urgency which had not yet been declared unconstitutional. It's first advice to him was to treat with his Scottish rebels, and another humiliating negotiation was presently commenced at Ripon, the speedy result of which was an agreement that the King should bear all the expences of their army, and that it should remain, for the time, in the free possession of the country north of Yorkshire; and to this was added a fatal agreement that the treaty should be adjourned to London.

All circumstances now united to form a crisis in the fortunes of this unhappy Prince, and his little less unfortunate kingdom. A sudden access of timidity in himself, or in his counsellors, impelled him, who had so frequently and so fearlessly adopted means of doubtful legality in raising finances, to forego all such expedients in a case where the universal practice of ages, and the voice and the law of the whole world, would have held him fully justified—in the resistance of a palpable and unqualified rebellion. But he submitted in the very moment when he might have fairly made the boldest assertions of right; abandoned his clear regal authority, and negotiated on equal terms with his Scottish rebels; legalized the abode of their army in a great part of the mother country; subsisted that army till his treasury was utterly exhausted; and, finally invited to his capital the main promoters of the mischief, and summoned a Parliament, the leading members

of which he could not but have foreseen would be men already deeply engaged with them in the conspiracy which produced it—the never to be forgotten Long Parliament, which, after deluging the country in blood, meanly surrendered it's authority to a shapeless and nameless vision of government, the parent at length of a despotism nearly destitute of any of those glowing features which frequently throw a deceitful glare around successful rebellion and tyrannical usurpation. Perverse and unreasonable as Charles's former Parliaments had shewn themselves, this memorable assembly far exceeded them in violence and injustice. It's leaders appeared to have suddenly adopted principles widely different from those which actuated their predecessors. Instead of sullenly and slowly working their way by petitions and remonstrances, and by measures covertly and indirectly contrived to distress and weaken the government, they assumed at once a tone of distinct and independent authority, and a restlessness of activity new in parliamentary proceedings. The precise time had arrived for concentrating at one focus all the bolts which wisdom or folly, honesty or wickedness, discontent or malice, had been for many years aiming at the Throne, and it can scarcely be doubted that a determination was now first regularly formed to employ their united force in accomplishing the overthrow of monarchy.

The Parliament met on the third of November, 1640; on the eleventh Strafford was impeached of high treason; and on the eighteenth of the next month followed the impeachment of Laud. The Keeper of the Great Seal, and one of the Secretaries of State, having reason to expect to be the next objects of vengeance, fled the country. The Scottish Commissioners in the meantime arrived in London in a sort of triumph, and were received with extravagant respect and kindness by both Houses, on whose journals an order was entered that they should be styled on all formal public occasions "our brethren of Scotland." The puritans were now caressed to the utmost, and thrust into pulpits on

all occasions where they might be most mischievous, and no opportunities were neglected of vilifying and depressing the Bishops, and with them the established Church. Every law and regulation which had been publicly, however wantonly, complained of as a grievance was abrogated, and new grounds of complaint gained instant attention if they were either directly or indirectly levelled against the Crown or the Hierarchy. Seditious petitions were encouraged, and complacently received; insurrectionary mobs, and public tumults, threatened with impunity the safety of all who were not marked as friends to the popular party; and the press, though then but in it's infancy as an engine of abuse and slander, daily poured forth libels, the malignity of which met with no correction but from their own absurdities and falsehoods. All these tremendous novelties occurred within less than six months after the meeting of the Long Parliament.

Charles, in a state of utter helplessness, sate among the complicated miseries with a patience which, as it resulted neither from apathy or fear, may be fairly called magnanimous. He was in a great measure without counsellors: some had deserted him; others were sequestered by the omnipotent commons, to whom a majority of the Peers, self-devoted, as the event proved, had now attached themselves. 'Tis true that an illustrious host of the most conspicuously virtuous, and many of the wisest, of both Houses, who, from the purest motives, had long stood among the foremost of the popular party, were now convinced of the iniquities meditated by the most active of their compeers; abandoned them; and ranged themselves publicly with the firmest supporters of the falling Throne. These however could at present render him no assistance, beyond such as might arise from the addition of the weight, then almost useless, of their characters to an overwhelmed and dispirited minority. Charles tried in vain new concessions. He relinquished some of the most important prerogatives of the Crown by passing a bill for triennial Parliaments, armed with securities so strict and numerous as to prevent the

possibility of evasion; and assented to another, by which the duties of tonnage and poundage were at last insultingly granted to him, not for life, as has been before observed was customary, but for two months, renewable for some such short periods at the pleasure of Parliament. Finally, he received at once into his Privy Council eight of the most powerful and popular leaders of the malcontents in the House of Lords, and engaged in treaty with them for the admission of themselves, and several others of the party, into important offices in the State. It was thought, and perhaps correctly, that these efforts at conciliation were made in the hope of averting the blow which impended over Strafford and Laud. Vain hope, if so; for the boons were no sooner granted than the former was put to death, after a trial marked by circumstances of the grossest injustice. No sufficient apology can ever be found for the assent given by Charles to the bill of attainder under which that great man, his firm and heroic friend, fell a sacrifice. He passed on the same day that monstrous act by which the Parliament rendered itself perpetual. The first of these errors has left a solitary stain on his moral reputation; the second weakens our opinion as well of his understanding as of his courage.

The two armies in the north were now disbanded, and, in order, as it should seem, to publish to the three kingdoms the affection in which the Parliament held that of the Scottish invaders, and it's masters, a gratuity of three hundred thousand pounds was voted in addition to the monthly twenty-five thousand which had been paid to it ever since it's rebellious entry into England. The pacification with Scotland was now finally concluded, and, by a hateful ingenuity, it was contrived that the very terms of expression gratuitously introduced into the instrument by which it was ratified and recorded were rendered even more humiliating to the King than the conditions of the treaty itself. The Scots were complimented in it on their invariable loyalty, and their invasion was ascribed to their affection to his honour and welfare. The

Parliament, in appointing a public thanksgiving for the happy return of peace, taeked to their vote an order that this precious document should be on the same day read in all the churches in England. Charles however, from motives that have never been clearly understood, but with professions that it was to discharge a promise which he had made to the Scots "to scttle their government" about that period, now undertook a journey to Edinburgh. The Parliament opposed this expedition, but the King was resolved, and left London on the eighth of August, 1641, in the eustody, as may be said, of a very few commissioners appointed by eaeh House, the objeets of whose attendance may bc easily inferred from the fact that the inveterate and inflexible Hampden was of the number.

Charles, from whom so much had been with difficulty, as well as with injustice, already extorted, seems now to have determined to grant all requests made on behalf of his subjects, however unreasonable: in Scotland he went yet further, and his favours even outstript their demands. Hc rendered the Parliament of that country nearly independent of him; relinquished wholly the prerogative of issuing proclamations to be obeyed under pain of high treason; and consented to submit in future to the absolute controul of Parliament his appointment of officers of state there, not excepting that of his own Vicegerent. He advanced several of those nobles who had been the chief patrons of the covenant to higher degrees of dignity; gave pensions and appointments to the most famous preachers of their new schism; and frequently attended their publie worship, and listened to their tedious sermons, with a shew of patience the reality of which it is impossible that they should have eredited. These sad experiments were cut short by the news of that horrible insurrection of the Catholics in Ireland, which in 1641 bathed the island in blood. Charles's first impulse was to seek the succour of those to whom he was at that moment in the act of dispensing the most extravagant bounties. He implored the aid of the Scottish Parliament, and

was coldly answered that they would communicate on the subject " with their good brethren the Parliament of England." In the furious eagerness of these puritans to overthrow the Crown and the Hierarchy they forgot for the time even their hatred to Papists. Their " good brethren" not only participated in their feelings and in their practice, or rather in their forbearance, but spread a diabolical insinuation that the Irish rebellion had been contrived and fomented by the secret machinations of the King and Queen. It was neglected, and suffered in a manner to die away on the embers which survived the frightful conflagration, and when Charles returned to London, he was met by a remonstrance from the Commons, so virulent, so unreasonable, so indecent, as to leave no doubt in the minds even of the most ignorant of either party that it was the issue of a deliberate plan formed by that assembly to annihilate all regal power.

Indeed the faculties, and privileges, and forms, of the other branches of that constitution towards the integrity of which so much veneration had not long since been pretended began now to be wholly disregarded. In many cases which required the concurrence of the intire legislature, the authority of the Peers had been as much slighted as that of the Crown; and those abuses, through an unaccountable infatuation, had been endured by them with patience. A Bill had already passed the Lower House for depriving the Bishops of their right to vote in Parliament, and had received all the aid, then of daily occurrence on most popular questions, which public tumult could confer on it; when, on the occasion of a serious attack on the persons of some of them by a furious mob, they met, at the suggestion of Williams, Archbishop of York, and hastily drew up, and presented to the King, a declaration of their rights, including a protest against the validity of the measures which had been taken to impair them. Charles, perhaps imprudently, received it without disapprobation, and sent it to the Lords, who communicated it to the Lower House, by a vote of which twelve Prelates who had signed it were

instantly impeached of high treason, and of course committed to custody by their Peers.

This remarkable event occurred on the eleventh of December, 1641, and, on the fourth of the succeeding month, the King, as it were in a childish spirit of retaliation, exhibited by his Attorney General articles of high treason against the Lord Kimbolton, and five of the most conspicuous and active members of the faction in the Commons, and a serjeant at arms soon after arrived to claim the delivery to him of their persons. The House deigned him no answer, and adjourned in silence, save voting the whole proceeding a high breach of privilege. All endeavours to arrest the accused were evaded; and on the following day Charles took the singular resolution of placing himself in the Speaker's chair, and personally demanding their surrender. To this almost romantic fact have been very idly ascribed all the horrors which speedily followed, when it's sole influence on them, was merely to give a few weeks of pre-maturity to their monstrous birth. To enumerate the disorders which instantly followed would increase this already tedious sketch to a volume. London was in a state of insurrection, and the Royal family sought their personal security in flight. On the following day, the impeached members were brought in triumph from the city, where they had concealed, or rather affected to conceal, themselves, by a countless multitude, and surrounded by the trained bands, at the head of which the Commons, by a special commission of their own, had placed a leader, with the title of Major General. Reports were industriously spread to inflame the people, with others equally absurd, that the King was returning with an army of Papists; and the House, in an affectation of dread for their own safety, held irregular and abrupt sittings, protected by their newly retained armed guard. None of their meetings however passed without votes and resolutions the most unconstitutional, and scarcely a day without new usurpations of the executive power. They appointed governors of some of the King's garrisons, and de-

manded of him that he should place the rest, as well as the whole body of the militia, in the hands of persons to be recommended by them; to which the King of course demurring, they passed ordinances, to which the remnant of Peers who still gave their attendance assented, enjoining the submission of the whole military force of the kingdom to their commands. These, and several less important acts of palpable rebellion, were always qualified by an abuse of terms too gross to deceive even the most ignorant—they enjoined the parties to whom their commands were addressed to obey such and such "the orders of his Majesty, signified unto them by both Houses of Parliament."

Charles, who during this period of confusion had sojourned at his different houses not far from the capital, was now convinced of the necessity of preparing for a civil war, which had become inevitable, and of providing for the safety of himself and his family. Having seen the Queen embark for Holland, taking with her the Crown Jewels, wherewith to raise some supply for the commencement of the awful struggle which approached, he moved northward by slow journeys, amid the daily increasing acclamations and loyal vows of his country people of all classes, and surrounded by the flower of his nobility; and, having passed some time at York, in the councils and preparations which the greatness of the occasion required, at length set up his standard at Nottingham, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1642.

Thus began that tremendous war in which the one party strove to defend his possession of powers and faculties which had descended to him by an hitherto uncontroverted inheritance from a long line of ancestors, and to the exercise of which he conscientiously believed himself to be completely entitled—the other, not only to divest him of every attribute his right to which lay within the possibility of doubt, but to wrest from him, and to arrogate to itself, many of yet higher importance to which it could not legitimately pretend even to the shadow of a claim. At this memorable point we mean to close the present Memoir, the main objects

of which have been to unfold the events which gradually produced the awful contest; to lay a ground for inferences to be drawn from them by others of the true character of the unfortunate Monarch; and to shew, by a succinct but faithful outline of facts, that Charles, throughout the whole of the collision between himself and his Parliaments, was rather "sinned against than sinning;" and that he fell at length a sacrifice to his endeavours to support the integrity of that ever fluctuating system called "the constitution," in the state in which he found it when he ascended the Throne. To answer these purposes enough has been already shewn.

Indeed a detail of the circumstances of the seven years war, if these sheets could allow scope for it, would be almost impertinent. Such, in strictness, belong to the general history of a country, and have, with some few modern exceptions of dazzling effect, little actual concern with the personal memoirs of the Prince who rules it. If he appear with his army in the field, the connection is, singularly enough, yet more remote, for he becomes then merely the dignified organ of his military councils, and the exalted encourager by his presence of the confidence and the prowess of his legions. That such was the station in which Charles appeared during nearly the whole of the war is well known to all historical readers; nor is it less notorious that, after its sad termination, when the authors of the rebellion had, according to the almost fatal progress of revolutions, given place to the wretched herd by which they were overpowered, he fell a captive into those base and bloody hands, sold for money by his Scottish subjects. Here, thrown wholly on his own resources, his true character at length shone forth in all the splendor of virtue, piety, perfect heroism, and almost wisdom. Such was the Prince who, through the ambition, the folly, or the malignity of a few of his subjects; and the ignorance, the fanaticism, the groundless fears, or the low interests, of the rest, was consigned by the vilest of them to a violent death, on the thirtieth of January, 1648.

Engraved by W. Holl

EDWARD, LORD HERBERT, OF CHERBURY.

OB. 1648.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE R^T HON^BLE LORD VISCOUNT CLIVE.

EDWARD,

FIRST LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY.

Of that anomaly of character, by the abundance and variety of which foreigners are pleased to tell us that our country is distinguished, we meet with few examples more striking than in the subject of this memoir—wise and unsteady; prudent and careless; a philosopher, with ungovernable and ridiculous prejudices; a good-humoured man, who ever sought occasions to shed the blood of his fellow creatures; a deist, with superstition too gross for the most secluded cloister. These observations are not founded on the report of others, but on the fragment which remains of his own sketch of his life, a piece of infinite curiosity, to which these pages will chiefly owe any degree of interest that they may be found to possess.

He was eldest son and heir of Richard Herbert, of Montgomery Castle, in North Wales, great-great-grandson of Sir Richard Herbert, of Colebrook, in Monmouthshire, who was next brother to William, first Earl of Pembroke. His mother was Magdalen, daughter and heir of Sir Richard Newport, of High Ercal, in Shropshire, and he was born in the year 1581, at Eyton in that county, a seat derived by his father from her family. At the age of twelve he was sent, with an ample stock of classical learning, to Oxford, and was entered a gentleman commoner of University College, where he studied with such determined assiduity that he would not suffer his marriage, which, through some prudential family considerations, took place with a kinswoman before he had

reached the age of sixteen, to interrupt the course of his education, and therefore brought his wife to reside in the town. He remained there till the year 1600, when he settled in London, and presented himself, without introduction, at the Court of Elizabeth, who, having with some difficulty discovered who he was, twice gave him her hand to kiss, and twice, to use his own words, "clapped him on the cheek, swearing her ordinary oath, and lamenting that he had been married so young." These, however, appear to have been the only favours that he received from her, but on the accession of James he attended his powerful kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, to meet that Prince on his road from Scotland; was received by him with distinguishing grace; and presently after made a Knight of the Bath, the chivalrous ceremonies used on his reception into which order seem to have made an indelible impression on a mind not less romantic than honourable, and even to have influenced the whole conduct of his youth and middle age.

Unfit for and averse to the quietude of domestic life, he became now impatient to visit foreign countries, and proposed to accompany the Earl of Nottingham in his embassy to Madrid, but his relations, to detain him at home, contrived to have him placed in the office of Sheriff of the county of Montgomery; in 1608, however, he went to Paris, leaving his wife pregnant, and three young children. Here he became intimate with the brave old Constable Henry de Montmorency, on a short visit to whose country-house he quarrelled with and challenged a French cavalier, for refusing to restore a ribbon which he had jestingly snatched from the head of a little girl of ten years old; an absurdity for which he apologizes by declaring, with much solemnity, that he thought himself bound to commit it by the oath which he had taken, as a Knight of the Bath, "to defend maidens in their rights." During his stay in France, he perfected himself in the accomplishments of riding, fencing, and music, and improved his erudition in the conversation of the celebrated Isaac Casaubon, in whose house he seems to have dwelt. Having made a short visit rather to the

Court of London than to his family, he embarked in the spring of 1610 for the Netherlands, and served as a voluntcer with the English troops commanded by the Prince of Orange at the siege of Juliers, where he distinguis hedhimself by the utmost extravagance of rashness and unnecessary valour, as well in incessant private quarrels as in military exploits; insomuch that even Balagny, at that time thc most notorious and frequent duellist of the French Court and army, had discretion enough to decline his invitation to decide by combat on the merits of their respective imaginary mistresses. "On this refusal," says Herbert, "I went to M. Terant, a gentleman that belonged to the Duke of Montmorency, who, telling me he had a quarrel with another gentleman, I offered to be his second, but he saying that he was provided already, I rode thence to the English quarters, attending some fit occasion to send again to the Lord Walden," whom also he had challenged. He had, however, no sooner arrived there than he was wounded in a rencontre with another English officer of rank; and all this seems to have been the work of a single day. It is true that duelling was a prevailing fashion of that period, but it is not less true that Herbert must have had a strong predisposition to follow that fashion. Having visited the Imperial Court, he returned to London, where this misplaced bravery, as well as his uncommon talents and good breeding, rendered him a favourite in the highest society. The most eminent and accomplished men of the time courted his intimacy, and the women procured miniature copies of his picture, and wore them secretly about their persons: a compliment that had nearly cost him his life, for a Sir John Ayres, discovering such a one in his wife's possession, became furiously jealous, and, having waylaid him, with a party of men, in the street near Whitehall, left him covered with wounds, received in a defence of himself almost incredibly heroic. In 1614 he again volunteered in a campaign under the Prince of Orange; which ended, he made a hasty tour of Italy, passed his Christmas at Rome, and, returning by Turin, engaged with the Duke of Savoy to recruit his army with four thousand

French protestants. He went therefore into Languedoc, where he was met by an edict newly issued by the Queen Mother of France, prohibiting the enlistment of troops for the service of foreign powers; and, having challenged the Governor of Lyons for performing an act of public duty consequent on that edict, which he could scarcely have avoided, was corrected by the slightest possible show of imprisonment, and presently after embarked for England.

In 1616 he was nominated Ambassador to Louis the thirteenth, for the professed purpose of renewing the oath of alliance between James and the deceased Henry the fourth, but in fact to negotiate in favour of the protestants. He appears to have executed his mission with much sagacity and gravity; but its object was uniformly thwarted by the Duke de Luynes, a young man to whose government the King had implicitly surrendered himself, and who had determined to extirpate them by force of arms. To this nobleman, after long delays, the King referred him, when the extraordinary conference ensued which is here given nearly in Herbert's own words. On De Luynes dryly demanding of him, as soon as they were seated, the cause of his visit, he answered that he was commanded by the King, his master, to mediate a peace between the King of France and his protestant subjects. "What," said the Duke, "hath the King, your master, to do with our actions? Why doth he meddle with our affairs?" "The King, my master," answered Herbert, "ought not to give an account of the reason that induced him hereunto, but if you ask me in more gentle terms, I will do my best to give you satisfaction." To this De Luynes replied simply with the word "bien," and Herbert went on to say that James, in conformity to his stipulation with Henry the fourth that the survivor of either should always endeavour to procure the tranquillity of the other's estate, had now sent him for that purpose; and that he hoped that when the present civil discord should be accommodated, Louis might be disposed to assist the Elector Palatine, the ancient friend and ally of the French crown. The Duke interrupted him by saying,

"we will have none of your advice;" and Herbert rejoined that he "took those words for an answer, and was sorry that the affection and goodwill of his master was not understood," adding, "since you reject them on these terms, I have it in charge to tell you that we know very well what we have to do." "We do not fear you," said De Luynes. "If you had said," replied Herbert, "that you had not loved us, I should have believed you, and should have returned you another answer, but now I can only repeat that we know what we have to do." De Luynes, apprised doubtless of his passionate nature, and desirous to take advantage of it, now cried, in apparent wrath, "Par Dieu, si vous n'étiez Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, je vous traiterois d'une autre sorte." He succeeded. Herbert instantly rose, and, saying that as he was an Ambassador, so also was he a gentleman, laid his hand on the hilt of his sword, and adding "this shall make you an answer," departed.

The strange circumstances of this interview were the result of artifice on the part of the French favourite. He had contrived that a person of some importance among the protestants should be so secreted behind the hangings of the apartment as to overhear the conversation, in order that he might be enabled to assure them of the hopelessness of any good effect to their cause from the mediation of England. De Luynes passed over in silence the implied challenge which he had received, but prevailed on Louis to send his brother, the duke de Chaulnes, to London, in the character of Ambassador Extraordinary, chiefly for the purpose of procuring Herbert's disgrace, as he did in fact his recal; while Sir Edward, on his part, lost no time after his return in suing for James's permission to summon De Luynes, by a trumpet, to single combat. The opportune death however, soon after, of that favourite removed all difficulties on this singular affair; Herbert was again appointed Ambassador to Paris; and the King on this occasion paid him the high but perilous compliment of leaving all matters to his discretion, by refusing to give him any written instructions. His second mission however

seems to have had no objects of peculiarly high consideration, nor did it produce any remarkable events.

Herbert never filled any other public station. On the twenty-second of December, 1624, shortly before the death of James, he was raised to the Peerage of Ireland, by the title of Lord Herbert, of Castle Island in the county of Kerry, in which he possessed a considerable estate; and on the seventh of May, 1630, was advanced by Charles the first to that of Baron Herbert of Cherbury in England. His conduct amidst the sad disorders which disfigured the latter years of that unfortunate Prince's reign is involved in some obscurity. The Parliamentary History informs us that he gave great offence to the House of Peers by a warm speech on the side of loyalty, and that he was among those of the nobility who attended the King at York; while Lord Orford, without citing his authority for the assertion, charges him not only with having sided with the majority in the Long Parliament, but expressly with having "taken up arms against the Crown." Whitelock says that, on the twenty-fifth of February 1644, the Parliament "granted him an allowance for his livelihood, having been spoiled by the King's forces;" and Wood, on the other hand, tells us that "he received satisfaction from that assembly for their having caused his castle of Montgomery to be demolished." These perhaps ought not to be considered as contradictory reports. Herbert probably temporised. It is true that it might seem reasonable to expect, from the heat of his temper, and the constancy of his chivalrous habits, to find him in such a time a determined and inflexible partisan; but if we attentively examine his character, and he has himself unwarily laid it before us, we shall discover that his warmth was not of the heart but of the head, and that his romantic notions of honour were the offspring, not of sentiment, but of fashion, egotism and prejudice. In the singular detail which he has given us of the most active years of his life we cannot trace a single instance of his conduct to any motive of love, or friendship, or pity. He seems to have been in a great measure without passions, and so to have been

enabled, by the aid of a powerful judgment, and under the influence of early habits of strict morality, to form his own character. Hence arose the irreconcileable features which occasionally distinguished it, for it is only in nature that we can find consistency.

Lord Herbert however at length obeyed the dictates of that disposition which really belonged to him. He devoted himself to literature, and suddenly came forward as the profound speculatist, the acute reasoner, and the well informed and careful historian: characters in which his fame will long survive the recollection of his military or political story, or of his eccentricities. He was the first writer who attempted to form those opinions which since his time have been called deistical into a regular system; and, while we lament the ability with which he executed his task, we cannot but respect the modesty with which he urges his arguments, and the evident sincerity with which he avows his belief in the doctrines which he endeavours to establish. It extended indeed to the utmost extravagance of fanaticism, for he was even persuaded that he had received a sensible mark of the Divine approbation of his desire to promulgate them, which, after stating somewhat at large his secret deliberations on the question, he goes on to describe in these words—"Being thus doubtful in my chamber one fair day in the summer, my casement being opened towards the south, the sun shining clear, and no wind stirring, I took my book De Veritate in my hand, and kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words—'O thou eternal God, author of the light which now shines upon me, and giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech thee of thy infinite goodness to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make. I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book, De Veritate. If it be for thy glory, I beseech thee give me some sign from heaven; if not, I shall suppress it.'—I had no sooner spoken these words," he continues, "but a loud, though yet gentle noise came from the heavens, for it was like nothing on earth; which did so comfort and cheer me that I took my petition as granted, and that I had

the sign I demanded, whereupon also I resolved to print my book. This, how strange soever it may seem, I protest before the eternal God is true; neither am I in any way superstitiously deceived herein, since I did not only clearly hear the noise, but, in the serenest sky that ever I saw, being without all cloud, did, to my thinking, see the place from whence it came. And now I sent my book to be printed at Paris," &c. On such a consummation of human vanity and credulity it is needless to offer any observations.

This remarkable book, having been twice printed in Paris, at length was republished in London in 1645, together with two other treatises, &c. under the following title—"De Veritate, prout distinguitur a Revelatione, a verisimili, a possibili, a falso. Cui operi additi sunt duo alii Tractatus; primus, de Causis Errorum; alter,' de Religione Laici. Una cum Appendice ad Sacerdotes de Religione Laici; et quibusdam Poematibus." He wrote also—"De Religione Gentilium, Errorumque apud eos Causis;"—"Expeditio Buckinghami Ducis in Rheam Insulam"—and three Latin Poems—"de Vita Humana—de Vita cœlest Conjectura"—and "Hæred. ac Nepot. suis Præcepta et Consilia E. B. H. de C." He left many specimens too of English poetry, which do little credit to his genius in that line, most of which were collected and published together by his younger son in 1665, in a volume now of rare occurrence, entitled "Occasional Verses." His book De Veritate was animadverted on with much severity by several contemporary and succeeding writers, but fortunately not till after his death, for doubtless he would have returned to the charge with vivacity, and in the issue of such contests the true interests of religion are frequently more injured by the obstinacy of defence than by the fierceness of original attack. To conclude this brief notice of Lord Herbert's works, it is scarcely necessary to say that his History of the Reign of Henry the Eighth is the production on which his literary fame chiefly rests; a noble effort in its kind, in which it is difficult to say whether industry of research, accuracy and impartiality of

relation and reflection, distinctness of arrangement, or dignity of style, claim with most justice our respect and praise. In this great work the cynical and envious Anthony Wood insinuates that he was mainly assisted by Thomas Master, an eminent scholar, wit, and poet of that day. Wood, however, could have deprived Lord Herbert of the honour due to the author only by insisting that Master wrote the whole, for it requires no great portion of critical ability to pronounce it positively to have been the work of a single hand.

Lord Herbert died on the twentieth of August, 1648, at his house in Queen Street, London, doubtless that which in his own curious sketch of part of his life he calls "my house among gardens, near the Old Exchange," and was buried in the chancel of St. Giles's in the Fields. Cherishing to the last, let us hope piously, his affection for his sceptical work, the following inscription was by his order graven on his tomb. "Heic inhumatur corpus Edvardi Herbert, Equitis Balnei, Baronis de Cherbury et Castle Island, auctoris libri cui titulus est De Veritate. Reddor ut herbæ, vicesimo die Augusti, A.D. 1648." He married Mary, daughter and heir of Sir William Herbert, of St. Julians, in the county of Monmouth, by whom he had two sons, Richard, his successor; and Edward; and one daughter, Beatrice, who died unmarried. His titles became extinct in Edward, his grandson.

Engraved by W. Finden.

JAMES, DUKE OF HAMILTON.

OB. 1649.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

London Published Dec 1. 1830 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East

JAMES, FIRST DUKE OF HAMILTON.

This nobleman, whose invariable fidelity, and untimely sacrifice, atoned in some measure for the detestable treachery of a wretched few of his countrymen toward his royal master, was the eldest son of James, second Marquis of Hamilton, by Anne, daughter of James Conyngham, seventh Earl of Glencairn. He was born in the year 1606, and brought at an early age to England, where he completed his education in the University of Oxford, and was a student there, and in the eighteenth year of his age, when he succeeded to the titles and estates of his family, on the death of his father. His attachment to Charles the First, who was but few years older than himself, had commenced in his childhood. He had been one of the few of that Prince's chosen companions, originally perhaps on account of his propinquity in blood, but the sweetness and pliancy of his disposition soon furnished a stronger tie; and it was observed, contrary to the usual event of such exaltations, that Charles after mounting the throne manifested towards him an increasing affection. He went however towards the end of the first year of that reign into Scotland, where the magnificence of his father had produced heavy incumbrances on his estate, and resisted as long as he could with decency the repeated invitations of the King, who, with a familiarity which

he seldom used to any, constantly corresponded with him during his absence. At length, in the winter of 1628, Charles sent the Earl of Denbigh, who was his father-in-law, expressly to hasten his return to the Court, and he obeyed, and on his arrival was sworn of the Privy Council, appointed a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and soon after Master of the Horse, which office had become vacant by the murder of the Duke of Buckingham.

He became presently an object of jealousy, for many of the courtiers suspected that he would succeed also to the unbounded favour which had been enjoyed by that nobleman; and it arose perhaps more from his own prudence than from the King's choice, that a new destination, which might lessen their envy by removing him from their sight, was soon after allotted to him. The heroic Gustavus Adolphus was preparing to stem the torrent of the Emperor's unjust conquests in Germany, and Charles, the first desire of whose heart was to regain the Palatinate, which had been wrested from his sister's husband, was anxious to lend his best aid to the enterprise. Gustavus had solicited him to that end, but Charles, for some reasons of state now unknown, was desirous that the levies to be made for that purpose should appear to proceed from the voluntary inclination of his subjects, and Hamilton agreed to procure and command them as at his own charge, while the King of Sweden, on his part, condescended to sign a treaty with the Marquis, differing nothing in its language and forms from the accustomed usage on such occasions between brother Sovereigns. This negotiation was not concluded till the spring of 1631, though Hamilton had employed several preceding months in raising troops, chiefly in his own country. In the mean time a private quarrel between two persons whom he had employed in Holland to forward the purposes of his plan, Mackay, Lord Reay, and David Ramsay, produced against him an accusation of high treason. Reay, in malice to his adversary, had informed Lord Ochiltree, a Scottish nobleman then in London, who entertained an hereditary hatred to Hamilton, that Ramsay

had assured him that the Marquis's design in this armament was to assert his title to the crown of Scotland. Ochiltree gladly communicated the intelligence to the Lord Weston, then High Treasurer, adding an insinuation of the peril to which the King exposed himself by permitting Hamilton to sleep in his room, which, according to the custom of the time, was the Marquis's duty as a Gentleman of the Bedchamber; Weston presently carried the news to the King; and the Marquis, on returning to London, for the purpose of ceremoniously taking his leave of the King, had from his Majesty the first intimation of this slander, accompanied by an assurance of his utter disbelief of it. Charles, with that cool magnanimity which his bitterest enemies have never denied to his character, commanded Hamilton to lie that night in his bedchamber, and the affair concluded in the award of a sentence of perpetual imprisonment against Lord Ochiltree, and in that appeal to single combat by Reay and Ramsay, which has been largely treated of in a late admirable disquisition on the obsolete law of duel.

On the sixteenth of July, 1631, Hamilton, lately decorated with the order of the Garter, sailed, with about forty vessels, and six thousand men, and on the twenty-ninth reached the mouth of the Oder, where he received an order from Gustavus to march into Silesia. The Imperialists were panic-struck on his arrival, and the Protestants in an equal measure elated, for the reputation of Scottish valour stood very high in Germany, and rumour had magnified his numbers to twenty thousand, but a little time restored to the spirits of each party their former tone: he found himself in a country completely wasted by war, and frightfully infected by the plague, which carried off one third of his force within a few days in the neighbourhood of Frankfort; yet, undaunted by these calamities, he plunged with ardour and activity into the service that he had undertaken, relieved Crossen, and took Guben, two considerable garrison towns on the Silesian frontier, and marched from thence into Lower Saxony, to lay an

ineffectual siege to Magdebourgh. His brave Scots were now reduced to fifteen hundred, and, with the German and Swedish troops which had been joined to them, too weak to undertake any exploit of importance; reinforcements which had been promised by Gustavus were delayed from time to time, and in fact never arrived; and he discovered, to his infinite mortification, that the success of the Palatinate cause was regarded by that Prince with indifference, if not with aversion. He now attached his force to the main army, and set out alone to seek the King of Sweden, by whom he was entertained for many months with fair words and expectations, till, weary and ashamed of the character of a mere volunteer, he returned to England, with the remnant of his little army, almost at the precise time that Gustavus fell at the battle of Lutzen.

Charles received him with all the kindness to which he had been accustomed, but we find him in no important employment in the State till 1638, when he was appointed Lord High Commissioner for the affairs of the Scottish Church, an office always of great weight, and at that period involved in peculiar difficulties. It was the year which gave birth to the detestable covenant, and to the concomitant discord on points of ecclesiastical discipline which soon after blazed forth into open rebellion. The Marquis arrived in Edinburgh when the confusion was at its height, and left nothing undone that wisdom, humanity, and patriotism could devise to restore order, and to satisfy sincere scruples of conscience. At length, after six months passed in calm persuasion, and reasonable concessions, on his part, and in subtle intrigue, and sturdy obstinacy, on that of the covenanters, he pronounced the dissolution of the general assembly, which, in utter contempt of his authority, continued its sittings, and published its decrees; abolished episcopacy; and assumed, without professing it, a complete independence in the government of the Church. Hamilton now issued a proclamation declaring those who continued to sit in the assembly traitors, and returned

to England, while the covenanters threw off the mask, and proceeded to levy troops; and Charles, as is well known, went in person to York in the spring of 1639, at the head of an army, to endeavour to reduce them to obedience.

The Marquis remained for a few days in London, to superintend the embarkation of troops, with which he landed on the first of May in Leith Roads. Here he received an insidious letter, signed by the Earls of Rothes and Argyll, and other noblemen of the covenant party, which, together with his answer, have fortunately been preserved. The concluding words of the latter may furnish, for all such times and occasions, a salutary lesson to the senseless herd on whose credulity faction always builds its strength—"Whereas you desire me," says Hamilton, "to be a means that your supplications may have free access to his Majesty's ears, it is a work of no difficulty, for his Majesty hath never stopt his ears to the supplications of any of his subjects when they have been presented to him in that humble and fitting way which became dutiful subjects; nor did I ever refuse any all the time I was among you, or conceal any part of them from his Majesty; so that your allegation of not being heard is grounded upon the same false foundations that your other actions are, and serves only for a means to delude the simple people, that by making them believe what you have a mind to possess them with, they may become backers of your unwarrantable actions; which, as it is generally lamented by all his Majesty's good subjects, so it is more particularly by me, who have had the honour to be employed in this business with so bad success." He was now every hour assailed by insolent or hypocritical letters and messages from the chiefs of the covenanters, justifying their cause, and magnifying the force by which they threatened to defend it, but always concluding with offers of treaty. He had remained for nearly a month on board, impatiently expecting orders to march against the rebels, when he received a mortifying command from the King not to disembark without his Majesty's

orders. Charles, confused by jarring counsels; ill-provided of money to bear the charges even of the shortest campaign; convinced by his own observation of the bitter obstinacy and strength of his opponents; and utterly hopeless of succour from England; already repented of his enterprise. After a few days however had passed, encouraged by some transient ground of hope, he recalled the prohibition. "All these things considered," says he, in a letter of the 2d of June from his camp at Berwick, "it were a shame I should be idle: wherefore now I set you loose, to do what mischief you can do to the rebels for my service with those men you have, for you cannot have one man from hence:" yet this resolution was no sooner made than revoked; for on the fourth of the same month the Marquis was commanded to make the best arrangement in his power for mere defence, and to repair without delay to the King, on his arrival at whose camp he found a treaty already commenced. It was concluded on the eighteenth, and conceded to the Scots almost all that they had required, and much more than they had expected.

Hamilton's conduct in the affairs of Scotland at this momentous period, faithful and loyal as it had been, incurred much censure. While he abhorred the rebellion, he scarcely disapproved of the professed motives of its leaders, and incurred at once the hatred of the covenanters by his determined resistance to their violence, and of the rest of his countrymen for having at length advised Charles to purchase a peace by the sacrifice of the hierarchy. Conscious of this unpopularity, and of the ill effect to be expected from it on his future public services in Scotland, he steadily resisted the King's earnest inclination to continue him in the office of High Commissioner, which indeed by the terms of the treaty had now sunk nearly into an empty title, and contented himself with the character of a private counsellor, and his master's unimpaired favour and confidence. Charles, however, still committed his affairs in that country to his charge, and shewed little disposition to conceal that determination, having

placed his brother, William Hamilton, then also created Earl of Lanerick (Lanark), in the office of Secretary of State there. Thus matters stood with him when, in August 1640, the Scottish army invaded England; worsted the King's forces in the battle of Newburn; and compelled Charles in the end of the following month to a treaty at Ripon, for which he named as one of his three commissioners the Marquis, with whom the enemy positively refused to negociate. Every demand made by the covenanters was soon after complied with, and it was by his advice that the King made these bitter concessions.

He now for a time declined in his master's favour. The most industrious efforts had been made to prejudice Charles against him by insinuations, if not of direct treachery, at least of sacrificing the royal interest to his own. Charles, however, among whose many virtues a constancy in friendship was peculiarly conspicuous, was soon reconciled to him. A most memorable letter from the unhappy monarch on that occasion, dispatched to him by his brother Lanerick, which, though it has long been in print, is little known, highly deserves to be here recalled to observation.

" Hamilton,

Though the trust of this bearer needs not a credential letter, yet the civility of a friend cannot but under his hand, as well as by word of mouth, express his kindness, and resentment of courtesies which of late have been such that you have given me just cause to give you better thanks than I will offer at in words. I shall not neglect the lazy use of so trusty a bearer by referring to him not only the estate of my affairs here, but likewise in what way you will be of most use to me; yet I cannot but tell you I have set up my rest upon the justice of my cause, being resolved that no extremity or misfortune shall make me yield; for I will either be a glorious King, or a patient martyr; and, as yet, not being the first, nor at this present appre-

hending the other, I think it now no unfit time to express this my resolution unto you. One thing more, which, but for the messenger, were too much to trust to paper—the failing to one friend hath indeed gone very near me; wherefore I am resolved that no consideration whatsoever shall ever make me do the like. Upon this ground I am certain that God hath either so totally forgiven me that he will still bless this good cause in my hands, or that all my punishment shall be in this world, which without performing what I have resolved I cannot flatter myself will end here. This accustomed freedom will I am confident add cheerfulness to your honest resolutions, seeing, beside generosity, to which I pretend a little, my conscience will make me stick to my friends, assuring you I have none if I am not

Your most assured constant friend,

CHARLES R."

Oxford,
2d Decemb. 1642.

Within very few weeks after the date of this letter the King's affection for him was declared to the world by a patent creating him Duke of Hamilton, and this grace seems to have highly aggravated the malice of his numerous enemies. He had remained in Scotland for more than two years without any ostensible public character, combating or soothing the fury of parties by promoting coalitions, sowing jealousies, threatening vengeance to some, and offering rewards to others; while at home loyalists and rebels, episcopalians and covenanters, joined in endeavouring to ruin him in the King's opinion. Charles, thus perpetually besieged, perhaps began to doubt his fidelity, and the Marquis of Montrose, who had lately quitted the popular party of his country and attached himself to the royal cause, and whose candour, zeal, and courage, had rendered him a universal favourite, was his bitter foe. The representations of Montrose at length turned the scale against him. He had remonstrated with the King on the aspersions which had been cast on his conduct, and was consoled

by the following letter, dated at Oxford, on the twenty-eighth of September, 1643 :—

" Hamilton,

" Having much to say, and little time to write, I have commanded this trusty bearer to supply the shortness of this letter, which, though it be chiefly to give trust to what he shall say to you in my name, yet I cannot but assure you by my own hand that no ill offices have had the power to lessen my confidence in you, or my estimation of you, for you shall find me

" Your most assured, real, constant friend,

" Charles R."

Emboldened by these kind expressions, and every day more clearly informed of the activity of his adversaries, he now determined to justify himself personally to the King, and on the sixteenth of December arrived at Oxford ; but they had employed the short interval so successfully that he was arrested, together with his brother Lanerick, on entering the town. The matters charged against him, couched in eight articles of great length, were delivered to him, and if we are to give them credit the whole of his long administration of the affairs of Scotland was a continued tissue of disloyalty and selfishness. He answered them however severally with great clearness and plausibility, and besought for a speedy trial, but his accusers replied that till the public commotions should be quieted it would not be possible for them to procure the attendance of their witnesses. His complaints of this injustice were disregarded, and he was sent, a close prisoner, to Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall, with Lanerick, who soon after availed himself of a less rigorous confinement to make his escape ; and the Duke's place of captivity was changed within a few months to St. Michael's Mount, in the same county, where he remained till the latter end of April, 1646, when he was

liberated by the surrender of that fortress to the rebels. He is said now to have determined to retire from public affairs, but that the unhappy resolution taken just at that time by Charles to throw himself into the hands of the Scots drew him again into action. He waited, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the succeeding July, on the King, who not only received him with kindness, but apologised to him for having given the order for his imprisonment, saying that "it was extorted from him much against his heart, and that he had stood out against all the importunities of the Duke's enemies till the very morning he came to Oxford, on which most of the whole Court came about him, and said they would all desert him if he yielded not to their desires." The nineteen bitter propositions by which the English Parliament, in concert with the Scottish commissioners, sought to destroy the ecclesiastical establishment, and to strip the crown of most of its authority, were now delivered to the King; Hamilton pressed him with earnestness to accede to them, and, on his steady refusal, asked and obtained leave to quit the little shadow of a Court which still surrounded him. The Duke departed with a degree of disgust which however did not prevent him from exerting his vain endeavours in the country against the fury of the rebellion by various devices on which he constantly corresponded with Charles, whose friendship for him seemed unalterable, and he was so engaged when that miserable Prince was sold by his countrymen to the English, and led into captivity.

Scotland now vainly employed, to retrieve its disgrace, the means which, had they been lately exerted in defence of the King, would have redounded to its lasting honour. An army was raised for the purpose of rescuing Charles, and replacing him on his throne, and the Duke of Hamilton was appointed Commander in Chief. In spite of vehement opposition from the fanatic clergy, extensive levies were made, and the troops, ten thousand infantry, and four thousand horse, ill provided, ill accoutred, and without

artillery, marched into England in July, 1648. The rebel force in the north retreated before them, and, having on their way into Lancashire reduced Appleby Castle, they proceeded to Kendal, where they were joined by the Scottish regiments which had for some time served in Ireland, and had now left that country to attach themselves to the Royal cause. Almost destitute of intelligence, they reached Preston before they discovered that the troops under Lambert, which they had expected to meet, had been lately joined by a force yet superior, commanded by Cromwell, whose very name was now a host. The rebel army was so near that Hamilton had no choice but to engage, and the result of a short action left him no chance of avoiding ruin but in a hasty retreat towards Scotland. He marched precipitately into Staffordshire, and reached Uttoxeter, where the misery and confusion of the remnant of his troops having been completed by a mutiny among them, he was on the point of surrendering to the Governor of Stafford, and the militia of the county, when he was spared that ignominy by the appearance of Lambert, with whom, in the last week of August, 1648, he signed articles of capitulation, one of which expressly provided for the security of the lives of himself and those who were captured with him. He was now conducted to Ashby de la Zouch, in Leicestershire, where he remained a close prisoner in the castle till the beginning of December, when he was removed to Windsor, where he had the melancholy gratification of seeing once more his unfortunate Prince. On the twenty-first of the month the King was led through that town to the place of his approaching sacrifice, and Hamilton obtained leave to speak to him for a moment. It was a pathetic moment. The Duke knelt on the road as the royal victim passed, and, kissing his hand, exclaimed, "My dear master;" Charles embraced him with tenderness, and said, "I have indeed been so to you." They were then hastily separated.

During his confinement at Windsor, Cromwell repeatedly

visited him, in the vain hope of tempting him to discover the persons in England with whom he had concerted his late ill-fated enterprise, and in their conversations let fall some expressions, which, together with the diabolical fury that marked the proceeding then carrying on against the King, left him no room to hope either for justice or mercy. He resolved therefore to attempt an escape, and, having planned the means with a Mr. Cole, one of his faithful retainers, and bribed his keeper, left his prison on the night of the memorable thirtieth of January, and rode towards London, where, through an alteration imprudently made by himself as to the appointed place of meeting with Cole, he fell into the hands of some rebel soldiers in Southwark, and was immediately committed to strict custody. On the sixth of the following month he was brought to a trial before the same persons who, under the assumed denomination of the high court of justice, had a few days before decreed the murder of their King. It was extended to eleven days, in a hypocritical affectation of solemn and candid enquiry, of which there needs no better proof than the determination of his judges that the engagement in the treaty at Uttoxeter for the safety of his life had no further meaning than that he should be protected at the time from the vengeance of the soldiery. At length on the sixth of March they pronounced him guilty, and sentenced him to be beheaded, and on the ninth he suffered in New Palace Yard, with admirable patience and heroism, in company with the Earl of Holland, and the gallant Lord Capel. His death was little regretted, for he had been the constant object of envy in the English Court and State, and of doubt and jealousy in his own country. The true nature of his public services was correctly known only by the King, and himself, and a discovery of it would probably have exposed him to the bitterest hatred. Flattering, dividing, balancing, and betraying, factions, it may perhaps be no injustice to his memory to consider him as an over zealous partisan, who not unfrequently sacrificed the exactness of honour and truth to personal affection

and profound loyalty. That such a character should have provoked much obloquy might fairly be expected, but that a writer so wise, so well-informed, and so candid, as Lord Clarendon, should have so repeatedly and severely arraigned it, without adducing a single fact of sinister conduct whereon to ground his multifarious censures, is altogether astonishing.

The Duke married Mary, daughter of William Fielding, first Earl of Denbigh, by whom he had three sons, Charles, James, and William, all of whom died children; and three daughters, of whom Mary, the eldest, died also young. The second, Anne, inherited under a special entail, the title of Duchess of Hamilton, on the death of her uncle, mentioned here as Earl of Lanerick, who was her father's immediate successor: she married William Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, eldest son of William, Marquis of Douglas, and obtained for him, soon after the Restoration, the title of Duke of Hamilton. The youngest, Susannah, married John Kennedy, seventh Earl of Cassilis.

Engraved by [illegible]

BLANCH SOMERSET, BARONESS ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR.

OB. 1649.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE LORD ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR.

[illegible] The Gift to Hardima & Lepaid Pall Mall East

BLANCH SOMERSET,

BARONESS ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR.

The name of this lady stands foremost among the few examples of feminine heroism recorded in the dismal history of the grand rebellion. She was the sixth of the seven daughters of Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester of the Somersets, by Elizabeth, third and youngest daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon of his family, and was married at an early age to Thomas, second Lord Arundell of Wardour. This nobleman, the heir of a warlike and loyal sire, had, from the commencement of the differences between the King and the Parliament, though wholly unconnected with the court or the government, manifested the firmest attachment to the royal cause. When Charles appeared in arms, Lord Arundell joined him with a regiment of horse, raised and equipped at his own expense, and was presently distinguished as much by his bravery as his fidelity. That such an opponent should become a peculiar object of the vengeance of the rebels, might be reasonably expected: he foresaw it; and when he quitted his noble seat of Wardour Castle, in Wilts, for the camp, exacted a promise from his lady that it should be defended against them to the last extremity.

On the second of May, 1643, while this nobleman was at Oxford with the King, Sir Edward Hungerford, who was much trusted by the Parliament in their military affairs in Wiltshire, required admittance, with some soldiers, into the castle, to search, by order of that assembly, for cavaliers and malignants, as the

royalists were called by the enemy. His demand being disdainfully refused, and the castle presenting an appearance of strength, which he did not expect, he called to his aid a body of troops in the neighbourhood, under the command of Colonel Strode, which augmented his force to thirteen hundred men, and, having summoned it in form to surrender, was answered by Lady Arundell that "she had a command from her Lord to keep it, and would obey that command." The inmates of the castle were, herself, then sixty years old; the wife of her only son, Cecily, daughter of Sir Henry Crompton, of Brambletye in Sussex, Knight of the Bath; the three young children of that lady, two sons and a daughter, and about fifty servants, of whom, say the accounts of that time, twenty-five were fighting men.

On the following day Hungerford brought up his cannon within musket shot of the walls, and played on the castle without intermission for six days and nights, springing two mines, of which the second, having been introduced into a vaulted passage, which communicated with almost all the lower apartments, shook the building to its foundation. In the mean time the little garrison defended itself with the most signal obstinacy and valour; the men incessantly on the alert, and the women supplying them with ammunition, loading their pieces, and extinguishing the fiery missiles which the besiegers threw in abundance over the walls. Worn, however, at length by continual watching and labour to positive incapacity, and all hope of succour failing, Lady Arundell demanded a parley, and offered terms of capitulation, but not till the very moment when the enemy had applied petards to a gate, the forcing of which they who were within knew must have opened a free passage into the castle. Such an impression of their strength and resources had been made on the besiegers, that they readily acceded to the following favourable terms:—

"First, that the ladies, and all others in the castle, should have quarter.

"Secondly, that the ladies and servants should carry away all

their wearing apparel; and that six of the serving-men, whom the ladies should nominate, should attend upon their persons wheresoever the Parliament forces should dispose of them.

"Thirdly, that all the furniture and goods in the house should be safe from plunder: and to this purpose one of the six nominated to attend the ladies was to stay in the castle, and to take an inventory of all in the house, of which the commanders were to have one copy, and the ladies another."

"But," adds the Mercurius Rusticus, in which I find these articles, "being on these terms masters of the castle, and all within it, 'tis true they observe the first article, and spare the lives of all the besieged, though they had slain in the defence at least sixty of the rebels, but for the other two they observe them not in any part. As soon as they enter the castle, they first seize upon the several trunks and packs which they of the castle were making up, and left neither the ladies or servants any wearing clothes but what was on their backs. There was in the castle, amongst many very rich ones, one extraordinary chimney-piece, valued at two thousand pounds: this they utterly deface, and beat down all the carved works thereof with their poll-axes. There were likewise rare pictures, the work of the most curious pencils that were known in these latter times of the world, and such that if Apelles himself, had he been now alive, needed not to blush to own for his. These in a wild fury they break and tear in pieces, a loss that neither cost nor art can repair. Without, they burn all the out-houses: they pull up the pales of two parks, one of red deer, the other of fallow: what they did not kill they let loose to the world for the next taker. In the parks they burn three tenements and two lodges. They cut down all the trees about the house and grounds; these they sold for four-pence, six-pence, or twelve-pence apiece, that were worth three, four, or five pound a tree. They dig up the heads of twelve great ponds, some of five or six acres apiece, and destroy all the fish: they sell carp of two foot long for two-pence and three-pence apiece. They drive away and sell the horses, kine, and other

cattle; and, having left nothing either in the air or water, they dig under the earth, the castle being served with water brought two miles by a conduit of lead, and cut up the pipe and sold it, as these men's wives in North Wiltshire do bone lace, at six-pence a yard. They that have the unhappy occasion to sum up these losses value them at no less than an hundred thousand pounds."

Nor was their breach of the treaty confined to this plunder and devastation. They led the ladies and children prisoners to Shaftesbury, and having kept them for some time confined there, proposed to send them to Bath, at that time afflicted with the plague. Lady Arundell, whose health was sinking under the fatigue and anxiety that she had suffered, and who was then confined to her bed, and, at her instance, her daughter-in-law, heroically declared that they would not submit to be removed thither unless by actual force, and the rebels fearing to render themselves unpopular by so odious a step in a country where the objects of their persecution were exceedingly beloved, relinquished the design. In mere malice however, for to no other motive can it be assigned, they wrested the two sons of Mrs. Arundell, the one nine the other seven years old, from their mother and grandmother, and sent them under a guard to Dorchester.

Whether any of the noble sufferers were enlarged before the impending calamitous widowhood of Lady Arundell, we are not informed. On the fifth of the following July, her Lord, fighting gallantly at the head of his regiment in the battle of Lansdown, received a brace of pistol-bullets in the thigh, and died of those wounds at Oxford. Lady Arundell survived till 1649, on the twenty-eighth of October in which year she died at Winchester, and was buried, with her husband, at Tisbury in Wilts. Their children were, Henry, who succeeded to the title and estates; and three daughters; Catharine, wife of Francis Cornwallis; Anne, married to Roger Vaughan; and Clara, to Humphrey Weld, of Lulworth Castle, in Dorsetshire.

It is proper to observe that the plate which accompanies these notices has been executed from a picture comparatively of recent

date; and this deviation, solitary as it is, from a rule laid down of excluding all but originals, however high their authority, demands explanation. The only portrait extant of this lady was long preserved at Wardour Castle with the greatest care, yet had suffered such partial decay from the silent operation of time that the whole except the head, which fortunately remained in a perfect state, was destroyed or nearly obliterated. At a subsequent period, all the damaged parts of the picture were cut away; and Angelica Kauffmann, at the instance of the noble proprietor, copied the head, adding to it, with exquisite taste, a figure and drapery. It is a fortunate circumstance that this admirable copy was executed, for it has preserved to the world the only likeness of a heroine who is so eminently distinguished in the dark annals of the rebellion, the small remnant of the original picture being subsequently consumed in the fire which had nearly proved fatal to the splendid edifice of Wardour.

Engraved by J Cochran

HENRY RICH, EARL OF HOLLAND.

OB. 1649

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH.

HENRY RICH,

FIRST EARL OF HOLLAND.

This Nobleman appears to have been incomparably the most accomplished English courtier of his time, for he joined to the highest politeness, and general good breeding, the most profound skill in every branch of the minor sort of policy so peculiarly adapted to that character. He evidently possessed talents, natural and acquired, worthy of far more exalted application, but ambition seems to have been a stranger to his mind, and vanity his ruling passion, in seeking the gratification of which he frequently hesitated not to employ means little less than sordid. Under a veil of universal complaisance and condescension he concealed the purest selfishness; and affected the utmost devotion to the duties of the several employments from time to time intrusted to him, without the slightest feeling of public principle, or of gratitude to the power from which he had derived them, and the rest of the distinctions and dignities with which he was loaded. He had in short all the qualities that most readily attract regard, with very few of those which are usually found to retain it; and, with a fate not uncommon to men of his character, terminated a life of undeserved good fortune in calamity equally unmerited.

He was the second son of Robert Lord Rich, first Earl of Warwick of his family, by his first Countess, Penelope, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, an unhappy woman, of whom some remarkable particulars may be found in a lately preceding

memoir of Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire. To a cadet of an impoverished noble family, with the recommendations already stated, to which were added all the profits of a complete education, and the advantage of perfect beauty of form and visage, the Court of James the first seemed to offer the strongest ground of hope. He appeared there accordingly at a very early age, and immediately attracted the favourable notice of the King, and was one of the many Knights of the Bath appointed to grace the creation of Henry Prince of Wales. Too young, however, then for public employment, he travelled for a year or two in France and Italy, and afterwards complied with the fashion of the time by serving for more than one campaign as a volunteer in the Low Country war. On his return, in 1617, he was appointed Captain of the King's Guard. He now applied himself with the utmost sedulity to the making of his fortune; cultivated a strict intimacy with Hay, Earl of Carlisle, yet in high favour, whose liberality was proverbially profuse; and courted the omnipotent Buckingham with the most submissive respect. "He took all the ways he could," says Lord Clarendon, "to endear himself to the Duke, and to his confidence, and wisely declined the receiving any grace or favour but as his donation: above all, avoided the suspicion that the King had any kindness for him upon any account but of the Duke, whose creature he desired to be esteemed, though the Earl of Carlisle's friend; and he prospered so well in that pretence that the King scarcely made more haste to advance the Duke than the Duke did to promote the other."

And first, to use again the words of the same noble author, Buckingham "preferred him to a wife." This lady was Isabel, daughter and heir of Sir Walter Cope, a part of whose ample inheritance was the manor of Kensington, in Middlesex, which, on the eighth of March, 1622, on being advanced to a Barony, he took as his title. In the succeeding year he followed Prince Charles and the Duke to Madrid, and, soon after his return with them from that abortive expedition, was despatched to the Court of France as a sort of Ambassador incognito, if the phrase may be allowed,

to ascertain the inclinations of Mary de Medicis, and her daughter, the fair Henrietta Maria, on the question of the project for the marriage of Charles to that young Princess. Of his reception and transactions there in that character many curious particulars remain, in a broken series of his original letters preserved in the Harleian collection, some of which, without apologizing for their length, I will take leave to insert in this memoir. It appears that the proposal was received with nearly unqualified encouragement. In a letter to Buckingham, of the twenty-sixth of February, 1623 O. S., almost immediately after his arrival at Paris, he says: "The Queen Mother told me she had not lost those inclinations that she had heretofore expressed, to desire her daughter may be given to the Prince, (with many words of value unto the King, and person of the Prince,) and more than this she could not she thought well say, it being more natural for the woman to be demanded and sought." Ten days after, we have the following letter to the Prince—

"Maye it pleas your Highnesse,

I can but make you continuall repetisions of the value you have heir to bee (as justlye wee know you) the most compleat yonge Prince and person of the world. This reputation hath begotten in the sweet Princesse, Madame, so infinit an affection unto your fame as shee could not containe herself from a passionat desiring to see your picture, the shadow of that person so honer'd, and knew me not by what means to compas it, it beeing woren about my necke; for, though others, as the Queens and Prinseses, wold open it and consider it, the which ever brought forth admirasion from them, yet durst not the poore yonge lady looke any otherwise on it then afarre off, whose hart was nearer it than any of the others that did most gaze upon it. But at the last, rather than want that sight the which she was so impasient of, she desired the gentlewoman of the house where I am lodged, that had bene her servant, to borrow of mee the picture in all the secresye that maye bee, and to bringe it unto her; saying shee

could not want that curiositie, as well as others, towards a person of his infinit reputasion. As soon as shee saw the partye that brought it she retired into her cabinette, callinge only her into it, where shee opened the picture in such haste as shewed a true picture of her passion, blushing in the instant at her own guiltinesse. She kept it an hower in her hands, and when shee returned it, she gave with it many praises of your person. S^{r}., this is a businesse so fitte for your secresy as I know it shall never go farther then unto the Kinge, your father, my Lord Duke, and my Lord of Carlyle's knowledge. A tendernesse in this is honorable; for I would rather dye a thousand times than it should bee published, since I am by this yong ladye trusted, that is for bewtye and goodnesse an angelle.

I have reseved from my Lord of Buckingham an advertisment that your Highnesse' opinion is to treat of the generall leage first that will prepare the other. S^{r}., whatsoever shall be propounded will have a noble exceptasion; though this, give me leave to tell you, when you are free, as by the next nues wee shall know you to bee, they will expect that upon these declarasions they have here already made towards that particularitie of the alianc, that your Highnesse will goe the readier and nearer waye to unight and fasten by that notte the affection of this kingdome. S^{r}., for the generall, they all hear speake just that langwage that I should and doe unto them of the power and usurpasion of the Spaniards; of the aproches they make to this kingdome; the danger of the Lowcuntries; and the direct conquest of Germanye and the Valteline; by which we have cause to joyne in the oposision of the ambisions and mightiness of this Kinge, the which they all hear say cannot bee so sertainlye done as by an aliance with us. This they speake perpetuallye, and urge it unto my considerasion. S^{r}., unlesse we procede very roundly, though they be never so well affected, we may have interrupsions by the arts of Spaine, that make offers infinit to the advantage of this State at this tyme; but they harken to none of them untill they see our intensions towards them, the which if they finde to be reall, indeed they will

give us brave satisfaction. But, S^r^. your father's and your will, not my opinion, must be folowed, and what comandements your Highnesse shall geve mee shall be most strictlye obeyed by the most devoted of

Paris this 9^th^ of March 1623
For his Highnesse.

Your Highnesse's most dutifull and humblest servants,
H. KENSINGTON."

The treaty proceeded prosperously, and Kensington was now publicly joined to the Earl of Carlisle, the resident minister, whom in the ensuing letter to Buckingham he calls his colleague, in the embassy. The manner in which he mentions that noble man's desire for the vacant Garter, which he obtained, tends to prove the correctness of Lord Clarendon's report of the different demeanour which he had the ingenuity to use towards those two great men, without offending either.

"My most deare and noble Lord,

Besides that joinct letter to your Lo^p^ from my collegue and myself, I thinck fitt to adde this particular accompt of what passed yesterday at Ruel betwixte Queen mother and me; whither going to give her double thancks, as for the libertie she had given me of accesse at all tymes to Madame, to enterteyne her henseforth with a more free and amorous kinde of language from the Prince, so for having so readily condiscended to an humble suite of myne in the behalf of my Lo. of Carlile for a favorable letter for him to yo^r^ Lo^p^, she was pleased to oblige me further in telling me she did it meerly for my sake. I redoubled my thanckes, and added that I knew your Lo^p^ would esteeme it one of the greatest happinesses that could befall yow to have any occasion offred wherby yow might witnesse how much yow adored her Ma^tie's^ royall vertues, & how infinitely yow were her servant, ready to receyve lawe from her, whensoever by the least syllable of her blessed lips or pen she should please to impose it: And this I did, as, on the one side to gratifye my collegue, who would be infinitly sensible of y^e^ disgrace he appre-

hends in the misse of the ribban, being thus brought upon the stage for it, as also to healp to mesnage that yo^r gracious favour wh^ch Mons^r de Fiatt's letter to my Lord represents unto him, by giving yow meanes withall to obligc this sweet and blessed Queen, who hath yo^r Lo^p in a very high accompt, and would be glad to finde occasions how to witnesse it. The mention of my Lord of Carlile upon this occasion refreshed her remembrance of the late falling out betwixt the Cardinall and him; and, though she was fully informed of y^e particulars by the Card^l himself, yet she would needs have a relasion from me, who, in a merry kinde of fashion, obeyed her command, and salved everything the best I could. She would needs know my opinion of the Cardinall, who so magnificd to her his wisdome, his corage, his curtesie, his fidelity to her service, his afection to our buisinesse, as pleased her not a little; neither did my heart and my tongue differ, for I esteeme him such.

This discourse she left to fall uppon a better subject, the Prince, concerninge whose voyage into Spaine, the censure of Italie she said was that two Kings had therin committed two great errours; the one in adventuring so precious a pledge to so hazardous an enterprise; the other in so badly usinge so brave a guest: 'The first, Madame,' answered I, 'maye be excused from y^e ende, the comon good of all Chrystendome; which then, standing upon desperat terms, had neede of a desperat remedy: The second had need of a better advocate then I, to putt any color of defence upon it; but his Highnes had observed as great a weaknes & folly as that in that, after they had used him so ill, they wold suffer him to depart, w^ch was one of y^e first speaches he uttred after he was entred into his ship. 'But did he say so?' sayd the Queen: 'yes, Madame, I will assure you,' quoth I, 'from y^e witnesse of my owne eares.' She smiled and replied, 'indeed I heard he was used ill.' 'So he was,' answered I; 'not in his entertaynm^t, for that was as splendid as that country could afford it; but in their frivolous delayes, and in the unreasonable conditions w^ch they propounded & pressed, upon the advantage

they had of his princely person; and yett,' smilingly added I, 'yow here, Madame, use him farre worse.' 'And how so?' presently demaunded she. 'In that you presse,' quoth I, 'upon that most worthy & noble Prince, who hath, with so much affection to yo^r Ma^tie's service, so much passion to Madame, sought this alliance, the same, nay more unreasonable conditions then the other; and what they traced out for the breaking of the match yow follow, pretending to conclude; very unreasonably, in this conjuncture of tyme especially, when the jealousies that such great changes in state are apt to begett are cunningly fomented by the Spanish Embass^r in England, who vaunts it forth that there is not so great a change in la Vieuville's particular person as there is in the generall affections w^ch did but follow before y^e streame of his greatnes & credit; thus casting in y^e King's mynde the seed of doubts, wherunto y^e Conde d'Olivarez in Spaine has been willing to contribute, by this braving speech to our royall master's Embass^r —that if the Pope ever granted a dispensation for the match with France, the King of Spaine wold march with an army to Rome, & sack it. 'Vrayement nous l'en empescherons bien,' promptly answered she, 'car nous luy taglierons assez de besoigne ailleurs: mais qu'est ce qui vous presse le plus?' I represented to her the unfitnesse of y^e seventh article, even qualified by that interpretation that it is; and the impossibility of y^e last, wh^ch requyres and prescribes an oath; desired that the honor of the Prince, with whom she pretended a will to match her daughter, might be deerer to her than to be balanced w^th that w^ch coulde adde nothing to their assurance; humbly besought her to employ her credit with the K. her sonne; her authority to y^e ministers; for a reformation, of these two articles specially; & a friendly & speedy dispatch of all: and, if we must come to that extreamitie that more could not be altred then alredy was, yet, at least she would procure the allowance of this protestation by y^e King o^r master when he should swear them— that he intended no further to oblige himself by that oath then might well stand with y^e suerty, peace, tranquillity, and conveniency of his State. This

she thought reasonable, & promised to speake with y^e^ King & Card. about it: 'and, if yow speake as yow can,' replied I, 'I know it wilbe done; though when all this is done, I knowe not whether the King, my master, will condiscend so farre gon or not.'

Heere I entreated I might wearie her Ma^tie^ no farther, but take the libertye she had pleased to give me to interteyne Madame with such com̃andements as y^e^ Prince had charged me with to her. She would needs know what I would say. 'Nay then,' smilingly quoth I, 'your Majestie will impose upon me the like lawe that they in Spaine did upon his Highnes.' 'But the case is now different,' sayd she, 'for there the Prince was in person: heer is but his deputy.' 'But a deputy,' answered I, 'that represents his person.' 'Mais pour tout cela,' dit-elle, 'qu'est ce que vous direz?' 'Rien,' dis-je, 'qui ne soit digne des oreilles d'une si vertueuse Princesse.' 'Mais qu'est ce?' redoubled she. 'Why then, Madame,' quoth I, 'if you will needs knowe, it shalbe much to this effect —that yo^r^ Ma^tie^ having given me the libertie of some freer language than heretofore, I obey the Prince his com̃aundment in presenting to her his service, not by way of compliment any longer, but out of passion & affection, w^ch^ both her outward and inward beauties (the vertues of her mynd) so kindled in him as he was resolved to contribute to the uttermost he could to y^e^ alliance in question; and wold thincke it the greatest happines in the world if the successe thereof might minister occasion of expressing in a better & more effectuall manner his devotion to her service, with some little other such like amorous language.' 'Allez, allez; il n'y a point de danger en tout cela,' smilingly answered she; 'je me fie en vous; je me fie en vous.' Neither did I abuse her trust, for I varyed not much from it in delyvering it to Madame, save that I amplified it to her a little more, who drunk it downe with joy, and, with a lowe curtesie, acknowledged it to the Prince, adding that she was extreamly obliged to his Highnes, & wold thincke herself happie in the occasion that should be presented of meriting the place she had in his good graces.

After that, I turned my speech to the ould ladies that attended, and told them that sith y^e^ Queen was pleased to give me this liberty, it would be hensforth fitt for them to speake a suitable language; lett them know that his Highnes had her picture, w^ch^ he kept in his cabinet, & fedd his eyes many tymes withe y^e^ sight and contemplation of it, sith he could not have y^e^ happiness to behold her person; all whiche, & other such like speeches she, standing by, quicklye tooke up, without letting any one fall to y^e^ grownd. But I feare yo^r^ Lo^p^ will thincke I gather together too much, to enlarge my letter thus farre; but it is that by these circumstances yo^r^ Lo^p^ may make a perfecter judgement of the issue of o^r^ negotiation, w^ch^ I doubt not but will succeed to his Ma^tie's^, his Highnes', & yo^r^ Lo^p's^ contentment, and so yeild matter of triumph to yow, and infinite joy to me, your Lo^p's^ must humble, most obliged, & most obedient servant,

Paris, H. KENSINGTON."

Aug. 31, 1624, st^o^ n^o^

On the twenty-fourth of September following, Buckingham prevailed on the King to create him Earl of Holland; and here, as a remarkable specimen of the gross but indirect flattery which he could descend to use towards that generous and imprudent minion, let me insert one more of his epistles, written to James exactly a fortnight before the death of that Prince—

"S^r^, the malis of this Blainville is so great unto your worthye servant, my Lord Duke, as hee hath written a privat letter unto the Kinge, the which I saw by the favour of a frend, that he is in a condission of danger to bee ruined by the furye and power of the parliament; and to conferm him in that opinion, hath sent all the passages amongst them that consern my Lord Duke; adding to that, of great transactions against him at the Counsell Table, and naming som lords; the which makes mee see he hath intelligence with all those that hee beleeves may contribut any thinge towards the mischeving of him: but those that knowes the magnanimitie and nobleness of your Majestie's hart

knowes that so noble a vessell of honor and service as hee is shall never be in danger, for all the stormes that can threten him, when it is in your Ma'. hands not only to calm all theis tempests, but to make the sunnebeams of your favor to shine more cleerely upon his deservings than ever, the which upon this occasion your courage and vertue will no doubt ode, to the incoragement of all deserving and excellent servants, and to his honor and comfort that is the most worthye that ever prince had, and so affectionat that the world hath no greater admirasions then the fortunes that the master and servant hath runne together; and sertainly our good God will ever preserve that affection that in so many accidents, and one may say afflictions, hath preserved your person. S^{r}, this bouldnes that I take proseeds not from the least doubt these foolish rumors give me of changes, but out of a passionat meditasion of those axcidents that your courage and fortune hath carried you thorough, blessing God for your prosperitie, the which will be by his grace most glorious and lasting, accordinge unto the prayers of your Majestie's most humble and most obedient subject and servant,

Paris, $\frac{3}{13}$ March, 1625. HOLLANDE."

The accession of Charles, as it increased the influence of Buckingham, brought fresh honours and graces to the new Earl. He was appointed Groom of the Stole; on the thirteenth of December, in the first year of that Prince, was installed a Knight of the Garter, and joined to the Duke in an embassy to the United Provinces; and in 1627 had the command of the army of reserve on that nobleman's expedition to the Isle of Rhee. The murder of his great patron occurred in the following year, but he had secured a new friend in the young Queen, whom he had charmed during his stay in France by the elegance and sweetness of his manners and conversation. The death of Buckingham had left him at liberty to cultivate her favour without reserve, and, to please her, he now embarked, apparently for the first time, in political warfare, and distinguished himself by his bitterness against all

those whom she disliked, particularly the Lord Treasurer Weston. He seems to have somewhat given way at this period to an inclination for office in the State, but he obtained none. In 1629 he was appointed Governor of Harwich, and Landguard Fort; in the succeeding year, Constable of Windsor Castle, and Ranger of all its parks; and in 1632, Chief Justice in Eyre, south of Trent, an office in which he rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to all owners of estates in the vicinity of any of the royal forests.

In this state he remained, caressing and caressed, flattering and flattered, and with all the marks of a favourite but those inflicted by the malice with which that character is commonly pursued, till the breaking out of the war with Scotland in 1638, when the King named him to command the Horse of the army then marched into that country. Here he distinguished himself in the very outset of the contest, if it may be so called, only by a disgraceful retreat from an inferior force, which the enemy had collected at Dunce, on the border; and by a quarrel with the amiable Earl of Newcastle, and a refusal to meet that nobleman in single combat. Of the shameful and unfortunate pacification with the Scots which followed it is needless to say more than that it served but to increase their insolence, and it became necessary to raise a new army against them in the following year. Holland's commission however was not renewed; and now, whether on that ground, or from an enmity amounting to hatred towards the Earl of Strafford, or through the persuasion of his elder brother, the Earl of Warwick, who was among the first seceders from royalty in that unhappy time, or from all these motives together, he became suddenly a lukewarm courtier and a busy politician. He engaged in correspondence with the puritanical Scottish leaders; affected to sympathize with their tender consciences; and urged in Council a compliance with all their demands. Charles, whose foible it was to cherish overmuch his early friendships, beheld this change with regret, but without suspicion. He even appointed Holland one of his Commissioners to treat with the Scots at Ripon in the summer of 1640, and afterwards General-in-

chief of the forces lately raised, for the purpose of his superintending the disbanding of both armies: but the Queen, with the common frankness of feminine resentment, openly withdrew from him all favour and even courtesy, and thus he stood at that fatal epoch, the meeting of the Long Parliament.

On the King's arrival at York, on his way to Scotland, in the following autumn, Holland requested of him for one of his friends a grant of the title of Baron, and the refusal of that boon seems to have been the signal for his open abandonment of his bountiful master. He now addressed a letter to the Parliament, filled with mysterious and indistinct hints of an alleged plan by the King to gain over the soldiery implicitly to his interests, and it was received with the highest approbation. The disbanding, in consonance with the late treaty, of the two armies immediately followed, and, towards the end of September, he returned to his mansion at Kensington, still known by the name of Holland House, which became from that hour a chief resort of the factious and seditious of his own rank, to whom he treacherously disclosed the most confidential communications which he had from time to time received from the King and Queen. His disaffection arose soon after to such a height as to betray him into acts of personal disrespect and insolence. When the King, in January, 1642, removed with his family to Hampton Court, to avoid the popular celebration in London of the triumph of the five impeached members of the Commons, the Earl not only bluntly refused his accustomed duty of attendance, in his office of Groom of the Stole, but persuaded the Earl of Essex, who was Lord Chamberlain, to follow his example; and when the King, presently after, necessarily dismissed them, both Houses of Parliament agreed in a vote that "whosoever might accept of either of those offices should be reputed an enemy to his country." He now became a regular manager, on the part of those assemblies, of their intercourse with the King, to whom, on the fifteenth of July, 1642, not without arguing on the subjects of it, he presented that insolent petition which was in effect a declaration of war.

And at this period the war did in fact commence, and before the end of the first year of the long and awful contest which succeeded, Holland became weary of his new associates and occupations, and having, through the means of Lord Jermyn, established an indirect correspondence with the Queen, and recovered some share of her former good graces, suddenly presented himself in the King's garrison at Wallingford, and sent his offers of service to his Majesty then at Oxford. They were received, however, with more gravity. The King referred to the Privy Council the question whether he should be admitted, where it met with much opposition, but was at length determined in the affirmative. He came accordingly, but with no apparent consciousness of having offended; resumed with infinite ease all the airs of a courtier; became disgusted by encountering some degree of reserve, and at length mortally offended because he was not reinstated in his office of Groom of the Stole; and, after a very short stay at Oxford, took the advantage of a dark night, and, riding into the rebel quarters, again joined the Parliament. His reception, however, was not perfectly cordial. He was for a short time imprisoned, and during his confinement, attempted to make his peace by writing and publishing a declaration of his patriotic motives to the singular steps which he had lately taken, seasoned with reports of the King and his Council equally false and injurious.

He had now, however, lost all credit with the rebels, and was forced into retirement. He remained, unnoticed and forgotten, impatiently beholding from afar the gradual ruin of both the parties which he had alternately served and betrayed. One more opportunity to vacillate at length presented itself, and it was the last. In the spring of 1648, when the despair of the presbyterians, as well as of the royalists, suggested to them too late so many wild insurrections for the rescue of the King from the base hands into which he had fallen, Holland engaged the young Duke of Buckingham, and a few others of high rank, in a plan for a rising in Surrey. He received from the Prince of Wales a commission of General, and the Queen, who was at Paris, promised supplies

of money. Few endeavours were used to conceal the design, and, though the fruition of it had been long expected, it was prematurely executed. The Earl appeared in arms at Kingston-on-Thames, at the head of a small force, expecting to be joined by thousands, and on the following day, the seventh of July, was surrounded by a superior body of the rebel Horse and Foot, from which contriving to escape, with about an hundred cavalry, he fled, without resting, till he reached St. Neots, in Huntingdonshire, where he was seized and confined in Warwick Castle, and afterwards in the Tower of London. After an imprisonment of eight months, he was declared guilty of high treason by that detestable body which had named itself "the high court of justice," and his sentence referred to the House of Commons, where he was doomed to die by the casting vote of the Speaker, and, on the ninth of March, 1649, was beheaded in Palace Yard.

This unworthy nobleman, whose Lady has been already mentioned, left issue by her four sons, and five daughters. Robert, who succeeded to his titles, and afterwards to those of his uncle, the Earl of Warwick; Charles; Henry; and Cope. His daughters were Frances, married to William, fifth Lord Paget; Isabel, to Sir James Thynne, of Longleate, in Wilts; Susanna, to James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk of his family; Mary, to Sir John Campbell, afterwards created Earl of Breadalbin in Scotland; and Diana, who died unmarried. The titles of Earl of Warwick and Holland became extinct in this family by the death, in 1759, of Edward Rich, eighth Earl of Warwick, and fifth Earl of Holland, without male issue.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

GEORGE GORDON, MARQUIS OF HUNTLEY.

OB. 1649

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUGH.

London, Published Oct.r 1.1829, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East

GEORGE GORDON,

SECOND MARQUIS OF HUNTLY.

This nobleman was one of the many exalted persons whom a firm and honest attachment to the established government of their country had drawn from a splendid privacy to serve Charles the First in the field. He appears to have taken no concern in the political affairs of the time, nor to have possessed more than an ordinary share of the royal confidence or affection. The earlier part of his life had passed little distinguished from those of others of his eminent rank, and the latter affords few circumstances of rare occurrence in the history of a military leader, a character in which perfect fidelity to the cause which he serves, and untarnished honour in his conduct in that, and in all others, are necessarily supposed.

He was the eldest son of George, sixth Earl of Huntly, whom James the Sixth raised to the dignity of Marquis in 1599, by Henrietta, eldest daughter of Esme Stuart, Duke of Lenox. In his youth, but after his marriage, he had entered into the service of Louis the Thirteenth of France, in whose army he commanded, in 1624, a company, which I find designated the Scottish gens-d'armes, and which seems to have been in great measure formed by himself, since we are told that he carried with him from his own country, "a party of gallant young gentlemen, well appointed." He remained long in France, and, during his stay there, was created Viscount of Aboyne, with remainder, after his death, or succession to his father's titles, to his second son; nor did he

return to Scotland till the autumn of 1636, shortly after the death of his father. The unhappy contest on ecclesiastical questions which soon after produced the Scottish covenant and rebellion had then arisen to a formidable height, and the Marquis, on his arrival, instantly ranged himself with the defenders of the established church. At length, in the beginning of the year 1639, the covenanters appeared in arms under the command of David Lesley, whom they had elected their General, and Huntly flew to Aberdeen, and placed himself at the head of the citizens, who were already in array to oppose them. The great and excellent Earl of Montrose, who in the beginning of the troubles had attached himself to the malcontent party, was now despatched by Lesley to raise troops in that part of the country, and to attack the Marquis, who, on the appearance of Montrose's superior force, proposed to surrender the town under articles of capitulation, which were accepted. These, however, from motives now unknown, he revoked the next day; surrendered at discretion; and was led to Edinburgh, together with his heir, the Lord Gordon, and imprisoned in the castle; having suffered the mortification before his departure of seeing his second son, the Lord Aboyne, subscribe to the covenant.

The term of their imprisonment, which appears to have been intended rather as a proof of the power and resolution of the rebels than as a caution or punishment, little exceeded two months, and the Marquis on being released, retired into the country, where he remained, apparently unconcerned in public affairs, till the commencement of the year 1644, when, having received a commission from the King constituting him his Majesty's Lieutenant in the north of Scotland, he raised his vassals and tenants, and suddenly appeared again in arms. This demonstration seems to have excited much anxiety in the covenanters. A convention of the disaffected estates was called at Edinburgh, and the Marquis of Argyll was directed to raise three regiments with all practicable speed, and to attack Huntly, against whom, and several of his adherents, the assembly issued a

sentence of excommunication. Argyll performed his task with a spirit and expedition which enabled him to appear, even unexpectedly, with a superior force in the sight of the little army of Huntly, who immediately disbanded his men, and retired, "privately," as my authority expresses it, to Strathnaver, where he remained for some time with the Lord Reay. Huntly's conduct on this occasion did not escape without blame. One of his clan, the Laird of Haddo, an ancestor of the Earls of Aberdeen, and a chief perhaps more fierce than prudent, insisted that Argyll's attack ought to have been withstood; threw himself into his castle, with such soldiers as he could keep together; and defended it with great bravery, till he was put into the hands of the enemy by his own treacherous garrison.

In the mean time the Lord Gordon had exerted himself with even more than the usual ardour and generosity of his years. He had attached himself to the Marquis of Montrose, who, having quitted a party, the wickedness of whose designs had filled him with horror, was now firmly riveted to the royal cause. He joined Montrose, in February 1645, with many adherents, at the commencement of a series of victories gained by that nobleman over the covenanters, and, as well by his amiable manners and excellent talents as by his signal bravery, had acquired Montrose's perfect esteem, when, on the second of the following July, he fell, fighting by the side of his illustrious patron, in the battle of Alford. Between that great commander, however, and the Marquis of Huntly little cordiality seems to have subsisted. In the autumn of that year we find Huntly availing himself of the commission which, as has been stated, he had received from the King, in 1644, to thwart the measures and weaken the authority of Montrose, who, after long and fruitless endeavours to obtain his aid, was necessitated to leave him in inactivity, and to depend on his own resources. The conduct of Huntly on these occasions however otherwise blameable, was in no degree tinctured by disloyalty; for, it was immediately after this period, that Charles, having fatally put himself into the hands of the covenanters, was

compelled by them to command his faithful servants in Scotland to lay down their arms, an order which the Marquis refused to obey while the King was in the power of his rebellious subjects. Such indeed was the opinion held of his fidelity by the English Parliament, that in the propositions which were in the following year offered to his Majesty by commissioners from that assembly, Huntly's name was inserted among those whom he was required specially to except from pardon, and this was one of the articles which Charles positively rejected.

It is too well known that in the succeeding January the Scottish puritans sold their King, who had so lately put himself under their protection, for a sum of money to his English rebels. So monstrous a stroke paralysed, as might reasonably be expected, the efforts of his yet faithful friends. Among these, Huntly and his band were driven into the Highlands, and the Marquis, with a few of his relations, having retired to the northernmost part of that country, wrote to Lesley to request him to intercede for permission that they might remove themselves out of the kingdom. This boon was refused; his castles were plundered, and afterwards garrisoned by the rebels; and, having wandered for six months in a country the natural desolation of which had been heightened by the ravages of war, he was seized in Strathnaver, where he had for some weeks concealed himself, and led a prisoner to Edinburgh. Here the Committee of the Estates, as it was called, was then sitting, and the question was proposed without delay, whether he should be immediately put to death, or respited till the meeting of Parliament? The Marquis of Argyll, being his brother-in-law, had the decency to withdraw before the division, in which it was determined by a single voice that his life should be spared for the time. He remained a close prisoner from the month of December, 1647, till the sixteenth of March, 1649, when he was brought to a trial, and condemned to suffer death, and on the twenty-second of that month was beheaded at the market cross of Edinburgh.

This nobleman married Anne, eldest daughter of Archibald

Campbell, seventh Earl of Argyll, by whom he had five sons and as many daughters. George, his eldest son, fell, as has been already said, in the field of battle; the second, James, Viscount of Aboyne, died unmarried not long before his father; Lewis, the third son, succeeded to the titles of Marquis of Huntly, &c.; Charles, the fourth, was created Earl of Aboyne in 1660; and Henry passed his life in the military service of the King of Poland. Of the daughters, Anne was married to James Drummond, third Earl of Perth; Henrietta, first to George, Lord Seton, and, secondly, to John Stewart, second Earl of Traquair; Jane, to Thomas Hamilton, second Earl of Haddington; Mary, was wife of Alexander Irvine, of Drum; and Catherine, of Count Morstain, High Treasurer of Poland.

Engraved by W. J. Ryall

GEORGE, LORD GORING.

1645.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

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GEORGE, LORD GORING.

Sir George Goring, of Hurst Pierrepont, in Sussex, representative of a junior line of the respectable family of Goring which still maintains its importance in that county, was bred in the court, under the care of his father, one of Elizabeth's gentlemen pensioners, and was placed in the household of Henry Prince of Wales, by James the First, to whom, recommended equally by his sagacity and by a peculiar jocularity of humour, he became a familiar companion, and at length a sort of minor favourite. Buckingham, whose friendship he had gained by his bravery and politeness, prevailed on Charles the First to raise him to the peerage: in 1629 he was created Lord Goring of Hurst Pierrepont, and in 1645 was advanced to the title of Earl of Norwich, which had then lately become extinct by the death, without male issue, of his maternal uncle, Edward Denny, the first and last of his name by whom it had been borne. To this nobleman, by his wife Mary, daughter of Edward Nevile, Lord Bergavenny, the subject of the present memoir was heir apparent; and I have given this particular and somewhat lengthened account of the father in order to mark effectually that distinction of him from the son, a want of attention to which has betrayed almost all writers who have mentioned either, into error and confusion. Even Lord Clarendon is by no means free from this blame, and Granger, in the course of a few lines, more than once ascribes the actions of the one to the other. These mistakes were perhaps easy. Both bore the same names and title; flourished at the same time,

and in similar characters: both were courtiers, wits, warriors, and loyalists. It was in morals only that they differed, and the disadvantage lay on the side of the son.

Of the date of his birth, and of the place and mode of his education, no intelligence remains. It is indeed probable enough that his ardent and eccentric spirit broke through all those wholesome trammels by which youth are usually restrained. He married, when very young, Lettice, daughter of Richard Boyle, Earl of Corke; increased certain embarrassments under which he had before laboured; and left her, to fly from his creditors, within a year, as it should seem, after their nuptials. Lord Wentworth, afterwards the great Earl of Strafford, in a letter of the twentieth of May, 1633, to James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, says—"young Mr. Goring is gone to travel, having run himself out of eight thousand pounds, which he purposes to redeem by his frugality abroad, unless my Lord of Corke can be induced to put to his helping hand, which I have undertaken to solicit for him the best I can, and shall do it with all the power and care my credit and wit shall in any wise suggest unto me."

Soon after his arrival on the Continent, he determined to adopt a military life, not as a temporary volunteer, but in the regular profession of a soldier. Wentworth, in another letter to Carlisle, dated on the seventh of October, in the same year, writes—"Mr. Goring's business is settled reasonably well I hope, and my opinion is strong I shall be able to persuade the Earl of Cork to quit two thousand pounds my Lord Goring owes him, for so good a purpose as the procuring for his son-in-law my Lord Vere's regiment in the Low Countries; therefore my advice is, that it be put on as much and as speedily as may be." This matter was soon after successfully negotiated, for Mr. Garrard, the lively and incessant correspondent of Lord Wentworth, in a letter to that nobleman, of the sixth of the following December, says—"young Mr. Goring hath compounded with my Lord Vere for his colonel's place in the Low Countries. Twenty-two companies he hath under his command, and his troop of horse."

At the head of this force, which was afterwards augmented, he distinguished himself by the most determined bravery. How long he remained in the Low Countries is uncertain, but we are told also in the Strafford Letters, that he was at the famous siege of Breda, and received there a severe wound in October, 1637. From that period we have no intelligence of him till the spring of 1641, when we find him at home, in the office of governor of Portsmouth, then the strongest and best fortified place in the realm, and promoting a petition to the King from the officers of the army, tendering their services in the suppression of the insurrectionary tumults which were then daily occurring. To a draft of this singular and imprudent document Charles was persuaded to sign his initials, in token of approbation; and indeed there can be little doubt that the plan was originally adopted with his concurrence, and in concert with some of his most faithful servants. It was kept as secretly as might be, yet the popular leaders in both Houses were soon apprised of it. Mr. Pym disclosed it with much solemnity; a committee of the Commons was appointed to examine into the plot, as it was called; and they addressed the King to require that he would grant no passes to any of his servants to go into foreign parts. Some who had been most active in forwarding the measure immediately absented themselves, and were impeached of high treason; but Goring, who was a member, from some unknown motive, for he was a stranger to fear, voluntarily made a full disclosure, and even told the House that his advice had been to march the army to London, and to surprise the Tower, but that none of the petitioners would second his motion, and that the King had utterly disapproved of it. For this act of treachery, for such it was to one party or the other, he received the thanks of the House, accompanied by a declaration that he had "preserved the Kingdom, and the liberties of Parliament."

He now became for a time a great favourite with the republicans, and yet had the address to maintain no small degree of credit with the Court: before the end of the year, however, the

jealousy of the Commons was again awakened, and again laid asleep. In November, 1641, they called him before them to account for some alterations made by him in the garrison of Portsmouth which seemed to favour the royal cause. On the nineteenth of that month Sir Edward Nicholas says, in a letter to the King, "Colonel Goring is come up by command of the Commons, and suspected, for that it hath been informed that he hath fortified that garrison to the land, and put forth some old soldiers, and put in new, whereby your M. may see that every small matter ministers fear here amongst us:" and in another of the twenty-second, he tells the King—"Col. Goring gave the House of Commons good satisfaction Saturday last touching his fidelity and good affections, and was therefore dismissed." Goring possessed, it seems, a faculty of dissimulation so perfect and universal that it extended itself to his very looks and gestures. "He could help himself," says Lord Clarendon, "with all the insinuations of doubt, or fear, or shame, or simplicity, in his face, that might gain belief, to a greater degree than I ever saw any man; and could seem the most confounded when he was best prepared, and the most out of countenance when he was best resolved; and to want words, and the habit of speaking, when they flowed from no man with greater power." Thus he cajoled the popular party into a belief that they had reclaimed him to their views, while he was secretly corresponding with the King's friends, to whose cause he was, as seriously as he could be, attached. At length in July, 1642, he threw off the mask; refused to obey the orders of the Parliament; and openly declared that he held Portsmouth for the King. This was in fact the first event of the war, and it compelled Charles to set up his standard earlier than he intended, and before he was sufficiently prepared.

Portsmouth was presently besieged by sea and land, and surrendered, almost without defence, to the astonishment of those who thought they knew the governor's character. Goring made scarcely any condition but that he might be allowed to transport himself beyond the seas. He went, but returned in the summer

of 1644, when their wonder was increased by seeing him immediately appointed to command in Lincolnshire the Horse of the Marquis of Newcastle's army, with which he importantly assisted in forcing the rebels to raise the siege of York. He was soon after named to supersede the Lord Wilmot, between whom and himself a mortal jealousy and enmity subsisted, in the high station of General of the Horse of the royal army, now commanded by Prince Rupert, and joining the King in that character in Cornwall, marched with him into Wiltshire and Berkshire, and gained much credit by his gallantry in the second battle of Newbury. In the winter of the following year his father obtained the Earldom of Norwich, and from that period he used of course the title of Lord Goring, decorated with which, and with a commission of Lieutenant-General of Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, in which parts of the Kingdom he assumed to possess considerable influence, he led into the first of those counties, to little purpose, a powerful force, with which, after an ineffectual attempt to possess himself of the scarcely fortified town of Christchurch, he was obliged to retire, with some loss, to Salisbury. It was now discovered that he had none of the qualities of a commander but ambition and personal courage; and that his natural carelessness, and the licentious habits in which he was known to indulge, had already in no small degree infected his troops. "At Salisbury," Lord Clarendon tells us, "his Horse committed the same horrible outrages and barbarities as they had done in Hampshire, without distinction of friends or foes; so that those parts, which before were well devoted to the King, worried by oppression, wished for the access of any troops to redeem them."

It is in speaking of Lord Goring at this precise period that the same noble author digresses into one of those incomparable delineations which frequently suspend for a moment so gracefully the chain of his narration. He draws the following exquisite parallel between the characters of Wilmot and his successor Goring, from which, however little this memoir may have to do with the former, it would be impossible to withdraw the one

without weakening the force, and destroying the delicacy, with which the other is depicted—" Goring," says Lord Clarendon, " who was now General of the Horse, was not more gracious to Prince Rupert than Wilmot had been: had all the other's faults, and wanted his regularity, and preserving his respect with the officers. Wilmot loved debauchery, but shut it out from his business: never neglected that, and rarely miscarried in it. Goring had a much better understanding, and a sharper wit, a much keener courage, and presentness of mind in danger. Wilmot discerned it farther off, and because he could not behave himself so well in it, commonly prevented it, or warily declined it, and never drank when he was within distance of an enemy. Goring was not able to withstand the temptation when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a victory. Neither of them valued their promises, professions, or friendships, according to any rules of honour and integrity, but Wilmot violated them the less willingly, and never but for some great benefit or convenience to himself; Goring without scruple; out of humour, or for wit's sake; and loved no man so well but that he would cozen him, and then expose him to public mirth for having been cozened, therefore he had always fewer friends than the other, but more company, for no man had a wit that pleased the company better. The ambition of both was unlimited, and so equally incapable of being contented, and both unrestrained by any respect to good nature or justice from pursuing the satisfaction thereof; yet Wilmot had more scruples from religion to startle him, and would not have attained his end by any gross or foul act of wickedness: Goring could have passed through those pleasantly, and would without hesitation have broken any trust, or done any act of treachery, to have satisfied an ordinary passion or appetite, and, in truth, wanted nothing but industry (for he had wit, and courage, and understanding, and ambition, uncontrouled by any fear of God or man) to have been as eminent and successful in the highest attempt of wickedness as any man in the age he lived in, or before. Of all his qualifications dissimulation was his master-

piece, in which he so much excelled, that men were not ordinarily ashamed, or out of countenance, with being deceived but twice by him." It may be matter of reasonable surprise that a Prince of Charles's character should have employed, nay deeply trusted, such a servant. The truth is that Lord Digby, who was secretary of State, and who, though himself of loose principles, possessed considerable influence, had become attached to him, and determined to forward his views.

Goring marched from Salisbury to dispossess the rebels of Weymouth, at the head of three thousand horse, and fifteen hundred foot. This post, which was of great importance, was already on the point of surrendering to the few royalist troops which were then in the neighbourhood, yet he suffered it to be retaken by the garrison, which had been driven into the suburbs before his arrival. He retired from thence into Somersetshire, and remained long in the west, inactive, except in two or three gallant nightly attacks on the quarters of Sir William Waller, to whom, as it should seem, he ought to have given battle. At length he received orders at Wells from the Prince of Wales, who was now at Bristol, invested with the nominal command of the royal armies, to detach his infantry and artillery to reduce Taunton, and to take the command of that enterprise, or to remain with his Horse, as he might think fit. He would chuse neither, but requested leave to go to Bath for the benefit of his health, and went thither, affecting to be full of chagrin, and making heavy complaints of ill usage: his object, however, was to be near the Prince: he had been for some time intriguing, with the aid of his friend Digby, to obtain the commission of Lieutenant-General under his Royal Highness, not alone for the gratification of his ambition, but to avoid the being engaged in any service jointly with Prince Rupert, who on his part, from a jealousy of the credit which Goring's talents were gradually gaining with the King, was not less desirous of forwarding any plan which might remove him from among Charles's military counsellors. An object thus sought by enemies as well as friends could scarcely fail of attainment. On the tenth

of May, 1645, the King wrote to the Prince, directing that Goring should be admitted to exercise all the functions and privileges of one of his established Council; that all military commissions should be granted by him; and that the Prince should give him no orders so binding as to preclude him from using his own discretion, as circumstances might seem in his opinion to require: thus invested with almost absolute military powers, Goring was presently after again sent into the western counties.

The circumstances of this his last campaign in the civil war present an almost unvaried tissue of misfortune and misconduct. The dismay and confusion in which the King, and those immediately about him, became involved by the fatal issue of the battle of Naseby, which happened almost immediately after Goring had received this new appointment, left him in a manner without controul, and he gave way unreservedly to all the extravagances of his nature. The authority which he had obtained seemed worthless to him merely because the title of Lieutenant-General to the Prince had not been annexed to it; and the state of independence in which he had been placed of his Royal Highness and his council, answered no end but to make them the objects of his insolence and derision. He compelled the rebels to raise the siege of Taunton, attacked them on their retreat with much gallantry and effect, and rendered those services abortive by the gross errors into which he fell immediately after. He suffered, through mere negligence, a detachment of his Horse, amounting to more than a thousand, to be surprised by the rebels in the neighbourhood of that town; and on the following day was unexpectedly attacked at the head of his main force by Fairfax, routed, and driven disgracefully into Bridgewater. He slighted the King's positive order that he should march, with the remains of his Horse, to Oxford, and from thence to join his Majesty near Newark, and, while in the very commission of this act of disobedience, pressed the Prince with arrogant and indecent importunities to enlarge the faculties, already too extensive, which had been lately placed in his hands, and was refused. Finding him-

self at length a General without an army; a public servant without confidence; and an object of universal disgust in a country which had suffered more from the rapine of his troops than from the enemy: he suddenly asked the Prince's permission to visit France for a time; transported himself thither before he had obtained it; and never returned: leaving behind him a character known to be of little worth, and strongly suspected of infidelity to the cause in which he had been engaged.

Lord Goring left England in November, 1645, from which period few particulars of him have been preserved. After having passed some time in France, he went into the Netherlands, where he obtained a commission of Lieutenant-General in the Spanish army. He afterwards, as Dugdale informs us, served in the same rank in Spain, under a commander named Don John de Silva, whom, finding him to have been corrupted by Cardinal Mazarine, he seized at the head of his troops, and sent prisoner to Madrid, where he was soon after put to death for that treason. We learn from the same authority, that Goring closed his irregular life in that country in the character of a Dominican friar. He left no issue, and his father, surviving him till 1662, was succeeded by his second son Charles, in whom the titles of Earl of Norwich and Baron Goring became extinct.

JAMES GRAHAM, MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

OB. 1650.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MONTROSE.

JAMES GRAHAM,

FIRST MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

James, fifth Earl of Montrose, a nobleman whose admirable heroism and loyalty at once threw the highest blaze of splendor on his many other great qualities, and left his faults, if he had any, in total shadow, was the only son of John, the fourth Earl, President of the Session in Scotland, by Margaret, daughter of William Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie. He was born in 1612, and having received the best education that his country could give, passed several of the early years of his maturity in France, where he became passionately attached to the military profession, and accepted a commission of Captain in the royal guard of Louis the Thirteenth. At length, in 1637, he visited the Court of his master, invited, as is said, by the Marquis of Hamilton; but Charles, for some cause now unknown, conceived a distaste to him, and he presently retired, mortified and enraged, into Scotland, where he attached himself to the covenanting malcontents. It may be reasonably conjectured that Hamilton himself, who possessed a great influence over the mind of the King, and who, with a temper much inclined to jealousy and envy, possessed all the refined arts of a courtier, had infused this disgust, since from that period Montrose held him in a bitter enmity, for the origin of which no cause has been assigned.

The purity and nobleness of his heart soon withdrew him from

a party which had deceived him for a time by the warmth of its professions, and the reasonableness and simplicity of its declared views. Though mere anger had induced him to embark with the covenanters, he became a sincere convert to their pretended principles, and his unaffected zeal, joined to their observation of his great qualifications, and their knowledge of his personal influence in the country, induced them to receive him into their secret councils. He now discovered that their latent design was to overthrow the monarchy, and, abandoning his private resentments, resolved to oppose it to his utmost; engaged in the royal cause such of the nobility as he could trust; and laid a plan to carry over to the King a force of two thousand foot and five hundred horse, which the covenanters, when they appeared in arms in the spring of 1639, had intrusted to his command. A treaty, however, soon after ensued, during which he found means to convey to the King an earnest proffer of his services, in a letter which, as afterwards appeared, was purloined from his Majesty's person by an attendant who transmitted it to the covenanters. It is needless to say that he was now held by them in fear and abhorrence, but as their resistance had commenced, according to the cautious custom of rebellions, with professions of attachment to the person of the King, they were withheld for a time from prosecuting one whose only crime was loyalty. Montrose, on his part, well aware of their discovery, but regardless of their vengeance, availed himself of the opportunity of the truce, to institute, with several of the first men in the country, a sort of counter covenant, by which they vowed to defend the Crown, and its lawful prerogatives, against all enemies, foreign or domestic. This was not to be endured. He was seized, on an indirect charge of having conspired against the religion and government of Scotland, and imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh; on the meeting of the Parliament, which was then just at hand, he earnestly solicited a trial by his peers, but the request was evaded; and when the King left Scotland in 1641 was set at liberty.

Shortly after that period the Scots, as is well known, resolved

to march their army into England, to the aid of the Parliament. With that narrow policy, and ignorance of noble spirit, which almost always belong to those who combine for wicked purposes, they now addressed themselves to Montrose's ambition, and love of military distinction, and offered to him the appointment of Lieutenant General of their forces, with concessions of power and profit never before attached to that station. He returned no answer, but immediately passed into England, and met the Queen, on her arrival at Burlington, from Holland, whom he earnestly besought to move her royal consort instantly to raise an army in Scotland. Henrietta Maria listened with pleasure and approbation to his arguments, when the persuasions of the Marquis of Hamilton, who immediately after appeared to congratulate her on her arrival, awakened her fears, and chilled her resolution. That nobleman, by a strange error, at least in judgment, seems to have been equally attached to the King and to the covenant; and Montrose, perhaps somewhat prejudiced, had from the commencement of the disorders in Scotland anticipated the most fatal consequences from his counsels. He had indeed, with the usual openness of his nature, denounced Hamilton and Argyll to the King as traitors, and, in one of the few interviews which he had in Scotland with Charles, "offered," says Lord Clarendon, "to make proof of their treasons in the Parliament, but rather desired to have them both made away, which he frankly undertook to do; but the King, abhorring that expedient, though for his own security, advised that the proofs might be prepared for the Parliament." Let not Montrose be branded with the name of assassin for this proposal. Inveterate national habit extenuates, though it cannot sanction crime, and they who are moderately read in the history of Scotland well know that an attack on the life of an enemy, if made in the form of military enterprize, incurred not at that time either the appellation or the odium of murder. Montrose prepared his proofs, but Charles durst not institute the enquiry, and was soon after

compelled, by means which it is not to our present purpose to state, to create Hamilton a Duke, and Argyll a Marquis.

In the mean time the Parliament of Scotland having taken on itself to sit without the King's authority, and in spite of his prorogations, Montrose and his friends refused to appear in it, unless Hamilton, who held the great office of High Commissioner, would pledge his honour to oppose, should it become necessary, the evils which it was known to meditate, even with force of arms. Hamilton refused, and Montrose retired to his country seat, with the air of a man to whom public affairs had become indifferent. It was now rumoured that he had received some cause of disgust from the King, as well as from Hamilton, and the covenanters once more thought to allure him to their interest by the most magnificent offers. He affected to listen with complacency; received with courtesy Alexander Henderson, a person not less admired by them as a preacher than trusted as a counsellor, whom they had deputed to treat with him; and, having artfully contrived to obtain from that minister, subtle as he was, an explicit declaration of the most secret designs of the party, flew with his intelligence to the King, who was then besieging Gloucester in person. From this indubitable authority he demonstrated to Charles that the covenanters had now bound themselves by the strictest ties to the English rebels, and besought his instant permission to levy in Scotland in his name an army formidable enough to furnish them with employment at home. He reiterated his former charges against Hamilton and Argyll. Charles gave way to all his representations. Hamilton was soon after arrested; Montrose was empowered to raise troops in his own country, whither the Earl of Antrim undertook to send a force from Ireland to serve as the foundation of his army; and in the autumn of 1643 he set out towards Scotland, dignified with the new title of Marquis.

With the aid of a small party furnished by the Marquis of Newcastle, who commanded for the King in the north of England,

he set up the royal standard at Dumfries, but was presently obliged to retreat to Carlisle, where finding no means which might enable him to carry on active operations, he resolved to return at all events into Scotland. The outset of his journey was completely chivalrous. He left Carlisle, attended by a number of his friends, who had determined to share the fortune of his hazardous expedition; but having reflected that so numerous an escort would be ill-suited to the secrecy which he was anxious to maintain, he determined to quit them silently on the road. Accordingly, when arrived near the border he withdrew himself in the night, not only, says Lord Clarendon, quite alone, but on foot, and so, with equal address and fatigue, passed through the whole country in the hands of the enemy, and reached the Highlands in safety. Here he lay quietly for many weeks, till the arrival of the Irish, consisting only of fifteen hundred, whom he met, still on foot, and in the habit of a peasant, in Athol, a province entirely devoted to him. On the following day he found himself at the head of between two and three thousand undisciplined men, and instantly attacked the enemy, whose force in that part of the country consisted of thrice his number.

The series of conquests which now rewarded his loyal and generous exertions affords one of the finest instances extant of the prodigies which may, I had almost said must, be wrought by an enthusiastic fidelity in a leader to the cause for which he fights — a sentiment which with electric certainty and rapidity communicates its mysterious warmth through thousands who never could be taught to comprehend its motives. Montrose thus fascinated his handful of almost unarmed men, to more than the half of whom he was an utter stranger. On the third of September, 1644, he gained a complete victory, called the battle of Tippermoor, over the forces of the covenanters, commanded by Lord Elcho, in the neighbourhood of Perth. Having reduced the town of that name, he marched to Dundee, which also surrendered to him. Joined there by some powerful men of the country, the rebel government, already seriously alarmed, issued

a commission to the Marquis of Argyll to raise an army with all expedition. Montrose, in the mean time, flew through the shire of Angus to Aberdeen, strengthening as he went, and being met near that town by the rallied remains of the troops which he had lately vanquished, reinforced by the clans of Fraser and Forbes, gave them battle, and totally routed them. The gallantry of the soldier now gave place to the caution and dexterity of the experienced general. He called in his scattered posts, and retreated with great skill before the increasing force of Argyll, who, soon weary of a fruitless pursuit, and apprehensive of an attack on his own domains, resigned his command to Sir John Urry, and shut himself up with a strong garrison in his castle of Inverary. Such were the events of the first month after Montrose had appeared in arms.

He kept the field during the whole of the winter, increasing his numbers, and laying waste, as had been anticipated, the Campbell country: in the mean time the rebel Parliament met at Edinburgh, and in the month of January passed against him an act of forfeiture and degradation, and seized his estates accordingly. Argyll at length again appeared, at the head of a powerful body, and the army under the command of Urry advancing towards him on the other side, Montrose, in danger of being hemmed in, resolved to attack the former, and after a forced march, which occupied the whole of a night, totally overthrew Argyll, near Inverness, on the second of February, with great slaughter, the Marquis himself escaping alone, and with difficulty, in a boat which he found on the neighbouring river. He now marched southward, and obtained considerable reinforcements; was busily engaged in a correspondence with the King, who had about this time formed a resolution to join Montrose in Scotland with his army; and on the unfortunate abandonment of that plan, again sought the enemy. On the fourth of May, 1645, he completely routed the troops under the command of Urry, and, on the second of July, gained a signal victory over a select and very powerful force, led by Colonel Baillie, a distinguished officer, from whose skill and courage the covenanters had anticipated the most ample

success. These actions received the names of the battles of Old Earn, and of Alford.

The rebel government, now seriously alarmed, issued a proclamation for the raising within ten days a new array of ten thousand, which was promptly obeyed. Montrose as instantly advanced to meet them, but they refused at first to accept his challenge. At length on the fifteenth of August he attacked them with the greatest fury, and, after a most unequal contest, his troops not exceeding the number of five thousand, gained the most glorious of his victories in the battle of Kilsyth, in which six thousand of the enemy were slain. Submissions and addresses now poured in on him from all quarters. He took possession of the capital, and released the loyal nobility who were imprisoned there, many of whom were under sentence of death, while Argyll, and several others of the chief leaders of the rebels, fled to Berwick, and other places in the north of England, to await the final event of these wonders. He was in fact now master of the kingdom, and at this juncture received from the forlorn Charles a commission constituting him Captain General and Governor of Scotland, with powers almost unlimited, which he caused to be proclaimed in Edinburgh, Stirling, Linlithgow, and Glasgow, and immediately summoned a parliament to meet in the last of those towns on the twentieth of the following October.

An unhappy reverse, however, was at hand. Several powerful noblemen, who though known to side with the covenanters had not engaged actively in the war, now joined his standard, with earnest protestations of assistance and fidelity. Even those who stood aloof sent their congratulations on his successes, and professed to court a pacification. They pressed him earnestly to march his army southward, and offered to place their broken forces under his orders. Montrose was hesitating between his doubts of their sincerity and his unwillingness to suspect such exalted persons of rank treachery, when a messenger arrived from the King, ordering him to hasten to the Tweed, and to embrace the proffered accord, and promising to secure him from

all danger by a powerful reinforcement. The Marquis obeyed' and the traitors on hearing that he was in motion, dispatched an express to the General who commanded their army in England, the famous David Leslie, requiring him instantly to march circuitously into the heart of Scotland; to cut off the retreat of Montrose to the Highlands; and to force him into an action. The Marquis, on receiving an imperfect report of Leslie's unexpected motion, resolved to retrace his steps, but it was too late. Leslie, at the head of troops comparatively veteran, and abounding in horse, with which Montrose had always been but indifferently furnished, attacked him suddenly at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, and gained a complete victory.

Montrose, whose spirit was utterly invincible, instantly applied his attention to the recruiting his shattered army. He retired to the Highlands, and presently raised a numerous but irregular force. In the mean time the covenanters wreaked a dreadful vengeance on such of his friends as the fortune of war had thrown into their hands; most of the nobility who had of late joined him withdrew to their homes; and the powerful Marquis of Huntly, who, though sincerely attached to the royal cause, held him in an incurable jealousy, not only refused to co-operate with him, but even actively thwarted his plans. Amidst these formidable impediments he marched to Glasgow, to shew at least his readiness to keep his engagement of holding a Parliament in that city, which was then in the hands of the rebels. Unprovided of the means to drive them from it, he sought in vain for several days to tempt them to sally forth, and to give him battle. The winter was now far advanced, and he was in no condition to commence offensive operations; Charles had engaged in an indirect and worse than useless treaty with the covenanters; and Montrose retired for a time to await the event, and to prepare himself for any kind of service that the royal cause might require.

Early in the spring of 1646 that unhappy Prince became a voluntary prisoner to his Scottish rebels. Among the first concessions which they demanded of him was the disbanding of

Montrose's army, and the Marquis presently received his command to that effect. Montrose hesitated. He found means of opening a private communication with the King, proposing to disobey the order, should it appear to have been unduly extorted from him. Charles repeated the command, accompanying it by a secret letter in which he stated to Montrose the reasons which seemed to him to render it necessary. The Marquis still paused, and at length a third messenger arrived, not only charging him, under pain of high treason, to disband, but also to transport himself to France before the first of September. He now submitted; took a pathetic leave of his troops; and on the third of that month, hastily and in disguise, embarked in a small vessel of Norway, and was landed at Bergen, from whence he soon after sailed for France. At Paris he found little encouragement, and abundant cause for disgust. The Queen of England, who had retired thither, received him with coldness. Henrietta Maria, not liberal in her prosperity, was now more than ever inclined to make new friends than to acknowledge past services; and Montrose, who had brought with him many whom he loved, with little to support them, perhaps expected from her supplies which she was unable to grant. Cardinal Mazarin, to whom he applied to raise an army to serve for Charles in Scotland, entertained his request with a caution and ambiguity intolerable to the warmth and generosity of his nature. He removed into Germany, and, soon after the murder of the King his master, received an invitation from Charles the Second to join him at the Hague, where he found two parties of his countrymen, the Commissioners of the Kirk, who came to bargain with the young King for his admission on their terms into Scotland, and the more moderate covenanters, headed by the Duke of Hamilton; enemies to each other, and agreeing only in their mutual aversion to himself, and in a settled resolution to avoid all intercourse with him.

Amidst these impediments to any service that he might have hoped to render to the King near his person, he gladly availed himself of the sanction of a commission which he had not long

before received from Charles, authorising him to treat with some of the northern Potentates for the raising troops in their dominions, to serve under his command in Scotland. He now passed with that view into Germany; commenced his negotiations; and appointed Hamburgh as the rendezvous for his expected levies. The project however proved nearly abortive. At the end of some months his numbers very little exceeded five hundred men, whom he had obtained from the Duke of Holstein, and with these, pressed by the repeated solicitations of his friends in the Highlands, he determined to prosecute his enterprise. He embarked them in the depth of the winter of 1650, and, speedily following, landed on the Isles of Orkney, and, crossing into Caithness, lodged his troops, with their necessaries, in an old castle, from whence he issued a spirited, but moderate declaration, and presently received communications from many of the neighbouring chiefs, requesting him to advance further into the country, and engaging to bring large reinforcements. He now hoisted his standard, whereon he had caused to be painted the portrait of his murdered master, with the motto "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord." The rebel Parliament, then sitting at Edinburgh, and wholly swayed by his mortal enemy the Marquis of Argyll, had speedy notice of his arrival. Colonel Strachan, a favourite officer, was instantly dispatched to meet him, with a choice party of cavalry; and such was the dread of the hero, that Leslie himself within a few days followed with a formidable force. Montrose had marched forward, with his usual ardour, and, being wholly without horse, gained no intelligence of the approach of the enemy till he was almost in sight. His promised aids, some from fear, others from treachery, had wholly failed him. Indeed a body of fifteen hundred, under the Earl of Sutherland, which was advancing to support him, joined Strachan on his march. The straggling Highlanders whom he had incorporated fled without waiting for the attack, and Montrose, left only with his few foreigners, was in a moment overwhelmed by Strachan's horse. Having barely gained time to throw away

the ribband and George which he had lately received from the King, and to change dresses with a peasant, he gained on foot the house of a country gentleman in his confidence, who engaged to conceal him.

It has been almost generally asserted that he was betrayed to the enemy by his host, Macleod, Laird of Assyn, whose name I mention because some writers have incautiously cast a groundless blemish on another of the greatest purity by calling him "the Lord Aston." Montrose was a prisoner before the arrival of Leslie, to whom he was delivered, and who led him in triumph with brutal insolence, not suffering him to change the mean garb in which he was seized, to Edinburgh. The Parliament before his arrival there had passed its sentence on him, which I insert in the words of a very respectable historian, who gives it from the original, lest the ordinary narration of a proceeding so horribly blackened by a mean and savage malice might be suspected of exaggeration. The report of the committee employed to form it was "that so soon as he should come to town, he should be met at the Water Gate by the magistrates and hangman; that he should be tied with cords upon a chair, bare-headed, and the hangman to ride upon the horse that drew the cart, covered, before him; and so be brought through the town to the Tolbooth, from whence he should be carried to the Cross of Edinburgh, and hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, with his declaration about his neck; and so hang three hours in public view; after which he should be beheaded and quartered; his head to be fixed upon the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and his legs and arms over the gates of Aberdeen, Perth, Stirling, and Glasgow; and, in case he repented, and was absolved of the sentence of excommunication, his body should be buried in the Grey Friars; if not, to be buried in the Borrowmuir."

It was thought fit however to add yet another feature to the barbarous triumph before its consummation. He was brought before the Parliament, to be insulted by the Chancellor Loudon, and to hear his sentence read. Here, as indeed throughout his

whole life, he displayed an almost supernatural magnanimity. Being allowed to address the assembly, he commenced a short justificatory speech, in which it was difficult to say whether the language of an elegant scholar, the politeness of a finished gentleman, or the firmness of a soldier, shone most conspicuously, by telling them that, "since the King had so far owned them as to treat with them, he had appeared before them with reverence, and bare-headed, which otherwise he would not have done." He was then informed that on the morrow he should suffer death, and the whole sentence, even with some aggravations, was accordingly executed on the twenty-first of May, 1650. Such was the vengeance of those who blasphemously professed to fight, and to judge as well as to preach, in the name of King Jesus.

Lord Clarendon alone has left us any insight, and that but superficially, into the private character of this celebrated nobleman. "Montrose," says he, "was in his nature fearless of danger, and never declined any enterprise for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected those which seemed desperate to other men, and did believe somewhat to be in himself above other men, which made him live more easily towards those who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him (towards whom he exercised wonderful civility and generosity) than with his superiors or equals. He was naturally jealous, and suspected those who did not concur with him in the way not to mean so well as he. He was not without vanity, but his virtues were much superior, and he well deserved to have his memory preserved and celebrated amongst the most illustrious persons of the age in which he lived." It may be truly added that he possessed an elegant genius; spoke eloquently, and wrote with a graceful and perspicuous turn of expression. A few of his small poetical pieces have been preserved, but the choicest relic of his muse is enshrined in those exquisite lines which he wrote on hearing of the murder of Charles, into which he may be said to have transferred the force, the keenness, and the polish, of the sword with which we are told they were written. They are well

known, but no apology will be necessary for once more recording them.

"Great, good, and just, could I but rate
My griefs, and thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world to such a strain
As it should deluge once again.
But, since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies
More from Briarius' hands than Argus' eyes,
I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet's sounds,
And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds."

The Marquis of Montrose married Magdalen, sixth daughter of David Carnegy, first Earl of Southesk, by whom he had two sons. The elder, whose name is unknown, died in 1645, in the sixteenth year of his age; and the younger, James, succeeded to his father's dignities. From him the present Duke of Montrose is lineally descended.

Engraved by W Holl

PHILIP HERBERT, EARL OF PEMBROKE & MONTGOMERY.

OB. 1650.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE R^T HON^BLE THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

Published June 1st 1836, by Harding

PHILIP HERBERT,

EARL OF PEMBROKE, AND FIRST EARL OF MONTGOMERY.

This very singular and eccentric person, for we will not call him nobleman, as he thought fit to divest himself of that dignity, as well as all claim to it in its more general sense, was the second of the two sons of Henry, fourth Earl of Pembroke of his surname, by his third Lady, Mary, the amiable and accomplished daughter of Sir Henry, and sister of Sir Philip, Sidney.

Of the sort of education bestowed on a son of parents in every way so exalted there can be no doubt, but we have no particulars of it, save that it was concluded at New College in Oxford: all else that is certain is that he derived no profit from it, for Anthony Wood tells us that "he was so illiterate that he could scarcely write his name." His high rank, and probably a restlessness of temper for which he was ever remarkable, brought him to Elizabeth's court at a time of life uncommonly early. That agreeable newsmonger Rowland White, in a letter to Sir Robert Sidney, of the nineteenth of April, 1597, calls him "little Mr. Philip Harbert;" and in another, of the twenty-sixth of the same month, in the year 1600, written from the court, says "Mr. Philip Harbert is here, and one of the forwardest courtiers that ever I saw in my time, for he had not been here two houres but he grew as bold as the best." His chief anxiety at this time seems to have been, naturally enough, to get a wife, and in each of those letters different ladies are mentioned to whom he was then a suitor; one of them the heir of his kinsman, Sir William Herbert of Monmouth-

shire, the other of Sir Arthur Gorges, but both those enterprises failed.

Presently however after the accession of James this inclination was fully gratified, and by a very splendid alliance. He married on the twenty-seventh of December, 1604, Susan, daughter of Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, and their nuptials were celebrated with an expense and magnificence almost unparalleled in the annals of courtly extravagance. Sir Thomas Edmonds, recounting several particulars of them, on the following day, in a letter to Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, one of whose daughters was married to Philip's elder brother, William Earl of Pembroke, says "the charge of the gloves and garters given were esteemed to amownt to well near a thousand powndes; his graunte is passed unto him for his twelve hundred pound land, and it is expected that 'erre it be long, the King will also bestowe some dignitie on him." Sir Dudley Carleton too, in a letter, nearly of the same date, detailing at large an abundance of circumstances which attended the marriage, some of which it would be improper as well as unnecessary, to repeat here, tells him that "the presents of plate, and other things given by the noblemen, were valued at two thousand five hundred pounds; but that which made it a good marriage was a gift of the King's of five hundred pounds" (p^{r} ann.) "land, for the bride's joynture:" and Rowland White again, on the fourth of February, writes to Lord Shrewsbury—"Mr. Sandford and myself have dispatched the great gifte his Ma^{te} bestowed upon hym, and we doe yeld him a very good account of our labour, for he hath two brave seates in Kent and Wiltshire." Indeed all the private correspondence of the nobility at that precise period abounds with such recitals.

Such circumstances in the story of a mere youth, a younger brother, of no fame nor attainments, might seem singular, but the fact was that he possessed singular beauty of countenance and person, in the knowledge and practice of all the little fopperies and artifices that could contribute to the adornment of which he excelled. It has been again and again repeated that such qualifica-

tions were irresistibly attractive of James's regard, and on these precious pretensions Philip Herbert, whom he presently knighted, gained his favour almost in the hour of the arrival of that Prince in London. "The young worthy Sir Phillip," says Mr. White, in the letter last quoted, "growes great in his Majestie's favor, and carries it without envy; for he is very humble to the greate Lords.; is desirous to doe all men good; and hurtes no man." Doubtless he spared no pains till this period, and for some time after, to disguise his real character, and of this, for he abounded in cunning, he was fully capable. The truth is that his mind and heart were wholly without principle, as well as without any amiable affections; that his temper was furious, almost to madness, and that he was withal a notorious coward. Osborne, a bitter memoir writer of the time, to whom he was well known, tells us that he was "intolerable choleric and offensive, and did not refrain to break many wiser heads than his own." His perpetual quarrels with persons of distinction were at once the amusement and disgrace of the Court, in one of which, at a horse-race at Croydon, Ramsay, a Scot, who was afterwards created Earl of Holderness, chastised him personally with impunity in the presence of thousands: such was the man whom James on his arrival in England first chose as his favourite, and called to his Privy Council; and on whom, in addition to the great pecuniary bounties just now mentioned, he conferred, on the fourth of May, 1605, the dignities of Baron Herbert, of Shurland, in the Isle of Sheppey, and Earl of Montgomery, and shortly after, the Order of the Garter.

Charles the First, one of whose few foibles was to cherish, without due discrimination, a kindness for those whom his father had distinguished, placed this unworthy man in the high station of Lord Chamberlain of his household, and appointed him Warden of the Stanneries, in both which offices he grossly misconducted himself. In the one, to give an instance from many of his brutal intemperance, he is recorded to have beaten Thomas May, a well-known literary character of the time, with his Chamberlain's staff, in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall: and in the other, to have

driven the people of Devon and Cornwall nearly to insurrection by the tyrannies and exactions with which he tormented them. His shameful irregularities, according to a sort of charity not unfrequent in judging of the conduct of the great, were considered for some years as foibles and eccentricities, but the time soon arrived in which he was to give the last finish to his absurdities by assuming the character of a statesman and an orator, and to crown his faults by the addition of the basest ingratitude. In May, 1641, on the very eve, if it might not be said already to exist, of the grand rebellion, he quarrelled violently in the House of Peers with the Lord Mowbray, eldest son of the Earl of Arundel, and some blows, or menaces of blows, passed. They were committed the next day to the Tower, under the authority of the House; and Charles, at length weary and ashamed of longer countenancing so unworthy a servant, availed himself of an opportunity so favourable, and deprived him of his staff.

From that hour he ranged himself with the most bitter enemies of the Crown, to whom the importance conferred on him by the noble estates to which he had a few years before succeeded, together with the Earldom of Pembroke, on the death of his accomplished elder brother, rendered him a welcome acquisition. Fully conscious however of his inability to furnish any other means of aid to their detestable cause, as well as of the dangers which might be incurred to it by the well known folly and fury of his conduct, they admitted him into no degree of their confidence, and employed him only in the company, and under the observation, of trusty persons. Thus he was a commissioner, with several other of the malcontent Lords whom the King was obliged to name, for the treaty with the Scottish rebels at Ripon in 1640; and again, in the spring of 1642, one of the Committee appointed by both houses to present their outrageous declaration of that time to his Majesty at Newmarket. On that occasion the indecent importunity with which he pressed the King to abandon for a time to the Parliament the control of the militia, drew from his mild and bounteous master an expression which perhaps

never before fell from his lips—"No," said Charles, "by God! not for an hour. You have asked that of me in this was never asked of a King, and with which I would not trust my wife and children." When the King, after the battle of Edgehill, alarmed the Parliament by marching to the neighbourhood of London, this Earl was sent to him, with several members of each House, to make that sham overture of peace which ended in the ineffectual negociation at Oxford, in January, 1643, where also he was one of the commissioners, as well as in that of Uxbridge in the following year.

On the death in 1630 of his elder brother, William, Earl of Pembroke, who had held that dignified office, he had been, strangely enough, chosen Chancellor of the University of Oxford; into which he now used, but, to the honour of that great body, almost wholly without effect, his utmost influence to introduce the fanatical and republican principles which he had lately assumed. He was a frequent speaker in Parliament, and disgraced even the cause in which he had embarked by the intemperate absurdities which he uttered there; and was mean and impudent enough to print from time to time as his speeches the compositions of others, many of which are still to be met with. Thus he pursued his wayward course till the final abolition of the dwindled legislative body to which he had long been an incumbrance, and at length concluded it by accepting, on the sixteenth of April, 1649, a seat, as representative for the county of Berks, in Oliver Cromwell's spurious House of Commons. He died on the twenty-third of January in the succeeding year.

This strange and bad man, as might be expected, was the constant object not only of the mixed hatred and contempt of the more zealous Cavaliers, but of the keen satire and ridicule which many of them were so capable of bestowing on him. From a multitude of such of their lampoons as are still extant, I venture to insert the following, not only for the sake of some strokes which it exhibits of genuine humour, but because the hints which it furnishes of his character tend to justify much that has been

related of him. It was printed in 1650, and is reported to have been written by Samuel Butler—

"I, Philip, late Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, now Knight for the County of Berks, being, as I am told, very weak in body, but of perfect memory (for I remember this time five years I gave the casting voyce to dispatch old Canterbury; and this time two yeares I voted no addresse to my master; and this time twelvemonth saw him brought to the block) yet, because death doth threaten and stare upon me, who have still obeyed all those that threatened me, I now make my last Will and Testament.

"Imprimis, for my soule: I confesse I have heard very much of souls, but what they are, or whom they are for, God knowes I know not. They tell me now of another world, where I never was, nor doe I know one foot of the way thither. While the King stood I was of his religion, made my sonne weare a cassock and thought to make him a Bishop: then came the Scots, and made me a presbiterian; and since Cromwell enter'd I have been an independent. These I believe are the kingdoms' three Estates, and if any of these can save a soule, I may claime one. Therefore if my Executors doe find I have a soule, I give it him that gave it me.

"Item, I give my body for I cannot keep it; you see the Chirurgion is tearing off my flesh: therefore bury me. I have church-land enough. But do not lay me in the church porch; for I was a Lord, and would not be bury'd where Colonel Pride was borne.

"Item, my will is to have no monument; for then I must have epitaphs, and verses; but all my life long I have had too much of them.

"Item, I give my doggs, the best currs ever man layd legge over, to be divided among the councell of state. Many a faire day I have followed my doggs, and followed the states, both night and day: went whither they sent me; sat where they bid me; sometimes with Lords, sometimes with Commons; and now can neither goe nor sit. Yet, whatever becomes of me, let my poor doggs want not their allowance, nor come within the ordinance for one meale a week.

"Item, I give two of my best saddle horses to the Earle of Denbigh, for I feare 'ere long his owne leggs will faile him: but the tallest and strongest in all my stable I give to the Academy, for a vaulting horse for ALL LOVERS OF VERTUE. All my other horses I give to the Lord Fairfax, that when Cromwell and the states take away his commission his Lordship may have some Horse to command.

"Item, I give my hawkes to the Earle of Carnarvon. His father was Master of the Hawkes to the King; and he has wit so like his father, that I begg'd his wardship, lest in time he should doe so by me.

"Item, I give all my deere to the Earle of Salisbury, who I know will preserve them, because he denied the King a buck out of one of his owne parks.

"Item, I give my chaplains to the Earle of Stamford, in regard he never used to have any but his sonne the Lord Gray, who, being thus both spirituall and carnall, may beget more monsters.

"Item, I give nothing to the Lord Say, which legacy I give him because I know he'll bestow it on the poore.

"Item, to the two Countesses, my sister and my wife, I now give leave to enjoy their estates. But my owne estate I give to my eldest sonne, charging him on my blessing to follow the advice of Michael Oldworth; for, though I have had thirty thousand pounds p.r ann. I die not in debt above four score thousand pounds.

"Item, because I threatened Sir Harry Mildmay, but did not beat him, I give fifty pounds to the footman who cudgell'd him.

"Item, my will is that the said Sir Harry shall not meddle with my jewells. I knew him when he served the Duke of Buckingham, and, since, how he handled the crowne jewells, for both which reasons I now name him the knave of diamonds.

"Item, to Tom May, whose pate I broke heretofore at a masque, I give five shillings. I intended him more, but all that have read his History of the Parliament thinke five shillings too much.

"Item, to the authour of the libell against ladyes, call'd Newes

from the New Exchange, I give threepence, for inventing a more obscene way of scribling than the world yet knew; but, since he throwes what's rotten and false on divers names of unblemish'd honour, I leave his payment to the footman that paid Sir Harry Mildmay's arreares; to teach him the difference 'twixt wit and dirt, and to know ladyes that are noble and chast from downright roundheads.

"Item, I give back to the assembly of divines their classicall, provinciall, congregationall, nationall: which words I have kept at my owne charge above seven years, but plainly find they'l never come to good.

"Item, as I restore other men's words, so I give to Lieutenant Generall Cromwell one word of mine, because hitherto he never kept his owne.

"Item, to all rich citizens of London; to all presbyterians, as well as cavaliers; I give advice to looke to their throats; for, by order of the states, the garrison at Whitehall have all got poyniards, and for new lights have bought dark lanthorns.

"Item, I give all my printed speeches to these persons following, viz.—that speech which I made in my owne defence when the seven lords were accused of high treason I give to sergeant Wild, that hereafter he may know what is treason, and what is not: and the speech I made ex tempore to the Oxford scholars I give to the Earle of Manchester, speaker, pro tempore, to the House of Peers before it's reformation, and Chancellor, pro tempore, of Cambridge University since it's reformation. But my speech at my election, which is my speech without an oath, I give to those that take the engagement, because no oath hath been able to hold them. All my other speeches, of what colour soever, I give to the Academy, to help Sir Balthaser's Art of well Speaking.

"Item, I give up the ghost."

This Earl's first Lady has been already mentioned. He had issue by her James, and Henry, who died infants; Charles, a Knight of the Bath; Philip, who succeeded to his father's titles

and great estates; William, James, and John; and three daughters; Anne Sophia, married to Robert Dormer, first Earl of Caernarvon; Catherine, and Mary, who died unmarried. His second Countess was Anne, only daughter and heir of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, and widow of Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset. By this celebrated lady, a memoir of whom will be found hereafter in the course of this work, he had no issue. His conduct to her became intolerable some time after their marriage. She separated herself from him, and survived him for many years.